

[THIS CHAPTER PROVIDES AN EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE MOST RECENT DATA RELATED HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA IN THIS REPORT]

THE ORDER IN WHICH THE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY IS PRESENTED IS THE SAME ORDER IN WHICH THE MOST RECENT DATA ARE PRESENTED. EXTENDED AND MORE DETAILED COVERAGE OF POINTS IN THIS EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ARE GIVEN IN THE CHAPTERS.

This chapter provides an executive summary of the eight thematic chapters relating to human development in Sāmoa, relative to the theme “*Sustainable Livelihoods in a Changing Sāmoa*”. The order in which the executive summary is presented is the same order in which the eight chapters are presented. Extended and more detailed coverage of points in this executive summary are given in the respective chapters in the report.

1. The Human Development Indices

1.1. Livelihood patterns in Sāmoa are changing. Agriculture’s share of 7.6 per cent of the total GDP in 2004 fluctuated and often experienced some extreme lows. Vulnerability to various forms of natural disasters and the climatic effects of global warming have probably contributed to this state of affairs. Fishing remains one of Sāmoa’s primary sources of livelihoods in terms of consumption, exports, proteins and employment. The benefits from agriculture and fishing are inadequate to guarantee food security and sustainable future food supply in Sāmoa. However, there are some prospects for agriculture. The taro and coconut export markets are recovering. The small-scale production of high quality oil provides opportunities for local processing, such as high value soap, and Electric Power Corporation (EPC) experiments with the use of coconut oil for power generation and use in vehicles instead of diesel. New markets have been found for nonu (*morinda citrifolia*) and ‘ava (*piper methysticum*) exports.⁸ Export prospects for cocoa are good, except that local producers have moved away from this crop and supply is now too low. The future prospects for the fishing industry is difficult to assess. The industry is now largely based on small boats with Sāmoan crews. Not only are there some concerns about crew safety and the present level of resource use, but if larger ships join the industry, the local

workers may face competition for jobs with foreign crews.¹⁵

1.2. There are also changing patterns in employment. There has been a general movement of people both out of subsistence production generally and out of agriculture and fishing in particular, which may have resulted in job growth in the commercial sector. Since the 1970s, there has been a drop in employment in agriculture from 67 per cent to 50 per cent of all workers and rises in employment in financial and business services from 0.7 per cent to 7 per cent of workers, and in social and personal services from 15 per cent to 20 per cent of workers. Employment in manufacturing doubled from two to four per cent of workers, but this remains a very small sector. The fastest growing age group is youth and adults, that is people aged from 34 years. As this group grows, so does the demand for jobs. The rise in economic activity has been greatest for women. In recent decades, the civil service or public sector, provided a lot of the growth in paid jobs, but this avenue for job growth is closing. One aim of the Government’s reform programme is to reduce public sector employment and encourage more private sector jobs. Job growth in the private formal sector has been unsteady. Unemployment is on the rise, especially for young people although it is difficult to measure unemployment in Sāmoa because a lot of excess labour is absorbed by the subsistence sector.

1.3. There are also changing patterns in global trading, manufacturing and in the service industry. In these changing conditions, other opportunities for development have emerged. Established in 1991, the Women in Business Foundation (WPF) provides economic opportunities to women, youth and the disadvantaged in the community by offering them to opportunities to earn an income where they live. Established in 2000, the South Pacific Business Development Foundation (a micro finance organization dedicated to improving the quality of life of underprivileged families) (SPBDF) provides training, unsecured credit and ongoing motivation and guidance to help women start and grow businesses.

1.4. Indices to measure various aspects of human development include the following. The Human Development Index (HDI) replaces the old GNP per capita after it was proven that it does not necessarily reflect the real well being of a country's population because national wealth is not channelled to human development areas. Nor does it show income distribution patterns. Samoa's HDI has increased from 0.651 in 1981 to 0.714 in 1991 to 0.798 in 2001. The Human Poverty Index (HPI). Although poverty means different things to different people, the World Bank has defined it as living on less than one US dollar a day in purchasing power. Samoa's HPI has also improved (or declined) from 13.8 in 1981 to 10.9 in 1991 to 9.4 in 2001. The gender-related development index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) gauge gender inequality in key areas of economic and political participation and decision-making. Samoa's GDI has also improved from 0.668 in 1981 to 0.686 in 1991 to 0.736 in 2001. The GEM on the other hand is yet to be worked out.

1.5. Government's strategy for development is reflected in its last three development reports (called the Strategy for the Development of Samoa – SDS). The overall target is macro-economic stability and growth in all sectors. The 2002-2004 SDS aims at strengthening the partnership between the private sector and the public sector. It also stresses the importance of strengthening the social structure, especially the role of *matai* in society, the influence of religion on personal standard

and behaviour, the role of women, secure opportunities for youth in order to play an active part in community development activities, and encourage the participation of Non-Government-Organizations (NGOs) in social and economic programmes. Strengthening the social structures ensure social stability especially in the village community. The 2005-2007 SDS continues the reform programme the previous SDS started. Emphasis is again given to education, health and agriculture although other areas of importance include the private sector, tourism, and community development in all aspects of life.

1.6. Although seemingly a homogenous society in that it is one people, has one language, a common system of agriculture and land tenure, and a fairly uniform culture, Sāmoa in fact has significant internal regional differences. Some of the general differences include the semi-subsistence economy of most of Savai'i and Upolu, the largely urban and monetized economy of Apia and much of the north-west coast of Upolu, and the large semi-subsistence and small commercial agricultural sectors. These economic differences are evident at different scales by geographic area within Sāmoa and between households in the same locality. Differences in material wealth are particularly evident in Apia. There are also varying degrees of hardship. There is evidence that some households or individuals are more or less disadvantaged relative to what is considered an acceptable standard of living in Sāmoa. The people most affected by hardship were landless families or individuals, unemployed youth and parents, single income households, family with many children to look after, and people who live in isolated villages with poor transport.

2. The Health Sector

2.1. Sāmoa's high investment in health is reflected in the government's development plans from which her health policies are derived. The government is committed to the Primary Health Care and Health Promotion principles of *equity of access, equitable resource allocation, effective and sustainable health service provision and funding, appropriate and affordable health services, multi-sector and multi-disciplinary action for health and*

strengthening self-reliance and self-responsibility of individuals, groups and communities for their own health and well being.

2.2. Although there have been significant improvements in the health sector in the past decade as shown by indicators such as life expectancy; maternal, infant and child mortality rates; major reductions in infectious diseases and the achievement of a high immunization coverage, there remains the challenge of not only maintaining those standards but improving them. Particular areas of health service to look at include the constant increase in urban population resulting in substandard living conditions and limited access to health services, the rise in non-communicable diseases, poor nutrition, the persistence of communicable diseases, and the increasing costs to government of maintaining secondary and tertiary health care brought about by changing disease patterns and demographic profile.

2.3. Juxtaposed against Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 4, Sāmoa's infant and mortality rates have decreased dramatically between 1975 and 2003. However, there are areas the health system needs to continuously address. They include the following. The 2001 census shows that the infant mortality rate is higher in the Savai'i region than in the Apia Urban Region. Despite the successful immunization programme for children, the outbreak of rubella in 2003 called for a re-evaluation of the immunization campaign. Rheumatic fever is the most common cause of cardiovascular disease in children and young adults. The malnutrition problem among children is due to underweight. Breastfeeding, which has been associated with healthy babies, has declined over the years and even more so among women residing in urban areas because of pressures associated with modernization.

2.4. MDG 5 stipulates the target maternal mortality rate to be achieved by the year 2015. Against this measure Sāmoa has already surpassed that target. However, there are other emerging health issues which the health system needs to be concerned with. Teenage pregnancies is one. It constitutes a risk to the health and well being of both the mothers and the infants. Breast and cervical cancer problems are on the rise. Iron deficiency

anaemia is prevalent among pregnant mothers aged 20-29 years. It is linked to dietary inadequacy, poor child spacing and worm infestation which is common amongst both school age children and mothers. Easy access to night clubs and ready availability of alcohol leading to promiscuous sexual behaviour among teenagers are issues often associated with teenage pregnancies, which could in turn contribute to increased maternal mortality rate.

2.5. MDG 6 targets a reverse of the spread of HIV/AIDS and other major diseases by 2015. Although HIV/AIDS is not a major concern, the prevalence of non-communicable diseases is. More Sāmoans suffer from non-communicable diseases such as obesity, diabetes, hypertension and cancer than from infectious diseases. Suicide is another major concern. In the period between 1999 and 2004, 47 per cent of suicide attempts resulted in deaths and those involved were mainly males below 29 years of age. Although communicable diseases are still prevalent, they are no longer the leading causes of deaths. Sexually transmitted diseases are on the rise and it is a major concern because they are the medium through which the HIV virus is transmitted.

2.6. Among the health issues that needed to be addressed in the future are the following. Population increase has put increasing pressure on limited resources. Urbanization has resulted in the adoption by the new immigrants of the urban lifestyle of fast foods and so forth which do not contribute to healthy living. The increasing cost of up-to-date medical technology will continue to put pressure of the health sector's limited budget. To realize the government's aim to expand and support the Integrated Community Health Services will need an additional budget to the Health Sector's budget. There needs to be better coordination of the work carried out by the traditional healers and those undertaken by the public health system. There is inequity among different income groups in terms of access to health care services. The different fees charged by women committees on members and non-members make it even more difficult for those in already vulnerable groups to access health services.

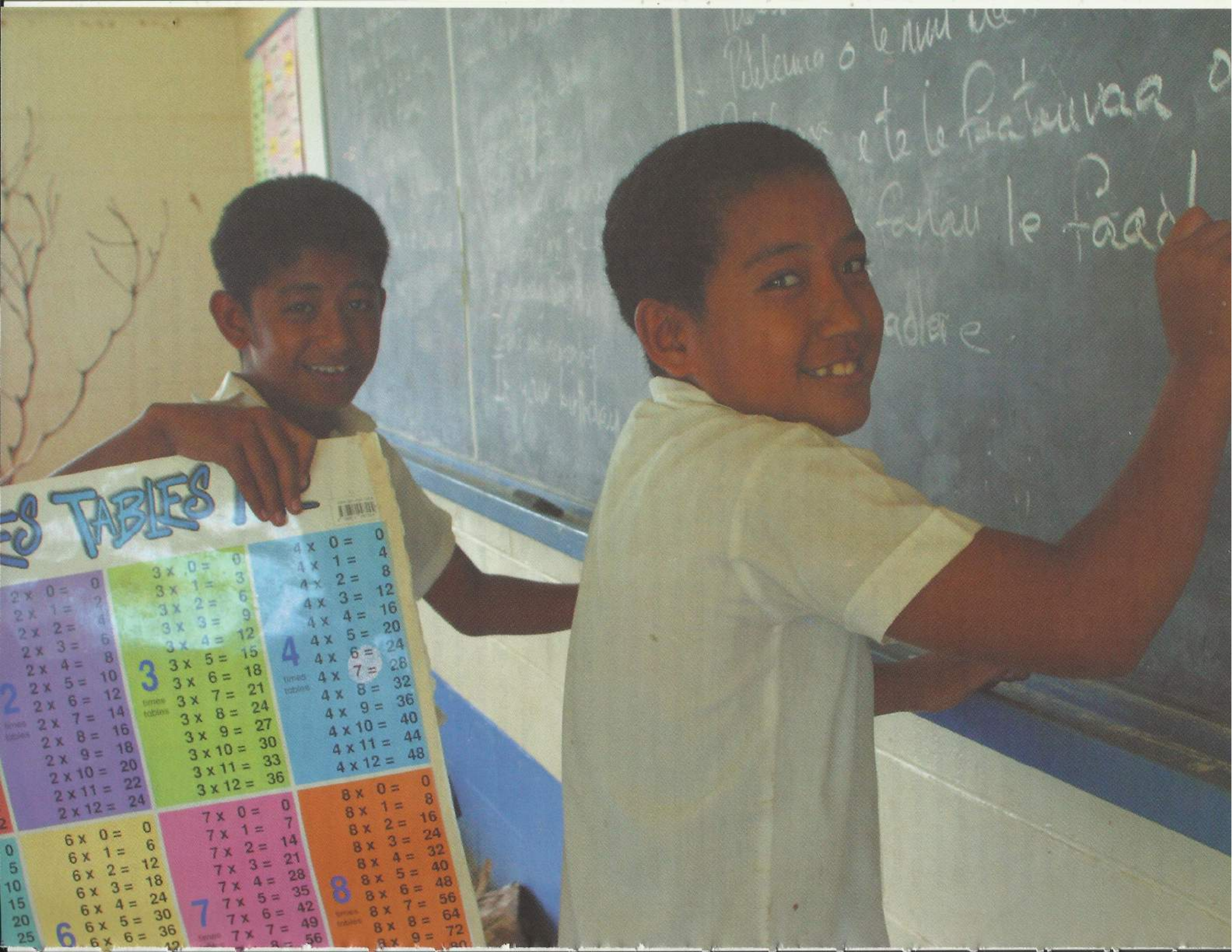
3. The Challenge in Education

3.1. The greatest challenge for education in any country is being able to continuously and consistently clarify what is quality in education, setting appropriate goals and acquiring the capacity to work towards achieving these goals. It requires vision renewal and constant vigilance to monitor, assess and redirect as needed. Notions of sustainable livelihoods constantly change as people re-examine values, assess resources capacity and evaluate possible futures. It is about people having the capacity to create and make choices. It is about sustainable human development. Education plays a pivotal role in all of these enterprises. The four key concepts that have underlined education policy and strategies in the last 10 years have been Equity, Quality, Relevance and Efficiency. They are also four of the six main issues that are often examined in reviewing any education sector, the other two being financing and management of education.¹ The Goals of Education in Sāmoa are explicit statements about the school curriculum, pedagogies, assessment and the individual and society in a humane education system. Assessed against these education goals and the four key concepts underlining education policy in the last 10 years, the following conclusions and issues are put forward.

3.2. Access and equity need to be expanded to include all people including those who leave school prematurely and those with special needs. Gross enrolment rates, net enrolment rates at primary and secondary levels, drop out rates, transition rates at secondary levels, and repetition rates must all be improved. There are many children who should be but who are not at school including special needs children. Access and equity demand that all children are treated equally. Furthermore, for Sāmoa to achieve education for all by 2015, the education and training of out of school youth (those who left school prematurely) should also be addressed. These people are in the urban as well as the rural areas. The demand and supply of good quality teachers must be addressed. These include not only adequate numbers of teachers who are qualified but also supporting structures such as a flexible and progressive teaching career structure, good conditions of work and fair and just

salaries. Equity and access are compromised when there are not enough teachers in the system. There is a real sense of hardship among people particularly in the rural areas who find it difficult to keep their children in school either due to inability to pay fees or to contribute in kind to the upkeep of schools. Changes in family structures also place the responsibility of looking after parents or grandparents on youth who should be at school. There is also a deteriorating sense of importance placed on education by parents resulting in children not going to school.

3.3. Quality issues in any education system are very complex. They include issues relating to infrastructure, learning outcomes, production and adequate resources, on-going curriculum development, teacher development, and effective and realistic policies. In the past five years, Sāmoa has taken infrastructural development as a major quality issue obtaining a loan from the Asian Development Bank to refurbish and rebuild school buildings and improving facilities in the practical and vocational subjects. However, learning outcomes in terms of examination and test results show low levels which are disappointing. These exam results and the types of testing instruments used must be investigated to enable ways of improvement. Quality control mechanisms must be put in place to monitor student performance, curriculum performance, school performance and performance of the sector. Improving the capacity of the ministry to provide adequate multi media resources especially print resources, enabling teachers to use these resources and making all resources available to school remain an issue. The development of the capacity of the ministry and schools to develop, teach and maintain relevant and worthwhile curricula in the schools is on-going work. The development of more relevant measures for learning outcomes must also be considered. A rationalization of resources to enable better and more efficient and effective ways of teacher development at both pre and in service education is critical in a small country like Sāmoa. Such initiatives must be carefully coordinated and monitored for quality and effectiveness. Effective human resource development requires forward looking policies that enable strategic decisions to identify pri-



Multiplication TABLES

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orties and allocate resources for effective and efficient outcomes. Education and training remain the most crucial single means to achieving sustainable human resources development. But resources are scarce. The Government of Sāmoa is now taking out loans to fund education and good and wise decisions are required to ensure that finances are used most effectively.

3.4. Improving efficiency also involve several issues. Resources inputs for educational development are often regarded as long term investments. However, inefficiencies do occur when expectations and aspirations do not match the realities of resources capacity. Thus attempts must be made to address all aspects of inefficiencies in the education system in Sāmoa. It may be necessary to consider a refinement of the structure of the current educational system. A policy study must be carried out to look at the effect of the current entry age to start school (age 5) on repetition and drop out rates. The implications of repetition at all levels and the presence of an optional year eleven as part of the secondary structure must also be investigated. In fact a review of the resource implications of the expansion of all secondary schools to year 13 level must be carried out as a matter of priority.

3.5. Improving relevance is another important set of issues. Debates are ongoing regarding the provision in secondary schools and relevance of vocational education in regards to their cost effectiveness. Many discussions have also taken place with regards to the efficacies of providing mainly academic education in the schools in Sāmoa. A clear understanding of the kinds of labour markets that exist for the people of Sāmoa is required so that the experience of schooling and the outcomes in terms of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes match the real world in which people are expected to live. Surveys of human resources needed and the labour markets must be carried out periodically. Sāmoa like all other small countries of the world must come to terms with globalization and the issues that affect national economies. To attract outside investment, the people must be educated to attract investors. Sāmoa must invest in education to enable the production of goods and services that are exportable. All peo-

ple in Sāmoa must have the opportunity to gain skills and knowledge to enable them to achieve a sustainable livelihood.

3.6. Finally whether the issues are those of equity or access, or quality and efficiency or relevance and effectiveness all of these are mediated through the teacher. This makes the tasks and responsibilities of a teacher both comprehensive and specialized at the same time. The education and training of teachers is critical to human resource development in any country. Adequate and adequacy of teachers are issues that go hand in hand. There are inadequate numbers of teachers in Sāmoa caused mainly by the high attrition rate from the service. There are issues of inadequacy of teachers as good and experienced teachers are lost from the service. This is probably the most critical of the issues that must be addressed immediately in Sāmoa if quality in education is to be improved.

4. Economic Update

4.1. Sāmoa's economy relies heavily on a narrow resource base that is limited to agriculture, tourism, small-scale manufacturing and fisheries while its macroeconomic performance acutely depends on external factors such as commodity export prices, crop diseases, tourism demands and weather-related shocks. Critical economic reforms implemented since 1997 aimed at improving the efficiency of the public sector, opening up the economy and developing its small private sector. These reforms have the full support of the Sāmoan public, its development partners and the international community. Although generally Sāmoa's economic situation is promising, the economic indicators vary a great deal. Although the GDP had increased between 1995 and 2001, it declined to 2 per cent in 2002 and declined further in 2003. Only the tertiary sector, particularly commerce, fared well in the same period along with the transport and communications industries. Although the growth rate had increased by 0.5 per cent between 1991 and 2001, out migration mainly to New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America has kept the growth rate at below one per cent. Despite a setback in economic reforms after Cyclone Heta in early 2005, the government none-

theless pressed on with its planned reform process.

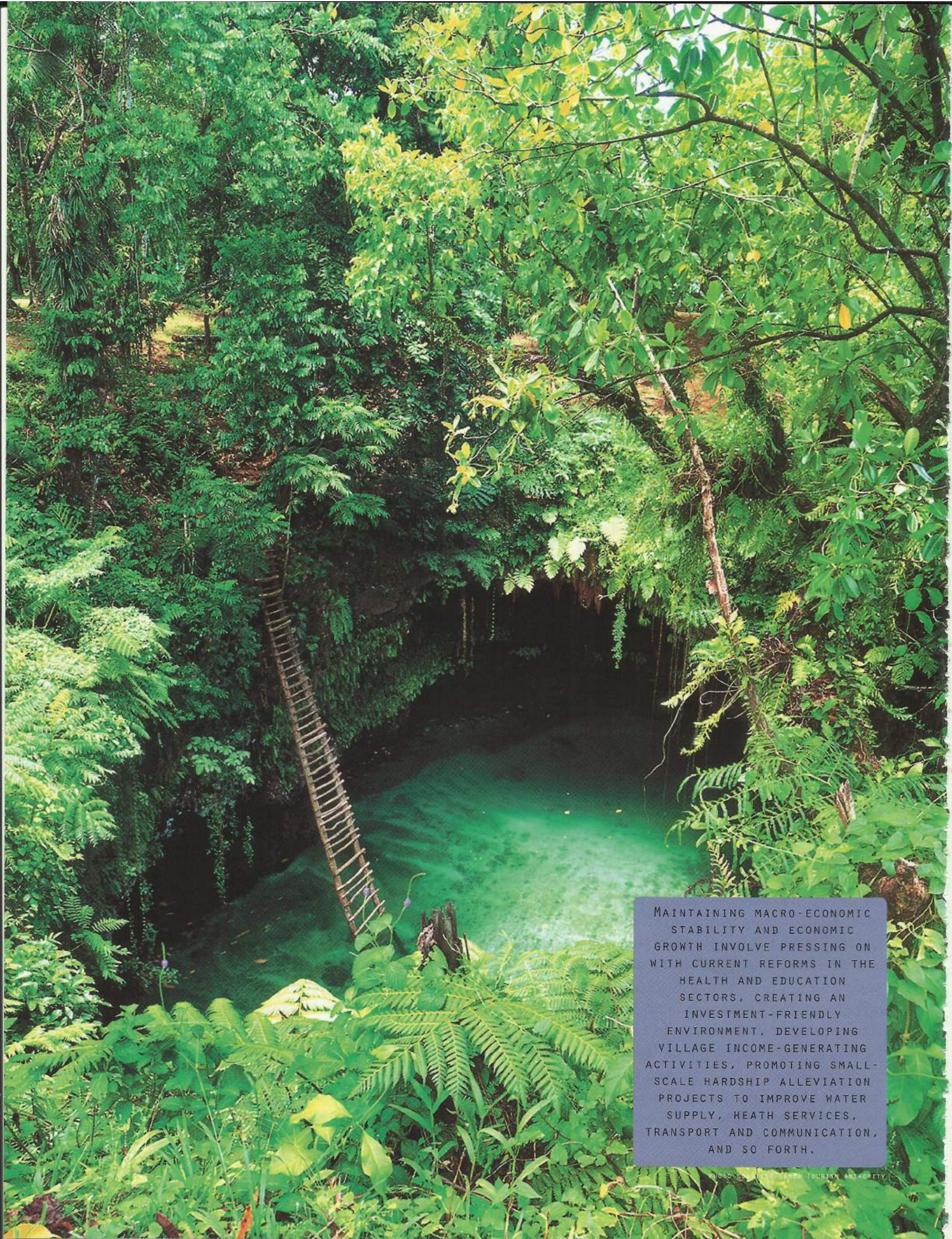
4.2. The average inflation rate between 1995 and 2001 was 3 per cent per annum. By March 2003 it had increased to 6.3 per cent per annum, an increase of 0.8 per cent since March 2002. The 2.5 per cent increase in VAGST probably had an effect on this increase. Since 2003, the government target of 3 per cent inflation was revised upward to below 6 per cent. Several factors contribute to the general rise in prices including the recent trend in government fiscal deficits and sustained growth of money supply and credit to the private sector. From March 2002 to March 2003, the annual change in total money supply increased by 11 per cent, which was about the same rate since 1999. It was the result of a build up of government net deposits in the bank during the mid to late 1990s, which coincided with the period of financial system reform. Most economic sectors received increases in commercial bank credit with the exception of agriculture, forestry and fisheries which registered a decline. The Central Bank of Sāmoa, however, has announced its intention to relax monetary policy in order to make available to the private sector credit given the expected decline in inflation in the short to medium term.

4.3. The foreign exchange has been reported to cover about four months which is considered by the Central Bank to be sustainable. The Commercial banks (ANZ and WESTPAC) weighted average lending and deposit rates were at around 12 per cent and 5 per cent at the end of March 2003. In early 2003, Sāmoa's newest and fourth commercial bank, Sāmoa Commercial Bank, began trading. The nominal value of the official external debt increased from SAT380 million to SAT500 million between 1995 and 2001. However, that amount has fallen as a proportion of GDP from 80 per cent to 59 per cent over the same period. These favourable trends in external debt and debt servicing reflect the concessionary nature of the debt portfolio and the growth in exports of goods and services, but the exporting sector will face more staunch competition as Sāmoa gains full World Trade Organization (WTO) membership. Balance of payments is dominated by private and official transfer although significant contributors

include remittances and foreign aid, tourism and fisheries up to 2002. Foreign aid amounted to 10 per cent of GDP in the past two decades. Amongst others easy access to official grants and other preferences become immediate challenges as Sāmoa graduates from its current economic status (least developing LDC) to developing country in 2006.

4.4. Tourism grew from 5 per cent of GDP in the 1980s to around 10-15 percent in recent years. Fisheries grew from earnings of SAT150,000 in 1993 to SAT36 million in 2000 and 2001 before it experienced a dramatic downturn in 2002. The priority now is for the government to provide specific policy interventions that would facilitate the granting of time-bound tax relief, undertake an extended review of import taxes and tariff on fishing boat and specialized fishing equipment, and introduce other indirect fiscal incentives. The tourism sector in the last four years between 2000 and 2003 had grown to 20 per cent. It was still good by the first six months of 2004. The government is committed to consolidating the tourism sector. Because of the on-going problem of Polynesian Airline debts, the Sāmoan government has successfully negotiated a merger of its airline with an Australian based Airline Company, Virgin Blue, in an attempt to sustain the Sāmoa tourism industry. Associated with air travel policies are those of the hotel development. The government aims to have at least 350 hotel rooms by 2007. To help achieve this target, the 2003 Tourism and Hotel Development Incentive Act was passed

4.5. Despite the good economic performances in recent years the employment sector remains weak. Most are in the informal sector comprising agriculture and fisheries. Fifty-one per cent of the economically active population were in paid employment according to the 2001 census. The rest were in unpaid family-related work. Thirty-two per cent of those in public employment are in the formal sector. Twenty-two per cent are in government jobs and the other 10 per cent are in the state-owned enterprise sector. The private sector, on the other hand, employs 26.8 per cent of the population, most of whom by the Yazaki Industry. At its height in 1996, Yazaki employed 4,000 locals. The unemployment rate of the whole labour force in 2001 was 2.5 per cent (males with a slightly higher



MAINTAINING MACRO-ECONOMIC STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH INVOLVE PRESSING ON WITH CURRENT REFORMS IN THE HEALTH AND EDUCATION SECTORS, CREATING AN INVESTMENT-FRIENDLY ENVIRONMENT, DEVELOPING VILLAGE INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES, PROMOTING SMALL-SCALE HARDSHIP ALLEVIATION PROJECTS TO IMPROVE WATER SUPPLY, HEALTH SERVICES, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION, AND SO FORTH.

rate than females) and those not economically active 49 per cent (males 32 per cent and females 68 per cent). These high numbers of the 'economically inactive' population, who are mainly youth, suggest that there is considerable potential for increased rural output. Despite the heavy reliance on the agricultural and fishery sector, total government expenditure on the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery has remained at 6 per cent in the last five years. The government is aware of the present situation and is currently implementing policies aimed at the promotion of equitable growth and hardship alleviation. Extensive consultations have been carried out whose aim, among other things, is to steer Sāmoa towards the achievement of the UN's Millennium Development Goals. Although yet to be officially recognized by Government, a 2002 Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) showed that about 20 per cent of households have income below the poverty line (US\$1 dollar a day). The youth and the elderly are the most vulnerable. Thus, it is necessary to maintain macro-economic stability and economic growth. It would in turn involve pressing on with current reforms in the health and education (including vocation training) sectors, creating an investment-friendly environment, developing village income-generating activities, promoting small-scale hardship alleviation projects to improve water supply, health services, transport and communication, and so forth.

4.6. Sustaining and improving economic growth will be a priority for government in the short term. This is particularly important, not only to maintain the momentum for continuing reforms, but also given the increased emphasis now placed by government on issues of income distribution, equity, and its plans to develop and implement targeted hardship reduction strategies. Thus, the authorities must implement the necessary reforms equipped to target immediately central areas or intervene using carefully targeted policy interventions supporting sectors and industries that are showing signs of exhaustion. The future stance for the Sāmoa economy appears optimistic with real pressure likely to be mounted on the budget over the next few years. The gains from the reforms would inhibit positive political will to speed up

reforms in public works, telecommunications, education, health, state-owned enterprises and agriculture. Government must exercise controlled fiscal discipline to ensure that fiscal monitoring is maintained, thereby paving the way for nurturing an investment environment with good governance in order to maintain a sustained economic growth.

5. The Fa'aSāmoa

5.1. Sāmoan culture is a composite of both historical and contemporary influences which have helped shape the way Sāmoans view their world, live and act in it. The elements of Sāmoan culture evolved in three periods. The first period was the Mongoloid homeland in Southern China about 5,000 years ago. The second period was the Austronesian era which is traced to South East Asia about 2,000 years ago. The third period is the modern period which began in the first contact with European culture about 300 years ago following the sighting of Manu'a Island by La Perouse in 1722.

5.2. Remnants of the Mongoloid culture include tattooing, pottery-making and mediumship in religious practice while elements of the Austronesian culture include language, horticulture and deep-sea voyaging technology. It was during and after the dominance of the Austronesian culture that the *matai* system evolved. The dominant agents of change in the modern period include means of communication (such as radio, television, ships and aeroplanes), trade, Christianity and other introduced religions, and education.

5.3. The overall effect of modernization has been the gradual incorporation of Sāmoa into the global community. No longer would Sāmoa be an isolated island group in the Pacific Ocean whose intermittent contact was with the neighbouring Pacific Islands only. International migration mainly to New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America has resulted in the establishment of migrant communities in those countries who would not let go of their cultural links with the homeland. Constant contacts between the homeland and the migrant communities ensured not only the maintenance of culture but the incorporation of new variant elements. At home, on the other hand, the establishment and growth of Apia town

attracted rural communities because of better chances to succeed in education and the availability of paid jobs.

5.4. Changes associated with modernization are manifold. The country has a Westminster parliamentary democracy. The introduction of universal suffrage in the 1991 parliamentary election now exist alongside the long established socio-political system that revolves around the *matai* system whose apex are the *matai*. Some constitutional changes should be sought to (1) allow the untitled Sāmoan citizens to stand as candidates for parliament and (2) allow for the establishment of a second house to cater for chiefs' only candidates even though this may be problematic from the point of view of costs.

5.5. Christianity has survived in Sāmoa for close to 200 years. Religion is thought to be a unifying institution but the provision in the constitution for freedom of religion and individual rights has challenged the one-village-one-religion policy of some villages that value unity more than freedom of religion per se. The concept of individual rights has challenged communalistic values that are part and parcel of Sāmoan culture. Village councils and central government should negotiate a settlement which must satisfy the requirements of the law and village governance. Economic principles of free enterprise and capitalism now coexist with the cultural principles of reciprocity and subsistence living where most material necessity of life are exchanged rather than being bought with cash.

5.6. Understandably, cultural elements that are no longer relevant to modern conditions become obsolete. Polygamy has given way to the one-man-one-wife teaching of the Christian Bible. Virginity test (*fa'amasei'au*) is slowly dying out as Christianity takes root. On the other hand, cultural innovations that are relevant to modern situations are taken on board. For example, the concept of Women's Committee in the village structure, which was first introduced in the 1920s as a way of bringing together in one organization the wives of *matai* and *taulele'a* (non-*matai* males), and village girls (*aualuma*) is now a permanent feature of village organization. However, in the majority of cases, old cultural elements continue to co-ex-

ist alongside newly introduced practices, which have often created tensions.

6. The Church and Development

6.1. Since independence, the church and the state have worked harmoniously side by side for the benefit of Sāmoan citizens generally. State leaders are usually also the leaders in the church. Life in rural areas and in town revolves around the church, which is often represented in the area by at least one Christian denomination. Although the three mainline churches (Congregational Christian Church in Sāmoa (CCCS), Methodist Church of Sāmoa (MCS) and Catholic Church of Sāmoa (CCS)) established in the early 1800s dominate religious life in Sāmoa, relatively new denominations have posed a challenge not only in villages but in relation to the established doctrines and practices of established denominations. Under the authority of their respective council of *matai* (chiefs), some villages prefer that they follow one denomination only in the belief that the presence of more than one denomination in the village would breed division among village members. Village unity is a cultural virtue. Furthermore, the increasing outflow into new denominations of adherents in established denominations has not sat easily with leaders of the latter. Thus, there exists a tension between the freedom of religion principle espoused in the Constitution of the Independent State of Sāmoa and the deep-seated feeling of unity among both the church and the village communities. Generally, however, Sāmoans have been tolerant to religious differences.

6.2. Offering is a big part of the church and a number of issues relating to this practice and its associated theological justification have been raised within and without church circles. Given that the church annually receives massive revenue from its members, it could easily be turned into a business venture. However, leaders must always remember that the church must remain an organization for the physical and, most importantly, the spiritual wellbeing of its members. Furthermore, given that several church members survive just above the poverty line, the CCCS has tried to help parish members through a loan scheme from which they could borrow money for the construction and/



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SO FORTH



or maintenance of their church halls, pastor's residence and so forth. The church, however, has yet to help the financial situation of individual members of congregations. It has even been criticized from within to be a mechanism that is only imposing a financial burden on its adherents through contributions to several church activities. Church administrators have also been severely criticized by its members for the loose manner in which church funds have been accounted. Huge church buildings constructed from church offerings have always taken precedence over the near-poverty-line situation in which some church adherents live. These issues will be around for many years to come.

6.3. Education has always been part and parcel of the conversion strategy when Christianity was first introduced to Sāmoa in the early 1800s. Mission schools were, therefore, the first schools in Sāmoa. In the last 20 years, the churches have gone further to providing centres for vocational training in their respective education systems. Appreciative of church efforts in the education sector and true to the harmonious spirit of cooperation between the church and state, the government has for a number of years now allocated money for the development of mission and private schools. In its budget this year (2005), the government has allocated SAT3 million to the four main categories of schools. They include the mission schools, private schools, special needs schools and early childhood education/pre-schools. Private and mission schools have been given a total of SAT2,550,000. The rest of the money has been allocated to the special needs schools and pre-schools.² The church also helps out in the area of health care. In villages where trained nurses live, the church community would co-opt their help for its health care programmes. In cases where either the village pastor or his wife is a trained doctor or a trained nurse, their expertise would naturally be utilized as part of their pastoral care work. The Catholic Church is particularly noted for its huge contribution to the care for the Aged. A community complete with all required facilities run by the Sisters of the Poor called Mapuifagalele has been taking in the elderly for care regardless of their denomination and affiliation. In the area of

disease, in particular HIV/AIDs, the 'natural' position of the church is to encourage fidelity in marriage and abstinence outside marriage.

6.4. Women have always been the backbone of the church. Through independent organizations within the church they form at the parish and national levels, the women contribute immensely to such things as facilities for the use of the pastors and their families at the parish level, construction and maintenance of some church facilities, cleanliness around church premises and so forth. In spite of the strong influence of women in many church activities, however, there remains the question whether that influence would eventually translate into women becoming pastors.

6.5. Given its 'natural' affinity to questions of creation and life generally, the church has always had a role to play in issues relating to the environment. Often man sees himself as the boss of the environment who can therefore do anything with it, thereby ignoring the concerns of others. Theologically, this should never be the case. Instead, man should know that he ought to be a good steward of the environment. The theological concept of creation should not be confined to man only. Instead it should be extended to other lives besides that of man. That is, the church should commit itself to the protection of biological diversity and the preservation of natural landscapes, which have sometimes been ruined to make way for the construction of new church projects.

6.6. Although early Christianity attempted to separate Sāmoan culture from it, developments in the last 20 years tried to reverse this practice. Most noticeable in this move has been the Catholic Church where culture has been incorporated into most of its rituals and practices. The new belief is that incorporating local culture into the church would make the brand of Christianity in this part of the world more meaningful to locals. Other denominations are slowly following in the footsteps of the Catholic Church. Since the introduction of Christianity, the mainline churches have always been pushing hard for the development of the youth in mind, body and spirit with limited success. Now, all churches have taken seriously the education of youth and children so that they are well versed not only in Christianity but in their

Sāmoan beliefs and traditions, as well as family values as these form the basis of who they are and where they are in this world of constant flux. Despite the work of the church, however, there has been an increasing rate of youth crime and suicide in recent years. The message for church leaders is for more resources to help combat this growing problem. The Government established the Ministry of Youth, Sports & Culture (MESOC) in the early 1980s to complement the youth programmes of the church. The family environment has always helped cement the foundation of youth. Respect for the elders, among other Sāmoan-Christian values, are taught and learned in the homes. The Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has already been adopted by the government, is a challenge to the church and Sāmoan culture. Wide consultation among the community would help negotiate and ease the tension between existing cultural and Christian practices, on one hand, and the implementation of the Convention on Children's Right provisions on the other.

7. Governance and Rendered Service

7.1. Governance is an authority system with its associated structures and rules that define not only the relationship between these structures but the manner in which they operate for the achievement of identifiable outcomes. Generally, there are four such governance systems in Sāmoa and they relate to the four types of service (*tautua*) a Sāmoan would normally render in one's life time. They are service to one's family, village, church and the national government. It is these four kinds of *tautua* in the context of their respective authority systems that are discussed here.

7.2. A family comprises not only the parents and their immediate children but the extended kin group which could include both the biological descendants and others adopted into it. It is headed by a *matai* (titled person) elected by the family for a life term unless the family decides otherwise at a later stage if the *matai* is not living up to the family's expectation. The *matai*'s responsibilities include representing the family in the *fono* (village council of *matai*), settling family disputes, protecting family interests (such as lands and ti-

ties), upholding and advancing family prestige and honour, and providing leadership in the family. The challenge in family governance is for its leadership to continue to promote and uphold the collective interests of the family for the benefit of all. This is a daunting task given the un-halted nature of family expansion as members migrate to towns and overseas for better economic and education opportunities. The tendency is for the family *matai* to cater only for the interests of family members who are close to him/her, thereby ignoring the interests of other family members. The family leadership has to ensure that members are happy in the family and that their basic needs are met under the system of family governance. Only then would family governance contribute to sustainable livelihood in a changing Sāmoa.

7.3. The supreme authority in the village polity is the *fono* (council of *matai*), which comprises all *matai* of the village families. Although the number of *matai* in the council could range from 10 to 100 in big villages, only a small number has the final say in important village decisions. The *fono* has the umbrella authority over all village land. Moreover, it defends village boundary with next door villages, mediates over land disputes between village families although (following the establishment of the Land and Titles Court whose roots is traced to the Land Commission established during the German administration in 1903) most of these disputes are now dealt with by the Land and Titles Court, maintains law and order in the village, and ensures village security and wellbeing.

7.4. Village governance will continue to play a major role in the lives of Sāmoans. Its positive contributions to peace, stability and security are to be acknowledged and encouraged. Its negative aspects, on the other hand, are a challenge for which remedies should be found. Taking village authority to the extreme where it has harmed people is to be discouraged. Bringing village governance within the orbit of state governance is one way of checking unnecessary and extreme exercise of collective village power. Education would help in a gradual change in village leadership mentality where human rights have been ranked second to those of village honour, unity and pres-

tige. The challenge is to find a balance between these two extremes. Steering a way forward with these objectives in mind would contribute to sustainable livelihood in a future Sāmoa. On the other hand, the rise of non-traditional villages being established around the urban areas has introduced a new set of governance issues that are directly related to the characteristic absence in them of traditional structures and associated 'laws', processes and a value system. These are problems the relevant government agencies who handle their affairs must address.

7.5. The church continues to play an important role in the lives of the people. Youth group programmes and Sunday schools are examples of the means the churches have deployed towards personal and community development within the orbit of the church governance system. However, there is room for improvement not only in the governance systems of the church but also in the manner it administers its affairs. Looking at the church from within, there are two challenges its leadership has to address and respond to appropriately. One concerns the criticism that some churches seem to be existing for their own sake ignoring the physical, social and economic well-being of their members. The second relates to the defensive manner in which the leadership in the established churches has responded to the threat posed by the quick and exponential growth of the newly established denominations. The church leadership has to constantly adapt itself to existing conditions in order to fulfill their missions of catering not only for the spiritual but also the physical, social, economic and psychological well-being of their church members. Only then would the church make a meaningful and lasting contribution to sustainable livelihood in a changing Sāmoa.

7.6. The state's overarching sphere of influence transcends those of the family, village and church. Given this fact, the effects of state governance on Sāmoan citizens are either profoundly positive or profoundly negative. Among the former are policies that have led to the introduction of universal suffrage, the ratification of the CEDAW and convention for the rights of the children, the recognition of the important contribution of

women to development through the establishment of the Ministry of Women Affairs, and the adoption of the Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa (SDS) 2005-2007 document in which are policies aimed at "enhancing people's choices". As in other governance systems already discussed, there are rooms for improvement in state governance. For example, the lot of the 20 per cent of the population below the poverty line need to be improved, a way forward must be found where the government is made to be responsible to parliament in the present age of party politics, to name a few. Another challenge for state governance is to continue the evolutionary process already underway where village governance becomes a component of the state governance structure rather than a polity existing independently of the state which could therefore resist state efforts at will, particularly when things are not going their way. The challenge of non-traditional villages is related to the absence of an established social structure to coordinate their infrastructural requirement in order to cater for the needs of their fast growing populations. It is, therefore, vitally important that the government should not only understand the problems of non-traditional villages but come up with remedies to those problems. It calls for cooperation between the relevant government agencies and settlers of those non-traditional settlements.

8. The Millennium Development Goals Evaluated

8.1. Workshops organized by the NGOs, O le Si'osi'omaga (OLSSI), to plan, coordinate, organize and implement the MDGs in Sāmoa in March and April 2004 included representation from the Sāmoa Umbrella for NGOs (SUNGO) and government. The opportunity provided an enabling environment and a consultative forum to capture the real life experiences of all sectors in the village communities on the eight MDGs addressed. Papers presented and views expressed were fairly representative of the views of both the civil society and government. Issues discussed therefore need to be integrated in any calculation defining sustainable livelihood from a Sāmoan perspective.

8.2. Government presentations indicated that

work was already in its advanced stage towards achieving each of the eight MDGs (the eradication of extreme poverty, universal primary education, gender equality, reduction of child mortality, improvement of maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS and other major diseases, environmental sustainability and global partnerships). The government's view is premised on the fact that the government's tri-annual development plan called Sāmoa's Development Strategies (SDS) implemented in 2003, 2004 and 2005 aimed towards meeting similar objectives. The current SDS (2005), whose theme is "Enhancing People's Choices", continues the government's policy statement of the previous SDS.

8.3. As synthesized from the workshop presentations and discussions, the key development indicators of Sāmoa emphasized aspects of developments such as education and health. In 2001, 94.7 per cent of 15-24 year olds were enrolled in primary schools. Enrolment ratio for girls enrolled in primary schools in 2003 was 85 per cent and 62 per cent for secondary schools. Enrolment ratio for boys in primary school in 2003 was 84 per cent and 48 per cent in secondary schools. Literacy rate for 15-24 year olds saw an increase in 2003 at 99.9 per cent and for all adults at 95.7 per cent in 1999. As for health, there was 10 per cent of people without access to safe water in 1999, four known cases of HIV/AIDS in 2004 and the prevalence of non-communicable diseases on the increase in 2004. Government works from the above figures and progresses to fulfill its commitment to improve on the situation. It is recommended that measures identified to try and improve on should have the people themselves as the central focus of any implementations.

8.4. Against the data and information presented in the OLSSIS workshops, the current status of the eight MDGs in Sāmoa is presented. The target of eradicating extreme poverty has been reached and is higher than UNs of US\$1 a day. The universal primary education target is almost achieved with 84 per cent of primary school age males, and 85 per cent of females enrolled at school in 2003, an increase from 83 per cent and 85 per cent in 2002. There is progress noted for gender equality with females consistently better represented at

primary school level in the past three years, one percentage point more than their male counterparts. In 2001, 129 males and 227 females attended university for the age of 15-24 years. This highlights a general attendance more favourable to females, in contrast to the perceived gender disparity envisioned by the UN. Women in Sāmoa have always been held in high esteem by traditional society and four females are Chief Executive Officers in Government Ministries. The child mortality rate is already low with a recorded 1.2 per cent death rate for babies born live in Sāmoa in 2003 or a ratio of 12 deaths for every 1,000 births compared to 16 and 33 child deaths in 1998. There is also progress in maternal health with close working relationships with traditional birth attendants. There is some progress on efforts to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. HIV/AIDS is still relatively minor in Sāmoa compared to other countries with the official count of those infected between 1990 and 2003 at 12, eight have died since and four still alive. Progress is noted in the efforts to ensure environmental sustainability. The government has progressively over the past fifteen years built up its official institution responsible for safeguarding the environment initially the Lands, Surveys and Environment Department, now renamed Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MNRE) together with the help of NGOs and community groups. Global partnerships is progressing slowly with targets set out to measure progress such as good governance, free quota access for least developed countries with regard to exports and dissemination of crucial information on important issues.

8.5. The role of International Development Agencies (IDAs), Government and NGOs is crucial in meeting and sustaining the MDGs in Sāmoa. Bilateral and International Development Agencies have an important role. The level of official development assistance, and the volume of development finance procured under softer than commercial terms have continued to play major and pivotal roles resourcing basic infrastructure and long-term development projects in the country. The low local savings rate, and lack of opportunities to earn surplus income from exports and other economic activities sees the situation persisting

into the future. Government efforts with the implementation of various social development and service functions in the country have also been undergoing some noticeable changes over the past decade. A number of service delivery agencies have been corporatized, with others commercialized. Some ministries have been relegated a more regulatory role, with the delivery of related public services consigned to commercial enterprises. The results have been positive. The partnership between the IDAs, government and civil society is working well, ensuring that tasks are carried through to the very people needing the services.

8.6. Recommendations for all of the eight MDGs have to be taken on board if workshops and consultations were to be of value, with the first recommendation for more recognition and acknowledgement of the existence of 'poverty of opportunities' to be afforded in official government policy formulation and implementation so that the effect of development programmes aimed at alleviating these conditions are better targeted. It is also recommended that more recognition and assistance be given to NGOs conducting preschools and other pre-education and non-formal activities so to meet the universal primary education MDG. That the description of 'women' as used for commercial categorization be reviewed and that a more representative and impartial label such as 'home managers' be developed that suits the local situation to be in line with promoting

gender equality. To reduce child mortality, it is recommended that greater accountability and transparency in the promotion of quality service be made a priority and partnerships with traditional and NGO agents be enhanced. To improve on maternal health, training for traditional midwives should be enhanced and expanded in conjunction with women's committees to meet the growing needs of Sāmoan mothers. Health advocacy programmes are recommended to focus on non-communicable diseases as malaria is not prevalent in Sāmoa. Awareness programmes are strongly recommended to be continued to combat HIV/AIDS. Environment Sustainability is recommended to be considered in Sāmoa's drive for commercial developments. Regulations need to be in place with independent evaluation of projects and consideration of local community inputs to ensure developments are sustainable. Government is recommended to review and establish guidelines and routine procedures that steer relationships with NGOs. An enhanced role for SUNGO in the consultation process regarding formulation of policies and procedures is to be considered.

Endnotes

¹ Government of Sāmoa - ADB Draft Education Sector Review 2004, p. 1

² Press Release, Secretariat, Prime Minister's Department, 27 June 2005.

³ McGregor 2002.

⁴ Pacific Islanders comprise less than 10 per cent of the crew of the commercial fishing boat, UNDP, 1998.

FINDING A BALANCE BETWEEN THE COMPETING WEIGHTS OF CUSTOM AND RELIGION



Clearly the way to sustainable livelihood in a changing Samoa is finding a balance between the competing weights of custom and religion whereby the localization of introduced religion does not turn out to be a physical burden to church members who are supposedly in that institution in search of spiritual gratification.