A tropical beach scene with palm trees and a sunset sky. The sky is a mix of orange, yellow, and blue, with a large, faint, curved line across it. The beach is visible in the foreground, and the ocean is in the background.

[A LIVELIHOOD REFERS TO CAPABILITIES, MATERIAL AND NON-MATERIAL ASSETS AND ACTIVITIES REQUIRED TO OBTAIN A LIVING].

WHILE A SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD REFERS TO WAYS OF EARNING A LIVING THAT ARE SECURE AND DO NOT DEplete THE RESOURCES THEY DEPEND UPON.

[FOR A SMALL ISLAND LIKE SAMOA, SUSTAINABILITY OF LIVELIHOODS IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX DUE TO THE EFFECTS OF NATURAL DISASTERS, SUCH AS HURRICANES AND PRESSURES ON MATERIAL AND BIOLOGICAL RESOURCES.

THUS THE NEED TO SUSTAIN THE SEMI-SUBSISTENCE AND INFORMAL SECTOR AS AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT. THIS, HOWEVER, DOES LITTLE TO IMPROVE THE COUNTRY'S EARNINGS FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE, HENCE THE DILEMMA THAT CONFRONTS THE COUNTRY'S LEADERS."]

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This chapter examines human development trends in Sāmoa. It also examines prospects for sustainable livelihoods, identifies inequalities in human development within the country, and describes the special disadvantages some groups face as the indicators show. Sāmoa's economy is changing quickly because of the influence of international trends. The theme is "Sustainable Livelihoods in a Changing Sāmoa".

THE REPORT WILL IDENTIFY AND DISCUSS THE LIVELIHOODS upon which the Sāmoan people depend for survival. It will also examine in detail the selected livelihoods and the problems that may hinder progress towards achieving sustainable human development.

The phrase 'sustainable livelihoods'¹ refers to ways of earning a living that are secure and do not deplete the resources that they depend upon. That is, not all types of jobs or livelihoods necessarily enrich the community, promote human development, or use resources in sustainable ways. For example, our small country has already experienced environmental degradation and resource-based livelihoods such as agriculture, already face limits on their expansion.

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required as means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.²

Sāmoa's economy is predominantly village-based subsistence agriculture, which is often supplemented largely by either fishing or transfers from overseas as remittances. The social and cultural institutions of Sāmoan society (*fa'aSāmoa*) are strong and still intact. Sāmoa's system of village government is well organized and coherent, making it an effective means for initiating and overseeing developments in the village for the livelihood of its members. However, it is at the macro level that the success and effectiveness of government development plans implemented in the last two decades have been more visible and have

resulted in other sectors like manufacturing, construction, transport and communication, finance and business services gain momentum of upward growth.

Sustainable Livelihood in Sāmoa

In a small Island country like Sāmoa, sustainability of livelihoods is becoming increasingly difficult and complex. The shocks inflicted by natural disasters and increasing population on our natural and biological resources have been unbearable and devastating, especially for the future generations of Sāmoa. Non-complementary development efforts appear to have triggered serious problems that enormously affect our most potential sources of livelihoods like fisheries, agriculture, flora and fauna, rainforest and of course our physical environment.

The maintenance of sustainable livelihoods is a practical way to prevent or counter poverty. Sometimes the promise of formal sector jobs draws attention away from the repercussions that commercial ventures can have on other forms of livelihood, particularly those in the large 'traditional' or informal sectors. The likelihood in Sāmoa that labour force growth could outstrip formal sector jobs, together with the vulnerability of the physical environment, reinforces the need to sustain the semi-subsistence and informal sector as an important source of employment.

The most sustainable form of livelihood in Sāmoa has been traditional village subsistence agriculture and fisheries. But while this has a much lower environmental impact than commercial agriculture for export, it does not produce the foreign exchange necessary to support a modern so-

ciety. This dilemma continually confronts Sāmoa's leaders. Is it better to meet the growing demand for electricity by depending on imported oil, face the possible environmental cost of developing hydroelectricity, or wait for a more environmentally safe technology?

Will a new industry today remain viable tomorrow? Will globalization, particularly in the form of accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements, open up new economic possibilities? Or will it instead swamp the opportunities that now exist, and require even more people to leave in order to maintain an increasingly outdated cultural remnant at home? Employment and livelihood are critical issues for Sāmoa, as they are throughout the Pacific island region. They will be central to future human development trends in the country.

The Changing Livelihoods in Sāmoa

Agriculture and Fishery

Since independence, Sāmoa has relied on the agriculture sector as the country's main engine of growth. Agriculture's share of 7.6 per cent of the total real GDP³ in 2004 has from time to time fluctuated and often experienced some extreme lows and highs because of its vulnerability to various forms of natural disasters, which has in turn been the result of global warming.

While subsistence agriculture and fishing are the primary sources of livelihoods for nearly all Sāmoans, land tenure is one of the factors, among others, that might contribute significantly to the continuing fall in both sector performances in terms of productions. Agriculture production for exportation continued to fall on a downward trend. Fishing remains one of Sāmoa's primary sources of livelihood in terms of consumption, exports, proteins and employment. However, its contribution of 5.8 per cent of real GDP growth in 2004 suggests that its performance for export has been constantly fluctuating.

The benefits from agriculture and fishing are inadequate to guarantee food security and sustainable future food supply in Sāmoa. The 1999 Census of Agriculture Statistics recorded about 15,000 agriculturally active households, which was 73 per

cent of all the households counted. Despite the high participation in agriculture activities, efforts to revive and redevelop traditional crops with the help of modern farming techniques to boost agriculture production for consumption and exports have been unsuccessful.

Prospects in Agriculture

Over the past decade, the importance of agriculture in terms of labour absorption declined and the estimated area of crops in Sāmoa rose only slightly from 131,000 acres in 1989 to 132,200 acres in 1999.⁴ The subsistence sector is a fundamental source of livelihoods in Sāmoa, but this sector is stagnating. Incomes are low and not rising. Production of the traditional staple crops of taro and cocoa slumped and were partly replaced by ta'amû, banana and breadfruit. Commercial agriculture picked up somewhat. The 1990s saw a wider range of new crops grown, such as vegetables and kava, but commercial farming is still quite small.

The agricultural sector will no doubt remain the main source of employment in Sāmoa for some time. Given the 'white collar' orientation of the school system, young people go into subsistence production mostly as a last resort. Yet demand for paid jobs is likely to grow faster than their supply. The subsistence sector has always proved to be a good absorber of surplus labour, but over time this will help widen the gap in income levels in Sāmoa.

The growth of commercial agriculture is limited by land tenure arrangement, relatively small local market for produce, and by agricultural pests, such as fruit flies, which damage crops or prevent their export. Exports are also limited by small supply, inconsistent standards, and difficulties in meeting food health standards.⁵ Reduced tariffs may also encourage more temperate zone vegetables to be imported, reducing the market for local producers⁶. Commercial poultry production is unlikely to be able to compete with imports.⁷ Dairy and beef production may be sustained, although the environmental costs of converting land to tropical pasture are high.

Some of the best export prospects are the traditional crops that are widely grown throughout the country. Hot forced air treatment, which is now

being trialled, may open opportunities for bananas and breadfruit exports. 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. New markets have been found for nonu and kava exports.⁸ Export prospects for cocoa are good, except that local producers have moved away from this crop and supply is now too low.

Prospects in Fishing

Fishing is another important source of livelihoods in Sāmoa. Subsistence fishing provides food and some cash to many households. It is predominantly a male occupation given that 86 per cent of the population engaged in it are males. According to the 1999 agricultural census, just over 10,000 people were engaged in some form of fishing, or a third of all households in Sāmoa. The importance of subsistence fishing is evident in that 70 per cent of fishing households did not sell any of their catch and 6 per cent sold all of it.⁹ Employment in commercial fishing increased considerably in the 1990s. In 2000, an estimated 455 people worked on locally based tuna long-liners, another 55 Sāmoans worked for tuna processors and exporters in Apia, and about 70 more people were employed in commercial non-tuna fishing. In all, 500 to 600 people were formally employed in the fishing sector¹⁰. Most of these jobs were created during the 1990s.¹¹

Change in trade conditions is unlikely to increase import competition on the local market and consumption of tinned fish will increase because it is cheaper. The tinned fish consumption rate is 14 kg per capita and all canned fish is imported into the country.¹² The only other significant fisheries imports are the fresh and frozen products that arrive by ship from Tokelau, which in recent years has averaged 15 million tonnes per year.¹³

As with agriculture, subsistence fishing will probably continue to be an important source of livelihood. This prospect, however, will have an ongoing environmental damage to in-shore fisheries. Efforts to improve coastal environmental management may help save them, but there are clear limits to growth in catches. Increased employment from the in-shore fisheries will more

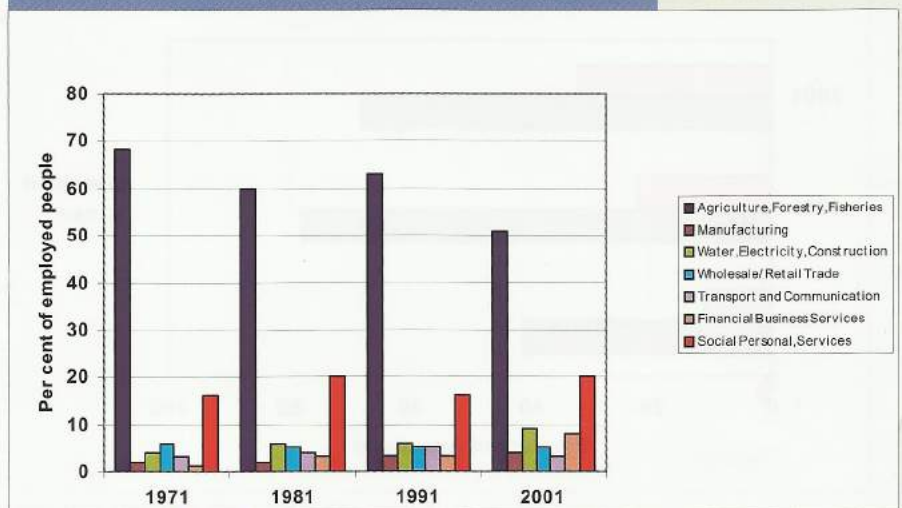
sustainably come from improved post-harvest handling and distribution.¹⁴

It is difficult to assess the future prospects of commercial fishing. The period of spectacular growth in tuna fishing may soon be over. On the other hand the industry may continue at its current level for some time. 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 crew.¹⁵

Labour Force

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 fishing sector. This change was most evident in the 1990s. Measured 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.

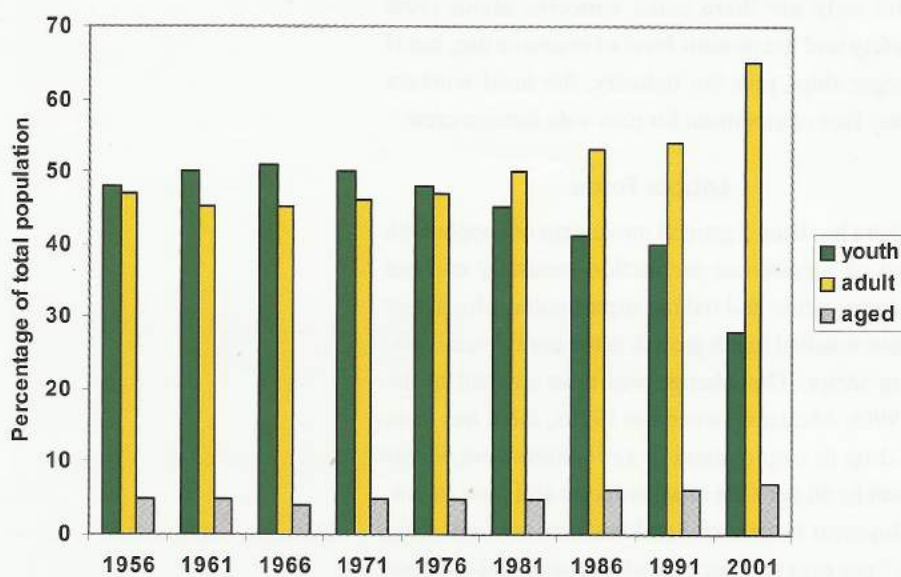
FIGURE 1: EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY 1971-2001



Source: Censuses of Population and Housing 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001

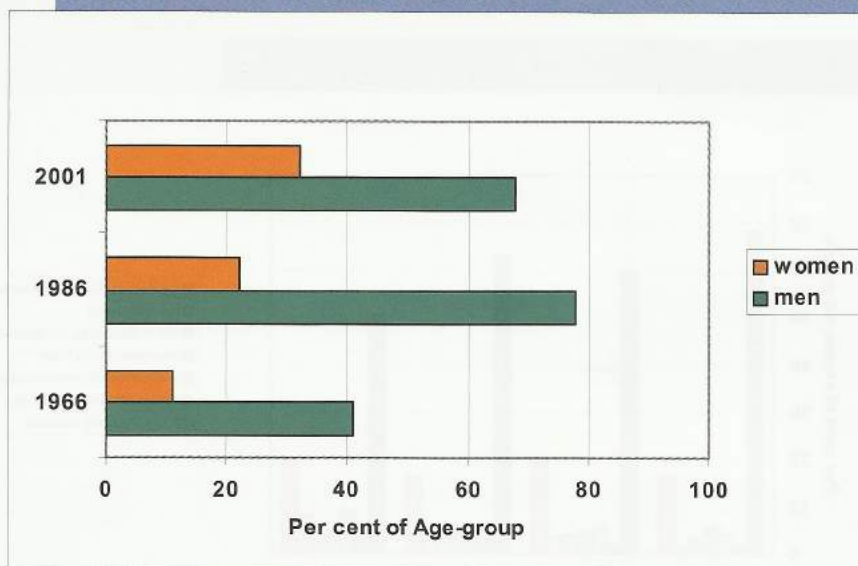
Since the 1980s and particularly in the 1990s, there has been a very significant change in the age structure of the Sāmoan population. The fastest growing age group is youth and adults, that is people aged from 15–19 years. As this group grows, so does the demand for jobs.

FIGURE 2: GROWTH OF ADULT AGE-GROUP 1956–2001



Source: Censuses of Population 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001.

FIGURE 3: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEN AND WOMEN 1966–2001



Source: Censuses of Population 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001.

Note: A person is considered to be “economically active” if they have a paid job or received payment in kind (like church pastors), produce goods to sell or for their own consumption (i.e., subsistence agriculture) or are unemployed and seeking work. “Economically inactive” are people who are not available for work because they attend an educational institution, are housewives/homemakers, retired or are unable to work.

There has been an overall growth in the proportion of adults who are economically active. The rise in economic activity has been greatest for women, but this is exaggerated because older censuses greatly under-counted women’s work.¹⁶ The 2001 census showed a decline in the proportion of economically active men. This reflects growing numbers of people who count as unemployed often previously ‘hidden’ in the subsistence sector and adults who do other things, such as housework or study. For example, in families where most of the people have left Sāmoa, often one member would come back to mind the family property for their aged parents.

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. In 1998, there were 5,700 public employees.¹⁷ According to the census, by 2001; this had increased slightly to 5,900 (or 11.6 per cent of all workers), with another 2,700 employed in corporations, some of them government-run.

Job growth in the private formal sector has been unsteady. Between 1994 and 2000, around 650 new formal sector jobs were created each year, this growth averaging 2.9 per cent.¹⁸ Even so, formal sector employment declined from the mid 1990s, largely because of a loss of jobs in manufacturing. The 2001 census asked a question to those in paid employment to identify the sectors they were working in. The private sector employed 43 per cent of the total employees while the public sector employed about 38 per cent, the remaining are either employed by the churches or international bodies.

The informal sector is growing¹⁹. This is being encouraged by Government and assisted by some NGOs. Government is particularly trying to revitalize village economy, in order to give rural communities alternative means of cash income through handicraft production, small-scale agro-processing, tourism and processing and sale of products and by-products of primary commodities. The recent instalment in the rural community of a Ministerial Committee with mixed member-

ship is a drive by the government to ensure that all its developmental initiatives are properly implemented for the benefits of the people.

Unemployment is on the rise, especially for young people. It is difficult to measure unemployment in Sāmoa because a lot of excess labour is absorbed by the subsistence sector. A high proportion of young people work as unpaid family workers, which can be a semi-disguised form of unemployment. The high number of 'inactive' young people is significant, particularly males. These young people are out of school and out of work, even out of work in the family. While they do not officially count as unemployed, (that is, they are not actively seeking work) they comprise a category of the unemployed. The high number of 'inactive' women, on the other hand, reflects a particularly inappropriate census definition, of domestic work being 'economically inactive'. However, the 2001 census of population and housing recorded 31,678 males and females engaged in housework during the census reference period. Out of this, 99 per cent were at the same time involved in a number of economic activities, like agriculture, fishing, handicrafts and so forth.

Global Trading

Livelihood prospects in a small island state like Sāmoa are strongly shaped by conditions of trade with other countries. Over the 1990s, this environment changed and further large changes are on the horizon. The government's economic reform programme included the dismantling of tariff barriers that protected local produce from foreign competitors. Traditional trade agreements, such as the South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement (SPARTECA), which allowed Sāmoa privileged access to markets in New Zealand and Australia, will soon expire. A new regional trade agreement, the South Pacific Regional Free Trade Agreement (that is, the Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement PICTA), is being forged with Sāmoa and its Pacific island neighbours. Sāmoa is in the process of acceding to the WTO, which will require further liberalization of the economy. The Sāmoa government considers that its best choice is to be an active participant in these changes, and to help local producers adjust

to them. While the full impact of these changes is as yet unclear, they will inevitably shape livelihood opportunities in Sāmoa by creating a new array of opportunities or disincentives to production.

Some of the ramifications of the new trade rules under WTO are now evident in other parts of the world. For example, a 1999 Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) study of the experience of 16 countries including Fiji, in implementing the Uruguay Round noted that import surges occurred, especially in food products, and suggested other early changes may include some stag-

FIGURE 4: EMPLOYEES BY SECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT 2001

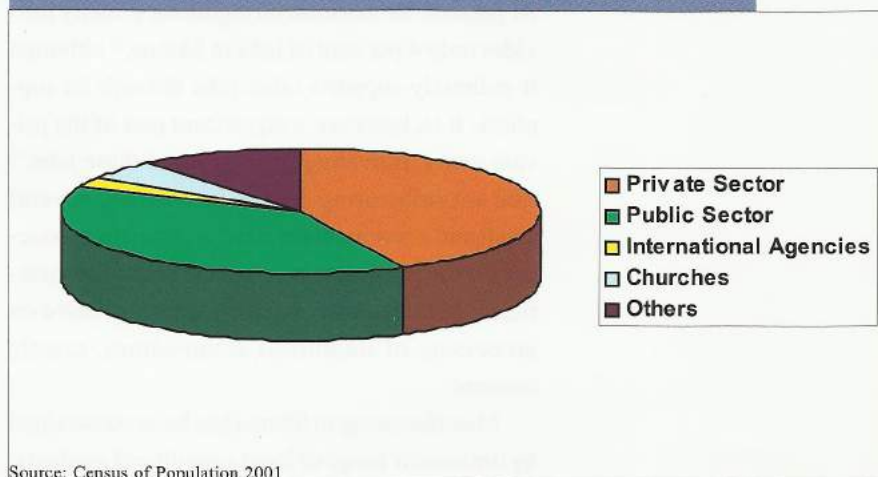


FIGURE 5: EMPLOYMENT STATUS 2001



nation in agricultural exports and worsening terms of trade for agricultural products²⁰. The most susceptible sector to increased foreign competition is often local manufacturing; in many countries this has all but disappeared.

The capacity of enterprises in Sāmoa to be competitive is generally hampered by problems of finance, supply capability building, labour, export development, infrastructure and transport. One of the main difficulties of the labour market is that even though there is an overall surplus of workers, there is a shortage of people who are skilled for the paid jobs that do exist.

Manufacturing

At present, the manufacturing sector directly provides only 4 per cent of jobs in Sāmoa,²¹ although it indirectly supports other jobs through its suppliers. It is, however, a significant part of the private sector, providing 21 per cent of these jobs.²² The manufacturing sector companies, several small and a few medium sized enterprises producing for the local market, often use imported materials.²³ Manufactured exports are largely based on processing of traditional commodities, mainly coconut.

Manufacturing in Sāmoa has been constrained by the narrow range of local agricultural products; quality and supply problems with local raw materials; the small local market; the non-feasibility of bulk imports of raw materials; dependence on imported packaging; and high freight costs. Despite the recent lowering of tariffs on imported raw materials to 10 per cent, local producers still find themselves at a disadvantage to importers who pay only 20 per cent duty for finished goods.

Further reductions planned in import tariffs will pose a large challenge to local producers. They will face increased competition from the traditional suppliers, namely Australia, New Zealand and the United States, as well as from manufacturers in Asia. At the same time, traditional markets for Sāmoan produce will become uncertain as lowered tariffs in those countries open doors to producers around the world, and as these markets require sophisticated quality and health standards. An inconsistent supply of average quality goods

will no longer be accepted in either the international or local place.

Sāmoan manufacturers are understandably concerned about how they will find sustainable competitive advantages in these conditions. There are some opportunities for unusual foods and beverages, including organic and 'health' foods, but these markets are not easy to tap or keep. If the manufacturing sector in Sāmoa is not sustained, however, it will close important opportunities to add local value to agricultural production. In all, the prospects for job growth in the manufacturing sector do not look bright.

The Government undertook to help local enterprises adjust to the new trade conditions by providing (with UNDP funding and UNCTAD technical assistance) a Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF), which aimed to give advice on how to tap markets in competitive ways. However, the SAF did not meet its objectives as hoped due to a number of factors and the government, with the assistance of UNDP and NZAID, are reviewing the system in order to develop one that would cater for the needs of the private sector (including the manufacturers) in terms of access to development funding. It has also been recommended that Sāmoa slow down the process of change, and establish a standards setting body to protect against poor quality imports and exports.²⁴

Service Industry

This was the main sector of job growth during the 1990s, mainly in financial and business services. It is also a large sector, providing one third (33.8 per cent) of all employment in Sāmoa, although not all these jobs are full-time or permanent. It includes both public and private sector employment. Of all jobs in the service industries, around 12,200 (71 per cent) are in the private sector, and around 5,000 (29 per cent) are in the public sector.²⁵

The Government's reform programme aims to halt growth in public sector employment and scale it back. Opportunities for job growth therefore will only be found in the private sector. Currently, the largest categories of private sector employment are in manufacturing (21 per cent); transport, storage and communications (13 per cent); finance, insurance, real

estate and business services (11 per cent), and accommodation, cafes and restaurants (11 per cent).²⁶

As discussed above, manufacturing industries are in for difficult times, at least initially as the process of liberalizing world trade continues. Their trade advantages established niche markets, will evaporate and some of the largest enterprises may close. In the longer term, local manufacturers may be able to exploit new niche market opportunities, but short-term prospects for employment growth here are not good.

The local market is already quite well served by the wholesale and retail trade. New entrants to the business are stepping up price competition, which helps keep down job growth. The biggest opportunities for growth here probably depend on growth in tourist trade.

Tourism was an important area of economic and job growth during the 1990s. The economic reform programme improved the attractiveness of Sāmoa to foreign investors in the tourism sector.²⁷ The growth of tourism is being moderated so that it does not interrupt Sāmoan culture. The sector has developed a range of facilities to attract different sectors of the market. Many of the new facilities are small and locally owned. Sāmoa has generally avoided the large hotel chains. Sāmoa remains a high cost destination because of airfares, and the flow of tourists is uneven and heavily influenced by events in foreign countries. In an increasingly uncertain world, however, Sāmoa may be able to capitalize on its reputation as a friendly, safe and politically stable country. As tourism is a labour intensive business, strong growth here could generate many jobs. New courses at the Polytechnic provide various training programmes related to tourism.

Transport and communication are possible areas of growth, particularly with developments in ICT-related businesses. Finance and business service have shown fast growth over the 1990s and this may continue. Both these categories of jobs, however, particularly require educated and skilled workers.

The technological revolution in information communication could be a growth area of jobs in Sāmoa. In the late 1990s, there was a major reform of the telecommunications sector in Sāmoa, establishment of a mobile telephone system and devel-

opment of internet-based business activities. These developments can be expected to underpin major developments in the service sector in Sāmoa.²⁸ Factors that still limit developments in this field include:

- Low tele-density;
- Lack of sector policy and the need to improve legislative framework for act;
- Relative high telephone charges, computer equipment, internet set-up and access,
- Lack of know-how in use and benefits of computers and technical support;
- Relative reliability and efficiency of existing bandwidth;
- Lack of a coordinated telecommunications sector policy framework and priorities;
- Lack of IT skills and training;
- Lack of enabling environment for e-commerce;
- Lack of facilities for electronic payments, especially the availability of credit cards; and
- Poor supporting infrastructure such as electricity supplies;²⁹
- High cost of international calls for internet and telephone.

Given this present situation, direct opportunities for any large-scale job growth in this field are not immediate but may take some time to develop. In the meantime, however, improved communications open up other livelihood opportunities in, for example, tourism, distance education and marketing.

Growth in the formal sector offers many livelihood opportunities as well as valuable support for the village lifestyle and rural economy. This support includes advice on business opportunities and management, introduction of useable technology, such as home-based manufacture of high quality oils, and increased access to small-scale credit.

Women in Business Foundation

The Women in Business Foundation (WIBF) was formed in 1991 to provide economic opportunities to women, youth and the disadvantaged in the community by offering them opportunities to earn an income where they live. It operates a successful micro-finance scheme that is tailored to fit the needs of Sāmoan families. WIBF has set up a very successful organic project, which produces virgin

coconut oil, *nomu juice*, bananas and dried fruit for niche markets in Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Germany. It also manages a fine mat project that gives women who stay at home an opportunity to earn money by weaving mats of exceptional quality, reviving this age-old art of producing heirlooms of great cultural importance. These village weavers are now speaking out about poor quality fine mats being used for cultural presentations and Government has formed a committee to address the issue.

The South Pacific Business Development Foundation (SPBDF)

Established in 2000, SPBDF is a micro finance organization dedicated to improving the quality of life of underprivileged families in Sāmoa. SPBDF provides training, unsecured credit and ongoing motivation and guidance to help women start and grow businesses. SPBDF also provides unsecured credit for housing improvements and childhood education to members who have already established a successful small business. So far, SPBDF has helped over 2,000 poor Sāmoans in 63 villages build small businesses. It has provided over SAT2.4 million in loans to these aspiring micro-entrepreneurs. SPBDF members have started a wide variety of successful micro-enterprises and are reinvesting their profits back into their businesses and their families.

Intellectual Property and Culture

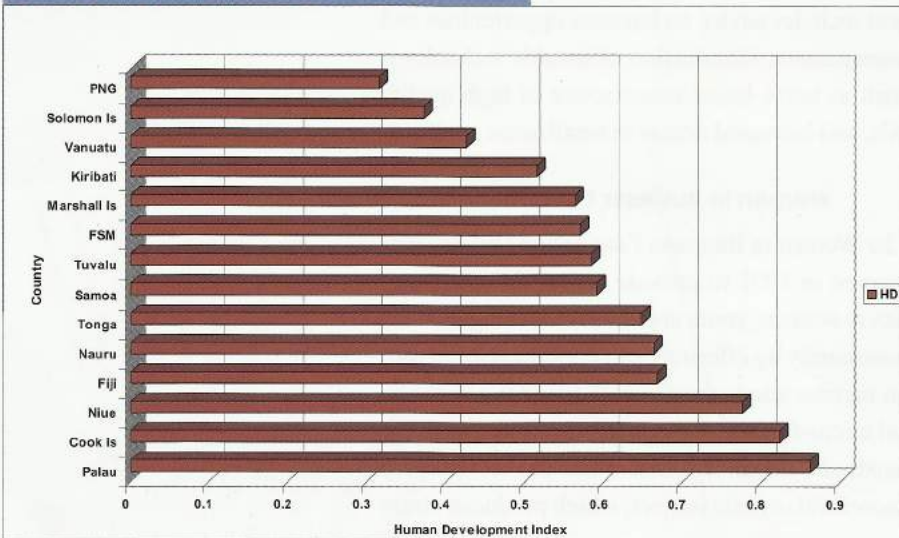
Increasingly in a global marketplace, Sāmoan culture - art, music, dance, design, sporting prowess - provides not just a mark of identity, but a tradable commodity and source of livelihoods for both resident and expatriate Sāmoans. Three small art studios and training programmes were established in Sāmoa during the 1990s. Small niche businesses, such as training programmes in Sāmoan tattooing and wood carving, are reaching an international clientele over the internet. Sāmoan dancers and musicians have established a firm footing in the United States, Hawaii, New Zealand and Australia. Talented sports people have found professional employment throughout the world. Trends in world music may enable Sāmoan music to graduate from the category of exotica to a place in the global market. These at present are very small 'niche' areas of employment.

Overall Livelihoods Prospects

Given the expected change in the age structure of the Sāmoan population, the increased demand for paid jobs, restrictions on growth of employment in agriculture and limited immediate job opportunities in other sectors of the economy, the most likely outcomes in the short term are either an increase in unemployment or, if main destination countries allow, an upsurge in emigration. If emigration is restricted, or if economic conditions in Pacific-rim countries encourage unemployed Sāmoans to return, the small labour market in Sāmoa will come under considerable pressure. This would affect household incomes not only through the direct cost of unemployment but also through reduced amounts of remittances. The government of Sāmoa seems to be leaning more towards this option and has established a Sāmoa Qualifications Authority (SQA) to standardize and ensure the high quality of post secondary school training from Sāmoan formal and non-formal institutions. By doing so Sāmoans who choose to migrate will possess competitive qualifications for skilled work in countries in the Pacific Region and elsewhere, guaranteeing an equitable salary according to the existing labour market norms there.

Unemployment is already becoming a visible problem in Sāmoa because of the overall shortage

FIGURE 6: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX, PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES 1990s



Source: UNDP 1999 Pacific Human Development Report

of paid jobs and the shortage of skilled people to satisfy the job market that does exist. An important strategy of the Government in improving livelihood opportunities is to better prepare young people for productive livelihoods and more development assistance is now being channelled towards this goal.

Overall Human Development Status

Compared with other Pacific Island countries, Sāmoa has a middle ranking in its standard of human development.

In 1999, Sāmoa ranked seventh in the region on its Human Development Index (HDI) and sixth on its Human Poverty Index (HPI). On a global scale, Sāmoa also ranked in the middle third of the countries listed in the UNDP Human Development Report, on par with countries like Thailand, Lebanon, Ecuador and Latvia. This reflects high level of life expectancy and literacy in Sāmoa, and good access to education, water, and sanitation and health services.

Measuring Human Development

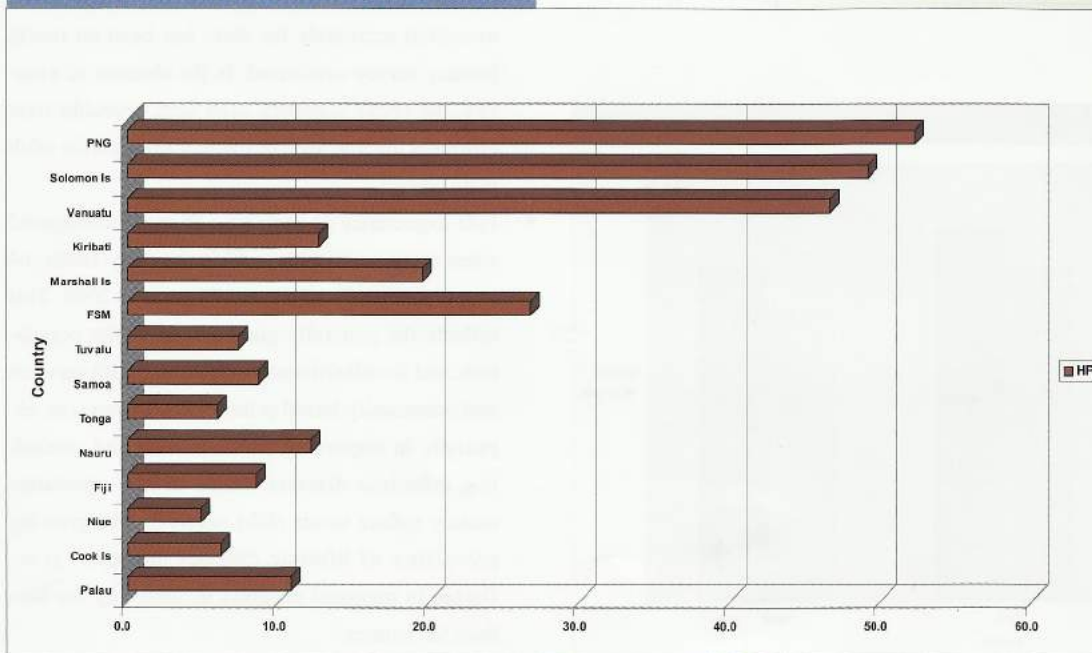
The refined measure of Human Development Index (HDI) replaces the old GNP per capita after it was proven that it does not necessarily reflect the

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. A country could have a high GNP per capita, but still, a large segment of its population remain poor, uneducated and unhealthy because of prioritizing unnecessary development, or pursuing developments that suit the needs of a few privileged elite. HDI enables governments to evaluate progress over time and to determine priorities for policy intervention. It also permits instructive comparisons of the experiences in different countries.

Application of the HDI places countries on a comparable basis by defining their ranking in the world and helps analyse a country's human development standing. HDI ranks all countries on a scale ranging from 0.000 to 1.000. The countries make up three groups: high HDI 0.800 and above, medium HDI 0.500 to 799 and low HDI below 0.500.

The HDI is based on three indicators: longevity, as measured by life expectancy at birth; educational attainment as measured by the combination of adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratios and standard of living as measured by the real GDP per capita.

FIGURE 7: HUMAN POVERTY INDEX, PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES 1990S



Source: UNDP 1999 Pacific Human Development Report

TABLE 1: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX 1981-2001

	1981	1991	2001
National	0.651	0.714	0.798
Male	0.641	0.705	0.790
Female	0.663	0.722	0.805

Source: See Annex 1.

TABLE 2: HUMAN POVERTY INDEX 1981-2001

	1981	1991	2001
National	13.8	10.9	9.4
Male	14.2	10.9	9.6
Female	13.3	10.9	9.4

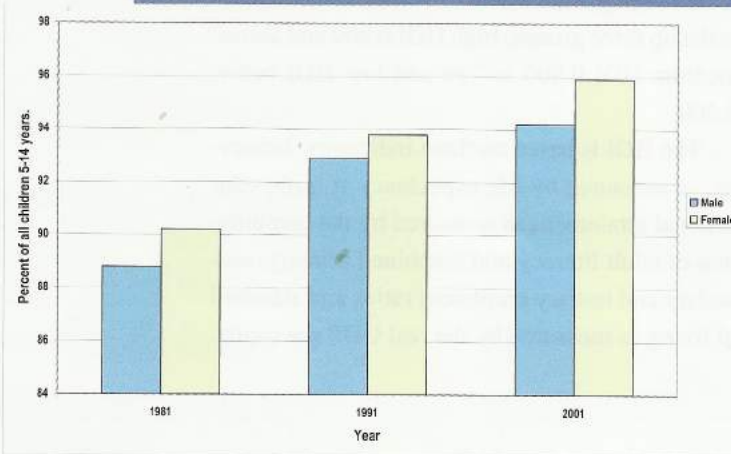
Source: See Annex 2. Note: A lower HPI indicates a better situation.

TABLE 3: GENDER DEVELOPMENT INDEX 1981-2001

	1981	1991	2001
Male	0.668	0.686	0.736
Female	0.666	0.679	0.728

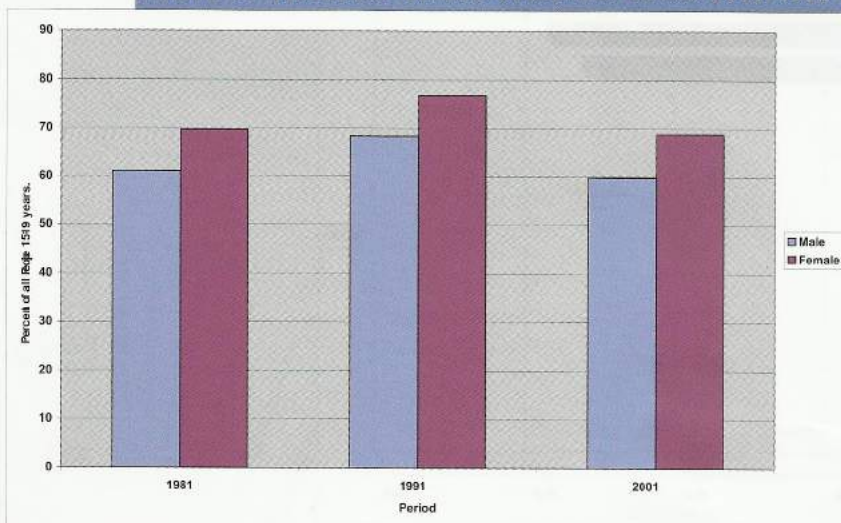
Source: See Annex 3. Note: A higher Gender Development Index indicates a better situation.

FIGURE 8: PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT 1981-2001



Source: Census of Population 2001

FIGURE 9: SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATIO 1981-2001



Source: Census of Population 2001

The increase in Sāmoa's HDI from 1981 to 2001 is roughly equivalent to moving up by twenty countries on the 2002 scale. The consistently higher HDI for women than for men reflects their greater life expectancy and slightly higher education achievement status.

The rise in the HDI reflects a strong government commitment and a large national investment in education and health services. Prioritizing health and education on the developmental agenda, corresponds to a strong emphasis in government spending on these two sectors. In particular, in the 2000 to 2004 financial years, consistently, over one third of public expenditure went on social services, despite the fact that the government is now trying to contain these costs. As well as a substantial part of the national budget, a large amount of foreign aid has been injected into health and education.

- Gross total enrolment rose from 83 per cent in 1981 to 86 per cent in 1991, and 93 per cent in 2001³⁰. The percentage of primary school-aged children enrolled in school rose sharply in the 1990s but dropped at secondary level. Enrolments have consistently been higher for females than for males³¹ as shown in Fig. 8.
- Adult literacy has long been high in Sāmoa because of widespread access to basic education through both the village *faife'au* (pastor-run) schools and primary level schools. Unfortunately it cannot be measured accurately for there has been no recent literacy survey conducted. In the absence of a survey, the proxy statistics used here probably over estimates the true level of literacy amongst the adult population³².
- Life expectancy at birth rose from an average 62 years in the mid 1970s to 63 in the early 1980s, 64 years in the early 1990s and 72 years in 2001. This reflects the generally good health of the population, and the effectiveness of public health services and community-based primary health services, especially in improving child survival and controlling infectious diseases. Gains in life expectancy mainly reflect better child survival. The growing prevalence of lifestyle diseases, however, is reflected in marginal progress in longevity for men than for women.

- Access to health services: The Ministry of Health (MoH) operates health clinics throughout Sāmoa and reports that all communities and households have good access to them. Recent surveys of reproductive health by UNFPA have reported high level of accessibility and client satisfaction³³. Family planning and reproductive health services, especially in the rural communities have been increasingly successful because of the joint effort of the MoH and the NGOs, like Sāmoa Family Health Association, Women's Committees and others. Both rural and urban people nevertheless prefer to attend the National Hospital whenever possible³⁴. Village women health committees complement these facilities by monitoring the health of the community, especially small children
- Access to safe water: Defined as the proportion of households with piped water, this rose from 81 per cent in 1981, to 90 per cent in 1991, and 91 per cent in 2001. Although piped, this water is not necessarily safe as it is untreated chemically and often contaminated³⁵. Other households get water from less secure sources such as wells, rivers and rain. Like electricity, the recent improvement on piped water under a project funded by World Bank, saw virtually all Sāmoan households have piped water in their homes or next to their homes.
- Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew from US\$760 in 1993 to US\$1,431 in 2001³⁶. In 2001 GDP grew at 6.8 per cent³⁷.
- The percentage of people not expected to survive to age 40 is calculated from census data, in a similar way to life expectancy. It is an important statistic because it reflects the particular risk of early death for men, which in turn reflects their greater tendency to diet, smoking and alcohol related illnesses.
- The percentage of adults who are illiterate is simply the inverse of literacy statistics used in the HDI, and suffers the same weaknesses.
- The percentage of children under the age of five who are under-weight for age. This is a common measurement of poor health and malnutrition in children. It understates the problem of child malnutrition because the most common form of protein-energy malnutrition does not always show up as under-weight. Under-weight children are becoming more numerous. From 1969 to 1979, the prevalence of child malnutrition grew by 10 per cent, especially in Apia³⁹. In 1990, estimated incidence rates were 6.7 per 1,000 in Apia, 5 per 1,000 in rural Upolu and 4.8 per 1,000 in Savai'i⁴⁰.

Child malnutrition associates closely with poverty. A 1990 study found that of the malnutrition children examined, 30 per cent were from families where at least one other child was also malnourished. These families were financially the poorest families in the study sample⁴¹. Besides economic factors, other causes of child malnutrition in Sāmoa are water shortage, inadequate breast-feeding, poor weaning foods, too few meals, and food mal-distribution. Some of these factors are culturally determined. Others reflect environmental conditions (mainly poor sanitation) that promote infectious diseases, diarrhoea, respiratory infections, chronic worm infestation and scabies. Sixty per cent of hospitalized children suffer from anaemia⁴².

The issue of poverty is quite a new public concern in Sāmoa. It has been less recognized before, although certainly it is not a new phenomenon. The close-knit nature of Sāmoan society and the tradition of sharing resources through family and community networks even out a lot of material wealth differences. Even so, some groups and individuals face particular disadvantages, as discussed in more detail below.

The Human Poverty Index

The main objective of the Human Poverty Index (HPI) is to compare and rank countries on a global scale according to their respective standings on other forms of human deprivation. Poverty means different things in different parts of the world. The World Bank defines absolute poverty - complete material destitution - as living on less than one US dollar a day in purchasing power. Relative poverty means living in a considerably worse way than other people in the same society³⁸.

Poverty in the Pacific is rarely as visible or as extreme as it is in some of the harshest parts of the world. However, there are people who are quite disadvantaged compared to other people in their community or country, and that is poverty here.

"The 1997 Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) recorded about ST\$109,000 a week, ST\$5.7 million a year, was spent on church obligations and correspondingly, about ST\$668,000 a week, ST\$34.8 million a year, was being spent on cultural obligations. The 2002 HIES recorded that much more was spent on cultural and church obligations. On an average, about ST\$1 million a week had been spent on both cultural and church obligations, about ST\$52 million a year. Such contributions for church or cultural obligations have imposed severe hardships for some families, particularly landless families or individuals, unemployed youths and parents, single income households, families with many children and people in isolated villages with poor transport."

The government has no specific policies for poverty alleviation. Instead it is trying to improve livelihood opportunities throughout the country in both the formal and informal sectors, especially through private enterprise. It is particularly investing in rural development by increasing access to better quality infrastructure, education and health services, diversifying the village economy, strengthening rural social institutions, and finding ways to assist particularly vulnerable groups⁴³.

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. The GDI uses the same variables as the HDI, but measures the disparities between men and women. Both the GDI and the GEM are based on life expectancy, adult literacy, school enrolments, and proportional income shares for men and women. The GEM includes the involvement of women in economic and political life.

- Life expectancy at birth: There is a widening gap between the longevity of women and men. At several stages of their lives, males have higher death rate than females, in infancy during adolescence, when they are more exposed to accidents, violence and suicides, and from their late 40s, when lifestyle diseases become prevalent. Average life expectancy in Sāmoa grew from 62 in the mid-70s to 68 years in the late 1990s, but the difference between men and women widened, from three years more in the 1970s to 6.5 years more in the late 1990s⁴⁴. In early 2000, life expectancy at birth for males and females estimated from the 2001 census of population and housing, were 71.8 years and 73.8 years respectively.
- Adult literacy, which is measured by early primary attendance, literacy level for both men and women in Sāmoa is very high.
- Combined gross enrolment: Today the attendance of girls at both primary and secondary school levels is higher than for boys. This difference, however, shrinks at tertiary and vocational training levels.
- Ratio of female to male average wage: Figures from the 2001 Census of population and Housing on paid workers were matched with the NPF 2001 data on wages. The slightly higher average female wages could be explained by the fact that, although fewer women than men work for wages, women more of-

ten seek paid work when they have some kind of qualification, and therefore on average they earn more. There are very few paid jobs available for unskilled women workers in Sāmoa.

- Ratio of female to male non-agricultural wages: This ratio was only slightly higher than for average wages. Unpaid family workers, which constitute a large proportion of the active population, dominate the agriculture sector, and so the average wage is close to the non-agriculture wage.
- Male and female share of earned income and male and female share of economically active population: Women's share of earned income is slightly more than one third, and they also make up just less than one third of the economically active population. This shows that there is limitation in the participation of women in the work force. That aside, they are not discriminated against in wages or salaries.
- Females as a percentage of all legislators, senior officials and managers: This has clearly risen from 11 per cent in 1971, to 19 per cent in 1981, 20 per cent in 1991 and 30 per cent in 2001⁴⁵. This is a clear indication of the growing access of Sāmoan women to professional qualifications and senior management positions. In the late 1990s, one third of the government departmental heads were women. This is exceptionally interesting, for these very departments are the most powerful in the public service. However, there are still few women legislators.
- Females as a percentage of professional and technical workers: This has fluctuated but mostly declined from 48 per cent in 1971, to 36 per cent in 1981, 47 per cent in 1991, and 40 per cent in 2001⁴⁶.
- Percentage of female-held parliamentary seats: In 1988, women held 6 per cent (3 seats) of all parliamentary seats. Cultural settings dictate the structural hierarchy of local government (village council of chiefs and village mayors) and leadership positions in the church. Sāmoa's CEDAW report noted that the main obstacles to full participation of women in public and political life is women themselves, and that there is a need to promote leadership and lobbying skills, and self confidence so that women make use of the opportunities available to them.

Development of Sāmoa 1996–2007

The Government of Sāmoa's commitment to human development is evident from the priority fo-

cus of the last three Strategies for the Development of Sāmoa (SDS), where macro-economic stability and growth in all sectors have been targeted. The theme of the 2002-2004 SDS, "Opportunities for All", again stresses the importance of strengthening the partnership between the private sector and the public sector or essentially the government. This theme not only highlights the need for every Sāmoan to enjoy the benefits of national developments, it also reflects and builds on the commitment on the part of government to ensure that benefits from development are equitably shared by all the people of Sāmoa.

In particular, the 2002-2004 SDS stresses the importance of strengthening the social structure, especially in the roles of *ali'i* and *faipule* 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 the participation of NGOs in social and economic programmes.

Strengthening social structures ensure social stability especially in the village community. The move by the Government to formalize and strengthen the roles of the *pulenu'u* (village mayors) as well as raising their remuneration package reflects clearly the importance of their roles in community development. Being the government representatives in the village community, they are expected to provide good leadership in all forms of development that the villages decide to implement.

The 2005-2007 SDS⁴⁷ reflects a continuation of the reform programme implemented over the past SDS period. Six broad focal areas are identified in the current SDS as priority for Sāmoa's development in the next three years. Since the start of the SDS programme, education, health and agriculture continue to be the high priority sectors in the government's development agenda. Other areas of importance include the private sector role in development, tourism sector role in development, and community development in all aspects of life.

Essential in rural villages development, the (*pūlega a ali'i ma faipule*) village council of chiefs, which is the paramount hierarchy in the Sāmoan

social structure, must continue to be proactive, not only in development decisions, but also in effectively maintaining law and order within the community. The council of chiefs encouraging the participation of women in community-wide developments at all levels, ensures success in virtually all community social developmental activities. Similarly, the recognition of the youth as the future of a country, and their active participation in community development as implementers has increasingly benefited all communities.

Development Differences in Sāmoa

General Differences

In this small island country, with one people, one language, a common system of agriculture and land tenure, and a fairly uniform culture, there is an image of general uniformity across the country.⁴⁸ Yet Sāmoa has significant internal regional differences, as Ward and Ashcroft (1999) demonstrated in a series of maps based on the agricultural and population censuses. Marked differences in household economies, living conditions and levels of development show up patterns of relative advantage and disadvantage within the country. Agriculture being the backbone of Sāmoa's economy, its contributions to household economies had declined considerably in the recent past.

The 1999 Census of Agriculture showed that, out of 21,000 households recorded to have engaged in some form of agricultural activities, only two thirds were agriculturally active. The 2002 Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) also showed that about 8 per cent of the 23,000 households registered in the 2001 Census of Population and Housing were below the food poverty line, and 20 per cent below the basic needs poverty line. This is a significant improvement since the last HIES.

The main economic differences are between:

- 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.

There are four levels of socio-economic status in Sāmoa:

- People who derive their livelihoods from land resources supplemented by remittances;
- Unskilled and semi-skilled labour, mainly in the towns;
- A “middle class” of people with formal education and employment in managerial and professional positions (mainly in government);
- A small but influential power elite, defined closely by political and family connections, education and wealth.⁴⁹

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.

Regional Differences

There is a big difference between the economies of Upolu and Savai'i. Upolu is much more densely populated than Savai'i. The main town, Apia; the two international airports; the main wharf; and most other major economic infrastructure and cash earning opportunities are located there. Savai'i is more often subsistence or semi-subsistence than Upolu. The 1997 HIES also revealed a disadvantage of Savai'i households, in that of all households in the bottom 20 per cent by household gross expenditure, 42 per cent lived in Savai'i. (Another 20 per cent live in NW Upolu, 9 per cent in Apia, and 25 per cent in the rest of Upolu)⁵⁰ as shown in Table 4 below.

The Government is addressing some of these difficulties by expanding the network of infrastructure throughout the country to support a wider distribution of economic opportunities, including roads, water, electricity and telecommunications. The number of telephone connections doubled during the 1990s. SāmoaTel has launched a fully-fledged promotional programme throughout Sāmoa supplying telephone connections including a new cable hub installed at Salelologa, Savai'i.

Income Differences

Since the early 1970s, the growth of the formal economy has been reflected in a growing concentration of income.⁵¹ Income differences particularly relate to the number of household members with paid jobs and the amount of remittances the household receives. Urban households more often have a wage earner than do rural households. A 1991 survey found that 78 per cent of households in the urban villages had at least one wage earner, compared to 37 per cent in peri-urban villages and 33 per cent in rural villages.⁵²

Among people with paid jobs, there is a wide range in wages, although most are under SAT10,000 or US\$3,000. According to the 2001 census, approximately 27,000 people worked in paid jobs, just over half of the employed population. The average wage was around \$14,500, but this average means little as the distribution of wage is strongly skewed to the lower end of the scale. Seventy per cent of salary and wage earners earn less than SAT10,000.

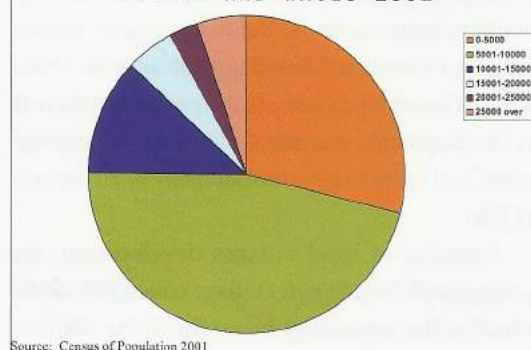
Wages, however, are only one of several sources of household income. The important roles

TABLE 4: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SAVAI'I AND UPOLU

	Upolu	Savai'i
Population density (people per sq km)	123	25
Per cent of Population in Sāmoa	76	24
Households engaged in farming (%)	64	96
Farming households who produce only for household use (%)	59	92
Farming households in commercial production (%)	5	4
Agriculture households with piped water supply (%)	81	76
Agriculture households with electricity supply (%)	93	92
Wage or salary workers as % of economically active adults	(21589)	(2972)
Population growth rate	0.7	0.1

Sources: National Census 2001; Agriculture Census 1999

FIGURE 10: EMPLOYEES RECEIVING SALARY AND WAGES 2001





of subsistence production and remittances, and the powerful traditional economy that distributes wealth along family lines, make household inequality difficult to measure in Sāmoa. In the 2001 Census, 48 per cent of households reported that they received a salary income through at least one of its members; 40 per cent reported receiving remittances; 33 per cent received income from plantations, and 16 per cent from pensions; these in order being the four most common sources of household income though not necessarily the largest. (Just over 10 per cent of households reported an income from business, which would yield the largest amount of money.)

The materially most disadvantaged households in Sāmoa are those that have the least access to these main sources of income. The most vulnerable households probably are urban villagers without land, rural households with little cash earning abilities, young people with little formal education, or households headed by women or elderly or disabled people.

Patterns 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 1997 HIES estimated that 48 per cent of the households could not meet the minimum cost of basic nutritious diet, a situation that did not cause hunger so much as poor nutrition. When all basic household living costs such as food, shelter, transport, energy, health, education and water were taken into account, one third of households in Sāmoa could not afford them, and were described as relatively poor.⁵³ The poor nutrition that often accompanies hardship is evident in the increasing number of cases that are referred to the National Hospital for nutrition care, of which nearly one-half are from Apia or its neighbouring districts, a sign that food security problems are more serious there.⁵⁴

The 2002 HIES gathered reliable data for hardship/poverty and equality. Of food poverty as measured by basic nutritious diet, it was estimated that 8 per cent of all households could not meet the cost of this basic diet, compared to 48 per cent

in 1997. The Basic Need Poverty Line showed a reasonably accurate estimate of about 20 per cent of households in Sāmoa, still struggling to meet basic need requirements compared to 33 per cent recorded in 1997. Included in the basic need requirements are education, health, church contributions, cultural obligations (*fa'alavelave*), such as weddings, funerals, and title bestowals.

Coupled with the limited amount of cash available, cultural and church obligations costs appeared to have contributed substantially to hardship. Church contribution and donations strained some household budgets, particularly as these contributions have become competitive. Cultural obligations (*fa'alavelave*) such as weddings, funerals, and title bestowals were becoming more and more expensive. Material expectations were rising. The punishments meted out by Village Councils were often harsh and financially expensive.

The 1997 HIES recorded about SAT109,000 a week, SAT5.7 million a year was spent on church obligations and correspondingly, about SAT668,000 a week, SAT34.8 million a year, was being spent on cultural obligations. The 2002 HIES recorded that much more was spent on cultural and church obligations. On an average, about SAT1 million a week had been spent on both cultural and church obligations, about SAT52 million a year. On the basis of the 1997 distribution, it is estimated that in 2002, approximately SAT44.7 million was spent on cultural obligations and SAT5.3 million on church obligatory costs.

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 lived in isolated villages with poor transport. Many people depended heavily for their sustenance on their families in Sāmoa or overseas.

Disabled people are often disadvantaged. Over the past twenty years, NGOs and individual benefactors have done a lot to assist with disabilities, through for example, the formation of the Society for the Intellectually Handicapped; *Loto Taumafai* School for the Disabled; and the School for the Blind. In the past five years, Government supported several initiatives to improve the capac-

ity of people with disabilities to lead more productive lives in their communities. This support include the empowerment of rural people with disabilities project through which young people with disabilities have received training in inorganic farming, tailoring and basic computer literacy. The project is linked with the work of the Marist Brothers Order in Sāmoa to deliver training to caregivers of disabled children and teaching basic literacy and numeracy skills to enable them to become effectively integrated into the mainstream educational system. A local NGO, the WBF, has assisted in organic farming and other skill based training.

Poverty of Opportunity

Beyond material poverty, there is growing recognition of poverty of opportunity, which can be assessed in regard to education, health, employment, denial of opportunities in material well-being, access to markets, job security, social freedoms, and other conditions that are difficult to quantify.

- Formal education was made compulsory for children aged 5 to 14 years in Sāmoa in 1959, but was never really enforced until the Education Amendment Act of 1992. Although primary school participation is very high, education is not free. Cost for having a child in school include fees, uniforms and other necessary clothing, bus fares, contribution to fund raising, and snacks or lunches. They range from SAT100-150 a year for primary students to SAT200-\$400 for secondary students.⁵⁵ This situation resulted in the growing number of children from poorer families not attending, or dropping out of school long before the end of the school calendar year.
- While access to schools has risen in recent years, the expansion of the school system has taken priority over the quality of school services. There is strong evidence that many people who are now out of school were disadvantaged by the unequal allocation of education resources. A recent review found that most junior secondary schools were inefficient. With their poor facilities and poorly trained teachers, they offered most students, particularly rural students, inferior educational opportunities. The review found that few students who entered junior secondary schools were able to move on to senior secondary schools.⁵⁶ Even now, most primary

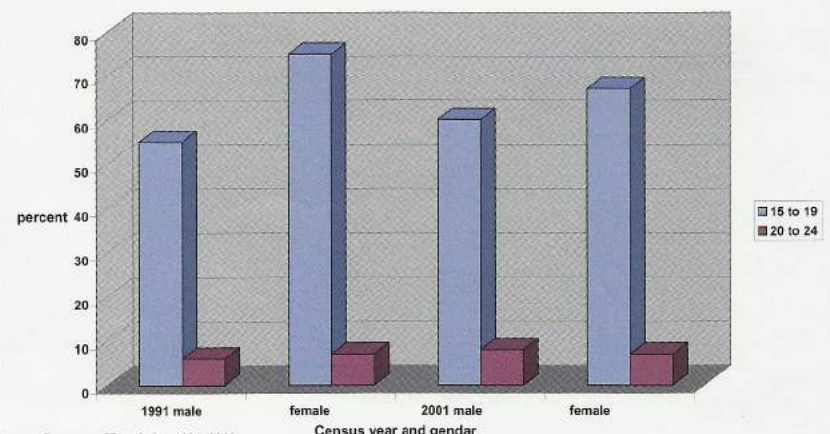
schools have poor facilities and are inadequately equipped,⁵⁷ and this disadvantaged their pupils.

- Educational opportunities after secondary school are limited in Sāmoa, slightly more so for females. As a result, many young people go abroad⁵⁸ for further education on either the expense of the government or their own families. The government is now expanding tertiary and vocational education facilities in Sāmoa in order to provide young people who stay in the country with wider opportunities.

Other limitations on livelihood choices are linked to economic, cultural, political and vulnerability factors.⁵⁹ These include the narrow base of the economy on agriculture; the traditional land tenure system; the strict social and ceremonial obligations to the extended family, church and village; the vulnerability of agriculture crops to pests and diseases and the general vulnerability of the community to natural disasters; and the growing number of households that lack access to land or sea resources.

There is awareness in Sāmoa that young people today face special difficulties. The high youth suicide rate appears to be linked to raise expectation of youth from education and exposure to the modern world clashing with the more oppressive aspects of the traditional system.⁶⁰ Unemployment is central to the problems young people face in Sāmoa. Each year, a new group of school-leavers attempt to join the labour force, many of them prepared for white-collar jobs that do not exist. Most will need to make their living in the village

FIGURE 11: YOUTH IN SCHOOL IN SĀMOA 1991, 2001



Source: Censuses of Population 1991, 2001



economy or emigrate to find the types of work they aspire to or are qualified for.

The National Youth Policy identified the main problems facing youth as:

- Cultural change
- At risk, sexual behaviour
- Alcohol and other substance abuse
- Youth suicide
- Juvenile delinquency
- Lack of parental care and the impact of divorce
- Lack of skill training centres; and
- Not enough sports or recreational facilities.

Preparing Young People for Productive Livelihoods

There has been a mismatch between the skills taught in the schools and those that are needed for the types of employment and livelihoods that are available. This has long been recognized in Sāmoa, but it is a difficult problem to solve. Many school leavers find they have poor or inappropriate skills for the few wage jobs that are available, for farming, or for other types of livelihood. On the other hand, parents and children prefer academic rather than vocational schools, because they want the chance of a white-collar job, and recognize that educating children for 'export' is another form of livelihood. Outside of the formal school system, there are few training programmes available, so people cannot readily change their skills.

Over the past 20 years, much of the national investment in education has gone into expanding services, that is, improving the quantity rather than quality of education opportunities.⁶¹ Urban schools often have best maintained quality standards, but have come under pressure as many students have sought places in them. Many urban schools have become overcrowded, with class sizes of up to 60 or 70 pupils, forcing their quality down too.

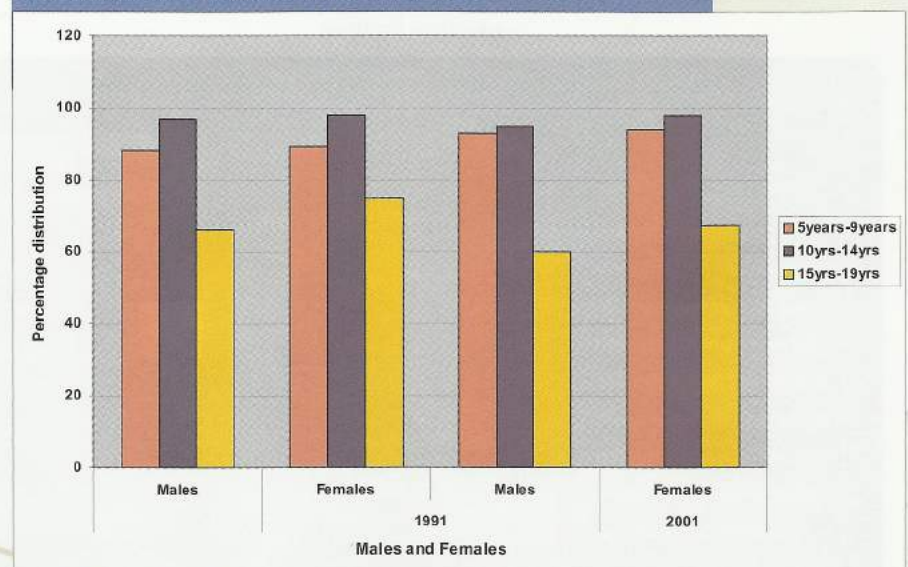
By the early 1990s, it was well evident that the education system was not meeting the needs of either the rural or urban communities. Severe cyclones in 1990 and 1991 destroyed many schools. Through the efforts of the Department of Education and with foreign aid, not only was the physical structure of the school system rehabilitated, but the decision was also made to reform the entire school system over the decade 1995-2005. A strategic plan

was developed with the aim of building an education system characterized by equity, quality, relevancy and efficiency. Its goals are to:

Encourage and support early childhood education;

- Improve the overall quality of primary education; ensuring equity in terms of universal (compulsory) primary education and developing a broad, enriching curriculum that enables students to realize their full potential, including appropriate opportunities for students with special needs;
- Achieve good quality education and academic achievement through bilingual teaching methods that develop literacy in Sāmoan and English as well as computational skills and numerical, scientific and technological concepts, understanding about the need to protect the natural environment; an introduction to social science, and creativity through the expressive arts;
- Increase access to senior secondary education by upgrading Junior Secondary Schools to Senior Secondary status and introducing a single stream curriculum for all secondary schools;
- Strengthen the functions of the Teachers' College and improve the quality of its graduates;
- Facilitate linkages between secondary schools and post-secondary institutions; and
- Introduce best practices into the Department of Education's central management.

FIGURE 12: RATIOS OF PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOL BY AGE AND GENDER 1991, 2001



Source: Censuses of Population and Housing 2001

The changes in the basic education system are progressing well. Principal achievements since 1990 include:

- The institution of compulsory primary education;
- Curricula reviews and production of related books for primary and secondary students;
- Greater emphasis on vocational subjects;
- More support for early-childhood education;
- More support for special needs education;
- The greater use of the media for public educational programmes;
- The use of standardized academic attainment (SPELL) tests; and
- Training of teachers in Early Childhood Education and Special Needs education.

The community has shown its support for education by maintaining and building more primary schools, and through their participation in school committees and Parent Teacher Associations (PTA). The MESIC is running workshops to ensure effective community management of schools.

- The Government is also investing in the NUS and the Sāmoa Polytechnic which have now new campuses and enrolments have increased rapidly.
- The Government of Sāmoa aims to develop more enterprise based and competitively structured economy. Investing more on vocational and technical education and increasing post-secondary education opportunities are an important part of this policy. There is also an increasing community demand for training and a growing number of privately operated education facilities.

- The NUS, which incorporates the Teachers' College and Nursing School, is widening the range of degree, diploma and certificate courses that it offers. Enrolments have grown quickly. Other tertiary programmes are available through the University of the South Pacific (USP) School of Agriculture at Alafua and the USP Sāmoa Centre.
- The Sāmoa Polytechnic has since 1998 been structured into four schools: Technology, Commerce, General Studies and Maritime Studies. Trade Advisory Committees, which include industry representatives, meet four times a year to ensure that programmes are in line with industry needs.
- Non-formal education programmes are being recognized as effective and cost-efficient ways to help people gain productive skills. More supports are being given to these programmes and to improving their co-ordination. Still, however, there are fewer places available than there are potential students. Some programmes, especially NGO-run, are under-funded.
- Distance education is also recognized as a cost-effective way to overcome the problems of distance and isolation. The internet opens up new prospects for distance education, although the high cost of internet service restricts them. Funding support from the Japanese and Australian Governments has enabled the USP to connect its three campuses in Suva, Apia and Port Vila and its extension centres in other Pacific island countries. The university now offers on-line lectures from the main campuses to students at the extension centres.
- The National Training Authority is providing strategic policy advice on the development of the post-

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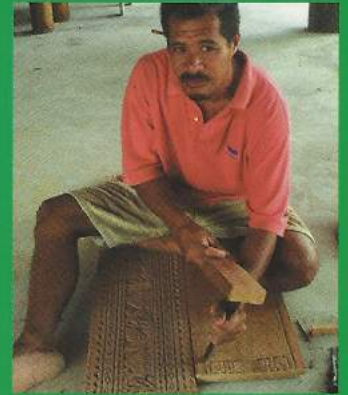
Recognizing that most opportunities for change rest with young people, Government, NGOs and private sector bodies are working to improve basic education and widen the range of post-secondary education and training.



secondary sector, strengthening coordination between the various programmes, and developing national quality assurance policies and procedures.

CONCLUSION PROSPECTS FOR SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

Especially over the past decade, demographic, economic and social changes have helped to considerably change the characteristics of Sāmoa's labour force. At the same time, the international trading environment has been undergoing fundamental transformation, in a way that sets up real challenges for the economies of small island developing states. The maintenance of sustainable livelihoods is critical for the progress of human development in Sāmoa and its overall prospects for sustainable development. The Government is directing economic development to areas of potential job growth. Assisted by NGOs, the Government is also trying to support rural livelihoods by increasing opportunities for cash incomes. Recognizing that most opportunities for change rest with young people, Government, NGOs and private sector bodies are working to improve basic education and widen the range of post-secondary education and training. Emigration, however, has long provided a significant employment route for Sāmoan people. In the short term at least, the biggest risk to livelihoods is if migration opportunities are reduced.



Endnotes

- ¹ UNDP 2000.
- ² DFID 2000.
- ³ Quarterly GDP Report 2004.
- ⁴ Agriculture Censuses 1989 & 1999.
- ⁵ UNCTAD 2001:12.
- ⁶ *ibid.*.
- ⁷ UNCTAD 2001:15.
- ⁸ McGregor 2002.
- ⁹ Agriculture Census 1999, cited by Gillet and Lightfoot 2001.
- ¹⁰ Gillet & Lightfoot 2001.
- ¹¹ 1991 does not differentiate between skilled agricultural and fisheries worker.
- ¹² Passfield 2001.
- ¹³ Gillet pers.comm.
- ¹⁴ UNDP 1998:53.
- ¹⁵ Pacific Islanders comprise less than 10 per cent of the crews of commercial fishing boats, UNDP 1998.
- ¹⁶ Ironmonger & Hill 1997. The censuses define women's work as domestic, homemaking or household work, thus, categorizing them as economically inactive. Men doing the same work are counted as unpaid family workers, and are categorized as economically active.
- ¹⁷ ADB 1998.
- ¹⁸ WSSD Report.
- ¹⁹ ADB 1999.
- ²⁰ FAO Symposium on Agriculture, Trade & Food Security 1999, Geneva, 23-24 September.
- ²¹ Census of Population and Housing 2001.
- ²² Government of Sāmoa Project Report 2000.
- ²³ UNCTAD 2002, National Workshop on Competitiveness of Sāmoan Enterprises, Apia, March.
- ²⁴ UNCTAD 2001.
- ²⁵ Population and Housing Census 2001; Government Project Report 2000.
- ²⁶ *ibid.*.
- ²⁷ UNCTAD 2001:5.
- ²⁸ UN 2002.
- ²⁹ UN 2002.
- ³⁰ Census of Population and Housing 2001.
- ³¹ National Population Censuses 1981, 1991, 2001.
- ³² Adult literacy measures the percentage of adults over 15 years who can both read and write a simple statement on his or her everyday life.
- ³³ UNFPA in press.
- ³⁴ ADB 1998. Health Sector Review.
- ³⁵ Ministry of Health 1991. Annual Report.
- ³⁶ Ministry of Finance 2001.
- ³⁷ Ministry of Finance 2001.
- ³⁸ UNDP 1999.
- ³⁹ Adam and Sio 1997.
- ⁴⁰ Ministry of Health Annual Report 1998-1999.
- ⁴¹ Hughes 1990.
- ⁴² Ministry of Health Annual Report 1999.
- ⁴³ United Nations 2002.
- ⁴⁴ Population and Housing Census 1976; Ministry of Health 1999.
- ⁴⁵ National Censuses 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001.
- ⁴⁶ *ibid.*.
- ⁴⁷ Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa 2005-2007.
- ⁴⁸ Ward and Ashcroft 1999.
- ⁴⁹ Hooper 1998.
- ⁵⁰ 1999 "Coordinating Committee on Children. Note: Gross expenditures refer to all forms, i.e. not just cash but inputted costs of traded supplies and traditional exchanges.
- ⁵¹ United Nations 2002.
- ⁵² Fairbairn-Dunlop 1991, cited in UN 2002.
- ⁵³ HIES Report 1997. Results of survey are now being revised.
- ⁵⁴ UNO 1998.
- ⁵⁵ Sāmoa Coordinating Committee on Children 1999.
- ⁵⁶ Government of Sāmoa 1995.
- ⁵⁷ UNO 2002.
- ⁵⁸ There is no combined listing of all the private and public funded students.
- ⁵⁹ UNO 2002.
- ⁶⁰ Hooper 1998.
- ⁶¹ National Population Policy.