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Cover design by Nadya Vaa of Capital Designs

The cover design by Nadya Va'a comprises abstractions of breadfruit leaves and ocean colours illustrating the growth and development of Sāmoa, its natural resources and land. The fale motif represents the social, political, economic and religious structures of Sāmoa, with tapa (siapo) motifs and textures in the design referencing fa'asāmoa and cultural heritage. The diagonal elements from old tapa designs symbolize quantified information.

Content

WOMEN, CULTURE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SĀMOA	5
<i>PENELOPE SCHOEFFEL, MEASINA MEREDITH AND RUTA FITI-SINCLAIR, CENTRE FOR SĀMOAN STUDIES, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA.</i>	
CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENT IN ENGLISH IN THE FOUNDATION PROGRAMME AT THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA.	21
<i>SINA VAAI AND VERNETTA HEEM, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA</i>	
FACILITATING TRANSFER OF TRAINING FOR SĀMOAN STUDENT TEACHERS: AN EXPLORATORY INVESTIGATION	35
<i>RASELA TUFUE-DOLGOY, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA AND LEX McDONALD, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON.</i>	
FA'ASĀMOA BIOETHICS AND HEALTHCARE DECISION-MAKING IN NEW ZEALAND	47
<i>BRIDGET CRICHTON, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA</i>	
EVALUATION OF AN EXPRESSIVE ART AS THERAPY PROGRAM UNDERTAKEN IN SĀMOA	63
<i>LEUA LATAI, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA, AND LEX McDONALD, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON</i>	
THE MEANING AND VALUE OF FAVOURITE POSSESSIONS IN ENVIRONMENTAL TRANSITIONS: A CASE OF REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS STUDYING IN SĀMOA.	75
<i>BERNADETTE SAMAU AND IEMAIMA GABRIEL, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA</i>	
TUI'UMI: THE ASSASSIN	87
<i>ALENI SOFARA, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA</i>	
BOOK REVIEW: TAUTAI: SĀMOA, WORLD HISTORY, AND THE LIFE OF TA'ISI O. F. NELSON PATRICIA O'BRIEN.	95
<i>SAFUA AKELI AMAAMA, CENTRE FOR SĀMOAN STUDIES. NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SĀMOA</i>	
CONTRIBUTORS	97

Women, Culture and Political Participation in Sāmoa

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Abstract

This is a case study of how culturally produced structural obstacles impede women's participation in local government, parliament and political processes in Sāmoa. 'Culture' has identified in most if not all studies of the low proportion (6.1) of women in the parliaments of the Pacific Island region; this article explains which aspects of culture holds women back in Sāmoa. Although Sāmoan women have achieved near-parity with men in education and professional, managerial and technical employment, since 1962 there have never been more than five women holding seats in the 49 member parliament, despite several donor-funded pre-election programs to encourage women to stand. We explain this paradox in terms of Sāmoa's "matai system" and village government, women's status as wives in village social organisations, and the patriarchal structure of Sāmoa's major Christian denominations.

Keywords: Women, Sāmoa, elections, parliament, local government

Introduction

In its blend of law and custom, Sāmoa's electoral system is unique. Elections are held every five years for the unicameral parliament and only *matai* (holders of titles conferred by extended families) may stand as candidates for elections. Following Independence in 1962 only *matai* could vote but following a referendum in 1990, universal suffrage was introduced giving all male and female citizens aged 21 years and older the right to vote. Voters directly elect the 49-member Parliament, with 47 district constituencies and two urban seats.

Since Sāmoa became an independent state in 1962, there have never been more than five women holding seats in the 49 member parliament, despite several donor-funded pre-election programs to in recent years encourage women to stand and help them to campaign. As Baker (2017) points out: "Nowhere in the world is the political under-representation of women more pronounced than in the Pacific islands region. Overall there are just 30 (6.1 percent) female parliamentarians in the region". Among the recent explanations offered in scholarly analyses of this situation in various Pacific Island countries (Soaki 2017; Julien and Baker 2016; Baker 2016; Liki 2013, Liki and Slatter 2015; Chatter 2015; Molotii et al. 2014) 'culture' is often cited. For example in MacLeod's (2015) summary of key findings from her regional study of women's leadership in the Pacific she writes: "Social organization and gendered cultural beliefs and practices are significant hindrances to women's participation in all spheres."

We will show how, in the case of Sāmoa, social organization, certain religious teachings, and gendered cultural beliefs and practices restrict women's opportunities to participate in local and national political processes. These particular restrictions are specific to Sāmoa. Generalizations about the Pacific islands as a region often miss very significant points of difference. For example Sāmoa is a monocultural society, unlike the Melanesian states. It does not have isolated rural communities on outer islands, as most other Pacific Island states do, and has traditional village governments that are recognized by the state in a stable but centrally controlled political system (So'o 2012; 2008), but it is influenced culturally and economically by neighboring American Sāmoa as well as (like Tonga) by its large diaspora communities in New Zealand, Australia and the United States. The relevant points of similarity in relation to gender among the Pacific Island states is that

most Pacific Island states have constitutional affirmations of traditional culture, and vague as these provisions may be, they enable resistance to Western liberal ideology to be framed in a discourse about customary norms and values.

If Sāmoa were to be judged on the extent of its gender equity based on gender indicators for education and employment it would compare favourable with many ‘developed’ countries. Sāmoan girls are exceeding their male counterparts across secondary and tertiary education levels (Ministry of Education Sports and Culture 2016). The proportion of women in professional occupations is slightly higher than men (50.6 percent), while the proportion in technical occupations (45.2 percent) is only slightly lower. Women hold 36.3 percent of managerial jobs (Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics 2012: 80) and comprise 47.8 percent of the total number of working business proprietors (Ministry of Commerce Industry and Labour 2010).

Sāmoa’s gender inequity in the political sphere. It is ranked 159 out of 190 on a world classification scale of women in national parliaments (Interparliamentary Union 2017), only marginally above other Pacific Island countries where there are more significant disparities between women’s advancement in education and employment than in Sāmoa (McLeod 2015; Fraenkel 2006; Huffer 2006). In the 58 years since Independence in 1962, a total of only 21 women have been elected to Parliament, of whom three had their victories overturned by electoral petitions so that only 18 women have actually taken their seat in Parliament. As noted above, only registered *matai* (titled heads of families) may stand for parliament. However, Sāmoa has many *matai*. According to the 2011 Census 16,787 persons hold *matai* titles in Sāmoa but of these only 10.5 percent are female (Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics 2012). In the 2016 election there were 24 women *matai* candidates among a total of 164 candidates. Only four women won seats in this election, no more than in previous elections, while a fifth was appointed on the basis of a recent change to the electoral laws, bringing the membership of parliament to 50, which we will explain below.

Political gender disparity is the outcome of certain aspects of social organisation and gendered roles in Sāmoan villages as well as characteristics of Sāmoa’s electoral system. We will explain the barriers to women’s political participation at local and national levels drawing on data from on two studies conducted by the Centre for Sāmoan Studies (CSS) of the National University of Sāmoa. One of these studied the extent of women’s participation in village government (Meleisea et.al. 2015) and another that examined the experience of the 24 women who stood for the 2016 elections in Sāmoa (Fiti-Sinclair et al. 2017).

Affirmative Action for Women’s Political Participation

Sāmoa ratified the United Nations Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 without reservation and has submitted five progress reports since that time. Following the 2012 report, the CEDAW Committee commented on the “...harmful norms, practices, traditions and deep-rooted stereotypes regarding the roles, responsibilities and identities of women and men in all spheres of life, in addition to the States party’s limited efforts to tackle such discriminatory practices.” In 2006 the Government informed the CEDAW Committee that traditional attitudes on gender roles are the main obstacles to Sāmoa’s participation in political and public life (Sāmoa Law Reform Commission 2006).

The government of Sāmoa was conscious of its CEDEW issues and also of its partial failure to achieve Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG3): Promote Gender Equality and

Empower Women, for which one of the indicators is the number of parliamentary seat held by women. Furthermore Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG5) declared in 2015 was to: “Ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.” The question was whether government could do anything about the low political participation of women in Sāmoa without antagonising its political base of predominantly male *matai*. The other consideration was the provisions of the Constitution of the Independent State of Sāmoa (1962); although Article 15 of the Constitution forbids discrimination on the basis of sex, Article 100 provides that: “A matai title shall be held in accordance with Sāmoan custom and uses and with the law relating to Sāmoan custom and usage.”

In 2013 the government decided to make a modest change to the Electoral Act to signify that was taking affirmative steps towards women’s participation in national government. The change ensures that a minimum of 10 percent of seats in parliament will be held by women. The arrangement is that if less than five women are elected to Parliament; up to five additional seats will be established, to be filled by those initially unsuccessful women candidates who nonetheless scored the highest number of votes without winning a seat. Electoral parity laws were not proposed for Sāmoa that rely on political parties to preselect equal number of women and men to contest elections, because the political parties do not pre-select a single candidate for each electorate. In the 2016 elections two political parties, the Human Rights Protection Party and the Tautua Sāmoa Party had candidates in the 2016 general elections but in many electorate’s candidates who had formally declared for same party competed with one another for votes.

In the 2016 election four women won seats and the 10 percent law allowed an additional female candidate to take a seat in parliament to become the fifth woman MP, thus increasing the number of Parliamentarians from 49 to 50 (Electoral Commission 2016). The main driver of the 10 percent rule had not been public sentiment but Sāmoa’s international human rights commitments under CEDEW and MDG3 and SDG5. As a study of the 2016 election study (draft, unpublished in August 2017) found¹ there was still some lack of enthusiasm from both men and women voters for greater women’s representation in parliament (and see also Baker, 2017: 7–10). The report contains the following quotations from interviews with voters:

From the ads and T.V you can see some women are o.k but others are ma’imau taimi [not ready for it]. (Female 21-29)

The Bible does not say we need more women in parliament, there should be no women in parliament, we should have no women MPs; E malepe palemene ia latou [they will divide parliament]. (Female 30-59)

Only woman with high ranking titles and from political families should run...Politics is dirty, women shouldn’t be subjected to the kind of tala tau sua [inappropriate jokes] that [name of parliamentarian omitted] likes to give. (Female 60+)

¹ The election study was done by the Australian National University in cooperation with the National University of Samoa and Samoa, the Samoa Office of the Electoral Commissioner (SOEC), Leadership Samoa, and the Samoa Umbrella for Non-Government Organisations (SUNGO).

Campaigning for Women

Efforts to encourage women to stand for parliament were first made in 2005 by the Inailau Women's Leadership Network set up by the Sāmoa National Council of Women ahead of the 2016 elections (So'o 2012). These efforts failed to translate to a significant increase, with only five out of 22 women candidates elected, which is no more than in 1996, when five had also been elected.

Prior to the 2016 elections, a well-funded campaign *Increasing Political Participation of Women in Sāmoa* (IPPWS) was established to encourage more women to register as candidates. This was mainly funded by Australian Aid as a joint programme of both the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and UN Women (UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women) and with the support of a number of local non-governmental organisations. The IPPWS was based on assumptions that more women would be elected to parliament if more women knew how to campaign, and that the electorates would vote for women who campaigned affectively using modern means of communication. It focused on awareness-raising and education, capacity building for women participating in the electoral process, and providing information and training to political parties ahead of the election. A multi-media approach using TV and radio networks, access to local newspapers and social media platforms was designed to inform the public about the 10 percent provision, how to register and vote, recent policy and legislative changes to the Electoral Act in relation to corrupt practices (bribing and treating). The programme provided some assistance with brochure production for candidates but did not otherwise provide financial assistance to campaign. It offered post-election mentoring support for all members of parliament on subjects such as gender-responsive budgeting and gender-sensitive legislation.

Among the activities of IPPWS was 'Elections Talk' (*Fa'asōa I Le Pālota*) a weekly call back show focused on promoting women's political participation. Hosted by Sāmoa Ala Mai, an NGO that aims to develop leaders and promote women in office, it aired from September 2015 to March 2016. Over that period, Elections Talk was played on two radio stations. Programs covered topics such as the Constitutional Amendment and voter registration awareness; promoting women in leadership and encouraging women to run for office, and providing female candidates with a platform to promote their campaigns. More than half of the 24 women candidates who ran for office were interviewed on air. There was emphasis on media coverage in the IPPWS including workshops on gender sensitive election reporting in August 2015 for National University of Sāmoa (NUS) journalism students and NGO representatives

The Sāmoa Umbrella for Non-Governmental Organisations (SUNGO) participated in a workshop to lead community outreach engagement on the importance of voter registration and participation, appreciation of women in leadership roles and understanding the constitutional amendment and the most recent legislative changes. The trainers reached out to rural and urban communities all over the nation (a total of 30 villages on Upolu and Savai'i) in preparation for the national elections. It included leadership training and invited guest speakers from the Office of the Electoral Commissioner, the Sāmoa Human Rights Institute, and UNDP Sāmoa to contribute to the training. Another activity was Roundtables on Women in Politics to discuss why women should participate in political life of Sāmoa. As part of the community outreach strategy, IPPWS partnered with the Centre for Sāmoan Studies (CSS), National University of Sāmoa to produce four roundtable discussions on Women in Politics.

Experience of Women Candidates in the 2016 Election

Despite all these donor-sponsored activities, the results for women were disappointing, with no more women winning seats than in previous elections. In 2016 elections 24 woman candidates stood in 14 electorates; four were elected, and one was appointed according to the new provisions of the Electoral Act. Three of those elected were sitting members, Hon. Fiame Naomi Mataafa, Hon. Gatoloaifa'ana Amataga Alesana Gidlow and Hon. Faimalotoa Kika Stowers Ah Kau. Both Fiame and Gatoloaifa'ana have won successive elections and are daughters of previous Prime Ministers. Faimalotoa won a by-election in 2014 after the incumbent passed away. Fiame is a long-serving cabinet minister and Gatoloaifa'ana was an associate minister in the previous parliament, and held a full ministerial post in the parliament before that. Ali'imalemanu Alofa Tuuau is a new member, and Fa'aulusau Rosa Duffy-Stowers was appointed on the basis of the 10 percent affirmative action provision in the revised Electoral Act. The four women who won seats had carefully thought out strategies and well established bases of support. The three sitting members had homes in the village of their *matai* title (in their electorate), as well as in town. They all went to church in their village and two of them were deacons in their church. All three were closely related to the former holders of their electoral seat.

Like those who won seats, most of the 19 unsuccessful candidates were well qualified. Nearly all had tertiary educational qualifications and backgrounds in business or professional employment. Only six had their primary residence in a village within the electorate, the remainder mainly lived in Apia, however they said that they visited regularly and had family in their village. Only one candidate stood in an electorate where one or more villages did not recognise *matai* titles held by women.

Post-election interviews with the 24 women *matai* who stood for the 2016 election (Fiti-Sinclair, Schoeffel and Meleisea, 2017) revealed that most of them thought the IPPWS did not have much impact on the election results. While those who attended IPPWS workshops found them inspiring, they pointed to an increase in women candidates (compared to most preceding elections) did not significantly increase the number elected. Most of them thought examples and campaign tactics from modern democracies could not be effectively applied to Sāmoa's tradition-based electoral system. Some also thought the 'women' issue was over-exposed to an electorate that is accustomed to male leadership, and which may have 'switched off' because most people did not see why it was important for women to be in parliament (see Baker 2017: 7–10). Another common theme was the many candidates who thought that women voters do not support women candidates because they are women, because they are 'jealous' (see Baker 2017: 20–21) or because a women living with her husband's family (*nofotāne*) in his village is considered to have a duty to vote according to his or his family's choice. However the candidates all said that they believed that Sāmoa would benefit from having more women in parliament to represent women's perspectives and concerns, many mentioning women's role as peacemakers (*pae ma auli*), and women's insights as mothers.

About half of the unsuccessful candidates interviewed said that by obeying the law against bribery (Sāmoa Electoral Act 1963, amended 2010) they had reduced their chances of winning the seat. Most unsuccessful candidates said that successful candidates of both sexes had not obeyed this law and that money and gifts impressed voters more than any other campaign measure. They commented that voters expected candidates to provide transport to go to register as voters and to travel to polling places to vote on Election Day, and also expected to be fed on these occasions and given money. Several mentioned that aid money would be better spent on fact-to-face voter

education instead of training and awareness for women candidates. In their view, voter education was needed so people would understand the meaning of parliamentary democracy, and also that government projects were funded from taxes and aid, not political parties or from the pockets of politicians. Without voter education, most of these candidates said they thought that people did not sufficiently understand how parliament works and how development priorities are decided by the government.

Most candidates said that by standing for election they had learned the importance of local involvement, if not actually living in the village, then participating regularly and long term in local events, in the village council, in a village church, and having a supportive extended family in one or more of the villages in the electorate. Many of the candidates made the point that few women *matai* sit in the village council (*fono*), but those who do so have a better chance to make themselves known as decision-makers in the community. The successful candidates agreed that women who want to enter public life need to be courageous by taking their place as *matai* and speaking in their village councils. Their opinions generally confirm the findings of the CSS study that the exclusion of women from village level decision-making was the main reason why few women were elected to parliament (Meleisea et. al. 2015). Two of the successful candidates thought that a person aspiring to become an MP should hold *matai* title a title of high rank and seniority, because a senior, high ranking title is prestigious, and can be more influential. The issue of seniority was also alluded to by one of the unsuccessful candidates, who said that although she did attend the village council, she did not speak, in deference to a senior holder of the same title, who had that prerogative. The successful women candidates said that apart from having the right qualifications of rank and background, electoral success depends on a long term plan. They pointed out that a candidate needs to prepare for at least five years of the electoral cycle before the elections to build support in the electorate, though generosity, participation in village and district and church affairs, and to become well known as a potential village and district leader.

Customary Barriers

At the local level the governance of Sāmoan villages is ‘customary’ in the sense that it developed in the 19th century, followed Sāmoa’s mass conversion to Christianity (Meleisea 1995) The new faith swept away the highest levels of the old chiefly system in which the *ali’i* (high chiefs) were held to be descendants of the gods and a new ‘*fa’amatai*’ emerged. In the 19th century as Sāmoans became Christian, secular political leadership gradually evolved into the modern *matai* system in which the old hereditary distinctions of rank became less important for leadership than achievement, access to wealth and expertise of various kinds (Tcherkezoff 2000: 151–190).

There is a Sāmoan saying “*e sui faiga ae tumau fa’avae*” which translates as ‘customs may change but their foundations remain’. Many believe that the modern *matai* system is one of the foundations that has not changed and never will although Tcherkezoff (2000) and Meleisea (1995) show it has changed considerably over time. When gender inequality issues are mentioned in Sāmoa it is often said there is no issue; the respect for sisters and the brother-sister covenant (*feagaiga*) as well as legendary aristocratic women from long ago provide evidence that women are respected. Anecdotal evidence suggests that most Sāmoans think there are no customary barriers to women holding a *matai* title or standing for Parliament; it is often said that if there are few women holding titles, it is because women prefer not to be *matai* and therefore the small number of women

standing for or being elected to Parliament reflects women's choices. If this is so, it is interesting to consider why it is so; given the fact that significant numbers of women have been willing to take leadership roles in the Public Service and in the private sector.

Women matai

According to the 2011 census 16,797 people residing in Sāmoa held matai titles, of whom nine percent were women. A survey in 2014 found that only 5.5 percent of village based matai were women (Meleisea et. al. 2015). Many Sāmoans believe that before Sāmoa became independent in 1962 few if any women held *matai* titles. It seems likely that when educational opportunities were opened up for Sāmoans in the 1960s women began to take titles in increasing numbers. Few Sāmoans had access to higher education until the late 1950s when selective government secondary schools were first established. Before that intermediate-level schooling was mainly only available to the children of foreign or mixed-race townspeople. Before the new selective national colleges established their senior secondary levels, the top-performing students were sent to senior secondary schools in New Zealand, and later to teachers colleges, schools of nursing and universities.

Girls were well represented among those gaining admission to secondary colleges in Sāmoa and New Zealand and since that time there has been little gender disparity in educational participation or attainments at any level. Families evidently considered investment in girls' education to be as useful as investing in the education of boys, and in this respect Sāmoan custom worked in favour of girls. Farming and fishing is considered men's work and most routine household chores such as collecting food from the family plantation, feeding livestock, making a ground oven (*umu*), and cutting grass are done by boys. Girls are expected to do housekeeping tasks mainly inside the house, and light outdoor tasks such as weeding flower gardens and sweeping up leaves. Sending girls to school did not greatly diminish in the household labour supply and most primary schools were close to villages, so there were few obstacles to educating girls. Educational opportunity has enabled women to succeed in increasing numbers in the modern sectors of the economy; in the public service, in business and in the professions.

Ten women *matai* interviewed in 1978 said they were among the first Sāmoans to win scholarships to attend secondary schools and universities or training colleges overseas. One was the first Sāmoan to hold a PhD degree (University of London), two had Master degrees, two had Bachelor degrees and five had post-secondary Diplomas from New Zealand. One was also the founding president of the Sāmoa National Council of Women, a member of parliament and later Sāmoa's High Commissioner to New Zealand. Many of these women were given *matai* titles by their families, to honour their achievements. They may have been the first women registered as *matai*, although this could not be confirmed from the registry of titles at that time, as the sex of title holder was not recorded (Schoeffel 1979a: 515–516).

Educational achievement is still a common factor among women who hold *matai* titles and those who have stood in parliamentary elections since 1962. Of the 24 women candidates in the 2016 elections nearly all had tertiary educational qualifications as well as backgrounds in business or professional employment. For men, education is only one criterion to become *matai*; other traditional criteria such as seniority in age and skills in leadership, public speaking are just as important as education and income. In contrast, women are most likely to be given a title because they have high educational attainments and access to wealth through employment. Bestowing a title

upon a woman honours her, but it does not necessarily carry the expectation that she will become a leader in her village. In effect most women *matai* hold their titles on an honorary basis; they may have authority in their extended family, but typically have they limited opportunity to exercise authority in the village. There are rare exceptions, such as Fiame Naomi Mata'afa who is a leader in her village and has represented her district in Parliament for over 30 years. She is the sole holder of one of Sāmoa's highest ranking titles and is a direct descendant of three of Sāmoa's four paramount titleholders. Her father Mata'afa Fiame Faumuina Mulinuu II, was Sāmoa's first Prime Minister 1962–1967 and her mother La'ulu Fetauimalemau was one of its first women parliamentarians.

Aside from this small number of exceptionally high achieving women, the CSS research found that customary values are barriers to women's participation in local government. *Matai* leadership is regarded as the core of Sāmoan custom; *Matai* titles belong to one of two categories, chiefs (*ali'i*) and orators (*tulāfale*). Every extended family (*'aiga*) is represented by one or several *ali'i* or *tulāfale* who have been ritually bestowed with a title that is associated with a founding ancestor. Traditional villages (240 were studied, including 48 sub-villages of very large villages) have honorifics (*fa'alupega*) which define the customary order of precedence of *matai* titles with reference to their historical status, as well as the rank and role of each title (Meleisea et. al. 2015). *Matai* titles are the common property of an extended family and are appointed by a consensus decision of its male and female elders. The ritual bestowal of *matai* titles usually requires acknowledgement by the village councils to which they belong before the title can be legally registered. Since the early 20th century it has become increasingly common for *matai* titles to be split among two or more holders and nowadays bestowal ceremonies often honour many family members, both men and women living in Sāmoa and overseas. Not all *matai* perform the local leadership roles expected of a *matai* who resides in the village. Many live in Apia or overseas and hold titles to recognise their achievements and ensure their financial contributions to the affairs of local, and overseas, urban and village branches of the family.

In a village (*nu'u*), where the role and status of each *matai* is defined by the *fa'alupega*, *matai* take their places in the meeting house according to their rank, with a seating post allocated to every title (meeting houses are open-sided with rows of posts on each side supporting the roof). Each post designated the rank of the *matai* seated there. If there are two or more holders of the same *matai* title in a village, the senior holder of the title resident in the village usually takes that post. Each village has its own local government council (*fono*). Village councils collect revenue from community assets as well as government grants and other income such as fines and gifts. They decide on village development priorities. There are still contested issues concerning village autonomy and authority and the demarcation of customary and legal powers and between local and national and government in Sāmoa. The state has no power to appoint local government councils, but it pays allowances to village mayors (*sui o le nu'u*) who are elected by the councils to perform a liaison role between the village and national government.

Matai titles are usually only conferred on people of mature age and the CSS study found that 92.4 percent of all *matai* in villages governed by traditional norms are over 40, therefore it may be safely assumed that most Sāmoan men over 40 years of age living in villages are *matai*. It found that most village leadership roles in Sāmoa are held by elderly or middle-aged men of whom slightly more than half (55.43 percent) have received secondary level education (mainly to junior secondary levels), 14.61 percent had completed post-secondary education, and 29.42 percent had only achieved primary education levels. The largest proportion (35.61 percent) of *matai* are farmers, with

the next largest proportion (20.51 percent) having no occupation, indicating they are elderly and retired (Meleisea et. al. 2015).

In 14 villages, it was reported that the village council does not recognise titles bestowed upon women by their extended families (*'aiga*) (Meleisea et. al. 2015).² In 34 villages it was reported that women *matai* are recognised, but they are not allowed to sit in village council meetings. Accounting for the overlapping villages, this means women are explicitly excluded from leadership roles in approximately 53 villages. In most other villages it was reported that although women *matai* are not formally barred from sitting in the village council, they are discouraged from doing so by informal conventions and, as a result, choose not to attend village council meetings. A common reason for non-participation is said to be that the male *matai* make sexual jests amongst themselves that should not be heard by women. The taboo emanates from the Sāmoan cultural requirement that a respectful social distance (*o le va tapuia*) should be maintained between brother and sisters.

These research findings demonstrated that it is very difficult for Sāmoan women to formally participate in village-based political decision making. In Sāmoan politics, despite universal suffrage, village *matai* play a central role in choosing and electing members of Parliament. Low participation of women in village government translates into low numbers in national government. Because women are mainly excluded from leadership roles, there are few role models of women leaders to overcome prejudices and encourage men and women to vote for female candidates.

Most villages have community-based organisations of various kinds, such as community project groups, youth clubs or sporting teams, and in most villages there are usually several small non-agricultural businesses such as taxis, beach fale, buses, shops, dress-making, fabric printing, and others. Although women may lead non-traditional community based organisations or own and operate businesses without infringing the conventions of village organisation, less than half (38.2%) of community-based organisations were headed by women, while an even smaller proportion of village businesses (34.1%) were owned by women. Although many women lead small family businesses, if the business is on the husband's customary land, she may not own it. The CSS study also found that management committees of village and district schools are appointed by the village council of *matai* and 84.4 percent of school committee leaders are male. Only nine percent of school committees are headed by women. Further, although men are significantly underrepresented in the teaching profession, 38.0 percent of village primary schools have male principals and 20.5 percent had male deputy principals (Meleisea et.al. 2015).

Women's sphere of authority in villages

The CSS study found that many Sāmoans believe that woman are not marginalised in village decision-making because they have authority in the female sphere (*nu'u o tamai'ta'i*) (Meleisea et. al. 2015). In old Sāmoa every village that was associated with a high chiefly title had a society of 'daughters of the village' (*auauma o tama'ita'i*) but in Christian Sāmoan these societies lost some of their traditional importance as life-long conjugality and the status of women as sisters declined and women's roles as wives and mothers was more strongly emphasised (Schoeffel 1979a). Church auxiliary committees were usually led by the wives rather than the sisters of the deacons, who were

² Nineteen villages were initially recorded as having this prohibition, the figure has been disputed in five cases, where informants disagreed about whether *matai* titles were recognised by the village or not.

usually also the senior matai of the village. These auxiliaries were tasked with providing food, fundraising, and cleaning and decorating the church.

Under the New Zealand administration 1921–1962 a new form of village women’s associations were introduced and new leadership authority was given to the wives of village matai to promote community health and hygiene. Komiti Tumama (women’s health and hygiene committees) were introduced in villages around Apia town, and in the 1930s were established in villages throughout Sāmoa. These *komiti* were organised following the Sāmoan customs of the time; with three separate status groups for the wives of *matai*, the daughters of the village and the wives of untitled men. Following the principles by which a woman has the status of her husband, the wives of chiefs and orators comprised the executive section and in most *komiti*; the wife of the highest ranking chief was president, and the wife of the highest ranking orator was the secretary. The daughters of the village had their own section in the *komiti*, but in most villages they had no formal role. The ‘service’ section of the *komiti* comprised the wives of the untitled men of the village. However, in at least one village of traditional importance, this tripartite structure was resisted by the daughters of the village, who refused to allow any women married into the village to join their *komiti* (Schoeffel 1979a).

From the 1930s, in addition to the traditional roles of women’s weaving groups, the modern *komiti* had many roles in village government. These included conducting regular inspections to make sure that there were no breeding places for mosquitoes and other disease vectors in the village, and that every household had hygienic standards of living with mosquito nets and fly-proof food safes. They supervised the village bathing pool and drinking water sources. They organised monthly clinics for mothers of babies and young children, led by visiting public health nurses, and in many villages they also provided first aid services for minor illnesses and injuries (Schoeffel 1979a; Thomas 1986, 2001). *Komiti* also dealt with certain local governance matters delegated to them by the village council of matai, for example women who had behaved contrary to village rules could be fined by the *Komiti*, or even excluded from membership.

By the 1980s *komiti* had begun to decline in importance. As roads and communications were improved and curative health and health inspection services were extended, along with modern piped water supplies, the old system of community based public health began to decline and with it the roles of the *komiti*. As migration overseas accelerated and as remittances flowed back to Sāmoa, settlement patterns changed. Families began to live in nuclear groups, in modern houses set in compounds along the roadsides, instead of the earlier nucleated coastal settlements. The greater distance between houses began to reduce the interaction between women in the community, and in many villages the one village-wide *komiti* fragmented into smaller, locality-based groups.

In 2004, for the first time, the Government appointed and paid allowances to village women’s representatives (*Sui Tama’ita’i*). Their allowance is half of that which is paid to the village ‘mayors’ (*Sui o le Nu’u*) although they have similar or overlapping responsibilities to keep village records and facilitate communication between the government and the village. The CSS survey found that most traditional villages still have village-wide *komiti*; only seven villages did not have an active women’s committee at the time of the survey. Today *komiti* do not have any formal authority in village matters unless this is delegated to it by the village council; women may be leaders among women but they have little direct voice in village government and very few village councils allow the *Sui o Tama’ita’i* to join their meetings. (Meleisea et. al. 2015)

Religious authority

Christianity is deeply embedded in Sāmoan culture as stated in the preamble to the constitution which declares: “Sāmoa is founded on God” and a recent constitutional amendment specifying that Sāmoa is a Christian country (Constitution Amendment Bill (No. 2) 2016). New forms of patriarchal authority originated from the influence of the mainstream Congregational, Catholic, and Methodist churches in the 19th century. Villages have at least one, often several churches and their resident pastors or ministers or catechists are all males. Male *matai*, who are also members of the village council, predominate among the deacons or lay decision-makers of these long-established mainstream churches. Although Church congregations have no formal role in village government, they are the main contact point between village families and are major agents of informal social control. Whereas village councils usually meet only once a month, church congregations usually meet several times each week for services, choir practice, fundraising and meetings of church leaders.

The Catholic and Mormon churches do not ordain women, nor do the Congregational and Methodist churches in Sāmoa even though their mother churches in other parts of the world have long done so (for example, the Congregational Church in the United States began to ordain women in the 19th century, and the United Methodist church has ordained women since the 1950s). Yet paradoxically, Sāmoa’s Methodist and Congregational churches resist the ordination of women because it goes against the ‘traditional’ order which they assisted to create in Sāmoa over a century ago.

The Christian model of conjugality has been exemplified by the village pastor or catechist and his wife for over a century, established in the period 1830–1850 as Sāmoans joined Congregational, Methodist and Roman Catholic churches. The effectiveness and influence of this model endures to the present day and was adopted by the Catholic Church; as the celibate Catholic clergy lived apart from the village, the church trained catechists and their wives to occupy positions in their parishes similar to that of their Protestant confreres.

The marriage factor

A significant impediment to women taking *matai* titles and assuming leadership roles is this expectation that a married woman should take her status from her husband. Married women are expected to join their husband’s church if they had belonged to a different church before they were married. The term for the wife of an *ali’i* or a clergyman, and a polite usage for any married woman, is *faletua* (house at the back). The term connotes domesticity; the ‘house at the back’ is where food is prepared, where work is done and where family life is conducted, in contrast to the house at the front. Most village-based *matai* holding high ranking titles have meeting houses (*faletele*, *falealimalo*) in front of their dwelling, usually reserved for meetings and other formal or public occasions.

In village life there is a defined role for a married woman. Traditional values encourage men and women to marry outside their own village and for women to reside with the family of their husband (*nofotane*). Wives are expected to be subservient in their husband’s family, to render service to his parents and his adult sisters and brothers living there. In effect this means going to the back of the house and preparing food and doing other chores. When a woman’s husband becomes a *matai*, if his title is one of local importance, she becomes a leader in the women’s committee and in the

women's group in the church. There is no role for the husband of a *matai* and the imbalance in status between a woman *matai* with an untitled husband is anomalous and therefore socially problematic. The expectation that a woman should be subordinate to her husband is a significant impediment to women aspiring to become leaders in their own right, although Sāmoa has very large numbers of women who ably back-stop their husbands careers in politics and in the churches.

If a man chooses to live with his wife's family (*faiava*) his status is also somewhat subordinate; he is also expected to serve his wife's relatives. His wife, as a daughter of the family and the village, already has higher status than she would if she was living with his family, in his village. Under these circumstances it is not unusual for a woman to ask her family to bestow a title on her husband to mitigate his anomalous subordination and meet public expectations that he should have the higher status of the two of them. When women reside with their own families and in their own villages, as do many capable, well educated women employed locally as teachers or nurses, they rarely hold *matai* titles. In these circumstances women are likely to believe that their brothers, even when less well educated, have a superior claim to hold the family *matai* title.

When both husband and wife are *matai* there can be conflicts of interest in relation to the allocation of resources. One of the main responsibilities of a *matai* is to represent his or her family at funerals and other ceremonies to acknowledge extended family connections. The *matai* must organise the *'aiga* to pool money and fine mats to be presented at these ceremonies, and later redistribute the gifts received in exchange. When both husband and wife have these obligations to different extended families it can put them under a lot of economic and social pressure.

For these reasons, women *matai* are more likely to be widows, unmarried, or married to husbands outside the cultural *'fa'asāmoa'* system, which is why most of the women who have been elected to parliament over the past 50 years were (or are) unmarried, widowed, or married to non-Sāmoans. Sāmoa's first female member of Parliament, the late Taulapapa Le'aupepe Faima'ala served two terms, representing a different constituency each time (1970–1972, 1973–1975); she was educated in New Zealand, was the first Sāmoan to be appointed head of nursing at the national hospital, and she was married to a part-European businessman living in town, as was the late Sina Annandale, elected from the Individual Voters roll in 1976. The late Matatumua Maimoaga, a New Zealand trained nurse, was elected to parliament in 1982 and again in 1991, and was married to a non-Sāmoan, as is Gatoloaifa'ana Amataga Alesana Gidlow, daughter of Tofilau Eti Alesana who was Prime Minister of Sāmoa 1982–1997. Gatoloaifa'ana was minister in the 2005–2010 government and an associate minister in the 2010–2015 government and was re-elected in 2016. The late La'ulu Fetauimalemau was a widow when she was elected to Parliament 1976–1978 after the death of her husband, Sāmoa's first Prime Minister Mata'afa Fiame Faumuina Mulinu'u II. Maiava Visekota, a prominent lawyer and civil society leader, was also a widow when she was elected to Parliament in 1996. The late I'iga Suafole, a New Zealand educated teacher elected in 1976, was single. (So'o 2012) Fiame Naomi Mata'afa, referred to previously is also single. She was the first woman Cabinet Minister and has held ministerial posts in successive governments since 1985. Following the historical pattern, in the 2016 election only eight of 24 candidates were married women, the majority were widows, divorced or single. Of those who were married, two of them were married to non-Sāmoans.

Conclusion

In the modern sphere of Sāmoan life where many women have become leaders in business and civil service employment, education and talent is the key to advancement. In contrast, in the traditional sphere of village government and village churches women are seen as helpers, not leaders. A married woman is expected to defer to her husband and his family, church and village. Leadership considered a male prerogative, especially if he has high traditional status and money. A man is much more likely than a woman, however qualified she is, to win support from the predominately male village and district leadership. Fraenkel affirms this paradox prevails in Pacific island states, in his comparative analysis of the impact of electoral systems on women's representation in Pacific Island parliaments:

Women are increasingly well represented among senior public servants in many countries, often outperform their male counterparts in schooling and are often strongly represented in business. It is in the political sphere where women are severely under-represented Political leadership has, historically, been a male preserve, and a strong conservatism tends to discourage women from standing as candidates and to discourage voters, chiefs, 'big men' or local assemblies from backing women MPs. In such circumstances, the potential for enhanced women's representation is clearly visible, but requires some concerted effort to be realised, whether through greater political organisation around this objective or some affirmative action provisions.

In Sāmoa the 10 percent provision is such an affirmative intention although so far it has had limited impact. As we have shown there are deep rooted structural as well as ideological obstacles based on cultural norms to be overcome. The village is where political power lies. Electoral districts in Sāmoa are based on clusters of villages. Most townspeople must, unless they own and live on freehold urban land, register as voters in a village where they have family. Few women have *matai* titles and few village councils have women *matai* among their ranks. Most if not all village councils have considerable influence on which candidates stand in the electorate, and will signal their choices to the *matai* of the electorate, who in turn advise their families who to vote for. Our interviews with the women who stood for parliament in 2016 provide evidence that having a good education and having rendered service to the village, district and church is not enough; to be chosen a woman must be exceptional in some way, due to wealth, important family connections, national recognition, traditional rank and great determination.

Government policy towards Sāmoan custom since 1962 has been generally *laissez faire*, assuming that practices will gradually change in response to new social attitudes. Although mass emigration has dramatically changed life in Sāmoan villages, respect for patriarchal authority is seen as respect for Sāmoan culture. In town where women are visible in most occupations in positions of authority, at decision-making levels in village life, men and women adhere to separate roles in which women are subordinate, as prescribed by the churches and the norms of contemporary Sāmoan culture. Given this is considered to be sanctioned by God, few women in Sāmoa would have the courage to proclaim in poetry, as did Vanuatu's Grace Mera Molisa (1985: 24), that custom is "a Frankenstein corpse conveniently recalled to intimidate women".

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Contemporary Challenges to Students' Achievement in English in the Foundation Programme at the National University of Sāmoa.

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Abstract

The challenges to proficiency and competencies in English of students for whom English is a second language are many and varied. Students in the Pacific Region are no exception despite the long history of colonization and the current pressures of globalization. This paper will focus on contemporary challenges to students' achievement in English in the Foundation Programme at the National University of Sāmoa and various measures implemented to address these issues in this international language of learning which has important consequences for students' progress at the tertiary level.

Keywords: English, Second language, University students, Sāmoa

Introduction

The 4th of the 17 United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in 2015 which builds on the initial Millennium Development Goals is to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all." (UNDP 2015) It is linked intimately to SDG 16 which directs all signatories to "promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels." Linguistic and literary empowerment is a fundamental part of the equation in achieving these national and global goals which encapsulate the dream of an ideal world with peace, serenity, security and justice for all peoples. The 2016 OECD Summit in Norway noted that "skills transform lives and drive economies" (<http://skillssummit2016.no/>) and conceded that whilst the fact of modernity and rapid change meant that there were many unknowns in this regard, the consensus was that "education and skills that were good enough to enable us to compete yesterday will not be good enough tomorrow" (Solberg 2016 *ibid*).

Sāmoa has instituted through the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) a National Literacy Week over the past several years and for the first time in 2016 included Numeracy as well. Themes are adopted to guide activities and these have included 'Readers are Leaders' and "Reading is the key to Success" as well as "Read to Succeed". This year's Literacy and Numeracy Week theme was "Explore through Words and Numbers". The national spotlight is honed in on lifting the levels of literacy as well as numeracy to achieve these SDG's and to invest in our cultural capital.

An example of this focus is the report at the end of the 2016 National Literacy and Numeracy Week where The Sāmoa Observer highlighted the win by an 11year old Sāmoan student, Alexandria Slaven in the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) multi-media competition on the topic of "why reading matters" to mark the 50th Anniversary of International Literacy Day. (Sāmoa Observer, 9th September 2016). In her winning letter, Alexandria penned the phrase "Illiteracy kills dreams." In her interview, she stated: 'I love to read because it takes me places... we need to be obsessed as a nation to teach our children how to read to minimize poverty and illiteracy. Let's make the world a better place.' (*ibid*: 1) The youth of the Pacific are extending their agency and vocal repertoire and urgent messages across the media including other digital platforms and social networks to spread their views and hopes for better futures for themselves and generations yet to come, part and parcel of the 'dream' of that ideal world characterized by the parameters of the 17 SDGs set out by the United Nations in 2015.

The problem of low English proficiency and declining levels of competency has been a concern locally and regionally for some time now resulting in the introduction in 2012 of the Pacific Benchmarking for Education Results (PaBER) programme, with the aim of improving quality of education and student performance in the

Pacific, especially with regards to the low levels of literacy and numeracy. The key findings highlighted several domains which contribute to this situation including teacher quality, assessment system, curriculum and materials, school governance and management together with the need for an effective Education Management Information System (EQAP 2016: 6).

However, despite all the governmental, institutional and media focus, as well as from anecdotal evidence and personal encounters of the researchers with the same, it is surprising that in Sāmoa many students and parents are still unaware of the national language policy that English is one of the two official languages of Sāmoa. As Lameta states “Whilst there is no explicit legislation defining the official status of languages in Sāmoa, that status is implicit in Sāmoa’s constitution, where Sāmoan and English are given official recognitionFurther evidence of the implicit official languages policy is found in the bilingual policy in education and the numerous domains, such as formal ceremonies, the judiciary and the media where the two languages are used to convey the same message” (Lameta 2006: 43). It follows then that the question can be asked as to whether this lack of awareness is contributory to retarding the expected necessary changes in proficiency and competencies in English, particularly in learning institutions where it is promoted and practised.

For lecturers teaching English in the English & Foreign Languages (EFL) Department at the National University of Sāmoa (NUS) these challenges become the centre of concern. The compulsory English course for all Foundation Programme students is coded HEN004 and titled Foundation English. In order to graduate with a Foundation Certificate in any of the six major streams: Foundation Certificate of Arts (FCA), Foundation Certificate of Commerce (FCC), Foundation Certificate of Education (FCE), Foundation Certificate General (FCG), Foundation Certificate of Nursing (FCN), Foundation Certificate of Science (FCS); students must pass Foundation English plus seven other Foundation courses specified by the particular Faculty. The increase in student numbers in the compulsory HEN004 Foundation English course (See Table 1) particularly in the last five years since the 2009 tsunami is a fundamental challenge which has had great impact on human and physical resources requiring more part time tutors, more space in terms of rooms for tutorial groups and more lecture and tutorial times. In fact, the increases have ranged from 48 percent in 2010 to 130 percent in 2012, to 122 percent in 2015. As a result, classes were stretched to accommodate more students beyond the desirable ideal number per class, especially trying, in view of the fact that students are second language users of English. The University staffing policy states a ratio of 15.5 students to one staff member per class (2016 NUS Staffing Policy Manual: 131), but the reality and teaching practices are far from achieving it. Full time staffs take classes with excessive numbers, requiring considerable effort and teamwork. Moreover, adequate staffing is another challenge and qualified part-time staff has been extremely difficult to secure.

Sāmoa has 41 secondary colleges (of which 3 are private, 15 are church and 23 are government colleges). The number of high schools and colleges that sit the Secondary School Leaving Certificate (SSLC) has varied with each year from 34 to 40, (Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC), SSLC Examination Results 2010–2016) which is a reflection of the availability of staff in the schools or the absence of students at the senior levels and graduating classes. English is a compulsory subject for all students who sit SSLC. The 2015 SSLC results (ibid) showed the majority of students came from the long established main stream Government schools operated by MESC and the Christian Churches as well as one private school making a total of 10 well established colleges with high enrolments. The 30 other colleges with passes serve the district areas and are fraught with staffing and resource needs.

High achieving students in English are undoubtedly a reflection of the quality of the home environment and the teaching and resources available in the institutions they patronize. Most students will naturally continue the pattern instilled in them from their homes and college environments throughout their studies at university (Anae et al 2002; Fanene 2007; Gibson and Ogbu 1991; Jones and Manuatu 2002; McNaughton 1995; Pitt and MacPherson 1994; Gunderson 1991).

Underachievement in English

With particular reference to the literacy of first year students at NUS, Vaai, Heem, Arp & Koria's 2010 study confirmed what had been discussed in many academic fora, that reading competencies appeared to be declining and problematic. The findings confirmed that "67.3 percent of the students sampled in Phase I were reading at age 13 and less...obviously inadequate to cope with tertiary level reading materials" (28). The majority of students surveyed also reported a limited hour of extra reading outside of class per week with access to very limited range of reading materials at home (ibid). The researchers proposed the Proficiency in English Language Test (PELT) starting Semester 1, 2013 focussing on the two skills of reading and writing. This test was not intended as a placement or entry test into the NUS Foundation English courses since the entry criteria was already set by the University based on the scores from Sāmoa's national examinations, the Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate (PSSC) which from December 2013 has been renamed Sāmoa School Leaving Certificate (SSLC) (Vaai and Heem 2014: 25). PELT is intended as an indicator of competencies in reading and writing and a red flag for extra tutorial attention on an individual basis where required. It was also determined that the cohort would also be given a similar test, PELT 2 at the end of semester to help gauge the progress of students (ibid: 26).

In 2013–14, results from the PELT tests conducted were variable whilst the SRA results were encouraging with 92.4 percent passing in Semester 1, 2013 with the initial cohort (Vaai and Heem 2014: 32). From 2013, cards from the SRA Laboratory have been used as part of the course work for the Foundation English course, HEN004. Students were required in 2013 and 2014 to read a total of 10 multilevel cards in the appropriate colour level and to answer a multiplicity of questions that comprise comprehension, structural word analysis and meaning which was worth 15 percent out of 50 percent of the total internal assessment. The impressive pass rate for the SRA exercise for the initial cohort and following cohorts, established and validated by the scores given in by tutors to coordinators and moderators, lead the researchers to conclude that the "SRA Laboratories can be an important tool to provide vital, cumulative assistance in building increasing competencies in reading and writing in English" (ibid: 41). These assessments demonstrated that introducing the SRA Laboratory as an intervention to improve comprehension with second language learners of English was producing positive results and needed to be continued and monitored with future cohorts in the HEN004 Foundation English course.

Vaai and Heem (2014) have outlined the challenges and major concerns with literacy and proficiencies in English for first year Foundation students at NUS as well as the resultant innovations and strategies adopted such as the introduction of the Proficiency in English Language Test (PELT) and the inclusion of Self Reading Assessment (SRA) Laboratory in the Foundation English course. Vital to this discussion was UNESCO's Pacific Islands Literacy Levels (PILL) Report 1992 which raised the alarm about the decline of literacy levels in Pacific Island countries, including Sāmoa for literacy tests taken in Years 4 and 6. Moreover, Kral (2010) reported in his survey "The Status of English in Sāmoa" that the majority of students performed below the achievement levels targeted by MESC and on entering the job market, or university or vocational training, "find themselves unable to communicate themselves in English or use the language as a tool for advancement" (6) and thus concluded "at every level of transition from primary school to high school, or from high school to work place, or high school to university, remedial training in English is necessary for most of the youth." (ibid) Furthermore, in 2012, the Pacific Islands Literacy and Numeracy Assessment (PILNA) Report carried out by the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (SPBEA) under the banner of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) reiterated these same concerns for Pacific countries, describing the situation of literacy as "alarming" (SPBEA, 2) stating definitively "with literacy...in the Pacific *in+ a dire situation with only three in every ten pupils being able to acquire the literacy skills expected after four years as well as six years of formal schooling(30% after 4 years and 29% after 6 years), questions should be raised about the effectiveness of the education system in each country in allowing such a situation to prevail." (ibid) The most recent PILNA Report 2015, showed that levels of numeracy were improving but literacy in English was still on the decline and needed much in terms of resources and support to improve (Afamasaga-Fuatai, 5 September, 2016).

Since 2006, total student enrolments in the Foundation Certificate Programme has increased variably (Refer Table 1) with an increment in Foundation Graduates since 2011 (Refer Table 2). Faculty enrolments and completion rates have also varied over the years. In 2015–16 due to 20 percent plus increases in student enrolment, a different approach was adopted with students reading 5 compulsory cards, chosen from varying increasing levels of difficulty and were allotted a mark value of two percent each, or 10 percent in total given under test conditions in tutorial classes.

Table 1: Foundation Enrolments

FOUNDATION ENROLMENTS 2006-2015											
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	TOTAL
FCA	118	98	96	106	163	177	204	155	139	190	1446
FCAg								9	1	13	23
FCC	98	55	73	63	141	187	159	127	168	142	1213
FCE	180	248	162	145	184	325	346	191	175	270	2226
FCG	73	77	33	48	45	81	67	55	29	120	628
FCN	9	17	16	15	37	87	100	87	98	112	578
FCS	55	46	74	70	92	137	154	127	165	148	1068
TOTAL	533	541	454	447	662	994	1030	751	775	995	7182

Table 2: Foundation Graduates

FOUNDATION GRADUATES 2006–2013									
Prog	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	TOTAL
FCArts	79	80	69	79	76	102	113	133	731
FCAg								3	3
FCCom	63	41	61	41	80	89	99	90	564
FCEd	56	99	82	54	61	55	106	73	556
FCGen	43	43	22	27	23	43	56	45	302
FCNur	6	11	6	8	7	40	45	43	174
FCSci	39	37	57	48	52	80	56	104	503
TOTAL	286	311	297	257	299	409	505	496	2863

English Teaching Contexts

In 2016, admission criteria for first year Foundation students changed from an aggregate based on grade bands plus a subject entry of grades 1–4 for Foundation English which was compulsory, to raw scores. With regards to students enrolling in the Foundation Certificates in the Arts, Commerce, Science, and General Programmes, up until 2015, the aggregate was a total of 15 with English of grades 1–4 and best 3 subjects. For students enrolling in the Foundation Certificates of Education and Nursing, the aggregate was initially 20 and eventually was raised to 18 with an English grade entry of 5, which meant that those students had to enrol in the bridging course, Progressive English Skills in Semester 1 prior to Foundation English in Semester 2.

With raw scores as the new criteria for entry, the NUS Senate approved that the entry be a total aggregate of 200 marks comprising English and 3 best subjects. The English grade was set at 50 percent for entry into the Foundation Certificate Programme with the same dividing principle regarding the Foundation Certificates operating as before, having the entry for the Foundation Certificate of Education set with an aggregate of 160 marks and English at 40 percent, whilst the entry for the Foundation Certificate Nursing was set with an aggregate total of 180 marks and English at 40 percent.

However, from Semester 1, 2017, it is the intention of NUS in order to achieve the objective of quality teachers that the entry for the Foundation Certificate for Education is on par with Arts, Commerce, Science and General. The change from aggregates and subject entries based on grade bands to raw scores provoked uncertainty and controversy especially with regards to the issue of moderation of internal assessment tasks for the SSLC. Questions as to whether students admitted under this raw score entry criteria were able to cope with tertiary level studies came to the fore and gauging the proficiencies and skills of first year students came under the spotlight once again.

Thirty-nine high schools and colleges throughout the nation and 1,944 students sat the 2015 Secondary School Leaving Certificate and attained the following results:

Table 3: SSLC English Passes per Score Level

90	80	70	60	50	TOTAL
20	108	233	381	400	1142

As Table 3 indicates, 1,142 students passed SSLC to enter Foundation English in 2016 at NUS. However, analysis of the results by school and subject showed there were students who attained the 200 aggregate but did not pass English and likewise, students who passed English but did not attain the 200 aggregate (Refer Table 4). Based on the information provided by MESC for enrolment purposes, the total figure involved is 380 students. These students are still able to enrol in other faculties with a lower entry requirement and may register in HEN004 Foundation English or the bridging course HEN003 Progressive English Skills depending on the mark obtained.

Table 4: Total Aggregate & English Passes

Total students with 200 aggregate plus English	1040
Total students with 200 aggregate minus English	142
Total students with English minus Aggregate	237
Total enrolment expected	1135

One advantage of this prior information is that time and effort will therefore be focused on the necessary personnel to deliver the courses, together with skills, activities, resources and support services that are needed by students to cope with and succeed in their academic studies. HEN004 Foundation English is a compulsory, core course for all students from any of the five Faculties, i.e., the Faculty of Arts, Commerce, Education, Science, Applied Science and Nursing. A pass in HEN004 Foundation English is mandatory for external scholarships as well as entry into any degree programme in the various faculties of the University.

From 2015, the assessment was split with course work being 40 percent and the examination 60 percent. Prior to that, the ratio of course work to examination had been 50 percent: 50 percent. The components of course work include comprehension using the SRA Laboratory exercises worth 10 percent, note taking and summary of article worth seven percent, expository essay worth seven percent, Research assignment worth 13 percent and an oral presentation based on the research assignment worth three percent.

The SRA Reading Laboratory, a component (10 percent) of the internal course assessment since 2013, recommends that readings be scheduled over a “concentrated period of time instead of spreading it across the year, preferably 10 sessions of 30–45 minutes, and as close together as possible” (Parker 2006). Whilst the SRA Handbook recommends “individualized reading at the student’s own pace” (ibid) as mentioned earlier, from 2015, due to the increasing number of student enrolments together with the added numbers of lecturers and part time tutors needed to deliver the course (10 part time tutors and 10 full time lecturers in 2015) this exercise was adapted to suit the changing circumstances.

The Foundation English course is a 14 weeks’ programme with four contact hours per week, of a one hour lecture and 3 hours of small group tutorials. For practical reasons and given the full schedule of other topics that are equally important to the programme, the photocopied, pre-selected five articles was considered sufficient to bring about some positive impact or upward slope of the reading proficiencies of students. The SRA strategy, a core part of the HEN004 curriculum since 2013, aims to help students develop skills in decoding, vocabulary, structural analysis and study skills, along with interesting students in reading to enlarge their general and specific knowledge as well as to develop the habit of independent work and a sense of personal responsibility as in taking charge of their own learning. Unique to the SRA Reading Laboratory is their “carefully structured system for teaching and developing essential skills and beneficial attitudes in an orderly and purposeful way” (ibid). It is also flexible and can fit a variety of schedules and circumstances.

The methodology used in implementing this measure is the compilation of test scores throughout the semester from tutorial groups of 25 or more students. This involved quite a considerable number of groups, in fact as many as 45 groups in Semester 1, 2016. The measure consisted of testing students in their tutorial groups on a set day during the week for five weeks. The tutor administered the set SRA article for the week at the tutorial where each student read and answered the questions that followed. The answer sheets were then collected to be marked by the tutor and the results logged for each student and collectively by the Coordinator. At the end of semester and after the final examination, all the course assessments, including the SRAs results and final exam marks were collected and collated for presentation and final scrutiny for approval at Departmental, Faculty and Senate level which then became the permanent record for the course and student.

Results

The discussion will follow the order in which the activities were implemented during Semester 1, 2016: the PELT test, the 5 SRA activities and HEN004 results of internal assessments, particularly the research results worth 40 percent and the final examination worth 60 percent.

Following enrolment, a total of 903 students originally registered in the HEN004 Foundation English course. The large number of students resulted in three lectures being held concurrently in the mornings and two in the afternoons and in different venues (Lecture theatres F201, D101, Fale and Gym). The first lecture is usually short and introductory, covering the aims and expectations of the course and students, assessment requirements and for students to register in a tutorial group where assessments are carried out and recorded. After these notices, the PELT test is distributed for students to complete in the remaining 45 minutes. As in the past, the first lecture was always short of the number of students expected, and the PELT test showed this clearly (Refer Table 5).

Table 5: Pelt Results per Faculty

	Totals	Passes	Language	Writing
FCA	23	17 (74%)	14 (61%)	19 (83%)
FCE	48	13 (27%)	11 (23%)	23 (47%)
FCG	31	13 (42%)	14 (45%)	11 (35%)
FCN	25	8 (32%)	8 (32%)	14 (56%)
FCC	22	13 (59%)	12 (55%)	17 (77%)
FCS	15	10 (67%)	12 (80%)	11 (73%)
	164	74 (45%)	71 (43%)	95 (58%)

1. The PELT results show a total of 164 students attempted this requirement. Table 5 illustrates 45 percent of the students passed, with 43 percent passing the Language section and 58 percent in the Writing section. An analysis of the Language section when separated into Grammar and Comprehension showed some distinct differences between the two skills by the FCC and FCS students, with both groups showing noticeable weaknesses in Comprehension. Although the overall results seem insignificant, it at least differentiated the areas of weaknesses that students exhibit and for educators to be aware of and take into consideration in their teaching. Indicative also is the problem of guessing which is another concern in need of attention and it is expected of second language users, which is probably reflected in Table 6 with regards to Science and Commerce students whose results appear contradictory to expectations of comparable achievement in comprehension to the scores obtained in the grammar section.

Table 6: Passes in Grammar and Comprehension by Faculty

	FCA	FCE	FCG	FCN	FCC	FCS
Grammar	14	15	15	8	18	14
Comprehension	13	16	14	7	11	8

Section B comprised a writing section with a stimulus table to analyse and respond to in essay form, worth 20 marks. A few students did not attempt this part and the most plausible explanation is lack of time management and test taking skills.

The conclusions derived from this exercise confirms the PELT test as relevant and necessary for the purpose of establishing an overall and preliminary indication of the proficiency and competencies demonstrated by every new intake of Foundation students that enrol, in contradistinction to their SSLC results. Clearly, time and venues pose critical considerations as they have been problematic in the recent past and it is unfair to expect the best of newly initiated students under such trying circumstances. Additionally, sponsorships or funding by the Ministries of Education, Health, and Foreign Affairs being available for some Faculties, as well as assistance, financial and otherwise from foreign chancelleries, regional offices and private enterprises could benefit by including PELT results in their considerations of awards. As further concrete evidence of recent and higher level certification, the PELT test is ideal for the purpose as an indication or predictability of success in the areas of intended study.

2. The 5 SRA reading exercises are compulsory for all Foundation English students and were carried out by each tutor in one set tutorial of the week for five weeks. The SRA box contains 110 articles organized into a series of "colour designated difficulty level that range both above and below the average grade or age" (Parker, 2006). The articles were selected from a range of topics that consisted of a variety of global settings, lifestyles, problems and perspectives and increased in level of difficulty as the sequence of articles progressed.

The results did indeed show up the discrepancies in reading abilities in relation to the range of students in HEN004 Foundation English. The number of students that attended class during the first half of semester 1

totalled 903 students and decreased to 849 by Final Exam time. The SRA results are based on the 889 students that attended the first half of semester when the readings were in progress.

The SRA Box has a range of 10 colours with 11 articles in each colour band, representative of the level of reading difficulty involved. The five SRA reading articles were selected from the lower middle to the top range, consisting of an article each from the gold, tan, lime, green and purple colour range and administered in that order (Refer Table 7 below)

Table 7: SRA Colour and Approximate Reading Levels

Colour Levels	Approximate Reading Level (USA Grades)
Violet	4.5
Rose	5.0
Red	5.5
Orange	6.0
Gold	7.0
Brown	8.0
Tan	9.0
Lime	10.0
Green	11.0
Purple	12.0

The amount of time taken to complete an article is 30–45 minutes (for first language students) however, for our second language students, most took well over 50 minutes to an hour, while some did not complete. The articles were on topical issues that are globally and locally relevant and interesting even to second language students and citizens of an under-developed nation recently upgraded to least developed. Students are encouraged to use dictionaries during the exercise. Each assessment involved comprehension with reading an article, answering questions with multi-choice options as well as questions on structural word analysis and meaning. From the course marks for Semester 1 2016 (Refer Table 8), the SRA results worth 10 percent of the Course Assessment, showed the following:

Table 8: Misses, Failures & Passes per Article

	Article	Passed	Failed	Missed
Gold	1	587 – 66%	222 - 25%	77 – 9%
Tan	2	610 – 69%	229 - 26%	55 – 6%
Lime	3	610 – 69%	206 - 23%	69 – 8%
Green	4	590 – 66%	163 - 18%	121 – 14%
Purple	5	589 – 66%	168 – 19%	117 – 13%
Totals		2986 – 67%	998 – 22%	439 – 10%

Table 7 indicates two thirds of the students passed the SRA reading activities per card based on the totals of the Comprehension worth 10 marks and Learn about Words Section worth 33 marks. Noticeable from the results are the number of students who missed out or were not in attendance when the exercise was in progress, which increased as the Semester was nearing the mid-term break. Incidentally, the number of missed assessments increases upward with the colour (Green and Purple) and difficulty level. Absenteeism therefore categorically contributed to and explains the failure rate that occurred in this assessment. The numbers and percentage for the failed articles is relatively consistent within the 5 colours which is also indicative of the level of difficulty in the readings. Even though the overall volume of missed articles was high,

determination by number of individuals involved and the Faculty concerned indicated crucial information that is relevant to the Faculties for future consideration, as the following Table 9 demonstrates, especially for the Faculty of Education whose graduates will bear the onus of teaching the nation’s future school-age population, and the Faculty of Nursing whose graduates will be dealing with matters of life and death.

Table 9: Missed SRA & Research Assignments per Faculty

	SRA		RESEARCH	
FCA 172	27	16%	28	16%
FCC 101	10	10%	39	39%
FCE 155	39	25%	46	30%
FCG 174	26	15%	28	17%
FCN 77	13	24%	16	21%
FCS 160	33	21%	17	11%
Totals	148		147	

Absenteeism is a real concern to staff and when students were asked about their absences, many reasons were given. The most common one is clashes with other courses that are on at the same time, and despite students being reminded that Foundation English was core, and compulsory and that they would not graduate if they did not pass, it did not make any difference to the student making the necessary changes in schedule. Other reasons were illnesses of family members, especially grandparents, parents and themselves last. Students have the least say in the matter, when the choice is between work generating income or education of children which incurs expenses. Church, village and family obligations (in the order given) are other reasons for students missing classes, and the absenteeism ranges from 1–2 days to weeks, as the roll books will verify. The question could be raised as to what extent could absenteeism be related to work in class that is tedious and has little appeal to students, especially when the language is not that of their mother tongue. The possibility of implementing an Extensive Reading (ER) Programme where students were able to read for pleasure such as that advocated by Day and Bramford (1998) is worth investigating as an additional future measure to help improve students’ achievement in English.

3. The HEN004 Final Exam results showed a 71 percent pass rate overall (See Table 11), with a constant of 53.1 and 53.0 for the mean and median respectively. Noticeable is the high number in the D- E grades, which is quite discrepant with the results of former years as the records will verify, showing that the results were lower in 2016 than in some previous years. Apparent also is the high number of students who did not sit (DNS) the exam (32 students) or did not complete (DNC – 53 students) the programme. These high numbers is a recent development since the tsunami of 2009 when enrolment numbers doubled thereafter in the following years.

The analysis of pass rates by faculties is self-explanatory. The Faculty of Science with 160 students showed 93 percent of their own students passed the HEN004 Foundation English, representative of 19 percent of the total number of students in Foundation English as shown in the following graph (Refer Figure 1) and table (Refer Table 10).

Figure 1: HEN004 PASSES per FACULTY

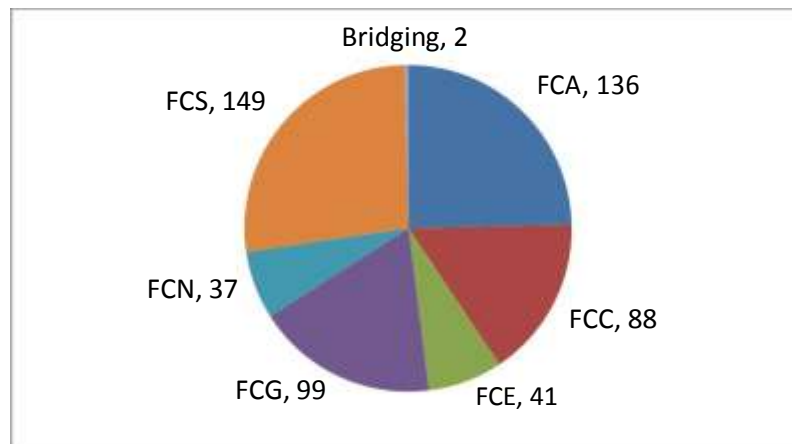


Table 10: Passes for Programme and per Faculty

	<i>FCA</i>	<i>FCC</i>	<i>FCE</i>	<i>FCG</i>	<i>FCN</i>	<i>FCS</i>	<i>Bridging</i>
Total students	172	101	155	174	77	160	10
Passes	136	88	41	99	37	149	2
% Pass Overall (849)	18	11	5	13	5	19	0.3
% Pass within Faculty	79	87	26	57	48	93	20

The FCS also had the highest number of students with A and B grades and the least failing grades, followed by the Faculties of Arts and Commerce as seen in Table 11 below. Of interest is the high number of E grades, DNS and DNC that are evident in the FCE and FCG or General programme as it does not have an independent Faculty but is allocated a responsible Faculty on a rotational basis. These high numbers with failing grades are a concern as these graduates are being groomed to educate the children and youth of the nation. Unique to the Faculty of Education is the availability of sponsorships by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (MESC) which goes some way to explain the large number of students that register in their programme.

Table 11: Passes per Grade per Faculty

Grade	<i>FCA</i>	<i>FCC</i>	<i>FCE</i>	<i>FCG</i>	<i>FCN</i>	<i>FCS</i>	<i>BRIDG.</i>	Total
A	18	10	0	3	0	36	0	67
B	38	40	2	15	1	53	0	149
C	82	38	39	81	36	60	2	338
D	6	1	8	8	6	2	0	31
E	21	6	76	47	22	6	0	178
DNS	4	5	10	6	7	1	5	32
DNC	4	5	20	14	7	2	1	53

Table 12 below compares the total number of passes per grade between the national examination SSLC 2015 for all students who sat this examination and entered NUS in 2016 and the results obtained in the compulsory Foundation English course HEN004.

Table 12: Passes per Grade for SSLC 2015 & Hen004 Foundation English 2016

	SSLC	HEN004	DIFFERENCE
A:80–100	128 (11.2%)	67 (7.8%)	52%
B: 65–79	397 (34.7%)	149 (17.5%)	37%
C: 50–64	617 (54%)	388 (45.7%)	68%
D & E grades		209 (24.6%)	
DNS & DNC		85 (10%)	
		294 (34.6%)	

The table clearly indicates a large discrepancy between the SSLC and HEN004 results, ranging from one third to two thirds of the students falling short of the required competency at Foundation. The implication is that the SSLC Examination may have been too easy for students to pass and enter NUS and students may then be unable to continue or keep up. As a result, there are students at NUS currently who could well have benefitted from an extra year at college. This is an important issue which needs careful attention in the future. To ensure the quality of students and the NUS qualifications, entry levels are currently being reviewed by Senate and the Ministry of Education, Sports & Culture, together with associated vital aspects such as curriculum, assessments and pedagogy that are relevant and appropriate.

Of particular interest is the matter of research that is the climax of the HEN004 Foundation English course curriculum—where students are required to carry out a piece of research on a chosen topic set by the teaching academic team. Students are given 4 weeks to undertake a research project using a variety of resources from any of the Libraries in Apia and Regional Offices, chancelleries, ministries, newspapers and internet, of applying their newly acquired skills in gathering and presenting information orally and in writing. It is interesting to note that students begin engaging in research assignments for the external national exams at Year 12 for the Sāmoa School Certificate and Year 13 for SSLC. The comprehension exercises with the SRA Laboratory cards which count towards the course work take place in the first half of semester so that when the research assignment is undertaken in the last half of semester, the skills needed for the latter exercise will have been honed further. This sequencing is especially important given that this research assignment demands a lot of reading, note taking, paraphrasing, summarizing, referencing and presenting orally and in writing, a coherent, well supported argument about a chosen topic.

Table 13: Overall Passes in Hen004 SRA & Research Essay

	SRA Pass/Fail		RESEARCH Pass/Fail	
FCA (173)	136 - 16%	37 - 4%	109 - 13%	64 - 8%
FCC (101)	87 - 10%	14 - 2%	77 - 9%	24 - 3%
FCE (155)	108 - 13%	47 - 6%	81 - 10%	74 - 9%
FCG (174)	143 - 17%	31 - 4%	109 - 13%	65 - 8%
FCN (77)	55 - 7%	22 - 3%	38 - 5%	39 - 5%
FCS (160)	149 - 18%	11 - 1%	118 - 14%	42 - 5.5%
Totals (849)	681 - 80%	168 - 20%	537 - 63%	312 - 37%

TABLE 14: Total Passes in SRA & Research Essay per Faculty

FCA (173)	136 - 79%	109 - 63%
FCC (101)	87 - 86%	81 - 81%
FCE (155)	108 - 70%	81 - 52%
FCG (174)	143 - 82%	109 - 63%
FCN (77)	55 - 71%	38 - 49%
FCS (160)	149 - 93%	118 - 79%

The results are consistent with the final exams (Refer Table 13): the FCS showing the highest number of students and percentage pass rate overall and within their own Faculty. The research assignment is the assessment task requiring the most attention and focus: the discrepancies are noticeable between SRA and Research results (refer Table 14) with FCE barely passing at 52 percent and FCN at 49 percent, indicating that about half the number of students did not attempt the research project and the implications are many and serious which makes it problematic in presenting pass rates as evidence of the impact of these measures. However, these pass rates can be seen as indicators of the complexities of these challenges and provide continued motivation for lecturers to persevere in their efforts to help students improve their achievements in English.

The analysis of HEN004 course work assessments during the semester and the final exam at the end of semester has highlighted several key challenges that will require continued examination, emphasis, support and research. These include the decision that PELT tests will continue to be administered annually to each new intake of HEN004 students. The time and venue(s) are critical considerations that should be resolved early on, given the high number of students involved and the urgent need for the results that inform teaching. In addition, SRA laboratory readings will still continue as a valued component of course assessment so that students will grow in appreciation and acknowledge the importance of reading proficiencies across the curriculum as essential to academic success at university. Most importantly, students' attendance in classes and completion of assessments as part and parcel of curricular expectations and requirements need to be emphasized more often. The results have categorically shown that absenteeism and non-submission of assignments are the major causes of failure, separate and distinct from expected scholarly performance and concomitants of tertiary institutions. There is also a need for entry levels to be reviewed and monitored in order to promote student success and maintain academic standards. Moreover, the EFL Department will continue to advocate for the growth of the Academic Support Services with appropriate staff and resources to fulfill its mandate and support the vision, mission and objectives of the University which includes the goal to "actively upgrade and maintain quality and creativity in teaching and learning". (2017 NUS Calendar: 38). Curricular innovations and strategies to facilitate improvements of proficiencies in English for Foundation students at the National University of Sāmoa are to be encouraged and supported by all stakeholders to fulfill the linguistic empowerment of the youth and to achieve national and global goals of development.

Conclusion

This paper has addressed contemporary challenges to students' achievement in English in the Foundation Programme in the National University of Sāmoa. It has also discussed results from measures such as PELT, and the inclusion of the SRA Laboratory exercises as an essential component of the course work for the Foundation English course, coded HEN004 which were introduced in 2013 in an effort to address some of these challenges. The lecturers in the English & Foreign Languages Department are committed to continuing their efforts to assist students improve their comprehension and reading skills which are vital to success in their learning journeys.

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Facilitating Transfer of Training for Sāmoan Student Teachers: An Exploratory Investigation

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Abstract

Initial teacher education is complex and one important component is the transfer of learning to the classroom. Minimal attention has been directed to using the transfer of training (TOT) research findings relating to the teacher educators work that facilitates student teachers' implementation of ideas into the classroom. In this exploratory qualitative study, 6 teacher educators were interviewed to ascertain their knowledge and use of ToT when preparing student teachers for teaching practice. The findings indicated that teacher educators understood transfer as an important process, identified key players but could not specifically link their approach to transfer theory, systematic approaches or strategy use. They were also unaware of the impact of transfer and how systems of evaluation could assess what was transferred. Barriers to transfer were recognised but they were unaware of the literature or the need to plan for these. Implications for practice and recommendations for future research were outlined.

Key words: teacher educators, student teachers, transfer of training, initial teacher education

Introduction

Successful transfer and maintenance of ideas and skills is the major purpose of professional learning experiences and, if transfer is not achieved, professional learning is meaningless. There is evolving research in this area but, in teacher preparation, little is known about how teacher educators, student and the associate (supervising) teachers can work together to transfer knowledge and skills to the classroom by the student teachers. Accordingly, this research is focussed on how such transfer occurs with the purpose being to provide insight into the what and how of the transfer process and consideration is given on how this may be further enhanced for classroom application. The interaction between the teacher educator and student teacher is the prime focus. A key concept in this research is transfer of training (ToT) as it applies to professional teaching and learning contexts, teacher educator strategies, sources of strategies, evaluation as well as the barriers to ToT. The extensive literature on ToT is analysed and the evolving research concerning its application to initial teacher education is related to the teacher educators' knowledge and practices.

This paper is organised as follows: the first section will discuss teacher educator and transfer issues followed by a section on theory and the nature of transfer of training. The methodology considers the qualitative research approach and the findings summarises the teacher educators' responses. In the final section there is a discussion of the findings, some concluding comments and several implications outlined.

The Teacher Educator and Transfer of Training in Sāmoa

In Sāmoa, as in most countries, teacher preparation consists of a university (or post-school training) programme interspersed with practice in the classroom. Although there are varied learning activities and opportunities for the student teacher, a significant component is the teacher educator interacting with the student teacher to facilitate the use of learned knowledge and skills in the school classroom. Indeed, the practicum is highlighted in the Sāmoan National Teacher Development Framework (Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture 2011) indicating that the teacher educator has a pivotal role to prepare the student teacher for classroom practice. It is noted that an "appropriate teaching practicum will be provided, and this will be used as an indicator of teaching success and as demonstration of professional commitment and responsibility" (p.6).

ToT is a western concept and consideration needs to be given to its use in the Sāmoa context but, in essence, many policies, ideas and educational practices are imported into the country, albeit with some modifications (McDonald 2016). However, the importance of incorporating culturally appropriate ToT practices has also been noted (McDonald 2014). Never the less, many questions remain about the teacher educator's role in ToT such as the choice and source of theory-practice guidelines and strategies, the applicability of the training literature to professional learning, the interactions with other key players and assessing what is transferred. Considerably more evidence-based practice is needed, although there is now an emerging understanding of professional practices that can support the teacher educator to achieve effective ToT.

In a significant set of studies, Scheeler and colleagues (Markelz et al. 2017; Scheeler 2008; Scheeler et al. 2009; Scheeler et al. 2016; Scheeler et al. 2010) undertook surveys of the literature and research and identified the central concern of a lack of generalisation tactics for the professional learning of student teachers for use on the teaching practicum. But as Kretlow and Helf (2013) noted, even if transfer occurs, there is a fidelity problem in the implementation. In addition to this, Markelz, et al., (2017) has identified a mismatch between university programmes and the reality of school context which contributes to generalisation problems, whilst Gable (2014) notes the predominance of the 'train and hope' paradigm in place of ToT generalisation procedures. This is confirmed by Zeichner (2010) who states that teacher educators are often "not aware of what is known from research about how to support teacher learning and its transfer to the early years of teaching in the context of a university-based teacher education program" (p.481) and instead there is a focus on content and subject specialization. To facilitate better generalisation, Scheeler et al (2016) has endorsed a 4-step generalisation model—immediate feedback, mastery training, use of generalisation stratagems and performance feedback in classroom settings—as a means of preparing teacher educators to transfer their learning more effectively.

It is evident that the (multi-discipline) ToT literature has often been overlooked by educators and yet, it has promise for effecting considerable impact. With this knowledge and the evidence that is accruing about how to improve ToT for professional teaching and learning, there is the beginning of an understanding about ToT for student teacher preparation.

What is Transfer of Training?

There has been considerable discussion about the terms transfer of learning, ToT and generalisation but confusion has arisen as the terms, although having specific meanings, have been used interchangeably or as synonyms. This has partly arisen because of evolving understandings and differing discipline epistemologies in experimental and organisational psychology, education, and human resources. In the contemporary literature, this anomaly persists. For example, some (e.g. Haskel, 2001) use an all-encompassing definition of transfer of learning (incorporating ToT and generalisation), Scheeler (2008) considers generalisation and ToT as the same process whilst Broad and Newstrom (2001) define ToT as *planned* learning which is transferred. This confusion extends back to the theoretical beginning at the beginning of the 20th Century when teaching 'practice' (transfer) was explored experimentally with two differing approaches evolving—an identical elements approach (noting the importance of similar elements in training and application contexts) was promoted by Thorndike (1933) and Judd (1908) proposed a gestalt approach (emphasising transfer of general skill from one context to another). During the latter half of the Twentieth Century, ToT was related to the work setting and the seminal work of Baldwin and Ford (1988) developed the three-phased organisational model: inputs—learning and retention—outputs. This rekindled an interest in transfer and a vast literature has evolved. The behavioural psychology of B.F. Skinner emphasised a generalised process defined as "as a procedure that increases the likelihood of

a target operant response [causing] an increase of other responses that resemble the target response” (Phelps 2011: 1255). More recently, the developments in the cognitive paradigm have expanded knowledge and understanding of ToT with mental models (of the real world) and comprehension/retention processes being emphasised as key components (Royer et al. 2005).

Blume, Ford, Baldwin and Huang (2010), in considering transfer and generalisation, adopted a cognitive definition of ToT, explaining it as a process of generalisation *and* maintenance of knowledge and skills acquired from *formal* learning. On the other hand, Billett’s (2013) cognitive social cultural perspective definition of ToT adds more meaning and defines it as “individuals construing what is experienced, aligned and reconciled with what is known and then constructing a response, which is mediated inter- and intra-psychologically.” (p. 6) It is a learning process mediated by social and cultural contributions and is embedded systems of communities of practice as discussed by Lave and Wenger (1991). The first definition implies a cognitive process ensuring the sustained transfer whilst the second approach the activity theory emphasising the accommodation of the experience internally and socially to enact a behaviour. Both definitions are fruitful for understanding ToT in professional learning. In the literature, however, there have been debates and controversies surrounding TOT including its definition, conceptual clarity, theoretical underpinning, characteristics and value/utility, likelihood of occurrence, enablers and barriers, and evaluation approaches (see McDonald 2016). One notable issue, diminished now in importance, was whether ToT could ever be achieved. Detterman (1993), for example, argued ToT was almost impossible to realize but today positive transfer is accepted by many commentators (e.g. Daffron and North 2011; Haskell 2001) and realizable if evidence-based practices are implemented within an overall logical and coherent strategic plan.

The theory-practice link is central to discussions on ToT and, although cognitive science has a predominant role, other theories can still make contributions to practice (Haskell 2001) implying that trainers/facilitators have a vast and diverse range of potential strategies to include in a strategic plan. For example, both the similar elements and gestalt approaches can be utilised whereby the reflexive low-road transfer can draw upon routine-based learning approaches (similar elements) and the mindful high-road transfer involves abstraction and connections of learning activities (gestalt approach) (Salomon and Perkins 1989). A further theory-practice consideration relates to whether ToT is an event or a process but mostly it is recognised now as a process. Foxon’s (1997) research made a strong case for this and numerous practice approaches have, for example, discussed the pre-, during and after phases of ToT (e.g. Broad and Foxon 2001) whilst Joyce and Showers (2002) outlined that an effective process for teacher learning consists of discussion, demonstration, practice and feedback and classroom coaching.

A ToT strategic approach is integral to several evidence-based approaches and some have emphasised that the science of learning already exists for ToT, but needs operationalising. For instance, Halpern and Hakel (2003) urge tertiary educators to utilise the key research on learning to facilitate student transfer whilst Haskell’s (2001) transfer of learning approach contains nine principles generated by cognitive science research. In the professional learning arena, Gegenfurtner (2011) discussed a strategic approach for ToT professional learning and Daffron and North (2011) demonstrated, via case studies of professionals, that transfer can occur if consideration is given to seven interactive factors - conceptual clarity and value, theoretical foundations, utility, how to achieve and measure it and identification of enablers and barriers. Furthermore, usually the research reviews of the literature consider three key predictors—trainee, training design and work

environment impact factors.³ Grossman and Salas's (2011) review is typical and considers how trainee characteristics (cognitive ability, self-efficacy, motivation, perceived utility of training), training design (behavioural modelling, error management, realistic training environments) and the work environment (transfer climate, support, opportunity to perform, follow-up) influence ToT. Such analyses of the research have provided detailed information about ToT impact factors providing guidance for best practice frameworks.

Another debated issue concerns ToT outcomes. It has been accepted that transfer rate has often been less than desired and Georgenson, 1982) hypothesized that it was as low as 10 percent, although this has been disputed by many. Never-the-less, there remains a problem. In a study, based upon sound research methodology, Saks and Belcourt (2006) found that 38 percent of the content (etc) of training personnel was not transferred and similar results were identified by Clarke's (2002) examination of a range of professional learning workshops. Engelmann (1988), some 30 years ago, noted that less than 30 percent of the STs training transferred and frequently, when it becomes apparent transfer has not occurred, Vaughn, Klingner, and Hughes (2000) indicated that a blame game occurs directed toward the other significant players. Further to this, little is known about what has been learned and transferred and the causes of low incidence ToT (Daffron and North 2011). Research endeavours are sorely needed and even though there are evaluation frameworks to identify outcomes which could provide insight into what is occurring, most facilitators use incomplete evaluation measures, such as simple satisfaction scores (Kirkpatrick and Kirkpatrick 2006). In advancing the idea of more expansive measures, the model of evaluation advocated by Kirkpatrick and Kirkpatrick has often been considered as a benchmark and Guskey (2002) has adapted it for teacher professional learning with measures of satisfaction, learning outcomes, school support and change factors, use of the knowledge and skills and school student outcomes. Both models provide a holistic integrated account of the ToT process.

Often overlooked in the research and literature commentaries is the role of (national) culture in ToT. Sarkar-Barney (2004) noted the importance of organisational climate and cultural factors but mostly it is only local contextual issues investigated in ToT. There is, however, a small literature base being established. For example, Lim's (1999) research promoted the development of an international ToT model highlighting language, social value differences, technical issues (such as training design) and learning style as significant factors. McDonald's (2002) study of transfer in the Cook Islands found that the international literature findings were generally applicable to this setting but with an added emphasis upon support, relationships, collaboration and resource availability. In a later survey of the literature, McDonald developed a training audit which contained a specific set of cultural factors. Overall, these studies are limited, but as communities become more diverse, it is clear that additional research is urgently needed to investigate the role of culture in ToT.

Another key dimension that has assumed increasing significance is the key roles (learners, trainers/facilitators and work colleagues) in ToT. For example, Broad and Newstrom (2001) outlined a Role X Time model identifying how the different roles, pre- during and after training could be

³ The training/human resource literature uses these terms, but in other contexts alternative terms are preferred. For example, in education, terms such as learner, facilitator and educational setting/centre are often preferred because of the emphasis upon importance of student-centred learning. However, according to the research literature, regardless of the terminology many of the findings in both of the theoretical domains (technical training and professional learning) are applicable to each other. For example, Haskell (2001), a highly-respected psychologist and specialist in transfer of training and learning has identified research and key principles of learning and transfer common to all instructional approaches and methods. Another example, and a common message in professional learning transfer studies can be found in the work of Daffron and North (2011) who use the literature of the training domain to inform their applied research on professional groups.

utilised for maximum benefit. Berry's (2015) survey of the literature discussed roles and identified the trainer/facilitator as being particularly important but noted that many had limited theoretical and strategy knowledge. In addition to this, Cheng and Ho (2001) identified that trainers/facilitators often adopt tactics from trial and error, overlooking a strategic approach. They identified that one of the reasons for this was that many trainers/facilitators used colleagues, web-sites or light-weight journals to gather ideas rather than evidence-based practices. As Baldwin, Ford and Blume (2009) note, it is important that trainers/facilitators develop an integrated theory to practice orientation to maximise ToT effectiveness.

In this study, informed by the literature, Sāmoan TEs were surveyed to gather information about their knowledge of ToT and practices to further understanding and create additional opportunities for future learning.

The Methodology

This survey study examined ToT knowledge and use of strategies by a small number of Sāmoan teacher educators preparing student teachers to engage in teaching practice. The six female teacher educators were involved in teaching years one to three of the pre-service Bachelor of Education programme which consisted of student teaching programmes and varying periods of teaching practice. Purposeful sampling was used to select the teacher educators who had a teaching qualification as well as a minimum of a Master's degree and at least six years each of school teaching and teacher educator experience. The teacher educators prepared students for primary and secondary contexts and there was a range of subject specialisations taught. The participants were voluntary, selected on availability and were interviewed for 20–40 minutes by the two interviewers. One face-to-face, semi-structured, audio-recorded individual interview survey was conducted in English. To gather the data, the following questions (provided a few days before the interview) were asked:

1. What is your understanding of 'Lecturer's strategies that promote STs application of ideas during teaching experience?'
2. What is transfer of training? (Probes—definition, significance, key roles, theories, outcome literature)
3. What strategies/approaches do you use to promote the application of skills, knowledge and practices of student teachers when they are on teaching experience?
4. Where did you learn about these strategies? (Probes—colleagues, trial and error, research findings, other)
5. How do you know if the ideas are implemented? (Probes—student self-report, report of others, observations, assignments, others)
6. Can you identify barriers preventing student teachers' implementation of ideas during teaching experience (with probes if necessary) relating to the nature of ToT, its importance, strategies used, sources of knowledge, evidence of implementation and identification of barriers. ?

The data were categorised into themes using procedures recommended by Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2013). Trustworthiness was obtained by a range of procedures, such as, utilisation of the researchers' academic, experiential and research backgrounds, the researchers' familiarity with the educational contexts, employment of a range of volunteer expert teacher educator informants,

linking of previous research and the evidence of descriptive dialogue. Anonymity, confidentiality, right of withdrawal and agreement for publication were outlined in the ethics procedures adopted for the study.

Findings

This research was concerned with teacher educators' knowledge of ToT and strategies for preparing student teachers' for teaching practice. There was no wide divergence of responses. It was indicated that all had a knowledge of ToT, recognised its significance and the main sources being their own experiences and professional development. Theoretical knowledge of ToT was limited with only one teacher educator identifying support as a key principle. Key role players were identified but knowledge of outcome literature was mainly unknown, as was knowledge of evaluation frameworks with observation and anecdotal reports relied upon mostly. A range of strategies and barriers to ToT were identified but not connected to any strategic ToT understanding.

ToT Identified as a Fundamental Concept

Understanding ToT was considered an important issue if teacher educators were to appreciate its fundamental role in professional learning. Essentially, all participants understood it, although two of them had to be prompted to remind them. The idea of application was clearly identified and one teacher educator stated it as the real drive for meaningful training. Examples of activities were used by another to explain its nature and one provided a technical definition. Typical comments were:

..... everybody needs to understand that concept,.... that's the whole purpose of our training, able to learn, get the ideas and apply (TE1)

..... lecturers prepare the students in terms of strategies, pedagogies and content to be appliedin the schools..... (TE2)

...how you teach and you know apply what they already learnt on campus when they go out to the schools (TE 5)
Key Players Identified

The players in the student teachers teaching practice have an important role to play—each one, and in a collective sense, promotes transfer. This is because they become a general stimulus for ToT by the student teacher. There is of course a range of roles to consider but the key ones are the learner, teacher educator and teaching supervisor/colleagues. Participants did identify this range of the key players, but some emphasised some roles (e.g. student teachers) as having a particularly significant contribution. A couple recognised the key role of the teacher educator in the transfer process.

Well I'm one of them as a lecturer, I need to help them so that they're able to understand, make it simple.....because they do not know....if it's too complicated.....then they may not be able to transfer it (TE3)

I think first most important person is the student. (TE5)the main person they're getting feedback from is in fact the AT. (TE1)

Well, most of all the children[are important]..... the consumers (TE2)

Related Theories and Principles Identified

The ToT literature has had significant theoretical developments, particularly in the past 20–30 years and an extensive documentation of related ideas. Nevertheless, even though ToT is one of the most important issues in professional learning, the teacher educator participants were unable to provide much insight into these developments as most participants simply acknowledged that it was an unknown. However, one teacher educator made pertinent comments significant for ToT

.....it's a fusion of a lot of theories (TE3)

The underlying principleis the notion of being supported (TE3)

Additional probing about support provided further information such as teacher educator and AT guidance given to the ST and clarifications sought from other student teachers. Another participant in discussing the theoretical background indicated that she hadn't done any research into the area but did understand the concept.

... I haven't done any formal research on it, all I know is that it's to do with the trainees taking what they have learnt during their training, and using it in their own teaching. (TE4)

Effectiveness of Transfer Mainly Unknown

The outcome ToT literature has indicated that often transfer does not readily occur (i.e. it is something that is not acknowledged or is it a 'blame game?'). Although one participant stated that transfer did occur, some stated they were unaware of the outcome literature and two indicated their problems. None of the teacher educators had familiarity with specific ToT research studies concerning outcomes.

I used to be involved in facilitating teachers, you know the in-service teachers, so we discuss here and then they transfer it, but when we come to visit, little bit or nothing happens (TE2)

it's an important idea however it's not really effective in a sense that most people, when they go out to the workplace, it's not really happening (TE3)

yeah most of the ones I've talked to say they are using some ideas that they've learnt here, and it's working (TE4)

Strategies Identified but Emphasis on Learning

When ToT is discussed, the strategies of teaching are readily identified. But to ensure learning, retention, implementation and sustainability, identification of transfer-oriented strategies is necessary. The teacher educators could certainly identify a range of learning strategies but moving to the higher level of transfer was not made obvious in their descriptions—the strategies were not necessarily related to the high-leverage evidence-based strategies that promoted ToT. However, one teacher educator mentioned the importance of bringing the class to the university and the value of modelling.

.....hands on experiences with a lot of group work, peer work, practical..... (TE1)

.....develop unit plans then demonstration (TE2)

the content of the courses needs to beunderstood by the students,they need to know how to apply that course, because if it's too complex it's unlikelyRelevant, that's a key thingand the student needs to be motivated [to transfer] (TE3)

we make sure they are familiar with the formal lesson plan templates,so that it's not a new thing to them associate teachers out there are supposed to help them plan their lessons.... (TE4)

Invited children coming in, and so they use some of the activities that we discuss in class,....., they actually see the effect of the resources, and the activities that they have learnt here (TE4)

The source of the teacher educator's ideas was considered an important issue as the quality of ToT approaches is likely to be dependent upon validity of sources. None of the teacher educators, however, could link their sources to the research literature or experts. Mostly the sources were related to their personal experience, reflection strategies or professional development learning (which may have been research based).

.....through my own experiences in the classrooms as a student, because I remember some of the really active teachersand then it's just mostly my imagination going wild (TE4)

.....some of the things I read aboutmy plan for this lesson doesn't work so I try to redo itrevise it (TE5)

In my training as a teacher, during professional development within the staff (TE6)

Evaluation Tactics used but no Systematic Evaluation Framework

To assess the impact of the transfer process, teacher educators were asked how they knew transfer was successful. Most responses related to the observation visit and the discussions held with the associate teacher. There was no detailing of any systematic assessment of the overall training effectiveness.

I will find out when I actually go supervise them, assess their lessontheir display, and get the feedback from the AT..... (TE4)

I talk to the students in the classroom, once the STs have gone off (TE5)

I talk to them when they return here (TE2)

I set the tasks and when they submit it I know (TE6)

I assess their displays, and get the feedback from the associate teachers (TE4)

Barriers Recognised but No Management of Risk

Understanding ToT barriers is particularly important as they can thwart implementation or make it less effective. Planning to overcome barriers is therefore an important consideration for teacher educators as a preventative tactic. The responses centred around school issues, student teachers, or the understanding of English language and is therefore consistent with the ToT literature on barriers. None of the participants discussed the anticipation of barriers or the need to develop plans that prevented or overcame them.

...school principals, it's a common experience here, that our teachers aren't able to perform as they want because of them (TE1)

The school practices and arrangements also made it difficult (TE6)

.....its lack of resources in the school (TE2)

.....ST lack of understanding of the content(TE3)

.....the people who are in the field, or support from me, if I'm not there to support them or mentor themit can be a barrier (TE3)

These findings indicated that teacher educators had some knowledge about the nature of transfer and its significance. However, little was known about the theories or principles of implementation or the outcome literature never-the-less examples of learning strategies could be delineated. Barriers to transfer were perceived to arise from others, the school context and the student teachers themselves. Essentially, evidence based practices were not identified and the understanding and use of practices seemed fragmentary. As one teacher educator explained:

I think, people need to know the importance of ToT, the importance of not only learning the ideas but at the same time how to transfer, there needs to be some workshops and maybe more research in this area, so that people are aware of the importance..... (TE3)

Discussion, Conclusions and Implications

This research considered Sāmoan teacher educators' knowledge of ToT and strategies to facilitate student teachers' application of knowledge and skills to the classroom. The participants understood ToT, its significance and acknowledged there was a range of key players. Theory knowledge was limited to appreciating that it was multi-theory in nature with the key concept of support being recognised by one participant. Feedback on outcomes was mixed with some believing it was positive and others indicated difficulties in transfer. A range of strategies were discussed but were founded on experience and professional development and not evidence-based practices. Barriers were readily identified but mostly were considered to arise in the environment of the school. These findings were significant but, in many respects, operationalisation of transfer was somewhat shallow because knowledge and application of theory/principles, tactics, strategic approaches, outcome data and barriers was either limited/unknown or mostly not induced from the literature. Nevertheless, some valuable knowledge/tactics were obtained from the teacher educators and this can be used to benefit. However, the existing evidence-based approaches could be useful to develop more knowledge and skill in the area.

This research has highlighted that the ToT for preparing student teachers to use knowledge and skills in the classroom is a complex issue. Schools are complex places, as are universities, and bringing the two systems together adds extra complexity. It is at least a three-way interaction and accordingly, processes and interactions need to be built on clear understandings and the use of evidence-based practices for the realities of the school and university systems. An effective, informed and collaborative relationship between the players is desirable but this is not always achieved and it is possible that unintentional subversion of the transfer process by the range of individuals is occurring. Friesen, Kaye and associates (2009) noted that a disconnection between key players was a serious barrier and accentuates the need for true partnership between key actors. There are approaches that could be modified to meet these requirements such as that discussed by Daffron and North's (2011) in their consideration of the case studies on professional transfer of training. Furthermore, approaching the issue using the effective and specific generalisation tactics (Scheeler et al. 2016) would promote and validate strategies for improved ST performance. One difficulty to change however is the adoption of a university-large-lecture approach to prepare student teachers and the difficulty of developing more clinically-oriented programmes. Active and meaningful learning opportunities incorporating ToT processes within the lecture format would be useful to consider, rather than the 'chalk and tell' approach.

ToT is a western concept adopted by many developing nations and this is the case in Sāmoa. Adaptation and modification of approaches need to occur because of the cultural imperatives and so it was surprising that few cultural adaptations had been made in this setting. The research of McDonald (2002) in another Pacific nation indicated that for effective ToT, a change of emphasis was likely to be beneficial with increased attention to be given relationships and support as vehicles for transfer effectiveness. Lim (1999) also considered social values as an important component of international transfer as was the need to make accommodations for language issues. In this study, language was considered as a potential barrier and it was recommended that strategies (e.g., student teacher peer buddies) needed to be developed to overcome the difficulties—this could also be beneficial in Sāmoa.

Several implications arise from this study. A re-think of the partnership model of the student teacher—teacher educator—associate teacher is important. McDonald (2016) noted the complexity of interactions and potentiality for problems in the New Zealand setting and recommended that action be taken to promote a less adversarial approach. The parties should at least negotiate how best to utilise ToT approaches so that the student teacher is not disadvantaged in implementation of

ideas and skills in the classroom. More professional learning opportunities need to be made available to key parties (i.e. teacher educators, associate teachers and principals) to inform about transfer of training approaches and the need for coordinated action. This exploratory research is based upon a very small group of TEs and generalisation of findings is limited and therefore additional research would be beneficial for adding to knowledge. An expanded group of lecturers from the Faculty, as well as gathering data from other key players could provide a more valid response and add to the understanding. Furthermore, quantitative research concerning ToT impact and the identification of the most beneficial strategic approaches would be valuable.

This study concerned Sāmoan teacher educators' ideas and practices about ToT. Although limited in scope and relatively few participants, a tentative conclusion is that experience was championed over theory and evidence-based practices. This is similar to the international findings indicating that overall trainers/facilitators have an incomplete theory/knowledge base for ToT practices. There is a need for teacher educators to have a broader and refined approach to build upon their expertise. A rethink of how best to facilitate ToT so that student teachers implement the curriculum/skills in the schools is required—if these findings are characteristic of the approaches used, then teacher educators are disregarding evidence-based practices that could assist student teachers to become more effective teachers.

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Fa'asāmoa Bioethics and Healthcare decision-making in New Zealand

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Abstract

This paper addresses the shortcomings in the bioethics literature and the need to adequately address the lack of data on Pacific-specific healthcare decision-making in New Zealand. It provides evidence to address this gap in the bioethics literature whilst contributing to the discourse of decision-making undertaken by Sāmoan Healthcare Professionals (HPs) (such as General Practitioners, Hospital Doctors and Nurses) as well as the separate healthcare decisions undertaken by Sāmoan medical patients. This research articulates the cultural tensions and limitations in dichotomizing cross-cultural approaches to bioethics, whilst providing the plausible basis to develop a broad knowledge base of cultural factors, ethical practices, influences and understandings that are associated with fa'asāmoa bioethics in New Zealand. The interface between fa'asāmoa bioethics and health care decision making highlights the importance of capturing the social, spiritual, cultural and historical variables which fundamentally shape the beliefs of Sāmoan HPs as well as Sāmoan medical patients in New Zealand. These factors are not only complex but they also play an important role in the initiation, development and maintenance of fa'asāmoan bioethics in healthcare decisions. The task for the HP is to use his/her clinical skills to promote the patient's wellbeing which requires that the patient's own values and goals of care (Kaldjian 2004) are integrated in the healthcare decision-making process (Brock 2009). Considerable attention will be directed to the field of bioethics whilst focusing on the clinical realities of HPs decision-making (Siegler 1978). Given that New Zealand's current system of healthcare decision-making for HPs is guided by the New Zealand Medical Association Code of Ethics (also based on the Beauchamp and Childress (2013) four principles of biomedical ethics), in addition to the Code of Health and Disability Services Consumer's Rights, it is arguably characterised as individualistic and self-autonomous. Further research into fa'asāmoa bioethics may support the New Zealand HPs working with Sāmoan medical patients and alongside Sāmoan HPs through the development of a bioethical framework whilst enriching and adding value to the healthcare decision-making discourse.

Keywords: Fa'asāmoa bioethics, healthcare, decision-making

Introduction

Fairbairn-Dunlop (2006: 9) once claimed that: "the Pacific challenge is to develop a post-colonial ethics discourse which is Pacific in philosophy and locally grounded in context". On this rhetoric, Nie (2008: 91) claims that culturally diverse people demand a unique set of bioethical principles and rules that reflect the richness of distinct cultural settings. Therefore, it is imperative for different cultural groups to develop their own bioethics frameworks.

Today, Sāmoans represent the largest proportion of the Pacific population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2017) alongside the Cook Islands Maori, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian and Tokelauan. There are similarities as well as unique distinctions in cultural beliefs, history, language and social structure across the diverse Pacific diaspora in New Zealand. Tukuitonga and Finau (1997) indicate that sub-groups exist within each group whilst there are others with multiple ethnicities as well as a high proportion born and raised overseas or in New Zealand. Anae et al (2017: 48) take a step further by acknowledging the pressing demands confronted by the "pioneer generation" (or the parents of first generation overseas born/raised children (i.e., the new generation)), which often took precedence such as raising their new generation children and adapting to a new country. The new generation had to also grapple with rebuilding learnt traditional knowledge of *fa'asāmoa* and *fa'amatai* (Sāmoa's Chiefly System), such as *tautua* (service) and *fa'aloalo* (respect), from their pioneer parents, contextualised alongside other issues of identity and social justice (Anae 1998, 2002, 2006).

When examining other cultural and religious perspectives to health, alongside a holistic socioecological framework, health is not strictly conceptualised as the absence of disease and infirmity but a state of social, mental, physical and spiritual well-being (Finau 1997). In numerous health studies, most Pacific patients acknowledge their faith in God (Pacific Health Research Centre 2003). Such faith affirming comments is often misinterpreted and overgeneralised by culturally incompetent providers as the adoption of a fatalistic approach to health outcomes (Tukuitoga 2001). The Medical Council of New Zealand corrected this misconception although it had published an article from Dr Colin Tukuitonga twelve years earlier which claimed that Pacific people are often fatalistic and apathetic in matters of health (Medical Council of New Zealand 2013). This critical gap in knowledge requires further research for more measurable evidence of cultural competence by Health care providers to monitor patterns of use, disparities in health status, or whether quality indicators are in place to determine accountability (Chin 2000).

In the healthcare setting, data from the Medical Council New Zealand 2013 workforce survey, indicate that Māori and Pacific peoples (2.7 percent and 1.8 percent respectively) remain under-represented in the medical workforce (Ministry of Health 2016). However, with the rising number of Māori and Pacific medical students, it is envisioned that this could lead to an emergence in Māori and Pacific doctors (Pacific Perspectives 2013).

Horner (et al 2004) and McNeil (et al. 2002) argue that HPs should be adequately equipped with cultural competence skills to better understand the health-related attitudes, beliefs and local realities of other ethnic groups or social class groups. Of primary consideration in cross-cultural practice is for increased sensitivity on the part of HPs (Brislin 1993; Koenig 1997). Tiatia (2008) further indicates this will help address the lack of access to quality health care, help remove barriers such as mistrust of the HP community and reduce covert biases (i.e., gender and cultural stereotyping) both HPs and patients arguably bring to the processes of patient care. With this in mind, it is questionable whether the current delivery of healthcare services in New Zealand have been informed by evidence-based research specific to cultural competence practice in the healthcare setting.

This paper will attempt to conceptualise fa'asāmoa bioethics of both Sāmoan HPs and Sāmoan medical patients. Moreover, to develop a fa'asāmoa bioethics framework to better assist HPs involved in some aspect of cultural competence and healthcare decisions for Sāmoan medical patients. It explicates the significance of Sāmoan cultural reference points such as *tapu* and *tofa sa'ili* (Tamasese 2009) as being integral to *Fa'asāmoa (Sāmoa's Customary System)* and utilises these cultural reference points to address the paucity of evidence in the application of fa'asāmoa bioethics in healthcare decisions.

By interrogating the four principles of bioethics [“commonly referred to as “principilism”] (Beauchamp and Childress 2013; MacLeod and James 1997), this paper will also investigate whether the principilist approach could be enriched alongside a Fa'asāmoa bioethical framework for healthcare decision-making by contextualising the collective values which are fundamental to both Sāmoan HPs and Sāmoan medical patients. This approach could also serve as a useful starting point to support New Zealand HPs when being consulted by Sāmoan medical patients during the medical exchange or working alongside Sāmoan HPs.

Background to the development of Bioethics

Jonsen (2000) claims that the terms bioethics, healthcare ethics and biomedical ethics are often used interchangeably. Although first documented into literature as late as 1969 (Jonsen 1998, 2000, 2002, 2005), the field of bioethics had already emerged in response to the technological advancements of the 1900s. However, Rothman (1991) disputes this claim by arguing that human experiments and ethical risks have been practised for “millennia”.

Between 1945 and 1965, wartime research focused specifically on responding to military needs at the time whilst simultaneously improving health care for the civilian sectors with the initiation of organ transplantation, brain surgery, heart surgery, the use of antibiotics and life-sustaining machines—the dialysis machine, the pacemaker and ventilator (Jonsen 2000). The rapid changes in technology, gave rise to unique moral issues and ethical dilemmas which warranted further attention. HPs and Scientists during the 1950s would meet to address questions about how to decide on these contentious ethical areas, from resource allocation due to the lack of medical supplies. Health laws and regulations proliferated in the ensuing decades, taking into consideration the ethical principles and guidelines to determine who lives and who decides (Rich 2013).

Unethical lapses in biomedical and behavioural studies resurfaced in Europe, following the Nazi medical experiments of World War II in Europe (Rothman 1987; Truog 2012) whereby the Nuremberg Code was issued in 1947, to ensure that researchers must recruit competent research subjects who understood the nature of the research and voluntarily gave informed consent (Annas and Grodin 1992).

Similarly, in the United States, the 40 year Tuskegee Syphilis Study (1932–1972) comprised of 399 Tuskegee-based African American men with syphilis (infected) who were observed and untreated, in comparison to the control group of 200 Tuskegee-based African American men (uninfected) (Rich 2013). Two years after the unethical practices of this study were exposed by a medical reporter, the National Research Act was enforced in 1974, followed by the establishment of the National Commission on Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research (Commission). This was the first commission of its kind in the United States which led to the development of the three fundamental principles to help guide any research using human subjects—respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. This was adopted in the Commission’s first report in 1979, known as the Belmont Report (National Institutes of Health 1979).

Also in 1979, Beauchamp and Childress published the first edition of *Principles of Biomedical Ethics*, which comprised of the four bioethical principles: autonomy (i.e., the right of the individual seeking healthcare treatment to make her/his own independent choice)—now referred to as respect for autonomy in its seventh edition (Beauchamp and Childress 2013), non-maleficence (i.e., as stated in the Hippocratic oath: “above all, do no harm”), beneficence (i.e., acting in the best interests of the individual), and justice (i.e., adhering to principles of equality and fairness). Three of the Beauchamp and Childress bioethical principles were espoused in the Belmont Report 1979 (National Institutes of Health 1979).

In their model, Beauchamp and Childress advocate that in working through difficult questions, the four main principles must be considered. The solution to the problem that best meets these principles is the one that is most justified. This approach also aligns with Jiwani’s principlist approach (2008), whereby a principle-driven approach is useful for resolving ethical dilemmas by

applying such principles to cases (Jiwani 2008). However, one must first explain how these principles are applicable to the context of healthcare decision-making, through the analysis of alternatives in order to determine which aligns most with the favoured principles. The case study examples (discussed later) will be used to explicate bioethical principles adopted by both HPs and medical patients during the healthcare decision-making process.

However, Western bioethics is largely influenced by the four principles outlined by Beauchamp and Childress (2013). It has not only developed into the eminent bioethics textbook constituting the diverse strands of contemporary bioethics (Pellegrino 1993), the four principles of bioethics have become one of the most useful tools for HPs involved in healthcare decision-making for analyzing and resolving bioethical problems. This approach has also been favoured by early Western bioethicists, first in the principles for research ethics articulated by Henry Beecher in 1966 in his criticism of research practices applied to healthcare. Beecher (1966) argued for peer review of research, protecting the rights and welfare of research participants, and ensuring appropriate informed consent. Beecher also exhorted researchers to reform the status quo, by cautioning both researchers and the public about unethical research practices in the United States, including the Tuskegee Study alluded to earlier (Beecher 1966).

Lee (2010) and other ethicists (Sokol 2009; Walker 2009) also critique the use of principlism across culturally diverse communities according to different grounds. Walker claims that principlism is an incomplete ethical framework when the crucial elements of a broader ethical debate are not considered. Walker argued that the four principles are inadequate for managing other ethical issues which arise in the healthcare setting. Walker pointed out that some moral principle are culturally specific which reinforces the inadequacy of the four principles to capture the diverse discussion of bioethics.

Sokol (2009) argues that Walker's idea of principlism is too simplistic and collapses when specification (described by Sokol as the process by which context-sensitive norms apply to the four universal principles specific to situations) is not balanced alongside common/universal morals. Sokol further clarifies the position of cultural specific norms as situated within a broad ethical framework of universal moral principles.

Before covering this in detail, it is instructive to offer a brief overview of bioethics by presenting two comparative cases. The first case covers key ethical dilemmas facing HPs when working with Asian families, followed by second case covering ethical dilemmas facing Sāmoan HPs when undertaking healthcare decisions for medical patients.

Case study 1: Asian Bioethics

Windsor et. al., (2008) explored cultural competence in the mode of communication when telling the truth to Asian families in a hospital setting with particular emphasis on breaking bad news, identifying the locus of decision-making within a family and end of life care decision-making. The three models of decision-making endorsed in this context were patient autonomy, non-maleficence, and beneficence. However, a full disclosure model (focusing on the progress prior to informed consent for treatment) was considered less appropriate for patients from other diverse cultures, as discussed further in Case Study 2.

Kung (2007) highlights the underlying tensions faced when grappling with finding a middle ground between competing ideologies such as between ideas of science and religious practices or the secular and the sacred. In Dr Jing-Bao Nie's (cross-cultural and international bioethics expert) review of *The Way of Asian Bioethics* by Michael Cheng-tek Tai (2008), he asserts that it is deeply flawed to adopt the Western approaches of bioethics without considering the cultural and social context (Nie 2008:91). Furthermore, Tai believes that the influential "four principles" of Beauchamp and Childress (2013)—autonomy, beneficence, justice and nonmaleficence—are not universally binding and should be modified.

Tai's solution was originally applied to an Asian bioethics context (Nie 2008) which is often irreconcilable with Engelhardt's approach to bioethics. Engelhardt (1997), is a well-known Western Bioethicist in China, notably dichotomizing Asian bioethics and Western Bioethics and other non-Western bioethics. Other Asian bioethicists including Fan (2011) are part of the 'Engelhardt circle' (Nie 2007). Similarly, Fan (1997: 309) argues that the "Western principle of autonomy demands self-determination, assumes a subjective conception of good and promotes the value of individual independence, whilst the East Asian principle of Autonomy requires family determination, presupposes an objective conception of the good and upholds the value of harmonious dependence."

Nie (2007: 145) challenges Fan's dichotomizing of the principle of autonomy: One Western and the other Eastern Asian which makes it as controversial as Fan's claim that the Western to Eastern cultural differences are "incommensurable". Nie (2007: 143) further claims that "a long rooted stereotype in my view—exists to these complex questions. It characterizes Asian bioethics as communitarian, collectivist or family-centred, in contrast to Western bioethics which is portrayed as individualistic in essence". By formulating a transcultural bioethics framework, Nie investigated bioethics in China from a Chinese-Western perspective (Nie 2011) whilst drawing on an interpretive or transcultural approach to bioethics, resisting cultural stereotypes, upholding common humanity and morality and through the acknowledgement of the richness, dynamism, internal plurality within every culture, whether in China, the West or elsewhere.

Pacific bioethics literature

"Pacific people judged the quality of their health care by their sense of whether or not the *va* [sacred space] was being respected. Consultations are more than just a commercial transaction in which doctors provide a service and patients pay; when the relationship between patient and health professional respects the *va*, then, to the Pacific person, there is a completely different quality to the relationship" (Primary care for Pacific People 2012).

du Plessis and Fairbairn-Dunlop (2009: 110) claim that there are a number of inter-related and cross-cutting themes which set the context for a comprehensive debate about the continuation of Pacific bioethics. Tamasese (2009: 116) approaches the distinction between the Sāmoan indigenous concepts of *tapu* and *tofa sa'ili* whilst attempting to situate these indigenous concepts in "the contemporary Sāmoan experience and understandings of the ethical." On this premise, Tamasese

(2009) captures the different system of ethical practices and understandings between the indigenous experience and the contemporary experience. Further research is needed to explore and document Pacific bioethics before it is lost which has given rise to what knowledge should be retained, passed on, to whom and how this should be done (du Plessis and Fairbairn-Dunlop 2009: 111).

du Plessis and Fairbairn-Dunlop (2009: 111) also claim that in Pacific communities knowledge is shared communally with the overall objective of achieving good life for all its members. This also echoes Anae's (2001) conceptualisation of *aiga* (meaning Family in Sāmoan) as one of the most central features of *Fa'asāmoa* or as Fleming *et al* (1997) note, if individualism is the essence of the Western culture, then being part of a family—*aiga, anau, magafoa, kaiga, kainga, and kawa*—is the essence of Pacific Islands cultures (Fleming *et al* 1997). Tamasese (2009: 123) further adds that “Collective decision-making is privileged in Sāmoan indigenous culture” as it adheres to the principles of *tapu* and *tofa sa'ili*. These principles are inseparable and implicit in the spiritual expression and collective practice of *tofa sa'ili*. For example, in the Sāmoan indigenous context, the principles of *tofa sa'ili* and *tapu* are reflected in the decision-making powers of matai (Sāmoan chiefs) with matai designated sacred roles with presumed divine designation.

Tamasese (2009: 116) claims that “engaging in meaningful debates about bioethics and Pacific research is a constructive contribution to an extremely complex problem”. Moreover, Tamasese asserts that bioethical declarations that dismiss the recognition of the sacred are essentially the same as rejecting the indigenous Pacific context.

Fa'asāmoa bioethics literature

Lee (2007: 1) claims that “Any issues facing Pacific peoples must be discussed in the context of both the islands and their diasporas, taking the processes of ‘world enlargement’ and transnationalism into account”. Anae *et al* (2017) agree with Lee's claim given the implication that *matai* (Chiefs) born overseas or outside Sāmoa (i.e., transnational *matai*) are deemed as not as authentic networks of connection or exchange in comparison to *matai* born in Sāmoa and continue to reside in Sāmoa (Gershon 2012, 2007; Gough 2006, 2009).

Suaalii-Sauni (2017: 175) provides further guidance by unpacking the core elements of custom principles, an area which is largely under-theorised, to further assist with the development of evidence-based Sāmoan indigenous knowledge, effectively seeking to minimise any misinterpretation and manipulation of custom. The essence of *Fa'asāmoa* culture underpinning *Fa'asāmoa* bioethics (Anae *et al.*, 2001; Gilson 1970; Meleisea 1995; Meleisea *et al.* 1987; Shore 1982; Suaalii-Sauni 2006; Tamasese, Peteru and Waldegrave 1997) are largely conceptualised by the values of *alofa* (love), *tautua* (service, to serve), *usita'i* (obedience, to obey), *fa'aaloalo* (respect, deference) and *mamalu* (dignity).

By advancing a *Fa'asāmoa* bioethics approach which draws out insights and wisdom from *Fa'asāmoa* values and customary practices, Tai (2008) also provides some guidance. In mutual participation there are ways to respect a patient's right as well as the role of the family, in which the decisions are shared jointly between the individual patient, family members and the physician (Nie 2008). The same rhetoric could also be applied through a transcultural lens, as conceptualised by Nie (2011), taking into consideration the *fa'asāmoa* context of Sāmoans living in Sāmoa and outside

Sāmoa. Arguably, there are plausible grounds for acknowledging the pluralistic conceptualisation of what constitutes fa'asāmoa as experienced and understood by Sāmoans in practice.

On this rhetoric, I agree with Tamasese conceptualisation that fa'asāmoa bioethics involves both *Tofa Sa'ili* (*Tofa* means wisdom in Sāmoan; *Sa'ili* means to search in Sāmoan) the search for wisdom, knowledge and truth; and *tapu* (meaning both sacred and taboo in Sāmoan). This search is largely grounded in a sense of connectedness to all things. According to Tamasese (2009), Sāmoan thinking is relational, pointing out the ethical dilemma underlying the tensions between searching for the wonder of God (as reflected in Francis Thompson's (1908) "God chasing" ideology) or wanting to know God (as reflected in Karl Barth's (1919) "God sickness" ideology). The latter is to assert arrogance. This practice draws on insights of contemporary Sāmoan practitioners who practice Sāmoan traditional healing whilst attempting to situate the two main indigenous Sāmoan reference points (*tofa sa'ili* and *tapu*) in contemporary Sāmoan experiences and understandings. Ultimately, Tamasese (2009) claims that the bioethics underpinning the pursuit of objectivity is likened to a "dance with and between power and vulnerability" (Gunn-Allen 1998: 64–65). As collective decision-making is an expression of what Tamasese describes as the Sāmoan indigenous reference.

Medico-legal context in New Zealand

In order to understand how healthcare decision-making is conceptualised, I will provide a brief outline of the medico-legal context regulating both HPs and medical patients in New Zealand.

Three years after the 1991 Harvard University study (examining the incidence of adverse events and negligence in hospitalized patients) the Health and Disability Commissioner Act 1994 (the Act) was passed into law which led to the establishment of the New Zealand Office of the Health and Disability Commissioner (HDC). The HDC is the leading authority responsible for the promotion and protection of Health and Disability Service Consumer (HDSC) rights. The Act enables the HDC to undertake independent investigations as the 'consumer watchdog'. In 1996, the Code of Health and Disability Services Consumers' Rights (the Code), the independent nationwide advocacy service, and the HDC complaints resolution service was also established. The Act is also the medico-legal attempt at balancing: a resolution of complaints⁴, quality improvement⁵ and provider accountability—ensuring providers are held accountable for their actions.

Another relevant Act is the New Zealand Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act 2004 (HPCA Act), which covers all health professionals, and provides mechanisms to ensure healthcare professionals are competent, registered, subject to regulation and also protects the health and safety of all New Zealanders (Ministry of Health 2016). It also requires that standards of clinical competence, cultural competence and ethical conduct are set by professional registration bodies and ensures that all healthcare professionals are familiar with the concept of cultural competence and is critical that it be demonstrated by them (Ministry of Health 2016).

Patient rights have been codified into a number of documents that are standards such as the Code, mentioned earlier, which includes medical informed consent and the advance directive.

⁴ Resolving complaints in relation to health and disability services.

⁵ Using the learning from complaints to improve the safety and quality of health and disability practices and systems and to promote best practice and consumer-centred care to providers.

Before the New Zealand Medical Association (NZMA) Code of Ethics was reviewed in 2014, it was heavily criticized as predominantly a Eurocentric, individual patient-focused monocultural document—separate to the doctor as independent practitioner and based on the four principles of Beauchamp and Childress (Gray 2014).

Healthcare decision-making in New Zealand

When faced with complex and irreversible medical situations often involving dynamic and nontransparent decisions that determine the outcome of life-sustaining treatment, these healthcare decisions often translate into far-reaching consequences for the medical patient and their relatives. This highlights the need for HPs to also consider whether they are vulnerable to systematic reasoning biases (such as, gender, political, cultural or religious biases) which can affect the quality of healthcare decision-making especially in the case of severely ill patients. Kaldijan (*et al.* 2005) claims that a systematic approach to healthcare decision-making must be accessible to HPs and should be reflected in the style of healthcare decision-making that they undertake. Although partially resembling other approaches adopted in bioethics, this approach will recognise the ethical dilemmas in clinical practice that usually emanate as a result of a dynamic process of assessment as opposed to a prediagnosed assessment. Such a flexible approach makes it open to explore other issues which appear to be ethical at first but may actually relate more to insufficient communication, interpersonal conflict or at worst, incomplete awareness of existing clinical options.

The role of HPs religious beliefs in professional practice needs to be clarified in the wider medico-legal context. Other critical factors include personal beliefs such as religious commitment, culture and emotions. As paraphrased by Schleger, Oehninger and Reiter-Theil (2010: 3) "clinical situations that are characterized by complexity and uniqueness require particular sensitivity and competence regarding ethical issues". This supports the claims from recent studies highlighting the need to explore the ethical justification for healthcare decision-making and the need for thorough discourse on the quality of healthcare decision-making (Pfaefflin et al 2009; Rubin and Zoloth 2000; Kaldijan 2004). There is sufficient evidence presented for a case to develop a *fa'asāmoa* bioethical framework to help guide HPs and key decision-makers.

However, there is a lack of focus on patient empowerment in the literature and how HPs can better assist their patients during this empowerment process. The communication strategies of HPs can help to reinforce two types of communication approaches during the healthcare decision making process: (1) Communication-limiting marked by dependency and patient passivity; or (2) Patient-centred marked by open, active collaborative and full engagement (Roter 2005). Doak et al (1996) further highlight why patients should be guided to anticipate the next steps of their healthcare decisions specific to their healthcare context. When HPs provide patients with guidance about what to anticipate it helps facilitate patient empowerment. It also aims to ensure the doctor-patient experience is manageable, particularly for patients from different cultures and a low health literacy background.

Health literacy experts claim that the patient-centred approach helps to address the knowledge gaps in the medical exchange (Weiss 2007; Sudore and Schillinger 2009). Zarcodoolas et al (2006) further highlights the importance of incorporating a component of cultural literacy in health literacy. In this healthcare context, cultural literacy is the ability to adopt culture and social identity to act on and interpret information.

Cultural competence is also a vital component to improving patient health outcomes. Tailoring communication to ensure it is patient-centred is a useful starting point. Roter (2005) agrees that the Doctor-patient relationship is one which is characterised as reciprocal, whereby each party influences the other during the healthcare decision-making process of the medical exchange. The Medical Council of New Zealand (2006) argues that HPs need to be culturally competent in communicating with a cultural diversity of patients with cultures different to their own. As the more competent a HP is in terms of understanding a patient's context, the more meaningful, acceptable and relevant the treatment is to the patient.

Fa'asāmoa bioethics in healthcare decision-making by Healthcare Professionals

To discern how *tapu* (or sacred relations) might inform Fa'asāmoa bioethics "is to suggest that it carries with it an ethic of care—one framed in relational terms, where those relations have a sacred essence" (Tamasese 2009: 121). In this way, Tamasese (2009) advises Pacific researchers seeking to understand Fa'asāmoa bioethics to undergo critical self evaluation of their own constraints or limitations and that of their cultural reference point. This approach is pivotal to the seminal work of Arthur Kleinman (1980, 1988, 2006) focusing on the need for critical self-reflection by medical students and HPs in the act of care-giving. A similar rationale is indicative of the nature of human interaction in the caring process. In this case, MacLeod and Egan (2007: 241) point out how essential it is that "each professional has an understanding of themselves, their personal values and their own insights". This might be achieved through a number of means such as "personal reflection and supervision". Tamasese (2009) claims that one must have an understanding of the wider context of Fa'asāmoa bioethics which is inseparable from understanding of the principles of *tapu* and *tofa sa'ili* (Tamasese 2009).

In comparison to Case study 1, this Case study looks at the experience of a Sāmoan HP and Sāmoan medical patient involved in healthcare decision-making.

Case Study 2: Fa'asāmoa Bioethics

Dr Hopoi (personal communication, 5th July 2017), a Sāmoan General Practitioner in New Zealand, states that it is not uncommon for other Sāmoan HPs to view the Doctor-patient relationship as one which is *tapu* and spiritual when expressed as *tautua* through the act of imparting knowledge and through the administration of care towards her medical patients. This echoes Sister Vitolia Mo'a analysis whereby *tausiga* is deemed as an ethical responsibility meaning 'to care for'. Alongside this, the expression of *tapu* and *tautua* in the faasāmoa are implicit in the duty to share in the carrying of burdens (Personal communication, Suaalii-Sauni 2007:33–60 in Suaalii-Sauni 2017: 177).

In many Asian and Pacific Island cultural traditions, the individual may have (and want) little input into the decision-making process, rather healthcare decisions may be decided by the family as a whole or relegated to the patient's doctor (Hattori et al., 1991; Long and Long 1982). On this rhetoric, by developing a Fa'asāmoa bioethics framework of healthcare decision-making it would enrich the decision-making experience of both HPs working alongside Sāmoan HPs and with Sāmoan medical patients by dispelling any cultural preconceptions, misinterpretations or dichotomizing stereotypes associated with fa'asāmoa bioethics (as alluded to in Table 1 below):

Table 1: Western bioethics vs Fa’asāmoa bioethics

Bioethical values in healthcare	Common assumptions of Western bioethics	Common assumptions of Fa’asāmoa bioethics
AUTONOMY	Individualism (inalienable)	Collectivism (often abdicated to loved ones)
DECISION-MAKING	Individual, independence	Holistic/shared approach, Interdependence
TRUTH TELLING	Full disclosure and clarity	Partial disclosure and ambiguity
ADVANCE CARE PLANNING PERCEPTIONS	Liberal, nonintrusive, reduces family stress	Authoritarian, highly intrusive, increases family stress
DECISIONAL AUTHORITY	Biomedical/bioethical reasoning	Familial relationship, love

(Adapted from Johnstone and Kanitsaki 2009).

The Fa’asāmoa Bioethics framework for decision-making is not intended to replace foundational bioethical principles by providing pragmatic solutions to challenging healthcare decisions through ethical justification (Kaldijan, Weir and Duffy 2005). Such a process allows room for transparency which thereby allows HPs to articulate a course of action and facilitate consensus based on a shared understanding of values or goals. In effect, this enhances clarity in healthcare decisions, whilst facilitating dialogue with medical patients and HPs who are impacted by such decisions.

Conclusion

In this paper, I presented evidence in response to the call by prominent academics, Fairbairn-Dunlop (2006), Nie (2008), Tamasese (2009), Suaalii-Sauni (2017), Anae et al (2017) to name a few. The call to dispel any dichotomised cross-cultural notions of bioethics, to add value to this discourse, to interrogate our uniquely diverse customs and values, grounded in our own local realities, whilst capturing the complex nature at the interface between fa’asāmoa bioethics and healthcare decision-making in New Zealand. In the same rhetoric, I call all HPs to develop their own transcultural healthcare decision-making frameworks, which could be enriched alongside the NZMA Code of ethics and Beauchamp and Childress’s principles of bioethics. This research also serves to raise the bar of HP culturally competent behaviour, whilst encouraging HPs to consider critical self-reflection of their own personal values and belief systems before administering care to their medical patients. In closing this paper, I will direct you to the words of Sāmoa’s former Head of State, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta’isi Tupuola Tufuga (Tamasese): “If bioethics is about the value of life and the value on life, then for Sāmoans and other Pacific nations who privilege the sacred, bioethics is about a respect for the sacred, for the *va tapuia*. Bioethical declarations that refuse to recognise the sacred will ultimately refuse to recognise the indigenous Pacific context.”(2009: 123–24).

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Evaluation of an Expressive Art as Therapy Program Undertaken in Sāmoa

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Abstract

This summative evaluation study was undertaken to ascertain the outcomes and long-term impact of an expressive arts therapeutic intervention in Sāmoa, as well as provide an improved template for future use. Following a devastating tsunami in 2009, a therapy programme outlined in an earlier report (Latai and McDonald 2016,) was implemented to assist the children to cope with the trauma of death and destruction. In this second report, face to face semi-structured individual and focus interviews were used with 8 students and 6 teachers who were part of the programme the purpose being to gain insight into the long-term impact of the intervention via their perception' and recollections. Their stories and experiences were elaborated upon during these interviews and a thematic analysis approach was used to analyse the data. Although years had passed, the findings indicated that the intervention was still regarded favourably and memories were present of an internalised healing via sharing experience. Notable themes included the value of the sharing, emotional release, creation of meaning, stories, future preparation, use of outputs as records of the event and the cathartic experience of using the expressive arts media. Some teacher perceptions were also reported. Several suggestions were provided for improvement of the programme and the limitations and future research directions are outlined. It is concluded that these findings add to the local and international literature about the value and impact of expressive arts interventions to assist with coping of trauma.

Keywords: expressive arts, therapy, trauma, tsunami

Introduction

Creative and expressive arts activities have been recognized since the early 19th century for having significant therapeutic value (Malchiodi 2014). Utilizing arts as an additional treatment for psychological/psychiatric treatment started to develop as a new discipline with the formal training of art therapists in the early 1900's. Despite the growing reports and studies of how the arts have been utilized to promote healing in a range of psychological problems, more studies are needed to determine the effectiveness of such interventions in assisting individuals to overcome trauma from events such as natural disasters, abuse, war and violence. In this paper, the Moving on Art Therapy programme of 2009 developed for school students in Sāmoa following a tsunami was evaluated some 7 years later to ascertain the long-term impact.

Literature Review

The use of expressive arts as therapy has existed almost since prehistoric times. In more recent times however, the arts have been used more formally to assist individuals to develop a healthy psychological response. These programmes have been developed for a range of difficulties such as adapting to trauma, war, the experience of being a refugee, imprisonment, grief/loss, abuse, social skills deficits, self-esteem problems, and so on. In the past few years, the use of art-based therapies for facilitating more manageable responses to natural disasters have been developed and considerable literature is developed how these programmes can contribute positively to welfare of individuals. Nevertheless, although many descriptions and reports about these programmes have surfaced, more research is needed particularly concerning programme effectiveness. In this study an evaluation programme study was undertaken to ascertain the impact of an arts therapy programme on individuals who had experienced a devastating tsunami in Sāmoa (Latai and McDonald 2016). It is believed that this summative evaluation will make valuable contributions to understanding the

programme intervention and usefulness and has created a foundation for development of future programmes.

Expressive arts, also known as creative arts, comprises the following disciplines—visual art, creative story writing, bibliotherapy, dance/movement drama, poetry, drama and play (Malchiodi 2014). The following definition captures the essence of it:

[Expressive therapies].....are a form of psychotherapy that uses creative modalities, including visual art making, drama, and dance/movement to improve and inform physical, mental and emotional well-being. Arts therapy works by accessing imagination and creativity, which can generate new models of living, and contribute towards the development of a more integrated sense of self, with increased self-awareness and acceptance (ANZATA 2012).

The arts therapist can use these multi-modes of creative expression and integrate them with traditional psychological therapy to create a unique intervention to assist in the understanding and alleviation of difficulties. Creating opportunities to stimulate the client to express ideas in a non-verbal manner is the essential beginning of the approach to promote healing. For instance, the therapist can ask the client to create a story via drawing, rather than discussing it and this is then followed by an interaction between both therapist and client making meaning and working together to identify a resolution via the subsequent discussion.

Art and creativity has been found to be a significant expressive outlet for children. For example, findings from the art therapy literature clearly indicate that it can help children reconcile emotional conflicts and other psychological problems (Kramer and Gerity 2000). Furthermore, Malchiodi (2005) emphasized the importance of expressive arts therapies that have unique features not found in traditional psychotherapy she believes that creative therapies promote a more rapid self-exploration than verbal expression and the doing, making and creating energizes the client needs to move forward emotionally. Another significant quality centres around the individual's imagination which utilises past and future events to promote a cathartic reflection while others have noted that the creative arts therapies have improved children's verbal and creative thinking, reading comprehension, self-perceptions and intrinsic motivation (Harvey 1989). Expressive arts can also facilitate improved psychosomatic responses (Meyerowitz-Katz and Reddick 2016)—for example, traumatic stress can be alleviated as the arts release the stored memories leading to a healthier somatic response. This process provides a unique healing that can effectively complement traditional psychotherapy (Malchiodi 2014)

A debated issue relates to the nature of the arts interventions, for is it a recognized therapeutic intervention or simply an activity that has value to heal? Despite the argument for the 'primacy of therapeutic intent', experts mostly agree that expressive or creative arts alone have capacity to heal. Malchiodi (2013), who discusses creative art therapies and relates it to a continuum of practice-from 'art as therapy' to 'art therapy', considers that 'art as therapy' is a personification of the art making concept and this creative process is a growth-producing experience as well. It can be likened to mainstream counselling - Roger's (1986) humanistic client-centred approach provides conditions for psychological growth but other counselling approaches are also often important whereby the counsellor takes a leading role and implements action strategies to achieve healing. Likewise, in the expressive arts approach, the creative activity, along with a facilitative role, are important (Malchiodi 2013).

Numerous commentaries and research reports have detailed the use of arts as therapy (and art therapy) in assisting with healing of traumatised children and adults. Indeed, for over 200 years,

Frost (2005) charted how children had coped and had developed in very adverse situations (including the holocaust) by being engaged in activities such as play, work and the creative arts. There are now a growing number of other sources that have provided accounts of how the creative arts can be used purposefully. Carey (2006) for example, provided a comprehensive overview of numerous well-designed programmes that have contributed to the psychological well-being of young people who were exposed to trauma.

In a survey of the research on classroom-based programmes, Beuregrad (2014) outlined the usefulness of expressive arts for those who had experienced either conflict in their country, natural disasters, severe economic disadvantage or refugee turmoil. Throughout the world, and in developed and developing countries, many reports attest to the value of such programme. In a comprehensive school-based intervention in the UK (Cortina and Fazel, 2015), *The Art Room* used group interventions in schools for students with emotional and behavioural difficulties. It noted that over 10,000 students who proceeded through intervention, showed a significant reduction in emotional and behavioural problems with an almost 90 percent improvement in mood and feelings. In another expressive arts programme in Canada, undertaken by Rousseau, Drapeau, Lacroix, Bglishy and Heusch (2004) behavioral and emotional problems were targeted in refugee youth and this had a beneficial impact upon the self-esteem and symptomatology of immigrant and refugee children from various cultures and backgrounds. A four-week arts therapy programme in a school in Sri Lanka helped children effectively overcome the impact of the widespread 2004 Asian tsunami (Chilcote 2007). In a Polynesian context, Latai and Taavao (2012) and Latai and McDonald (2016) detailed how the school context was used as the centre of the community to develop a programme assisting children in Sāmoa to manage the suffering that followed a tsunami in 2009.

In a number of the studies there is a clear programme adaptation to the culture of the context. For example, in a study undertaken by Fenner, Ryan, Latai and Percival (2017) it was revealed art making was a recovery mechanism and supported enhanced levels of self-awareness, identity and empowerment and enabling youth and young adults in Sāmoa to make an improved social contribution to family and village life. It was centred upon the values and framework of *fa'asāmoa* as was the companion study to this research (Latai and McDonald 2016). Stevenson (2012) discussed the importance of the arts to the Pasifika region and there have been a range of Sāmoan reports (eg. Ryan et al. 2015) about how art and the making of cultural artefacts can assist individuals to promote wellness. These accounts are suggestive of a growing literature on the value of expressive arts for healing, when adapted to the context but additional research is needed.

Although there is a growing literature about expressive arts programmes, an urgent need for more research to identify effective programmes and strategies that have been implemented is needed. There are some difficulties however, for as van Westrhenen and Fritz (2014) noted following an exhaustive survey of the literature, methodological issues have prevented creative or expressive art therapies as being viewed as an equally effective approach to other psychotherapies. This is also acknowledged by Machiodi (2005) who indicated the need for wide ranging research and investigations into the efficacy of the use of arts to heal. As Kaimal and Blank (2015) have discussed, there is an urgency to undertake summative evaluation programmes as a means of promoting development—such evaluations can facilitate further research, obtain participant perspectives and voices for future planning, generate evidence for funding opportunities, assist with integration of strategies and document the lessons learned. Accordingly, this summative evaluation study has been developed to investigate outcome effectiveness and make links to future developments.

In this present study, an evaluation has been undertaken (7 years after the event) to assess the efficacy, value and long-term impact of the 2009 Moving on Art as Therapy Program (refer to Latai & McDonald, 2016 for a description) implemented to help children overcome the trauma associated with a tsunami. In this initial outline and description of the programme, which was reported via a simple exploratory qualitative and quantitative design, it was identified as an effective intervention. In this follow-up impact evaluation, the conclusions of Stuckey and Noble (2010) were used to develop a framework for the research platform. In their commentary, these researchers discussed in a wide-ranging evaluation of studies that expressive arts programmes can significantly improve wellness - but interpretation and findings can be difficult at times to analyse because of the wide variation of programmes and intent. Moreover, they noted many of the studies were observational, had small sample sizes and at best elementary experimental design with no control groups and hence limited in generalisability. On the other hand, it was also outlined that qualitative studies provide very important meaning but future studies could enhance understanding if there was an incorporation of both qualitative and quantitative measure. Furthermore, they urged that future research studies should be undertaken with diverse cultural and socioeconomic groups, and with longer term follow-ups to ascertain the sustainability of interventions. This current evaluation was mindful of these recommendations.

Method

This was a qualitative summative evaluation impact study. It enabled a wider perspective interpretation since it was undertaken years after the intervention—it could provide data on whether there was sustainability of objectives and outcomes, if the resources were adequate, and help with making meaningful assessment of what worked and what didn't. It was considered valuable to gather long-term data on participant internalisation of the programme impact and thereby provide additional information about its value and utility. Impact evaluations, although having some limitations (the main ones being accessing participants and recall) are regarded as a valuable source of data (Gertler et al. 2016) providing evidence of the long-term utility of a programme. The study was undertaken with a sample of the participants (14 volunteers were identified by the school authorities) who were previously involved in the expressive arts therapy programme and additional information concerning responses of outside agencies was incorporated into the findings. Approval to use the schools as research sites was obtained from the Sāmoan Ministry of Education Sports and Culture and subsequently all participants were interviewed at a school except for one interviewed off campus. The table below indicates type of interview, gender and age of participants.

Table1. Interview type, gender, age and participant code of participants

INTERVIEW TYPE	GENDER	AGE	CODE
Individual interview	Male	15 years	15M
Individual interview	Male	17 years	17M
Individual interview	Male	19 years	19M
Focus group students	5 females	18-19 years	FGS
Focus group teachers (Secondary)	4 females 2 males	>30 years	FGT

Each interview lasted between 20–30 minutes, was audio recorded and then transcribed. The two researchers interviewed the participants in English, but Sāmoan language was used when necessary to elaborate or to deal with any uncertainties that arose. In addition, probes following the questions were asked. The students were encouraged to answer the questions but also encouraged to elaborate upon their answers. The following open-ended questions were asked of all participants:

1. Please provide for us your overall feelings and thoughts about the Moving On Art Therapy program that was implemented after the tsunami.
2. Do you think it was a good idea to implement it? Why? What did it accomplish?
3. What were the impacts on you and others?
4. What was the most memorable aspect of the program?
5. Were there any negative outcomes?
6. What should be improved/changes next time?

The survey findings were categorised into themes using a thematic analysis procedure (Miles et al. 2013). A range of procedures were used to ensure trustworthiness and included use of the researchers' academic, research and experiential backgrounds, the knowledge base of the local context and culture, understanding of the programme and use of participants' dialogue. Ethical approval for the evaluation was obtained from the University Research Ethics Committee of the National University of Sāmoa and the anonymity, confidentiality, right of withdrawal and intention to publish conditions were outlined to all participants.

Findings

This evaluation was concerned with the implementation of an expressive arts as therapy programme, the purpose being to assess impact, make planning for any future programmes and inform the literature. A survey of a sample of the participants was undertaken and other indices were also considered which provided additional feedback. Overall, the participants indicated a very

favourable response and appreciated the opportunity to engage. From an analysis of the participants' data, themes were identified and these included: sharing of the event, emotional reactivity and well-being, personal recollections, teacher perceptions, bringing meaning and interpretation during chaos, provision of framework for future calamities, the provision of a historical record and the experience (catharsis) of engaging with the art media. Several suggestions were also provided for improvement of the programme. From an examination of these themes it was apparent that a meta-theme of 'healing with sharing' was evident. Following the implementation, there was also considerable interest generated in the outcomes and this was further evidence of its success—requests for display of outputs (internationally and locally), talks about the programme and potential implementation in other domains, university proposals for research, publication of a book, probable curriculum implementation—all attested to the impact of the expressive arts programme.

A key component of arts therapy is the sharing of ideas and this was undertaken with peers, teachers and community members. This was indeed regarded as one of the highlights by the participants. It provided an opportunity for the expressions and the responses of others to the intervention and became an avenue for therapeutic discussion. Some of the senior students noted that this level of sharing had not occurred before in the community.

.....we didn't share [like this] before this programme... (15M)

The programme helped students to share ideas with family and this sharing had not occurred before (FGT)

One of the key characteristic expressive arts therapies is that the output communications are an alternative to verbal communication, which may be difficult for some children (and particularly so following a disaster)—it can provide an additional enriched perspective. Some of the teachers recognised this as a feature of the intervention as a particularly valid response in the absence of words.

Some had an incapacity to express verbally but able to express via pictures.....it was a record for them (FGT)

Writing enabled expression their feeling and ideas (FGT)

Images were real, realistic, emotional like fear, sorrow and death (FGT)

Apart from the general comments about sharing, others noted more specific features - it promoted a focal point for all the community (students, teachers, parents) to come together, network about the products and provide opportunities to express feeling and thoughts together. It also demonstrated to many that art had many purposes, including the opportunity to share the very emotional expressions that were regarded as necessary and important at the time. As some noted:

The display time [was important] because it shared ideas and brought people together to express feelings (17M)

It opened up communication between people – it let them know how you feel and helps others open up (FGS)

The community liked the idea because it was shared between parents and students and they [the community members] learnt that expressions of sorrow (etc) could be expressed via art. (FGT)

Furthermore, sharing is often considered to be an important component of the stress cycle and indeed, many participants considered it as a coping response to alleviate the stress and discomfort

of the tsunami. Following the shock, disbelief and emergence of awareness it began the process of moving on.

It brought feelings of fear but then made me happy.....made me forget it (19M)

Helped my friends and I deal with pain by talking about it the picture I drew and shared and talked about what was happening. Drew picture of people fleeing from the waves (FGS)

Drawing made me happy and sad because I lost my brother.....I drew a picture of my brother (19M)

[Because of the programme]can throw away the pain, like a previous accident.....it can be released (FGT)

Sharing is easier when it is encouraged and supported by caring others as it supports reflection and permits the exploration of feelings and this facilitates healing. It was understood by many that expression via the expressive art activities promoted individual well-being and opportunity for discussion and listening by others at a time of personal and community turmoil. Whether it was an individual or collective activity, the emotional expression was largely considered to produce positive outcomes.

.....remembering via the programme was a negative, but in other ways was good as it opened up expression. (FGS)

It helped share the feelings rather than deal individually and get bigger problems. (17M)

It awoke my feelings and thoughts. Didn't want to think about it but drawing helped my emotions. (15M)

Often this expression of the feelings is very personal and using expressive arts provides an opportunity to share thoughts, feelings and perceptions about events perhaps in a more poignant manner than via a verbal description. For example, some of the senior students noted the very personal value of the programme to cope with the loss of family;

The programme helped me focus.....by doing the drawings.....they all had meanings.....it helped me recollect my family and the feelings about them (17M)

Drew pictures of family lost.....programme enabled me to do this to make me happy (19M)

Drew because my brother died and I loved him and missed him (19M)

At times, unintended consequences can occur in programmes. As indicated, it was considered by the children to assist them to overcome issues—mostly, it was inferred as a vehicle for abreaction and one for healing and moving on. Interestingly, however, although the programme was not designed as a therapeutic intervention for the teachers, it was indicated by some that it was beneficial for them. However, two teachers noted that revisiting the disaster via the programme had the potential to impact negatively on the children. Teacher comments included;

The programme helped me to release the grief and sorrow (FGT)

.....yes pain, but helped me move on (FGT)

It reminded them what happened.....may be some negatives there.... (FGT)

Some community members thought the programme brought pain and shouldn't be undertaken (FGT)

Although there was a very common theme of emotional release, there were other values of the programme identified. Some thought it provided a valid understanding of the meaning of the event and helped them to interpret it and promote a preparation/plan for any further calamities. Other

believed it provided a very significant historical record whilst some simply noted the (cathartic?) experience of the art activities.

Expressive arts therapies not only have therapeutic functions but can also provide needed information for understanding what had happened. At times of disasters and post-disaster, the immediate seeking of information becomes a priority—later re-activation of events is also purposeful as the events can become distorted and planning for the future requires a reality check. This clarity following the personal/community dislocation enabled a more thoughtful response. The Moving On programme provided an interpretation of the events, facilitated understanding and provided useful information.

The programme was enjoyed because it made us think about the face of the tsunami (FGS)

The pictures depicted the truth and reality (FGT)

It helped us remember..... and with understanding. (FGS)

It was useful for future calamities.... Gave advice about tsunami (19M)

In relation to this, one of the unexpected findings was that many of the teachers and students outlined how the programme outputs—such as the stories and drawings—could provide a record/reminder for future generations to inform them about the calamity.

It provided a record of what happened..... that's why it is important (17M)

It was a record and evidence for the public (FGT)

Captured the immediacy of the events (FGS)

The programme, although designed to facilitate healing also operated at another level—it provided the children with the opportunity to enjoy the use of the art (etc) resources made available to them—art was not part of the curriculum and it was a novelty to be able to use the media. Possibly however, this became a very positive experience because it helped them to escape the horrors of the event.

The art.... helped the children think and label key ideas.....the way they did it.....colour, media, the way they did it.....how applied. (FGT)

The art built motivation. (FGT)

Enjoyed the art experience..... being visual and an ongoing display of art.....this was very important (FGT)

The participants were asked to evaluate the programme and provide some suggestions for any future development. Almost all stated that the programme was worthy, acceptable as presented although a few responses indicated some considerations for any further implementation. Two of the teachers suggested it should have been extended further to the community with better facilities, resources and food provided. A number of the students wanted art activities incorporated into the curriculum and one teacher noted the pain that the children were experiencing and recommended a counselling intervention was also needed.

These findings from the surveyed participants indicated that there was a favourable response to the programme and it produced outcomes that were planned—the expressive arts promoted meaning, understanding, reflections and responses that facilitated a beginning to the healing process. Furthermore, the programme was not only therapeutic for the children but also the teachers and *aiga*. It was clear from the respondents that it was a memorable programme and provided an opportunity to 'share to heal'.

In addition to the evidence from the survey, there were also other indications that the programme was considered successful—for example, the numerous requests to share the programme. Invitations were received to make available the expressive arts outputs to the Environment Forum of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (Apia 2010) which parents and participants of the Moving On Art Therapy attended and voiced their support for further implementation of the program. The programme was also shared at the Resilience Exhibition, Bowen House, Parliament Building, Wellington (2011), the 5th Measina Conference in Apia (2011), the Sāmoa Conference National University of Sāmoa (2012) and the American Museum of Natural History in New York (2014). At these venues, some of the art work, stories and books of the children were displayed and requests for paper presentations received. The New York venue organisers also developed a web-site of the outputs and in 2010 the children's work was displayed at a memorial Service for tsunami victims with the collaboration of the National University of Sāmoa and the University of San Francisco. The family healing nights in Lalomanu, Aleipata, Lotoipue and Satitua Primary Schools in the Aleipata District in 2010 were received most positively and with considerable emotion. The Sāmoan Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development has recently requested a proposal similar to the Moving On Art Therapy to be submitted concerning its potential utilisation to assist women dealing with violence and abuse as one of their 2018 events.

A further indication of the esteem of the programme was the acceptance for a publication of a book—*O le Galulolo—Stories, Poems and Artworks by the Tsunami affected School Children of the Aleipata School District* (Latai and Taavao, 2012) and this has become a required text for the primary teacher trainees at the National University of Sāmoa. A range of other institutions indicated a desire to become involved to assist—for example, the University of San Francisco were keen for the children to release their thoughts via post-cards and the Faculty of Education at Victoria, University of Wellington as well as La Trobe, Melbourne University are keen to assist with research endeavours. Furthermore, the project, the book and the teaching of expressive arts (including expressive arts as therapies) at the NUS has consolidated the demands for art to be incorporated in the primary schools' curriculum. Recognising the importance of the programme, the Auckland Grammar Girls, Auckland National Art Supplies and New Zealand Aid provided support through teaching aids and resources for the facilitation of the intervention in 2010.

Overall, these findings indicate the success of the programme. The reports from the children, teachers and community responses provided evidence that it was considered important for the healing to help the children move on. Its impact was more than providing for the children however, as some of the teachers (as co-presenters and observers) also benefitted and the parents' involvement in the children's work and displays providing them with an insight. The subsequent interest in the programme was further evidence of the impact of the programme and its potential to facilitate healing.

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings of this evaluation have indicated the participants rated the programme as being worthy and effective in facilitating the healing of the children. Additional support acknowledging its importance was obtained from the requests for information and exhibitions of the outputs, an acceptance of a publication about the outputs, subsequent implementation of other similar programmes and the incorporation of knowledge from the project in the student teacher training

courses offered at the National University of Sāmoa. Teachers, the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture and the community at large applauded the efforts.

This programme evaluation highlighted several salient points. Essentially, Moving On was a reactive response and this emphasises the need for a much wider preparation plan for emergencies and trauma recovery. As in most countries, attention is directed to the immediate physical rehabilitation of people during disasters and the psychological-social needs can be overlooked and under-estimated. For example, consider the very high rates of psychological needs still not met following the devastating Christchurch earthquake in 2011 (Carville 2016). A comprehensive plan needs to be developed including the physical, emotional, social and spiritual needs of the people which need the expertise of a wide range of people including those with varied therapeutic skill and knowledge. Another important consideration relates to the need for the holistic needs of children. It was clear that the only psychological support made available to the children was via the programme and adjunctive services would have been very useful and could work alongside the programme implementers. Parents can often provide personal/psychological assistance (particularly in this cultural context) but it was probably insufficient—the parents themselves were traumatised seeking support and understanding. There is no formalised psychological assistance available to schools in Sāmoa to assist with the children's (and families) difficulties. The lack of art in the curriculum of the schools was also noted by many of the children; there was a plea by them for this to be incorporated into the school day. Apart from the psychological-developmental benefits the use of art media can be a therapeutic activity in itself. A renewed push for its incorporation within the schools' curriculum is necessary.

Furthermore, it became clear that the programme was novel as it involved the community in a manner that had not been previously experienced. The children and community enjoyed the interaction around the displays of art, stories, poems, (etc) and it provided a significant insight to the parents as well as comfort to the children. It was a strength of the programme and efforts to engage in closer parent-school activities that share the specific outputs of the children would be a benefit to the children, teachers and community in furthering learning. It is axiomatic: "At the end of the day, the most overwhelming key to a child's success is the positive involvement of parents." (Jane D. Hull)

Although the programme was implemented by a local and incorporated a culturally-sensitive approach it was considered, upon reflection, that additional features would have been an advantage for the participants. For example, the Latai and McDonald (2016) report on the programme indicated that some of the children responded in a spiritual manner and this was not always followed up in discussions. Indeed, this reminded the reviewers of the importance of the *fonofale* model (Pulotu-Endemann 2009) of well-being which although developed by a Sāmoan New Zealander, provides a timely reminder of the importance of holistic contextual development. Incorporating this model within future therapeutic programmes would be most useful as it emphasises an integrated perspective of dealing with the foundational culture and family issues and incorporating physical, spiritual, mental and other factors (age, context, etc).

As indicated, following the Art as Therapy implementation, there were many requests (both nationally and internationally) to share the programme and its outputs and to develop similar programmes for other contexts. This highlighted the importance that was attached to it and underscored the need to promote the development of such programmes. Since then, the programme protocols have altered in response to the experiences and research ensuring an

improved and strengthened strategy for future use. For example, incorporation of more spiritual aspects, increased parental and community involvement, collection of qualitative and quantitative process data whenever possible during implementation, engagement of some others to assist with future programme implementation and have a readily available supply of resources that could be immediately used.

This evaluation has several limitations. It was exploratory, limited in scope, involved a small number of participants and utilised qualitative data only. Because the evaluation was undertaken some years later, the access to available participants was limited (because many of the programme participants had moved away from the area) and it was likely that recall of events may have been incomplete impacting upon the validity and reliability of the findings. Therefore, because of these factors, a limited generalisation of the findings is only possible. Additional research could have examined the perspectives of the other key actors (e.g., teachers, parents, community leaders) in more detail and quantitative studies may have assessed the importance of the programme as well as rank the importance of the various components. Nevertheless, the evaluation being years later had an advantage because it provided some insight into the sustainability of the intervention impact.

The Moving On Arts Therapy programme was a noteworthy success. It provided much needed support to the children, teachers and parents to cope with the traumatic experience of the tsunami. It was recognised by others as a significant development and has been used to begin the development of programmes in other contexts. Contributions to the knowledge bases about expressive arts therapies has occurred and this has included practical approaches for coping with natural disasters and informing processes for disaster assistance. Of most importance, it provided support for the children to heal. "Whether through art, play, music, movement, enactment, or creative writing, expressive therapies stimulate the senses, thereby sensitizing individuals to untapped aspects of themselves and thus facilitating self-discovery, change, and reparation." (Malchiodi 2005:14)

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The Meaning and Value of Favourite Possessions in Environmental Transitions: A case of regional and international students studying in Sāmoa.

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Abstract

Consumers own possessions for the value and meaning they provide and many studies have predominantly focused on privately owned possessions (Ahuvia 2005; Dittmar 1994; Mehta and Belk 1991; Tian and Belk 2005). In the context of studying in a new country, this paper extends current research on possessions by arguing that favourite possessions that help students settle into a new environment are privately owned and not owned. Through convenience sampling, primary data was collected via in-depth interviews from eleven regional and international students studying at the Australian Pacific Technical College (APTC) and the National University of Sāmoa (NUS). Content Analysis was used to analyse the transcripts and the identified themes are verified against Bih's (1992) seven meaning structure of objects. Findings from this study indicate (1) the meaning and value of privately owned possessions helped students to settle in a new environment, (2) the meaning and value of places and people in Sāmoa also helped students settle and deal with culture shock and/or homesickness and (3) people and places are perceived as special and meaningful possessions in environmental transitions.

Key words: possessions, meaning, value, transitional environments, students, Sāmoa.

Introduction

Privately owned possessions that consumers are attached to offer a sense of identity and helps to define who they are, who they were and who they hope to become (Belk 1988 and Richins 1994). More than 50 years ago, Levy (1959) introduced an idea to the consumer behaviour discipline suggesting that possessions and their symbolic meanings are important because they communicate and represent our identities. Later studies in line with this thought explored the relationship between people and possessions (Sirgy 1982 and Morgan 1993). Tuan (1978: 472) suggested, "our fragile sense of self needs support, and this we get by having and possessing things because, to a large degree, we are what we have and possess". In the discipline of consumer behaviour, Belk (1988:139) supports Tuan (1978) by highlighting, "we cannot hope to understand consumer behaviour without first gaining some understanding of the meanings that consumers attach to possessions". Furthermore, he stressed, possessions are part of us because they are the things we call 'ours', and these include "external objects, personal possessions, persons, places, group possessions, body parts and vital organs" (Belk 1988: 140).

The connection between people, possessions and the meanings associated to possessions is extensive in marketing literature. The measurement of 'meaning' mainly looks at private possessions with previous studies identifying 'meaning' on the basis of 'favourite' (Mehta and Belk 1991), 'special' 'treasured' (Dittmar 1994), 'important' (Tian and Belk 2005), 'loved' (Ahuvia 2005) and 'shared' possessions (Wong et al. 2012). This study contributes to the limited literature that investigates the meaning and value of favourite possessions in environmental transitions (Bih 1992; Noble and Walker 1997; Mehta and Belk 1991). This study investigates the meaning and value of favourite privately owned and possessions not owned in environmental transitions in the context of regional and international students studying in Sāmoa.

Most research on the meaning of favourite possessions concentrate on privately owned possessions. This paper extends previous studies firstly by investigating the meaning of favourite

possessions valued by students as they transition from one environment to another and secondly by investigating the meaning and value of favourite possessions that are not actually owned but are considered meaningful in helping students adapt to a new environment.

Possessions and Consumer Behaviour

Consumer behaviour is an area of marketing that looks at how individuals make decisions to spend their available resources (time, money, effort) on consumption related items. That includes '*what* they buy, *why* they buy it *when* they buy it *where* they buy it, *how often* they buy it and *how often* they use it' (Schiffman and Kanuk, 2000: 5). The 'things' that consumers buy are known as 'possessions' and for the purpose of this study, the definition of possessions is adapted from Belk (1988:140) as "things we call ours and is not limited to external objects and personal possessions but also include places, persons, body parts and organs". This study is guided by Belk's (1988) argument that we cannot understand consumer behaviour unless we gain an understanding of the meanings that consumers attach to possessions.

The meaning of possessions has been widely researched in different disciplines such as anthropology (Geertz 1976; Levi-Strauss 1979; McCracken 1986), history and cultural studies (Bourdieu et al. 1984), sociology (Nuessel and Riggs 1997) and marketing (Ames and McCracken 1989; Belk 1988; Belk and McCracken 1989; Mehta and Belk 1991; Richins 1994; Sirgy 1982; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Empirical research have also examined the meaning that consumers attach to possessions through the examination of 'special' household possessions (Adler et al. 1983), hedonic consumption and the extension of self (Belk 1988; Richins 1994; Tian and Belk 2005).

Students in environmental transitions

Literature on international student migration documents the experiences of international students migrating mostly from Asian countries to study in Europe, United States and Canada (Carlson and Widaman 1988; Goldstein and Kim 2006; Hunley 2010; Jackson 2006; Ono and Piper 2004; Pitts 2009; Yang et al. 2011). Particular areas of focus include psychological distress and loneliness, motivation and goals for study abroad (Chirkov et al. 2007), coping with values and adaptation (Chirkov et al. 2008, Ryan and Twibell 2000,) and the meaning of objects in environmental transitions (Bih 1992).

While majority of research on the meaning and value of possessions focus on household possessions, public places and possessions in the workplace, a few have investigated the meanings of favourite possessions in environmental transitions (Mehta and Belk 1991). In the case of liminal transitions, Noble and Walker 1997, investigated the value and role that symbolic possessions played to understand the nature of the liminal experience that students go through as they transition from high school to college. The results of their study indicated that students appear to rely on possessions that symbolize the past as well as those that represent the new role to help facilitate the transition from high school to college. Specific to post graduate students, Bih (1992) explored the role that personal possessions had in helping Chinese post graduate students adapt to studying in the United States. From a sample of fourteen Chinese post graduate students, findings from this research showed that objects played an important role in helping students adapt to a new environment. It also indicated that the meanings of objects changed during the students' adaptation to their new environment (Bih 1992).

Methodology

The focus of this study is to understand how the meaning and value of favourite possessions help students' in environmental transitions adapt to their new environment. The value of possessions will be understood by examining the meanings attached by the students' to five of their favourite possessions. By adapting Belk's 1988 definition of possessions, this study will also include possessions that are not owned. The guidelines for this research are conducted in accordance with the guidelines developed by Wallendorf and Belk (1989) cited in Piron 2006. The methods of data collection are adapted from qualitative consumer research studies that investigated object attachment (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988) object meaning (Bih 1992) and favourite possessions (Mehta and Belk 1991).

Through convenience sampling, we investigated the meaning and value of favourite possessions from eleven students (five females and six males). Seven were regional students from Fiji, Tonga, and Tuvalu and Kiribati studying at APTC and four were international students from Guyana, Belize and Guyana studying at the National University of Sāmoa. For the purpose of this study, favourite possessions can also be referred to as special, important or loved possessions. It included possessions that are privately owned and external objects, groups and places in Sāmoa not owned but were considered to be helpful to adapting to Sāmoa's environment.

Before the interviews took place, each student was given an 'information sheet outlining the purpose of the study and a consent form to record they had agreed to participate in the study. To measure consistency in interview answers, a sheet was given to each student a week before the interviews to record five possessions they considered 'special' 'loved' 'favourite' or 'important'. The possessions had to be ranked from 1 to 5 according to their importance in helping them settle in a different environment. Each possession also required an explanation as to why it was considered 'special' 'loved' 'favourite' or 'important'.

The analysis used in this study was informed by grounded theory (Ellis 1992) and the interpretative approach. From the transcripts of the eleven informants, content analysis was used for the coding and categorisation of each possession to fit into Bih's (1992) 7 meaning structure of objects.

Findings & Discussion

Table 1: Five favourite possessions in order of importance (1= most important)

Res	1	2	3	4	5
1	phone	external drive	photos	places	people
2	phone	camera	people	tv	places
3	phone	camera	photos	places	staff
4	phone	prayer book	laptop	fitness gear	ipod
5	phone	camera	ipod	laptop	places
6	phone	pendant	hard drive	people	places
7	phone	puletasi	fiji shirt	people	places
8	passport	bank card	phone	sneakers	glasses
9	laptop	photos	passport	umbrella	stick
10	phone	laptop	bank card	picture frame	passport
11	phone	passport	blanket	Hair extensions	places

Table 2: Summary of the meanings of possessions

Possession	Meanings
Phone/ipod	communication, connectivity, memories of loved ones, relaxation
camera	past and future memories, love,
laptop	tool to do assignments, storage, memories of family, relaxation
photos	love, family, motivation, home, happiness,
passport	identity, security,
blanket	home, love, happiness, great memories, comfort, warmth,
people	relationships, belonging, help, comfort, enjoyment, relaxation, fun
places	escape, fun, enjoyment, kill time, reflection of home, a photo to take home of Sāmoa, a memory of Sāmoa, relaxation
bank card	security, access to funds
bula shirt	identity, home, culture,
stick	protection, safety, stray dogs, security in the dark
prayer book	protection, identity, faith, motivation, love, hope,
training gear/sneakers	healthy body and healthy mind, distraction, kills time,

Table 3: How possessions helped settle into the new environment

Possession	How possessions helped settle into a new environment
Phone	minimise homesickness, allowed for regular communication back home, allowed me to carry past memories,
Camera	home away from home feeling, a tool to take new memories back home,
Laptop	distraction from home sickness, escape boredom, storage for past memories
Photos	provided motivation to stay focused, warms the heart, provides a reason to study and a reason to go home on time, memories of love, kept memories alive in the heart,
Passport	security, identity, guarantee of return home,
Blanket	home away from home feeling, comfort, happy memories, kept memories alive
People	distraction, created a home away from home environment,
Places	distraction, escape, relax, reminder of home
Bank card	security, living, budget
Bula shirt	identity, a piece of my culture, confidence,
Stick	protection, a sense safety, enabled me to wonder without fear of stray dogs,
Prayer book	faith, encouragement to complete studies
Training gear/sneakers	kill time, distract mind from home sickness

Table 1 illustrates each informant's top five favourite possessions ranked in order of importance. Content analysis of their meanings is presented in Table 2. Together with an analysis of Table 3, three themes were generated to describe the meaning and value of favourite possessions.

(1) Identity and Self-Expression

Both privately owned and possessions not owned evoked emotions of love, belonging, escape, identity and relaxation. Possessions (prayer book, bula shirt) played the roles of reinforcing a sense of self and identity (Richins 1994). Other possessions (photos frames, pendant) represented sentimental interpersonal ties while others (fitness gears) represented recreational and extensions of self (hair extensions, phone, people, and places).

(2) Sense of the Past, Present and Future

Privately owned possessions (photos: either stored on the informant’s phone, laptop, external drive, or framed) blanket, pendant were mementoes of the past while (phones, cameras represented connections to the past, present and future. The functions of these possessions were beyond their utilitarian value and their meanings resided in the emotions attached to each possession. These possessions not only represented who they were, it also identified who they are and who they hope to be in a new environment.

(3) Relief to culture shock & homesickness

There were also possessions that functioned purely to provide distraction (tv programs), relaxation (beach) and escape from homesickness (night clubs). Informants indicated the enjoyment found in places and people because they experienced comfort, relaxation, companionship and belonging.

These themes were validated against Bih’s 1997, 7 meaning of structure of objects for validation.

Possessions analysed according to Bih’s (1992) 7 meaning structure of objects	
(A) Objects for instrumental purposes	Phone, camera, laptop, external drive, stick, training gear, passport, bank card, tv.
(B) Objects as an embodiment of values or ideals	prayer book
(C) Objects as a manifestation of achievement	n/a
D) Objects as an extension of memory)	photos, pendant, birthday card, blanket, hair extensions, bula shirt,
(E) Objects for deepening experience	worship songs on ipod, prayer book
(F) Objects for social exchange	photographs, pendant, birthday card, blanket, cultural souvenirs
(G) Objects as an extension of self	prayer book, pendant, blanket, photos, phone

A meaning structure of possessions

(A) Objects for instrumental purposes and beyond

While every object has a particular utilitarian purpose, there were possessions that were considered ‘loved’ ‘special’ and a favourite because it represented both functional and symbolic elements. In this category, 9/11 students identified the phone as their most important favourite possession not only because of it’s a communication and internet accessibility functions but most importantly because it stored photos of family and friends back home. The phone represented the symbolic meanings of: love, family and life.

On the other hand, one informant identified a stick as an important possession because it meant protection.

'the stick is extremely important because it protects me from potential dog attacks while walking on the road. There are many stray dogs and it can be scary walking home at night.'

The utilitarian function of a television for one informant was not important. This informant thought the available channels were very limited and the programs were not entertaining to watch. However, passively watching tv was one way to kill time and distract his mind from missing home.

(B) Objects as an embodiment of values or ideals

Usually objects that fall into this category are those that reflect our cultural or personal values and beliefs which help to improve our thinking and understanding about the meaning of life and guide our actions (Bih 1992). Examples of these objects include religious books or mottos about life. One informant identified his prayer book as a favourite possession.

"Church is a very important part of my life back home and I read my prayer book and pray every night.....God is my Saviour and he gives me faith and hope...When I pray it helps me to relax"

(C) Objects as an extension of memory

Objects that remind us of moments of joy and pain are identified in this category. Photos stored in phones, cameras, laptops, external drives and framed photos represented memories of the past for most informants. Photos were identified as a source of motivation for two informants.

"When I look at the picture of my kids, I am reminded of the reason I am here....My kid's photo motivates me to keep going even I am homesick"

Another informant considered a pendant gifted to him by his children an extension of past memories of his children and his family while another regarded her blanket and cultural souvenirs as reminders of comfort, joy and identity.

"I wear my pendant all the time because it reminds me of my children's love for me and my love for them".

(D) Objects for deepening experience

There are also objects that provide people with enjoyment or pleasure and provide emotional feelings through interaction with these objects. Two informants identified their ipod as a favourite possession that brought a deeper spiritual connection while another regarded his prayer book as his spiritual guide and confirmation of his faith and religious values in a new place.

'the worship songs I listen to on my ipod takes me to another place....It allows me to meditate and think about life and makes me feel closer to God"

(E) Objects for social exchange

Possessions identified by informants that functioned as an initiator or a topic of social conversation were: photographs, pendant, birthday card, blanket, cultural souvenirs. These objects became tangible manifestations of their love with their family and friends and often became initiators of conversations when friends would visit their rooms.

(F) Objects as an extension of self: owned and not owned

While all possessions had symbolic meanings to the informants, not all possessions represented or expressed their 'core self'. Privately owned possessions that represented the 'core self' were: prayer book, pendant, blanket, photos and phone. In addition to privately owned possessions, five informants identified places (clubbing, beach, rivers) and people (staff, friends, families of friends) as part of their 'core' self. Relationships and family were valued as part of who they are as individuals

and therefore they regarded the friendship of friends in new places a special possession. Additionally, their 'core self' was also about inner peace, relaxation and fun hence these emotions were experienced in possessions they did not own.

The findings illustrate that favourite possessions (owned and not owned) have multiple and similar meanings. For example, people, places, ipod, and laptop all meant 'relaxation'. Similarly, 'love' was emotionally attached to photos, cameras, laptops, people and places. Furthermore, the initial meaning of favourite possessions also echoes how they help during the time of transition.

Regional VS International students: Experiencing Culture Shock

Table 4: Culture Shock among regional and international students

Resp	Age	Gender	Status	Regional/International	culture shock
1	26	f	single	regional	No, similar culture, made friends from similar cultures here
2	22	f	single	regional	No, similar culture, many students from my country here
3	35	m	married	regional	No, similar culture
4	33	m	married	regional	No, not really, already students from my country here
5	30	m	married	regional	No, food a little different but similar to home
6	33	m	separated	regional	no, but language barrier
7	38	m	married	regional	different culture but a bit similar to home
8	37	f	single	international	yes, conservative type of culture, very different to home
9	32	m	single	international	yes, culture differences, language barriers, very different to home,
10	24	f	single	international	yes, clothing differences, language barriers
11	26	f	single	international	yes, clothing differences, different food, very traditional culture

When comparing the experiences of regional to international students, it was identified that while regional students admitted to experiencing 'homesickness', they experienced this at a lower level compared to international students. Regional students saw the cultural similarities between their country and that of Sāmoa a reason that made settling in less complicated. Furthermore, there were also many other students from their country already studying at APTC and they were quick to make friends through these affiliations. Despite being 'homesick', regional students did not experience 'culture shock'. In comparison, international students experienced 'culture shock' and discovered a few of Sāmoa's cultural values and principles primitive and difficult to understand.

According to one informant:

Sāmoan women and girls dress very modest and dressing revealing is considered disrespectful here. Where I come from, women and girls dress in whatever they want. Majority of the time, we wear more fitted and revealing clothes and it is not considered disrespectful

While Sāmoan hospitality is commonly appreciated by visitors to Sāmoa, aspects of Sāmoan hospitality are perceived: 'a little strange' according to another informant.

Having to always accept food when given because otherwise it is considered disrespectful is a little strange, and sometimes I am given food I am unfamiliar with so I hardly know what I'm eating.

Places and people: special possessions not owned

Both regional and international students identified making friends and affiliating with people a very important factor when settling into a new environment. All informants experienced 'homesickness' and the value of friends and people were perceived 'most important'. The feeling of 'needing to belong' and 'wanting to belong' was almost instant upon arrival. The sense of 'belonging' was commonly experienced through people, places especially Sāmoa's natural environment. Places according to seven informants provided relaxation, reflection of the past memories and memories to take back to their home countries.

For one informant, 'I took many photos of beautiful beaches because back home I don't live near the sea. I will take these pictures back and show my family how beautiful this place is'

For another, 'The clubs is my favourite place, I enjoy going there with my friends and it also helps me to feel a little more at home'

Possessions owned and not owned of equal importance in transitional environments

The findings from this study expose the value and meaning of favourite possessions that are not owned. Both privately owned and possessions not owned had emotional values and meanings beyond their functional elements. Both regional and international student's identified the meaning and value of favourite possessions they brought from their home countries to be of equal importance to those they experienced in Sāmoa. The results from this study indicate that the people and places of a new environment play an essential part in facilitating and accommodating people moving from one place to another.

Conclusion

The value and meaning of personal possessions is extensive in marketing literature. Possessions are part of who we are and our attachment to them defines and fosters our self-concept (Belk 1988 and Levy 1959). This study has extended the value and meaning of favourite possessions that are owned and not owned in helping students transition from one place to another.

Possessions identified as 'favourite' 'loved' and 'special' were evaluated equally for their functional purpose eg: (phone, laptop, and camera) and their symbolic meanings. (Bih 1992). Other than its utilitarian functions, the phone, camera and laptop shared the same meanings that a birthday card, blanket and photographs had because it symbolised past memories of family and friends back home and represented security, comfort, belonging and love. These favourite possessions became surrogate representations of the absent people that transitional possessions represented Mehta and Belk (1991).

Like privately owned possessions, places and people have value and meaning (McCracken 1988). In this study, the places and people in Sāmoa helped students transition into a new environment by providing a source of identification, affiliation and an overall sense of belonging. Places were 'loved' and 'special' commonly because it associated with experiences of the past and also present.

While the results of this study reveal the importance of favourite possessions (not owned) in transitional situations, this study did not evaluate whether the meaning and value of these favourite possessions remained constant throughout the entire duration of each students study period. The

participants of this study were at different stages of their study program when the interviews were conducted. Future research comparing the importance of favourite possessions (not owned) at the beginning and at the end of each students study would present a deeper understanding of the role that favourite possessions (not owned) play in transitional environments.

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Tui'umi: The Assassin

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Abstract

The paper discusses the assassination of Tamafaigā of Manono from the point of view of his family and descendants, the Aiono Faapologaina family of Matavai, Fasitoo-uta. The research approach is qualitative using family oral traditions and written information. This is supplemented by written submissions and subsequent court rulings in family court cases held at the Land and Titles court. The paper makes an important contribution to the discussion on leadership succession in Sāmoa's history prior to the arrival of the Wesleyan and London Missionary Societies in 1828 and 1830 respectively, forerunners of the lotu Toga – the Methodist Church of Sāmoa—and lotu Ta'iti—the Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa.

Keywords: assassin, orchestrated, assassination, Tamafaigā,

Introduction

Following the death of Tafa'ifa l'amafana of Sa Tupua in 1802, Gilson alleged that Tamafaiga of Manono¹ skilfully played off the Tupua and Malietoa factions and had by the end of the conflict, gained control of the Tafa'ifa titles.² It thus enabled Tamafaiga to set up his tyranny regime and indisputably self-possessed and proclaimed himself the King of Sāmoa. Tamafaigā was known as half human and half demon.³ He was also known as “the ghost” on account of his extreme cruelty.⁴ Research into the current literature concerning Tamafaiga prior to the advent of European missions is limited particularly in relation to the assassination of Tamafaiga.

With reference to the most readily available publications of this modern age, most if not all mention the assassination of Tamafaigā as having been instigated by the men of Fasitoo-uta.⁵ Another piece of writing claimed that Tamafaigā had been killed by the men of Fasitoo-tai.⁶ However, it appears the two different versions by the one author is subject to be questioned given the fact the title Aiono is from the village of Fasitoo-uta, the assassin is from Fasitoo-uta and the assassination of Tamafaiga took place at Fasitoo-uta.⁷

Most of the writings portray the killing of Tamafaigā as a collective effort: “the men” of Fasitoo-uta and Faleasi'u, or “the men” of A'ana. By implication, the writings are therefore claiming that the assassination was collectively accomplished by the “men”. The major omission is the failure to honour the individual courage, the heroism, the bravery and the sacrifice of “the man” who thought out the assassination plan, “the man” who orchestrated the attack, “the man” who sacrificed and used his own daughter as bait to lure in the enemy, “the man” who planned and accomplished the ultimate successful assassination of Tamafaigā by Aiono Ma'ipipili also known as Tui'umi.

Some writings appear to connect the significance of the assassination of Tamafaigā as a clear pathway of the Evangelist John Williams and the Savali o le Filemu⁸ mission who brought the Good News and Christianity to Sāmoa, but failed however to acknowledge the man who was the centrepiece for the elimination of the mighty Tamafaigā.⁹

This paper will focus mainly on 'Aiono Ma'ipipili, nick-named Tui'umi, the man who planned Tamafaigā's demise. It will explore and analyse the information contained in the various publications, through comparisons and justifications of the events that occurred, as well as personal testimonies of families and villagers of the named villages in the literature and geographic

descriptions. This paper will further discuss the life and history of Tui'umi—the assassin, who assassinated and destroyed the mighty Tamafaiga.

Who is the Assassin?

Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese Efi Taisi in his book 'Su'esu'e Manogi,¹⁰ pointed out correctly and clearly that the assassin is Aiono Ma'ipipili, nick-named Tui'umi.¹¹ Ma'ipipili is the son of Folasaitu Ape Tapuvaelala of Fasitoo-uta, a true heir to the title Aiono from the Aiono Tuala family in Matailili, a sub-village of Fasitoo-uta. His mother is Tatā from the village of Fogapoa.¹² Ma'ipipili was bestowed the title Aiono when he agreed to render his services to the planning of the assassination of Tamafaiga. Aiono Ma'ipipili was the first of the Aiono Tuala lineage from Matailili¹³ to reside at Matavai¹⁴ in Avano,¹⁵ another sub-village of in the centre of the village of Fasitoo-uta, the exact vicinity selected and planned for the assassination and the attack to take place.

The literal translation of the name Ma'ipipili means 'sick and crippled.'¹⁶ The singularity in meaning and origin of the name Ma'ipipili by the people of Fasitoo-uta and the Aiono Tuala family are remarkable because it was coined simply because of his huge size when he was born.¹⁷ Furthermore, when he was born, it was generally assumed that he would not be able to walk because of his amazing length and huge size as a new born baby. There was also the fear that his feet would not be able to carry his huge body. From these inferences, based on his huge size, he was thus considered crippled, the sole reason for his being named Ma'ipipili. However, all these presumptions were not to be. Ma'ipipili continued to grow huge and tall, a healthy person nonetheless, thus he was further nick-named Tui'umi, meaning the tallest of the tall.¹⁸

History records that Folasaitu Ape Tapuvaelala had disposed of his wife Tatā his wife and colluded with another lady named Taufanaifoia'ana to become his second wife¹⁹. In accordance with the Sāmoan customs, Tatā was returned forthwith to her family in Fogapoa.

Sāmoa is well known for its ancient customs and traditions that involve the Kings' and Chiefs' courtship relations with a woman or with other women. When the time is called for, a King or Chief is advised by his orators for a change of wife, or a King or Chief is attracted to another woman, the Chief and his orators are obligated to act accordingly and do the honourable thing of returning the unwanted wife back to her family and village.²⁰ The returning of the unwanted wife warrants the King or Chief and his orators to do traditional presentation of traditional gifts to the family and village of the returned wife,²¹ an expensive tradition.

It was generally believed that Tatā understood the impression that Folasaitu Ape Tapuvaelala had opted for another woman to be his wife instead of her, and she was returned to her family and her village of Fogapoa in Savaii, along with her son Ma'ipipili. Sāmoan women were well aware of the courtship tradition then whereby a King or Chief could change wives at his own leisure.²²

Ma'ipipili who was then living with his mother's family in Fogapoa at the time was asked by Aiono Lulu²³ the Chief of Fasitoo-uta at the time, whereby his help was greatly needed given the fact that Tamafaiga and the attacks by the people of Manono were overwhelming not only because of lack of opposition, but also causing great fear amongst the people of Fasitoo-uta and A'ana that they fled inland to the forest while Tamafaiga and his men continue to burn the villages and slaughter any A'ana or Fasitoo-uta person that comes in their way.

Ma'ipipili – True Heir of the Aiono title

The several court cases at the Land and Titles Court of Sāmoa confirmed the lineage to the Aiono Tuala title of Matavai in Fasitoo-uta as contained in the following.

- Folasaitu Ape Tapuvelala of Matailili of Fasitoo-uta first married Tatā, a lady from the village of Fogapoa/Savaii - issued Ma'ipipili²⁴ nick-named Tui'umi. His nick-name connected well with his huge body and height.
- Folasaitu Ape Tapuvelala's second marriage to Taufau, daughter of Laumatiamanu of Matanofo/Falelatai and issued - Tuilava'i.
- Tuilava'i married Masu daughter of Touli of Saleilua/Falealili – issued Faapologaina²⁵ who held the title Aiono after Ma'ipipili.
- Aiono Faapologaina married Luisa the daughter of Faagata in Fagatogo/American Sāmoa – issued Siatiu, Ui, Fausa and Maotua. Siatiu took up the Aiono title after Aiono Faapologaina.²⁶
- Aiono Ma'ipipili – the assassin who eliminated Tamafaiga was the first ever Aiono title holder to reside in Matavai/Fasitoo-uta and the child of Folasaitu Ape Tapuvelala's first marriage to Tatā, the lady from Fogapoa.
- Aiono Ma'ipipili was succeeded by Aiono Faapologaina son of Folasaitu Ape Tapuvelala's second marriage to Taufau, the daughter of Laumatiamanu of Matanofo/Falelatai. The title Aiono of Matavai to date continues with the heirs of the Aiono Faapologaina clan.

Ma'ipipili – The man

Although Tatā, the unwanted first wife of Folasaitu Ape Tapuvelala who was returned to her village of Fogapoa in Savaii, her son Ma'ipipili went with her and spent his youthful years in his mother's family and village. However, while residing in Fogapoa, Ma'ipipili still continued to connect and affiliate with his father's family in Fasitoo-uta. Ma'ipipili grew to be a very tall and bulky built young gentleman. Ma'ipipili continued to be known by his nick-name Tui'umi being such a tall person, and a smart young man. He was, however known to his families and others as a quiet, humble and passionate, but never a fearful person. His height is estimated to be about seven feet and three inches.²⁷

Ma'ipipili's huge body and height was confirmed when his remains were exhumed and were relocated²⁸ in early 1991 when the then Paramount Chief of Matavai in Fasitoo-uta, the late Aiono Faapologaina Leulumoega Sofara²⁹ decided to build the new Maota i Matavai³⁰ and relocated all the family graves that were scattered on the site and vicinity of the land where the new construction was to be built.

During the traditional ceremony of exhuming of the remains and the relocating of the graves, the Falefitu³¹ was responsible for the digging and exhuming the remains which were then passed on from the grave to the ladies of the Aiono in Matavai family. The Sā Fuatino³² of the Aiono family in Matavai was responsible for the cleaning and washing (*fa'a-taele*)³³ of the remains which included the remains of Aiono Ma'ipipili. This cleaning and washing involved the use of coconut oil in the process, and the remains were then covered and wrapped separately in a piece of siapo.³⁴ The

remains were then placed in the centre of the house to await the digging of the new relocated graves while the Falefitu guarded the old Maota at Matavai. The traditional ceremony of *Liutofaga* comes with costs whereby the family will have to present the Falefitu with gifts of fine mats, food and money.

The Plan

Ma'ipipili accepted and adhered to the request of Aiono Lulu because the people of Fasitoo-uta continued to live in fear of the mighty, the aggressive and powerful Tamafaigā, a human being without a slightest sense or feeling of love, with no heart or mercy at all. The fate of Fasitoo-uta and A'ana now lies in the hands of Ma'ipipili. As a matter of fact, one can infer that after years of torture by Tamafaigā, this was Faitoo-uta and A'ana's last resort and final hope of ever being freed from the maniacal powers of Tamafaigā. Thus, Fasitoo-uta and A'ana's fate was clearly dependent on Ma'ipipili to save them.

The people of A'ana and Fasitoo-uta were aware that Tamafaigā would soon be on his way from his Manono village heading to Laulii and his fleet of 'alias and canoes would definitely pass by A'ana and Fasitoo-uta. The people of A'ana and Fasitoo-uta were aware of his animalistic conduct and the worse feature of Tamafaigā was his demand to sleep and have sexual intercourse with any lady or woman of his choosing. Any opposition to his sexual demands would always end in killings.

Knowing that Tamafaigā would soon travel by Fasitoo-uta, Ma'ipiili planned to capitalize on Tamafaigā's sexual desires by asking her daughter Leuteifuiono while in Fogapoa to come to Fasitoo-uta. Ma'ipipili intended to sacrifice the beauty of her daughter to lure Tamafaigā to sleep with her. This was a key part of the plan for the intended attack. Indubitably, the plan was a tough call by Ma'ipipili and a huge sacrifice by his daughter for the sake of Fasitoo-uta and A'ana to be relieved from fear of Tamafaiga. This young beautiful innocent daughter of the assassin was well versed of the plan and most importantly she was well coached in the sacrifice of giving up herself as the sacrificial lamb by way of having sexual intercourse with Tamafaigā according to plan.

The plan worked accordingly as planned by Aiono Ma'ipipili. The Tamafaiga fleet of war alias and canoes travelled from the western side of the island of Upolu headed eastward and close to the shoreline. It is common for Sāmoan seafarers using alias and canoes to travel close to the shoreline to enable easy access to help if needed or seek shelter when the seas became rough.

When passing the peninsular of Matavai in Fasitoo-uta, Tamafaigā's attention was drawn immediately, being attracted to the beauty of Leuteifuiono who was going about her chores of sweeping the back of the house in her dress that covered her lower body only while exposing her breasts, her long hair and her beauty glowed. It was an amazing and an overwhelming seductive act and tempting hot sexy attribute by Leuteifuiono that no man could deny or refuse especially Tamafaigā's hunger for sex and his well-known desires for his female conquests. He immediately gave in because of his sexual desires for her beauty, incognizant of his impending fall into the planned trap.

The lusty hunger to appease his animalistic instincts and desire for sex, Tamafaigā forced himself to spend the early evening with a lady of Faleasi'u village and then spent the rest of that very night with the virgin Leuteifuiono of Fasitoo-uta. An entertainment known as *pō-ūla*³⁵ was planned in honour of Tamafaigā and his group spending that very night at Matavai. The Fasitoo-uta village and the family at Matavai had been well informed in advance that Tamafaigā would be at Fasitoo-uta

and would be spending that very night with Leuteifuiono which prompted Fasitoo-uta to orchestrate the *pō-ūla* evening. It is important to note that at this stage, the idea and the sacrificial plan by Ma'ipipili leading to the assassination of Tamafaiga was continuing to fall in place as planned.

Late in the night after the *pō-ūla* and being so tired from the classic entertainment, Tamafaigā and Leuteifuiono finally retired to their allocated sleeping spot on the side of the house³⁶ well covered with *siapo*³⁷ on all sides being used as partitions to separate their sleeping spot from the rest of the house. The purpose of making the partitions was to allow privacy knowingly and for Tamafaigā to perform sexual intercourse with Leuteifuiono.

The Assassination

Aiono Ma'ipipili capitalised on the understanding that Tamafaigā had had sexual intercourse with a lady of Faleasiu in the early evening, he stayed up late during the *pō-ūla* entertainment, and then had sexual intercourse for the second time that night with Leuteifuiono which would certainly and without a doubt pose a huge impact on his strength so that he would be overwhelmingly be tired and would definitely not be able to defend himself when the attack takes place.

By implication, it was a wise and well-orchestrated assassination plan of killing Tamafaigā by Aiono Ma'ipipili. Like all men, soon after sexual intercourse and sexual satisfaction, men will always feel weak after using up all energy and strength for pleasure and would certainly need ample time for rest and recuperating to get their strength back, and this was the exact and perfect moment Aiono Ma'ipipili had targeted and was desperately waiting for.

Behind the tapa cloth screens, Tamafaigā was lying awake but without strength. His servants were all asleep after a long day of travel and a long night of *pō-ūla*. Leuteifuiono gave the signal to Aiono Ma'ipipili,³⁸ the assassin, whereupon he advanced immediately through the tapa cloth screens and speared Tamafaigā on his left side as he was trying to get up. Meanwhile, the *taulele'a*³⁹ of Fasitoo-uta was beating up the servants of Tamafaigā.

The end of Tamafaiga

Tamafaigā was gravely hurt after being speared by Aiono Ma'ipipili but he managed to break away from the house in excruciating pain due to great loss of blood. He headed to the seaward side and jumped into the sea causing a huge splash.⁴⁰ Part of the land of Matavai was then named *Lepisi* meaning 'splashing sea' where Tamafaigā jumped into the sea. Aiono Ma'ipipili the assassin caught up with Tamafaigā and despite numerous pleas and attempts by Tamafaigā begging for mercy and to spare his life, Aiono Ma'ipipili with one chop of the axe severed the head from the body. Thus Tamafaigā had been killed, assassinated, murdered and his body was taken ashore where he was ceremoniously cut into pieces.⁴¹ It was a victory to Aiono Ma'ipipili nick-named Tui'umi—the brave warrior and the assassin from Matavai of Fasitoo-uta village in the district of A'ana.

The emergence of Lepisi

On the night of the assassination, Tamafaiga, badly wounded fled and jumped into the sea causing a huge splash. That piece of land next to the sea thereafter was named Lepisi⁴² and is part of the land of Matavai. The land Lepisi as part of the land of Matavai was confirmed by the Land and Titles Court of Appeal in its decision of 20th May 2009.⁴³ The legal issue that was determined by the Court of

Appeal in this case concerned who held the authority (pule) over the land of Lepisi at Fasitoo-uta.⁴⁴ The Land and Titles Court of Appeal in its decision also confirmed that the name Lepisi had emerged following the assassination of Tamafaigā.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the Land and Titles Court of Appeal ruled in favour of the First Respondents led by the author of this article whereby the Court confirms that the land in dispute is part of Lepisi ruled by (pule ai) Aiono Faapologaina.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

At birth, he was named Ma'ipipili on the assumption he was sick and crippled. Born as huge new born baby, it was presumed by his family that he might not survive life to become an adult person. Apparently, all these presumptions were not to be. Ma'ipipili continued to grow huge and tall, a healthy person and was nick-named Tui'umi, meaning the tallest of the tall. He had to leave Fasitoo-uta with his mother Tata when she was returned to her family at Fogapoa/Savaii when his father opted for the Falelatai woman as his wife.

However, responding to the request of his village of Fasitoo-uta, Aiono Maipipili proved himself a true warrior, a person of courage and bravery, a leader who sacrifices himself and his family to save the people of Fasitoo-uta and A'ana. Aiono Maipipili went in for the kill, and it was mission accomplished. The elimination and death of Tamafaiga was a significant moment in the history of Sāmoa that A'ana is being saved from his mighty ruthless powers, powers of a giant King and a Maniac.⁴⁷ The devil is dead but a historical moment in the history of the Church. Tamafaiga is killed and A'ana is saved, so as the whole of Sāmoa. The legacy in history is set of the assassin, none other than Aiono Ma'ipipili also known as 'Tui'umi.'

Endnotes:

1. Manono is one of the inhabited islands of Sāmoa
2. R. P. Gilson, 1970. *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900, the politics of a multi-cultural community*, Melbourne, OUP, 71. At the time, the *malo* had been in the hands of Sa Tupua since the reign of Salamasina from about the late 14th to 15th century. The Sa Malietoa did not gain prominence until 1830 when Malietoa Vainu'upo was the first Malietoa to have gained all of the papa titles by conquest.
3. Tamafaiga was known as the Aitu Tagata or Itu-lua which means part of him is human and at certain times he is a ghost or demon.
4. Tu'u'u, M. (1999) 'Malietoa, Superior Warrior of Sāmoa' (GP Print, Petone, NZ) 203
5. Meleisea, M. (1987) 'Lagaga' A Short History of Sāmoa. https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=Gt_RrCAkctwC&pg=PA56&lpg=PA56&dq=who+killed+tamafaiga&source=bl&ots=_biqD5ONIL&sig=-b1FTwfkUUz_wGlpY- (Accessed 05/08/2017)
6. Meleisea, M. (1987) 'The Making of Modern Sāmoa' (Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific.) 23
7. Interview with Leusogi Taalo 09 September 2017. Leusogi is the Tu'ua of the Falefitu in Mata-Avano-Fasitoo-uta.
8. Translation: Savali o le Filemu means Messenger of Peace—the name of the boat used by John Williams.
9. Sunia, F. (2016) 'O Usuga ma Aumoega a Tamalii o Sāmoa.' (International Multimedia Inc.) 213
10. Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese Efi, (1995) 'Suesue Manogi' in Search of Fragrance, (Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa, 2008) 45.
11. Ibid
12. Heritage confirmed by the Land and Titles Court Decision - Gafa o Aiono and Ape: LC 815 P26 – P28 Mataupu: Suafa Aiono i Matavai/Fasitoo-uta. 26 April 2013.
13. Matailili in Fasitoo-uta is the original place emerged the Aiono title known in Sāmoa as 'Paepae o Aiga' before splitting to become 'Itu Paepae o Aiga.'
14. Translation (Matavai) 'Eye of the Water.' To date, the pool still exists.

15. A sub-village of the village of Fasitoo-uta and is located at the centre of the village.
16. Translation: (Ma'i) means sick and (pipili) means crippled.
17. Interview with members of the Aiono Tuala family in Matailili/Fasitoo-uta.
18. Above n 10
19. Taufauaifoai'ana was the daughter of Laumatiamanu Toleafoa of Safata and Tutumanu Tagaloo-Fasavalu of Falelatai. See A. M. Tuimaleali'ifano, 2008. *O Tama-a'Aiga*, Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, p. 49. According to the Falelatai genealogy, Taufauaifoai'ana lived in the late 1600s. Her son from Lilomaiava – le tama a le aitu ma le tagata of Palauli – was Tuita'alili, the progenitor of the Tuimaleali'ifano family in Falelatai. He lived from about 1700 to 1750.
20. Fofu liga Iosefa Sunia in his address in the launching of his book: "*O Aumoega ma Usuga a Tamalii Sāmoa' at SSAB/Apia on 27th February 2017 said that Usuga ma Aumoega a Tamalii Sāmoa o se aganuu mamalu. E le gata e le tasi se aumoega, ae mafai ona sili atu nai le lua, ona o aga a tulafale, ae o le mamalu ina ia lautele ai gafa o aiga. O se isi vaega taua o le mamalu o le tele o usuga, o le toe momoli lelei o le tamaitai i lona nuu ma lona aiga.*"
21. *Fine mats, mats, food of pigs etc.....*
22. Above n 5
23. The Chief of Fasitoo-uta at the time of Tamafaiga's reign.
24. Above n 28
25. 'Faapologaina' literally means 'in life of suffering.' This name is particular to Aiono family in Matavai/Fasitoo-uta to commemorate the suffer life of A'ana including Fasitoo-uta but all relieved when Tamafaiga was assassinated by Aiono Ma'ipipili.
26. Above n 28
27. Witnessed by Fuatino Toelaulofi Lealiifano Poleki of Matavai during the exhuming of remains from his grave in 1991. The relocated grave of Aiono Ma'ipipili is notable long in length.
28. A traditional ceremony of Liu-Tofaga was conducted at Matavai when the graves were dug and the remains were exhumed and relocated, including the remains of Aiono Ma'ipipili.
29. Susuga Aiono Leulumoega Sofara held the chiefly title of Aiono Tuala Faapologaina of Matavai/Fasitoo-uta from 1982 – 2010 when he passed on.
30. Maota i Matavai. Family meeting house of Aiono Faapologaina family at Matavai/Fasitoo-uta.
31. The Falefitu refers to all orators of Fasitoo-uta collectively.
32. Sa Fuatinō refers to ladies of the Aiono Faapologaina family in Matavai/Fasitoo-uta.
33. The ladies (Sa Fuatinō) clean and wash the remains with coconut oil.
34. Tapa cloth.
35. Entertainment by hosting village for its visitors and can continue on till late night and also involve Dirty dancing by exposing the entertainers private parts. This Sāmoan *poula* entertainment was condemned by the Missionaries and no longer practiced to date.
36. Tala o le fale
37. Above n 49
38. Above n 13
39. Untitled men
40. *Ibid*
41. *Ibid*
42. Splashing seas
43. Faamasinoga o Talosaga, Faamasinoga o Fanua a Suafa Sāmoa. LC 5437 P1 – P7
44. LC 5437 P1 – P7 MATAUPU NA SUESUEINA: 'E uiga i le pule o le fanua o LEPISI i Fasitoo-uta.
45. Vaega 4 (4.1) o Mafuaaga o le Faaiuga. 'Ua matauina le mafuli o mau i le lagolagoina o le taofi e faapea faato'a mau le igoa LEPISI ma faaigoa ai le tolotolo lenei o loo ogatotonu i ai nei fefinaua'iga, ina ua uma le fasiga o Tamafaiga. LC 5437 P1 – P7
46. LC 5437 P1 – P7 'Ua faamaonia o le fanua ua finau ai o se vaega o Lepisi e pule ai le suafoa Aiono Faapologaina.
47. Above n 10

Tautai: Sāmoa, World History, and the Life of Ta'isi O. F. Nelson
Patricia O'Brien. Wellington, Huia Publishers and University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.
399 pp., maps, illus., notes, bibliog.

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Tautai documents the life of Ta'isi Olaf Frederick Nelson (1883–1944), the son of Swedish migrant August Nelson and Sinagogo Masoe from Safune Savai'i. The dense biography has 14 chapters which cover the period from 1880s to 1944. As the first extensive biography on Ta'isi to date, according to the book cover, *Tautai* "is a powerful and passionate story that is both personal and one that encircles the globe." Indeed *Tautai* provides a fascinating view of Sāmoa's global history, and key historical figures during a tumultuous time. Throughout the book, the author has articulated a complex and nuanced narrative which brings to life Ta'isi, his family, Sāmoa and its multiple relationships abroad.

Chapter one titled 'Converging Worlds: Sāmoa and Europe Class (1883–1909)' traces the context in which Ta'isi was born. It therefore sets the background to the following chapter on the 'Kaiser or King? German Empire, War, and its Brutal Aftermath (1910–20)'. With German rule Sāmoan resistance continued, and Ta'isi's role in navigating tense relations between colonial government, merchants and the Sāmoan community was significant. Under the League of Nations mandate, New Zealand's early administration of Sāmoa was rife with misrepresentations of ideas about race, which as O'Brien highlights Ta'isi challenged since '[h]e upended racial constructions with his business acumen, success, and his brilliance' (p.57).

In chapter three 'Troublesome Garden of Eden' (1920–23) Ta'isi's strained relationship with Sāmoa's third Administrator, General George Richardson's and the local community reveals tension around prohibition and concern about the stripping of Sāmoan chiefly titles. This rising storm as articulated in chapter four 'A New Era? (1923–25)', reveals that Richardson himself essentially characterised the 'New Zealand and British Empire' (p.85). The hurricane that struck Sāmoa in 1926 parallels the storm which began to emerge with a meeting of the Citizens Committee in Apia's Market Hall. Chapter five 'Before the Storm (1926)' documents the coming together of Sāmoa's diverse community, and Ta'isi's role. During this period as outlined in chapter six, Ta'isi drew strength from his friendships abroad with influential figures such as Sir Maui Pomare.

In chapter seven titled 'He is Not a Sāmoan (1927)' criticism of Ta'isi centred on his legal status, and whether he 'was an exploiter of Sāmoan copra growers' (p.143). The Royal Commission Inquiry report saw the subsequent deportation of Ta'isi, and friends Edwin Gurr and Alfred Smyth to New Zealand. Chapter eight 'Exile and the Road to Geneva (1928)' charts Ta'isi's journey to Geneva, and the political alliances he was able to forge in Australia, Hawai'i and London. However, unlike Richardson, Ta'isi was 'denied the opportunity to appear before the PMC himself' (p.173), and reveals much of the blame was directed towards Ta'isi by the New Zealand government. Alarming for Richardson, Ta'isi's deportation increased support for the Mau including outside of Sāmoa's shores.

The information provided by New Zealand to the Permanent Mandates Commission focused on the economic instability of Sāmoa due to the Mau, more specifically Ta'isi. With the question of 'justice' in chapter nine, Ta'isi sought the highest forum via the Privy Council in London and the

League of Nations; however the weight of blame was immovable. Critics argued that Ta'isi 'was inciting rebellion with the strong inference this included violence' (p.203). Rumours circulated that 'Sāmoans were so easily led...that they did as they were directed' (p.159). This was in spite of Sāmoan petitions and participation in decision-making for the Mau. Moreover, politicians in reference to Ta'isi's commercial enterprises noted that 'trouble' had arisen due to 'the administration's intervention in the copra business' (p.157). Interestingly a crucial report by the public servants in chapter 10 found that 'Richardson' and not Ta'isi was 'the architect of this situation' (p.194), along with the impact of the Great Depression. In a touching photograph, Ta'isi managed to meet with Tupua Tamasese following the latter's release from prison in New Zealand (p.201).

'Sāmoa's Gethsemane (1930)' chapter documents police raids and the Mau women who were targeted by officials. The death of Tupua Tamaesese on 'Black Saturday' in 1929 and later the passing of Sir Pomare cast Ta'isi into despondency. The administration's focus on 'Breaking Mr Nelson in the Great Depression (1931–32)' in chapter 12 reveals the difficult relationships within the family amidst Ta'isi's perseverance. On his return to Sāmoa (1933–34) after exile, far from a peaceful period, Ta'isi once again unexpectedly found himself in the court room. However, his cross-examination of New Zealand officials demonstrated his determination and eloquence. His subsequent sentence, imprisonment and exile brought to the fore once again New Zealand's flawed judicial system. The final chapter 'Sāmoa Evermore (1935–44)' documents Ta'isi's return as a result of the new government under the Labour Party. A goodwill mission was sent to Sāmoa in 1936, bringing a new chapter to the country's history in which included Ta'isi and Sāmoan participation.

Tautai documents 61 years of Sāmoa's history, with a key focus on Ta'isi Olaf Fredrick Nelson. The rich archival sources from Archives New Zealand are complemented by those from the League of Nations Archive in Geneva, National Archives of Sweden, National Archives of United Kingdom and records from the Sāmoa Lands and Titles archives. O'Brien's coverage is vast and this source provides a key reference point for interested scholars, academics, students and family members. The 'Notes' section (pp. 307–67) usefully provides detailed information for further reading, while the historical images enhance the narrative. In this way O'Brien presents a new history on a key figure in Sāmoa's historical landscape since 'Ta'isi O. F. Nelson was a *Tautai*, a navigator. Like his ancestors, he traversed immense and troubled waters. He did not always take the right turn, but his aim was to find a place for his country—with its revered and deep traditions—in the modern world order. It is time to bring Ta'isi's story into the light of the present' (p.306).

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