



# The Journal of Samoan Studies

---

Volume 5  
2015

# **The Journal of Sāmoan Studies**

## **Editors**

Meleisea Leasiolagi Professor Malama Meleisea  
Associate Professor Penelope Schoeffel

## **Associate Editor**

Lorena Edith Tovio-Alesana

## **Editorial Board**

Fui Lau Le'apai Tu'ua Ilaoa Asofou So'o, Vice Chancellor, National University of Sāmoa  
Karoline Afamasaga-Fuatai, Professor of Mathematics and Mathematics Education,  
National University of Sāmoa

Silafau Sina Va'ai, Professor of English, National University of Sāmoa

Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, Professor of Pacific Studies, Auckland University of  
Technology

Cluny Macpherson, Professor of Social Science, Massey University, NZ

Helene Martinson-Wallin, Associate Professor of Archaeology, Uppsala University, Sweden

Christophe Sand, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of New Caledonia and the Pacific

Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano, Associate Professor of History, University of the South Pacific Fiji

Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa, Associate Professor of Pacific Studies, University of Auckland

Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni, Senior Lecturer, Pacific Studies, Victoria University of Wellington

Ross Clark, Senior Lecturer in Applied Language Studies and Linguistics, University of Auckland.

The views expressed in the Journal of Sāmoan Studies are those of the authors and not necessarily of the Centre for Sāmoan Studies or the National University of Sāmoa.

Articles submitted to the Journal of Sāmoan Studies could be written either in the English or Sāmoan language.

Please address all correspondence to:

The Editors

Journal of Sāmoan Studies

National University of Sāmoa

PO Box 1622, Apia

SĀMOA

Telephone (+685) 20072

Facsimile (+685) 20938

Email: [csspublications@nus.edu.ws](mailto:csspublications@nus.edu.ws)

[www.Sāmoanstudies.ws](http://www.Sāmoanstudies.ws)

# **The Journal of Sāmoan Studies**

Volume 5, 2015

The Journal of Sāmoan Studies (JSS) is a multidisciplinary publication devoted to the study of Sāmoa. The Centre for Sāmoan Studies gratefully acknowledges the reviewers who contributed to the blind review process for this volume.

Published by  
THE CENTRE FOR SĀMOAN STUDIES  
National University of Sāmoa

Published by the Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa

Copyright ©2015 *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies*. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored, transmitted, or disseminated, in any form or by any means without prior written permission from the Centre for Sāmoan Studies.

ISSN 1813-2324

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'a Sāmoa and cultural heritage. The diagonal elements from old tapa designs symbolize quantified information.

## Contents

<b><i>Issues in the Management of Archaeological Heritage in Sāmoa</i></b>	<b>5</b>
<i>Lorena Sciusco, National University of Sāmoa and Helene Martinsson-Wallin, Uppsala University</i>	
<b><i>Land, Custom and History in Sāmoa</i></b>	<b>23</b>
<i>Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel, Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa</i>	
<b><i>The Impact of Rural Access Roads in Sāmoa: The Case of Vaitele Street (Lalovaea-Lepea) and other Selected Roads</i></b>	<b>39</b>
<i>Susana Tauaa, National University of Sāmoa</i>	
<b><i>The Role of Institutions in Place-making and Securing Livelihoods for Urban Residents in Samoa: Exploring Resettlement Programmes at Sogi and Taufusi</i></b>	<b>61</b>
<i>Anita Latai-Niusulu, National University of Samoa</i>	
<b><i>Food and Textiles Technology in Sāmoan Schools: Development or Retrenchment?</i></b>	<b>83</b>
<i>Faamoemoe Hakai Soti, National University of Sāmoa and Lex McDonald, Victoria University of Wellington</i>	
<b><i>Pastors' Daughters: Boundary Ambiguity or the Fishbowl Effect?</i></b>	<b>103</b>
<i>Bernadette Samau and Penelope Schoeffel, National University of Sāmoa</i>	
<b><i>Measuring Gender-Based Violence: Towards Improved Services for Victims in Sāmoa</i></b>	<b>113</b>
<i>Ramona Boodoosingh, PhD candidate, National University of Sāmoa</i>	
<b><i>Contributors</i></b>	<b>125</b>



# Issues in the Management of Archaeological Heritage in Sāmoa

Lorena Sciusco, National University of Sāmoa and Helene Martinsson-Wallin, Uppsala University

## Abstract

*Sāmoa was the first nation in the Pacific to gain independence yet it does not have in place legislation to protect its archaeological and historic heritage. This paper examines issues of custom, history, law and land tenure in Sāmoa that may have impeded the formulation of policies. It reviews the way in which these issues have been accommodated in the policy, legislation and implementation of archaeological heritage protection in several of Sāmoa's Pacific neighbours. It suggests that there may be some useful lessons in these examples for planning future heritage policy and legislation for Sāmoa.*

**Keywords:** Sāmoa, cultural heritage management, Pulemelei, land tenure.

## Introduction

This paper will discuss some of the key issues in the management of archaeological heritage; in particular land tenure in a situation where the state has limited legislative authority (see also Martinsson-Wallin et al. 2006). Our aim is to explore the current system in place for the protection of Sāmoa's archaeological heritage and compare it to its Pacific neighbours of Fiji, Vanuatu, and American Sāmoa, where heritage legislation has been in place since the late 1970s and early 1990s, respectively. We will also discuss the relevance of customary law and land tenure in Sāmoa, and how this might shape any future heritage legislation for Sāmoa.

The Independent State of Sāmoa, formerly known as Western Sāmoa, but hereafter referred to as Sāmoa, consists of the larger islands Upolu and Savai'i and the smaller islands of Manono and Apolima and a number of islets. Sāmoa holds a unique position in the history of Polynesia as being, alongside Tonga, the likely "cradle" of classical Polynesian culture. This area was populated around 3000 years ago by groups of people who originated from Island South East Asia. They had a maritime technology and lifestyle, but they also carried a typical pottery style with dentate stamping that has been called Lapita pottery, and they brought horticulture to Sāmoa.

Sāmoa has a dynamic past, including a rich and varied oral tradition, but also a multitude of important archaeological sites (Freeman 1943, 1944a, 1944b, 1944c; Pritchard 1985 [1866]; Stair 1895, 1897). Modern archaeological research in Sāmoa commenced in the 1950s by scholars interested in understanding Sāmoa's pre-contact past over the last 3000 years and role in the colonisation of the Pacific (Golson 1957; Green and Davidson 1969, 1974; Jennings 1976, 1979).

In American Sāmoa, research has been on-going since the 1960s as a result of the *National Historic Preservation Act* 1966 which established an American Sāmoa Historic Preservation Office in 1970 (Addison et al. 2005, 2008a, 2008b; Addison and Asaua 2006a; Best et al. 1989; Clark and Herdrich 1993; Eckert 2006; Eckert and James 2011;

Eckert and Pearl 2006; Herdrich 1991; Herdrich and Clark 1993; Hunt and Kirch 1988; Ishimura and Addison 2007; Petchey and Addison 2008; Quintus 2011, 2012; Quintus and Clark 2012; Reith et al. 2008).

Although research in American Sāmoa has been on-going since the 1960s, there has been a hiatus in archaeological research in Sāmoa since the work of Green and Davidson (1969, 1974) and Jennings (1976), until recently (Addison and Asaua 2006b; Cochrane et al., forthcoming; Clark and De Biran 2007; Clark and Martinsson-Wallin 2007; Cochrane 2015; Ishimura and Inoue 2006; Martinsson-Wallin 2011a, 2011b, 2014, forthcoming; Martinsson-Wallin et al. 2007; Petchey 2001; Sand et al. 2013; Wallin and Martinsson-Wallin 2007; Wallin et al. 2007). The resurgence in archaeological research in the Sāmoan archipelago encouraged courses in archaeology to be offered within the Sāmoan Language and Culture Program at the National University of Sāmoa during 2006–2012 (Martinsson-Wallin, forthcoming) leading to the establishment of a teaching program in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management in 2013.

At present most Sāmoans do not attach as much importance to archaeological and heritage sites, if these are known at all, as they do to intangible aspects of their cultural heritage such as oratory, oral traditions, genealogy and the traditional honorific salutations of villages. Archaeological and heritage places are afforded some protection under the *Planning and Urban Management Act* 2004. Although a number of government agencies have a limited mandate for the management of archaeological sites, there is no specific legislation for the protection and conservation of Sāmoa's tangible cultural heritage. In contrast to American Sāmoa, there is no legal requirement for the impacts on archaeological remains or heritage values to be considered in environmental impact assessments.

### Custom and Law

Sāmoa is governed under a Westminster parliamentary system. Along with the body of formal laws passed by the parliament and subject to the courts, the *Constitution of Sāmoa* 1960 recognises Sāmoan customs under three provisions relating to land and leadership and the arbitration of customary matters. Article 100 provides for traditional leadership, stating 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 Sāmoa, *matai* refers to chiefly title holders. Article 101 provides for customary tenure by defining customary land as 'land held from Sāmoa in accordance with Sāmoan custom and usage and with the law relating to Sāmoan custom and usage.' It further provides that there will be no alienation of customary land. 'Sāmoan custom and usage' is not defined in the Constitution or any other Act, but in the case of disputes over custom and usage with regard to *matai* titles or customary land, a case may be taken for arbitration to the Sāmoa Land and Titles Court, provided for in the Constitution under Article 103.



Legislation for village government comprises the *Village Fono Act* 1990 and the *Internal Affairs Act* 1995. The latter provides for the Internal Affairs Division of the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development (MWCSO) to oversee the wellbeing of villages, village authority, and to provide for 'other matters relating to the culture and traditions of Sāmoa'. The former permits the exercise of power and authority by the village councils of traditional villages in accordance with 'custom and usage of their villages'. The structure of village government is based on the customs, usage and history of each village as interpreted by its legislative body, the village council. These appoint sub-committees for local services such as schools and water supply as they see fit. A bill to amend the Village Fono Act 1990 to further define the authority and procedures of village councils is under consideration as of May 2015.

### **Historical Aspects of Land Tenure in Sāmoa**

Christianity was introduced to Sāmoa in the 1830s and after 70 years of increasing conflicts involving Sāmoan and settler factions in 1900, the Sāmoa archipelago was divided under the colonial administrations of Germany and the United States of America (US). After World War I the western islands of German Sāmoa became a New Zealand Trust Territory and the eastern islands remained a territory of the US (Kennedy 2009; Meleisea 1987). In 1962 Sāmoa was the first nation to gain independence in the Pacific region.

In pre-colonial Sāmoa the islands were divided into territorial chiefdoms comprising numbers of villages (*nu'u*), and use rights in land were allocated by the highest-ranking chiefs. Sāmoan's traditional system of government was based on a hierarchy of *matai* whose authority ranged from the family, to the villages, to sub-districts and districts and, at times, to the whole archipelago (Meleisea 1995). In the nineteenth century foreign settlers in Sāmoa took advantage of the civil wars between rival chiefdoms to buy land in exchange for weapons and money, and pressed for a central government to be formed to validate their claims. Eventually, in 1899, a land commission was appointed by the governments of Britain, Germany and the US to investigate foreign land claims. Those upheld by the commission became freehold titles. A large proportion of these newly created freehold lands became the property of the *Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft* (DHPG), the largest of the German colonial entities operating in Sāmoa (Firth 1973; Gilson 1970).

Following Germany's defeat in World War I, the New Zealand occupation and administration of Sāmoa was formalised under a League of Nations Mandate in December 1920. The *Sāmoa Act* of 1921 transferred all freehold land held by German entities to the New Zealand administration. These former German plantations were managed by the New Zealand administration through the New Zealand Reparation Estates (Davidson 1967; Lundsgaarde 1974; Nayacakalou 1960). Various parcels of land later became classified as government land and when Sāmoa gained independence in

1962, the large plantations became state property incorporated as the Western Sāmoa Trust Estates Corporation (WSTEC), now the Sāmoa Land Corporation (SLC).

There are three categories of land tenure in Sāmoa today: government land, freehold land and customary land (Grant 2008; Jones and Kohlhase 2002; Meleisea and Schoeffel-Meleisea 1987). The system of land classification has a significant influence on urban expansion and development today, and the land tenure system reflects the sometimes uneasy interaction between traditional Sāmoan custom and law, and the legacy of colonial settlement and administration. According to Ward and Ashcroft (1998: 61–65), government land constitutes approximately 15 percent of all land, with 11 percent under direct government management and four percent under WSTEC/SLC management. The Constitution defines this government land as ‘lands vested in Western Sāmoa being land that is free from customary title and from any estate in fee simple’ (Boydell et al. 2006; Setefano 2001). Freehold land constitutes only three percent of the overall land resource in Sāmoa (Ward and Ashcroft 1998: 61), but much of it is prime land. Freehold land was originally customary land that was sold by village leaders and registered as such under the New Zealand and German administrations during the late 1800s and early 1900s. These German-owned lands and plantations were later transferred to the Western Sāmoa Trust Estates Corporation (WSTEC) with a small portion being divested as freehold land. The Constitution defines freehold land as ‘lands held from Western Sāmoa for an estate in fee simple’. Unlike customary land, it is not subject to customary law and the majority of freehold land is situated around the capital of Apia, the area of greatest urban concentration in Sāmoa (Grant 2008; Jones and Kohlhase 2002; Jones and Lea 2007).

Customary land comprises 81 percent of all land in Sāmoa (Ward and Ashcroft 1998: 61). The majority of known or recorded archaeological sites in Sāmoa are located on customary land and sites yet to be recorded are probably also mainly located on customary land. Customary land cannot be sold or mortgaged and is regarded as being ‘outside the parameters of the formal land registration system’ (Grant 2008); however, it may be leased for various development purposes.

All customary land is linked to *nu’u*, which comprise a defined territory. Land within this territory falls into two broad categories: the first is family smallholdings and house sites; the second is a diminishing commons, which traditionally included inshore areas, reefs, and primary forest. Today the state owns all land below the tideline, as well as many forested watershed areas that were once part of this commons. Traditionally a *matai* may acquire additional smallholding land by clearing forest as long as the village council of *matai* agrees to this. In modern Sāmoa traditional authority has been modified but remains connected to land use and rights (Meleisea 1987, 2005; Storey 1998).

Tenure is founded on a strong connection to the Sāmoan way of life (*fa’aSāmoa*) relating to the family (*aiga*), *nu’u*, and the authority of those with *matai* titles in the

family (*fa'amatai*), and village council of chiefs (*fono*). In modern practice, *matai* are persons upon whom a title has been ritually bestowed by the senior male and female members of the extended family or lineage (*'aiga*) to whom the title belongs, and usually with the endorsement of the village with which the title is historically associated. A *matai* serves as head of that family. If resident in a village, a *matai* usually represents that family in the local village council, and often in church committees as well (Meleisea 1987).

Modern practices have complicated land tenure and title succession. For example, many *matai* titles with land appurtenant to them have multiple holders so that rights to and authority over land is often a matter of dispute. Perhaps one of the greatest changes is reflected in customs pertaining to land, which have been greatly modified by the monetary economy and the rise of customary individualism (Crocombe 1974, 1987; Fairbairn-Dunlop 2001; Grant 2008; O' Meara 1987, 1995).

Customary individualism—a modified version of the traditional land tenure system that has seen the introduction of the 'principle of descent', whereby family smallholdings remain with individual families—is more common today. In practice, this is a de-facto system of individual family tenure. Custom is still coming to terms with this change and the ideology persists that land is controlled and allocated by the *matai*, although this is seldom the case today (O' Meara 1987).

Any proposed system for the protection and management of Sāmoa's archaeological heritage would need to be sympathetic to the complexities of customary land tenure and its

modern nuances. The Constitution of Sāmoa provides the state with no formal authority over customary land except to provide that it may use its legal power to acquire customary land for national purposes such as roads and other public infrastructure. This power could conceivably be used to acquire areas of heritage value, but where these are on customary land, it is unlikely that the state would do so, as it could have negative political repercussions. This is a significant fact that needs to be considered in relation to the protection and management of archaeological sites.

### **A Case Study: Pulemelei Mound**

The archaeological site of Pulemelei mound, an extensive prehistoric abandoned settlement, located on the Letolo plantation on the island of Savai'i, is an important case study in Sāmoa that highlights the inherent complexities of land and cultural heritage management. It is situated at the complex intersection of land tenure disputes and the relevance of cultural heritage management in a post-colonial setting in the Pacific.

The Pulemelei mound is located on the freehold land of Letolo plantation. It is part of a larger prehistoric settlement complex initially recorded by Gregory Jackmond

between 1977 and 1978 (Martinsson-Wallin et al. 2007). The work carried out by Jackmond resulted in the identification of 3500 archaeological features that included 'stone platforms, roads, along with stone fences, and walkways, earth ovens, and refuse piles' (Martinsson-Wallin et al. 2007). In 2002, an international team of archaeologists from Gotland University in Sweden (now Uppsala University) and the Australian National University commenced a research project at the site. The aim of this three-year project was firstly, to understand the chronology and construction sequence of the Pulemelei mound and adjacent structures by archaeological investigation; secondly, to examine the development and meaning of monumental architecture at the Letolo plantation, and contrast Sāmoan monuments with those from other parts of West Polynesia; and thirdly, to provide archaeological fieldwork and cultural heritage training for Sāmoan and overseas students, particularly the management of monumental sites impacted by tourism. This was the first archaeological excavation in Savai'i which could develop a better understanding of the Pulemelei mound and its place in the discourse of mound building traditions in the Pacific (Martinsson-Wallin, forthcoming, 2014; Martinsson-Wallin et al. 2007).

The Pulemelei mound is situated in the Letolo plantation approximately three kilometres from the coast, in southern Savai'i. The plantation is owned by O.F. Nelson Properties Ltd. The land was sold to Frank Magnus Wilson, a European, in 1872 by Tualualelei Siale, a paramount chief from the village and witnessed by Autagavaia, a high ranking orator of the village and a member of the powerful traditional Pule group of high orators of Savai'i (*Sia'aga and others vs. O.F. Nelson Properties Limited* [2008]). A deed dated 1886 shows that Wilson gifted the land to his daughter Ellen and his son, Charles (*O.F. Nelson Properties Limited vs Feti and others* [2008]). In 1889, Wilson lodged a land claim on behalf of his children with the aforementioned Land Commission which was established under Article IV of the Berlin Conference. In 1894, the boundaries of Wilson's land claim came under dispute from Vavaioti, an orator chief representing the village of Palauli, who felt that the payment made by Wilson of \$1500 for 6000 acres of land was inadequate. A compromise was reached between Wilson and representatives of the village of Palauli. The agreement reached allocated 1500 acres to Wilson with the remainder returned to Vavaioti and the objection was withdrawn. It appears that in 1896, Wilson's children gave 350 acres to the DHPG in cancellation of their father's debt with the company. This left 1150 acres to Charles and Ellen Wilson, and in 1897, the land was granted back to Frank Magnus Wilson (*O.F. Nelson Properties Limited vs Feti and others* [2008]).

In 1901, Wilson sold the land to a well-known merchant Harry Jay Moors. Disputes re-emerged between the new landowner, Moors and the leaders of Vailoa, a sub-village of Palauli. Court proceedings continued between Moors and the village, with the Imperial District Court ruling that Moors was entitled to 563 acres rather than 1150 acres. By the end of 1906 an out of court agreement settled the dispute between

Moors and Vailoa. The agreement reached included the distribution of 200 acres to the Treasury of the Protectorate of Sāmoa, to be distributed to the people of Palauli. In 1921, Moors gifted his remaining lands in fee simple to his daughter, Rosabel Edith Nelson [nee Moors] (Laracy 2014). Two years later, she sold the land to the O.F. Nelson and Company Ltd. The founder of this company Olaf Frederick Nelson was born in 1883 in Safune, Savai'i (Davidson 1967; Field 1991; Meleisea 1987). He is a well-known historic figure in Sāmoa associated with the Mau Movement and was the eldest son of August Nilspiter Gustav Nelson, a Swedish born merchant (Field 1991). August Nelson married Sina Masoe, a daughter of a chief of Safune (Martinsson-Wallin 2011a; Wendt 1965). In 1968, an additional 100 acres was added to the adjoining property owned by a Mr Gray (*Sia'aga and others vs. O.F. Nelson Properties Limited* [2008]). In 1994, the land was sold as estate in fee simple to the current owners, O.F. Nelson Properties Limited. Although the land has been, in effect, property of the Nelson family for almost 100 years, the nearby village of Vailoa has disputed ownership since the time of its sale in 1872. The *matai* of Vailoa village claim the Letolo plantation on which the site of Pulemelei is situated is customary land and the land transactions of the early nineteenth century were fraudulent. The village argues that Tualaulelei Siale did not have paramount authority to alienate, sell or divest lands (*Sia'aga and others vs O.F. Nelson Properties Limited* [2008]).

Prior to the archaeological excavations in 2003, a purification ceremony (*fa'alanu*), was conducted, which attracted many local dignitaries and overseas visitors, including Maori scholars Dr Pita Sharples and the Rev. Morris Gray (Tui Atua 2007). The ceremony was organised by Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Tupuola Tufuga Efi (now Sāmoa's Head of State), a descendant of Olaf Nelson, and it attracted considerable local and media attention. One of the aims of the *fa'alanu*, to which chiefs from the whole of the district had been invited, was to reconnect with ancestors of the past and to seek permission for the excavations to go ahead (Tui Atua 2007: 5). The *fa'alanu* was a means to obtain ancestral authenticity and required sandalwood (*asi*) for the ritual to proceed. The need for *asi* was advertised and obtained for the *fa'alanu* and was presided over by the local pastor. The *fa'alanu* can be interpreted as a marriage of the old and the new, the past and the present and perhaps a coming together of traditional and scientific traditions. However, the ceremony appears to have instigated a revival of village claims to the land on which Pulemelei is located. There were already economic concerns about the plantation, which was no longer operating on a scale that provided local employment within the village, leading to friction between the plantation owners and the village.

In 2004, the dispute escalated to such a level that the archaeological field season was halted due to safety concerns (Tui Atua 2007). The Prime Minister intervened and the excavations were concluded under the supervision of the chiefs from Vailoa village. In 2005 the plantation manager's house was burnt down and cattle from the plantation were slaughtered (pers.comm. Annandale 2014). In 2010, the Supreme Court of Sāmoa

ruled in favour of the plaintiff, O.F. Nelson Properties Limited, ruling that the land in dispute belonged to the plaintiff and was indeed freehold land (*O.F. Nelson Properties Limited vs. Feti and others* [2008]).

The complexity of the Sāmoan political landscape and its relationship to the land tenure system and the *fa'amatai* is illustrated by this case (Huffer and So'o 2000; Meleisea 1987, 1995; Tui Atua 2004; Tuimaleali'ifano 2011). The location of the archaeological remains of Pulemelei on freehold land may well have protected this large complex, although the archaeological team in 2002 were advised that a large mound of stone, approximately six meters in height, was taken away for the building of a church in Vailoa and that another stone mound had been used as road fill in the 1950s. Had the site been on customary land, and in an era of modern construction methods, it is also possible that at least some of the stones of which the mound is constructed might have been removed for house-building and other purposes. This has happened in other parts of Sāmoa where ancient sites are no longer of remembered historical or spiritual significance. Many Sāmoans refer to the pre-Christian past as the time of darkness (*O aso o le pouliuli*) reflecting ambivalence about material relics from that time.

### **Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Management in Fiji, Vanuatu and American Sāmoa**

Throughout the Pacific region there are several examples of how archaeological and heritage management is achieved when customary law and land tenure are still a relevant part of contemporary life (Arutangai 1987; Kamikamica 1987; Rodman 1995; Ward 1995). The following examples from Fiji, Vanuatu, and American Sāmoa provide a snapshot of the current status of strategies for managing archaeological heritage and planning in these contexts. They may offer Sāmoa some contemporary examples of opportunities and constraints in providing for the practical protection and management of its archaeological heritage.

Archaeological heritage in Fiji is afforded protection under the *Preservation of Objects of Archaeological and Paleontological Interest Act 1978*. The Act is administered by the Fiji Museum, a statutory body governed by the *Fiji Museum Act 1977*, which is responsible for the protection, preservation, and documentation of Fiji's national archaeological and paleontological heritage. The Museum consists of two in-house departments: Pre-history and Historical Archaeology. They are jointly responsible for the compilation and maintenance of site registers as well as carrying out research and field programs. These programs include both the identification and recording of archaeological sites and historic buildings. The *National Trust of Fiji Act 1970* also plays an important role in the preservation of Fijian cultural heritage through the promotion of preservation initiatives in targeted public awareness and educational programs.

In Vanuatu, the central piece of legislation that affords protection to archaeological sites is the *Preservation of Sites and Artefacts Act Amendment 2008*. The Act defines national heritage as including any site of historical, archaeological, ethnological, and /or artistic significance, with part 2 (3) of the Act requiring the Vanuatu Cultural Centre to keep a register of national heritage. The Act also prohibits the modification or destruction of a classified site or object without prior approval from the Minister. In addition, heritage inspectors possess wide-ranging powers to enter, search, and inspect land, premises, vehicles, or vessels where there is reasonable concern that an offence under the Act has been committed.

In addition, the *Vanuatu National Cultural Council Act 2006* established the Vanuatu Cultural Council, which is responsible for the 'preservation, protection and development of various aspects of the cultural heritage of Vanuatu' (Part 5). The Act makes provisions for the establishment, maintenance, and administration of a number of key national institutions including the Vanuatu Cultural Centre that acts as an umbrella organisation, comprising (1) the National Museum, (2) the National Library, (3) the National Film and Sound Unit, and (4) the National Cultural and Historic Sites Survey. Protection is also afforded by the *National Parks Act 1993* of Vanuatu that makes provision for the protection of archaeological sites under Section 2(d), and which allows for the declaration of national parks and national reserves. Moreover, the *Environmental Management and Conservation Act 2003* provides protection of cultural heritage as part of its broader environmental and conservation legislation. This holistic approach that Vanuatu has chosen to adopt links the protection of archaeological sites into a much broader legislative framework. It is a framework that regards archaeological heritage as part of the environmental landscape and provides safeguards through an environmental impact assessment process, a function that is under-utilised in the current legislation in Sāmoa.

In American Sāmoa, archaeological heritage and historic places are protected under the *National Historic Preservation Act 1966* (NHPA), which applies to all states and territories of the United States. The NHPA applies to projects that receive federal funding, or take place on federal land. In American Sāmoa this applies to most infrastructure development projects such as the installation of water pipes and sewage tanks etc., which often occur on customary or village lands. The NHPA also requires the establishment of a Historic Preservation Office, in this instance the American Sāmoa Historical Preservation Office (ASHPO) as well as a National Register of Historic Places that affords protection to sites or 'historic places' listed on this database. These places can be nominated for inclusion on the register, irrespective of the status of the land tenure including privately owned properties. However, the property owner must be involved in the nomination process. Where the owner objects to a listing, the historic place will not be listed until such time as a decision is made by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. In addition to the NHPA, the *American Sāmoa Coastal*

*Management Act 1990 (ASCMA)* is a piece of territorial legislation that applies to all land tenure in American Sāmoa and to development projects and actions that are locally funded.

As in Sāmoa, Fiji, Vanuatu, and American Sāmoa, customary land is managed on the basis of traditional leadership. In the case of the *Preservation of Objects of Archaeological and Paleontological Interest Act 1978* and the *Preservation of Sites and Artefacts Act Amendment 2008* in Fiji and Vanuatu respectively, both acts allow for the management of archaeological sites irrespective of the land tenure. The same applies for the federal NHPA and the territorial ASCMA in American Sāmoa. All acts, in one form or another, make provisions for the acquisition of land with archaeological sites or monuments, or allow for the power to enter into negotiations with land owners for lease agreements. This is an important function that is required for the preservation and management of archaeological resources in any nation.

### **Heritage and Planning in Sāmoa**

The protection and preservation of archaeological and heritage resources through the use of legislation is less obvious in Sāmoa than in the examples from Fiji, Vanuatu and nearby American Sāmoa. As previously noted, the central legislation providing limited protection for archaeological and heritage resources in Sāmoa is the Planning and Urban Management Act 2004. This Act, administered by the Planning and Urban Management Agency (PUMA), is a division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MNRE). The MNRE is responsible for the 'sustainable development and management of Sāmoa's natural resources and environment' and the work of the Ministry is mandated under a range of legislation, regulation, policy and multilateral agreements (MNRE 2008). A key objective of the Ministry is 'to manage sustainable planning and development services and outcomes through the implementation of the Planning and Urban Management Act'. The primary focus of this Act is strategic planning and sustainable development, which does not necessarily include procedures for preserving archaeological sites.

There are two critical applications of the Planning and Urban Management Act, which have implications for ensuring the preservation of archaeological and heritage places. Firstly, the Act applies to all development and stipulates the preservation of buildings, areas or other places of scientific, aesthetic, architectural, or historical interest. Secondly, the objectives and functions of the Planning and Urban Management Act incorporate heritage preservation and management through the provisions of the Act and incorporate its identification and management via the broader planning and development assessment process.

There are a number of other separate pieces of legislation that make reference to the requirements of the Planning and Urban Management Act 2004 such as the *Water*



*Resources Management Act* 2008. Other legislation such as *The Lands, Surveys and Environment Act* 1989 and the *Forestry Management Act* 2011 function in similar ways to the Planning and Urban Management Act in that they incorporate provisions for the preservation of archaeological and historic places through their respective operational requirements, but the extent of these Acts is restricted to the land or resource that the agency in question administers.

At present, Sāmoa does not have legislation in place that specifically covers archaeological and heritage preservation as does Fiji, Vanuatu, or American Sāmoa. The *Sāmoan Antiquities Ordinance Act 1954* (as amended 1972) only makes provisions for the protection of Sāmoan antiquities such as 'relics, articles manufactured with ancient Sāmoan tools ... and all other articles or things of historic, anthropological, or scientific value'. This Act stipulates that all archaeological, anthropological, or scientific material cannot leave the country without permission from the Head of State. One of the objectives of this Act is to promote the retention of Sāmoan antiquities within Sāmoa.

The Planning and Urban Management Act 2004 does not explicitly state the preservation of archaeological or heritage places as objectives of the Act. One important objective of the PUMA Board is that it must exercise its power to 'preserve those buildings, areas or other places of scientific, aesthetic, architectural or historical interest, or otherwise of special cultural value' (Part III Section 9). Although this does not refer specifically to archaeological sites or heritage places, it does make reference to places of scientific value, a criterion that is commonly applied to archaeological sites in the cultural heritage management discourse, whilst historic places are commonly assessed according to their aesthetic, architectural, and historical value. Unlike Fiji's Preservation of Objects of Archaeological and Paleontological Interest Act 1978 and Vanuatu's Preservation of Sites and Artefacts Amendment Act 2008, Sāmoa's Planning and Urban Management Act 2004 lacks any explicit directive for the protection of its archaeological and heritage places. The efficacy of the Act is dependent on the implementation of the objectives and responsibilities of the Board.

In addition to PUMA there are two other government agencies in Sāmoa with an interest in the preservation of archaeological sites and heritage places: the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) and the Museum of Sāmoa, situated within the Culture Division of MESC. The MESC Corporate Plan is explicit about its role in the preservation, protection, and recording of heritage places, and its need to preserve Sāmoa's tangible and intangible heritage. However, MESC receives its mandate to carry out its activities through two pieces of legislation, the *Education Ordinance* 1959 and *The Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs Act* 1976. These Acts provide MESC with the legislative tools to put into place a set of policies and strategic plans that acknowledge and promote the importance of education in Sāmoa. This focus on education also incorporates many cultural values that promote a range of tangible and intangible facets of Sāmoan culture, with many of these embedded in the *fa'aSāmoa*.

The philosophical approach of MESC is supported through the objectives of the Ministry, including to 'nurture Sāmoan cultural heritage and creativity' (MESC 2009). The Culture Division of MESC is responsible for Sāmoa's museum, facilitation of on-going processes for the formulation of cultural policy, and various cultural projects. It acknowledges the importance of participating in the protection and management of national heritage sites; however, MESC's legal mandate derives from the two Acts previously mentioned and these do include provisions for the protection of archaeological and heritage places, nor do these Acts empower MESC or the Culture Division with resource, land, management, or planning powers like those of MNRE and PUMA.

Sāmoa faces a policy conundrum. Government agencies such as PUMA have a legal mandate under the Planning and Urban Management Act 2004 to enforce some level of protection for archaeological sites and heritage places but there are no policies to guide the implementation of this Act. In contrast, MESC's Culture Division has the policies and objectives to protect and conserve archaeological sites and heritage places but no legislative mandate to implement these policies. Government officers are therefore constrained in the protection and conservation of Sāmoa's archaeological and heritage places due to a lack of a coherent policy framework backed by legislation and allocation of administrative authority.

In 2012, the Prime Minister and the Attorney General of Sāmoa asked the Sāmoa Law Reform Commission (SLRC) to investigate the establishment of a National Heritage Board. The objective of the Board would be to protect and preserve Sāmoa's national and cultural heritage and the terms of reference for the SLRC were to assess the feasibility of the establishment of a National Heritage Board and to investigate how national heritage boards in other nations were established and operated (SLRC 2012). In 2013, the SLRC finalised its report, which is pending approval by Cabinet. Amongst its thirty-nine recommendations, the SLRC recommended the establishment of a Sāmoan Heritage Authority, or *Pulega o Measina a Sāmoa* 'under legislation dedicated to the protection of Sāmoa's national heritage sites' (SLRC 2013: 66–70). The SLRC report acknowledges the ad hoc mandate allocated to different government agencies for the protection of archaeological and cultural heritage sites in Sāmoa and it notes that there is a need to strengthen the Planning and Urban Management Act 2004, and for this Act to refer to the proposed new heritage legislation (SLRC 2013: 46–49).

### **Conclusion**

Any approach to strengthening heritage management and conservation and protection in Sāmoa must include the village and sites on customary land. Sāmoa is in a unique position to develop legislation that draws on the lessons of archaeological heritage management from its Pacific neighbours, and improve upon them by including provisions for village level authority. As a nation that recognises aspects of traditional

custom at the village level combined with a Westminster parliamentary system, the management of archaeological heritage and any legislation developed to protect this aspect of Sāmoa's cultural heritage will need to find some balance between the sometimes contentious areas of authority between village councils and central government. Along with preparing coherent policy-backed legislation to protect tangible and intangible sites of cultural importance, the Government of Sāmoa could create a platform for management practices on village land through a program of education and awareness. The proposed Bill to amend to the Village Fono Act, 1990 will require villages to define and record village laws and enforcement procedures. If the government supported and funded a national cultural heritage program to assist villages to identify tangible heritage sites and to understand their value, these could be protected under village laws. This would enhance a sense of pride and convey the cultural and economic value of archaeological and historically important sites for the benefit of all Sāmoans.

### **Acknowledgements**

We would like to thank Professor Leasiolagi Malama Meleisea and Associate Professor Penelope Schoeffel from the Centre for Sāmoan Studies at the National University of Sāmoa who read earlier drafts of this paper and provided valuable direction on matters relating to land tenure and the *fa'amatai*. Lori Sciusco would like to acknowledge the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand for financial support through the University of Otago Postgraduate Scholarship and the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology Doctoral Research Funding. Associate Professor Helene Martinsson-Wallin would like to acknowledge the financial support provided by the Swedish International Development Corporation Agency (SIDA) and the Kon-Tiki Museum (Oslo).

### **References**

- 1921. *The Sāmoa Act*. New Zealand.
- 1954. *Sāmoan Antiquities Ordinance*. Sāmoa.
- 1959. *Education Ordinance*.
- 1960. *Constitution of the Independent State of Western Sāmoa*. Sāmoa.
- 1966. *National Historic Preservation Act*.
- 1970. *National Trust For Fiji Act*. Fiji.
- 1976. *The Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs Act*.
- 1977. *Fiji Museum Act*. Fiji.
- 1978. *Preservation of Objects of Archaeological and Palaeontological Interest*. Fiji.
- 1989. *The Land, Surveys and Environment Act*. Sāmoa.
- 1990. *The American Sāmoa Coastal Zone Management Act*. American Sāmoa.
- 1990. *Village Fono Act*. Sāmoa.
- 1993. *National Parks Act*. Republic of Vanuatu.
- 1995. *Internal Affairs Act*.
- 2003. *Environmental Management and Conservation Act*. Republic of Vanuatu.
- 2004. *Planning and Urban Management Act*. Sāmoa.
- 2006. *Vanuatu National Cultural Council Act*. Republic of Vanuatu.

2008. *O.F.Nelson Properties Limited vs Toluono Feti and others*. Supreme Court of Sāmoa; WSSC 19.
2008. *Preservation of Sites and Artefacts Act*. Republic of Vanuatu.
2008. *Salu Sia'aga and others vs OF.Nelson Properties Limited*. Western Sāmoa Court of Appeal; WSCA 14; CA 04 of 2008.
2008. *Water Resources Management Act*. Sāmoa.
2011. *Forestry Management Act*. Sāmoa.
- Addison, D. J. and Asaua, T. S. 2006a. "One Hundred New Dates from Tutuila and Manu'a: Additional Data Addressing Chronological Issues in Sāmoan Prehistory." *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 2: 95–119.
- Addison, D. J. and Asaua, T. S. 2006b. "Sāmoan Archaeology 2006." *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 2: 1–4.
- Addison, D. J., Tago, T., Toloa, J. and Pearthree, E. 2005. "Ceramic Deposits below Fifth to Sixth Century AD Volcanic Ash Fall at Pava'ia'i, Tutuila Island, American Sāmoa: Preliminary Results from Site AS-31-171." *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 27: 5–18.
- Addison, D. J., Toloa, J., Tago, T. and Vaeli, S. 2008a. "Sāmoan Plainware Ceramics of Tutuila Island, American Sāmoa: Some Thoughts on their Spatial and Chronological Distribution." In *Recent Advances in the Archaeology of the Fiji/West-Polynesia Region*. eds. D. J. Addison and C. Sand Dunedin: University of Otago Studies in Prehistoric Anthropology No. 21.
- Addison, D. J., Walter, G. and Morris, A. 2008b. "The Initial Investigation of Fatu-ma-Futi: An Ancient Coastal Village Site, Tutuila Island, Territory of American Sāmoa." *The New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 29: 89–107.
- Arutangai, S. 1987. "Vanuatu: Overcoming the Colonial Legacy." In *Land Tenure in the Pacific*. ed. R. Crocombe. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Best, S., Leach, H. and Witter, D. 1989. *Report on the Second Phase of Fieldwork at the Tataga-Matau Site, American Sāmoa, July–August*. Department of Anthropology, University of Otago, New Zealand.
- Boydell, S., Small, G. and Seehan, J. 2006. *Review of Financial Management of Customary and Other Land in the Pacific: Report to the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat*. Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, AusAID and UNDP.
- Clark, G. and De Biran, A. 2007. "Geophysical Investigations at the Pulemelei Mound." *Archaeology in Oceania* 43: 60–70.
- Clark, G. and Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2007. "Monumental Architecture in West Polynesia: Origins, Chiefs and Archaeological Approaches." *Archaeology in Oceania* 43: 28–40.
- Clark, J. T. and Herdrich, D. J. 1993. "Prehistoric Settlement System in Eastern Tutuila, American Sāmoa." *Journal of Polynesian Society* 102.
- Cochrane, E. 2015. *Report on Archaeological Research in Aleipata District, Upolu, Sāmoa, 2013–2014*. Auckland: The University of Auckland.
- Cochrane, E., Kane, H., Fletcher, C., Horrocks, M., Mills, J., Barbee, M., Morrison, A. and Tautunu, M. forthcoming. "Lack of Suitable Coastal Plains Likely Influenced Laplta (-2800 cal BP) Settlement of Sāmoa: Evidence from South-Eastern Upolu." *The Holocene*.

- Crocombe, R. 1974. "An Approach to the Analysis of Land Tenure Systems." In *Land Tenure in Oceania*. ed. H. P. Lundsgaarde. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Crocombe, R. ed. 1987. *Land Tenure in the Pacific*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Davidson, J. W. 1967. *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Sāmoa*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Eckert, S. 2006. "Ancestral Polynesian Plain Ware Production and Technological Style: A View for Aganoa, Tutuila Island, American Sāmoa." *Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 2: 65–74.
- Eckert, S. L. and James, W. D. 2011. "Investigating the Production and Distribution of Plain Ware Pottery in the Sāmoan Archipelago with Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma-mass Spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS)." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38: 2155–2170.
- Eckert, S. and Pearl, F. B. 2006. "Report on Analysis of Polynesian Plain Ware from the Ulu Tree Site, Tutuila, American Sāmoa." *Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 2.
- Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. 2001. "Changing Perception of Land: Sāmoa 2000." *Sāmoan Environmental Forum: Proceedings of the 2001 National Environmental Forum* 10: 63–71.
- Field, M. J. 1991. *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*. Auckland: Polynesian Press.
- Firth, S. 1973. "German Firms in the Western Pacific Islands, 1857–1914." *The Journal of Pacific History* 8: 10–28.
- Freeman, J. D. 1943. "The Seuao Cave." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 52: 101–109.
- Freeman, J. D. 1944a. "The Falemauga Caves." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 53: 86–106.
- Freeman, J. D. 1944b. "O le fale o le fe'e." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 53: 121–144.
- Freeman, J. D. 1944c. "The Vailele Earthmounds." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 53: 145–162.
- Gilson, R. P. 1970. *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900 : The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Golson, J. 1957. "Report 1 Preliminary Research: Archaeology in Western Sāmoa, 1957." In *Archaeology in Western Sāmoa, Volume 1*. eds. R. C. Green and J. Davidson. Auckland, New Zealand: Bulletin of the Auckland Institute and Museum.
- Grant, C. 2008. "Accessing Land for Public Purposes in Sāmoa." *Making Land Work, Volume 2 Case Studies*. Canberra, Australia: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Green, R. C. and Davidson, J. eds. 1969. *Archaeology in Western Sāmoa*. Auckland: Auckland Institute and Museum.
- Green, R. C. and Davidson, J. M. eds. 1974. *Archaeology in Western Sāmoa, Volume 2*. Auckland, Auckland Institute and Museum.
- Herdrich, D. J. 1991. "Towards An Understanding of Sāmoan Star Mounds." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 100.
- Herdrich, D. J. and Clark, J. T. 1993. *Sāmoan Tia'ave and Social Structure: Methodological and Theoretical Considerations*. Pago Pago, American Sāmoa: American Sāmoa Historic Preservation Office.

- Huffer, E. and So'o, A. eds. 2000. *Governance in Sāmoa: Pulega i Sāmoa*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press at the Australian National University and Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Hunt, T. L. and Kirch, P. V. 1988. "An Archaeological Survey of the Manu'a Islands, American Sāmoa." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 97: 153–183.
- Ishimura, T. and Addison, D. J. 2007. "Ateliers of Basalt: Basalt Industries of Tafuna (AS-31-150) and Pava'ia'i (AS-31-170), Tutuila Island, American Sāmoa." *Archaeology in Oceania* 42: 33–40.
- Ishimura, T. and Inoue, T. 2006. "Archaeological Excavations at the Si'utu Midden Site, Savai'i Island." *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 2: 43–56.
- Jennings, J. D. 1976. *Excavations on Upolu, Western Sāmoa*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- Jennings, J. D. 1979. *The Prehistory of Polynesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Jones, P. and Kohlhase, J. 2002. "Urban Planning and Management in Apia-Everybody's or Nobody's Business in 2002." *Sāmoan Environmental Forum: Proceedings of the 2002 National Environmental Forum* 3: 31–39.
- Jones, P. and Lea, J. P. 2007. "What Has Happened to Urban Reform in the Island Pacific? Some Lessons from Kiribati and Sāmoa." *Pacific Affairs* 80: 473–491.
- Kamikamica, J. 1987. "Fiji: Making Native Land Productive." In *Land Tenure in the Pacific*. ed. R. Crocombe. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Kennedy, J. 2009. *The Tropical Frontier: America's South Sea Colony*. Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
- Laracy, H. 2014. "Nelson Olaf Frederick", from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4n5/nelson-olaf-frederick> (accessed 30 April 2015).
- Lundsgaarde, H. P. (ed) 1974. *Land Tenure in Oceania*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2011a. *The Complexity of an Archaeological Site in Sāmoa: The Past in the Present*. Terra Australia 35.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2011b. *The Sāmoa Project: Archaeological Results, Local Participation and Intercultural Exchange*. The Kon-Tiki Museum Occasional Papers 11: 35–42.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2014. "Tala Eli of Laupule Mound and Beyond." In *Monuments and People in the Pacific*. eds. H. Martinsson-Wallin and T. Thomas. Sweden: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H. forthcoming. *Archaeology of Monuments and Settlements in the Independent State of Sāmoa*. Oxford, UK: Archaeopress, Oxford University Press.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H., Clark, G. and Wallin, P. 2006. "Monuments and People: A Report of the State of the Pulemelei Site, Savai'i, Sāmoa." *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies* 2: 57–63.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H., Wallin, P. and Clark, G. 2007. "The Excavation of Pulemelei Site 2002–2004." *Archaeology in Oceania*, 42 Supplement 41–59.
- Meleisea, M. 1987. *The Making of Modern Sāmoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific.

- Meleisea, M. 1995. *To Whom Gods and Men Crowded: Chieftainship and Hierarchy in Ancient Sāmoa: Images of Gender and Polity*. ed J. Huntsman. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies.
- Meleisea, M. 2005. "Governance, Development and Leadership in Polynesia: A Microstudy from Sāmoa." In *Culture and Sustainable Development in the Pacific*. ed. Hooper, A. Canberra, Australia: ANU EPress.
- Meleisea, M. and Schoeffel-Meleisea, P. eds. 1987. *Lagaga : A Short History of Western Sāmoa*, Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture 2009. *Corporate Plan July 2009–June 2012*. Apia, Sāmoa.
- Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment 2008. *Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment Service Charter*. Apia, Sāmoa.
- Nayacakalou, R. R. 1960. "Land Tenure and Social Organisation in Western Sāmoa." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 69: 104–122.
- O' Meara, J. T. 1987. "Customary Individualism." In *Land Tenure in the Pacific 3<sup>rd</sup> edn.* ed R. Crocombe. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- O' Meara, J. T. 1995. "From Corporate to Individual Land Tenure in Western Sāmoa." In *Land, Custom and Practice in the South Pacific*. eds. G. R. Ward and E. Kingdom. Cambridge, UK; New York, USA; Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press.
- Petchey, F. 2001. "Radiocarbon Determinations from the Mulifanua Lapita Site, Upolu, Western Sāmoa." *Radiocarbon* 43: 63–68.
- Petchey, F. and Addison, D. J. 2008. "Radiocarbon dating marine shell in Sāmoa - a review." In *Recent Advances in the Archaeology of the Fiji/West-Polynesia Region*. eds. C. Sand and D. J. Addison. Dunedin: University of Otago Studies in Prehistoric Anthropology No. 21.
- Pritchard, W. T. 1985 [1866]. *Polynesian Reminiscences: Or Life in The South Sea Islands*. Papakura, New Zealand: Southern Bookbinding.
- Quintus, S. 2011. *Land Use and the Human-Environment Interaction on Olosega Island, Manu'a, American Sāmoa*. MSc thesis. North Dakota State University.
- Quintus, S. 2012. "Terrestrial Food Production and Land Use in Prehistoric Sāmoa: An Example from Olosega Island, Manu'a, American Sāmoa." *Archaeology in Oceania* 47: 133–140.
- Quintus, S. and Clark, J. T. 2012. "Between Chaos and Control: Spatial Perceptions of Domestic, Political and Ritual Organization in Prehistoric Sāmoa." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 121.
- Reith, T. M., Morris, A. and Addison, D. J. 2008. "The Temporal and Spatial Patterning of the Initial Settlement of Sāmoa." *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 3: 214–239.
- Rodman, M. 1995. "Breathing Spaces: Customary Land Tenure in Vanuatu." In *Land, Custom and Practice in the South Pacific*. ed. G. R. K. Ward. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sand, C., Baret, D., Bole, J. and Ouetcho, A. 2013. "Manono Archaeology Project: Field Report 2013." *Rapport de mission de l'Institute d'archaeologie de la Nouvelle-Caledonie et du Pacifique*. Noumea: IANCP.

- Setefano, M. P. 2001. "Land Valuation as a Tool for Resource Management." Proceedings of the 2000 National Environment Forum, Apia. Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment.
- Samoa Law Reform Commission 2012. *National Heritage Board*. Discussion Paper. Apia, Sāmoa: Sāmoa Law Reform Commission.
- Samoa Law Reform Commission 2013. *National Heritage Board Report 13/13*. Apia, Sāmoa: Sāmoa Law Reform Commission.
- Stair, J. B. 1895. "Sāmoa: Whence Peopled?" *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 4: 47–58.
- Stair, J. B. 1897. "Flotsam and Jetsam from the Great Ocean: or, Summary of Early Sāmoan Voyages and Settlement, with Supplementary Notes and Comments." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 4: 99–131.
- Storey, D. 1998. "The Politics of Managing Urban Development in Pacific Island States: The Case of Sāmoa and Tonga." *The Journal of Pacific Studies* 22: 61–80.
- Tui Atua, T. E. 2004. "Resident, Residence, Residency in Sāmoan Customs." Symposium on Concepts in Polynesian Customary Law. Te Matahauariki Institute, University of Waikato, New Zealand.
- Tui Atua, T. E. 2007. "In Search of Tagaloa: Pulemelei, Sāmoan Mythology and Science." *Archaeology in Oceania* 42 Supplement: 5–10.
- Tuimaleali'ifano, M. 2011. "Village Authority and Governance in Sāmoa: The Case of O le Afioga Tutasi a le Aiga Taua'ana, Falelatai." Sāmoa II Conference, Apia, Sāmoa. Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa.
- Wallin, P. and Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2007. "Settlement Patterns: Social and Ritual Space in Prehistoric Sāmoa." *Archaeology in Oceania* 42 Supplement: 83–89.
- Wallin, P., Martinsson-Wallin, H. and Clark, G. 2007. "A Radiocarbon Sequence for Sāmoan Prehistory and the Pulemelei Mound." *Archaeology in Oceania* 43: 71–82.
- Ward, G. R. 1995. "Land, Law and Custom: Diverging Realities in Fiji." In *Land, Custom and Practice in the South Pacific*. ed. G. R. K. E. Ward. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ward, G. R. and Ashcroft, P. 1998. *Sāmoa: Mapping the Diversity*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific and Apia, Sāmoa: National University of Sāmoa.
- Wendt, A. 1965. *Guardians and Wards : A Study of the Origins, Causes, and the First Two Years of the Mau in Sāmoa*. Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington University.



## Land, Custom and History in Sāmoa

*Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel, Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa*

### Abstract

*For more than a century Sāmoans have asserted that there are timeless norms in relation to customary land tenure, despite historical changes and introduced legal and religious principles. Since the early nineteenth century, Sāmoa has undergone a slow cultural revolution in which ancient political institutions have been completely reshaped. The German and New Zealand colonial administrations introduced a number of institutional changes affecting land tenure, and there has been a slow economic revolution from a subsistence and exchange-based economy to dependence on money. This has accelerated since the 1970s as a result of mass emigration and remittances. As a result the traditional system of property, which evolved historically to maximise the efficiency of a subsistence economy, is being adapted to a money-based economy with some associated issues and problems.*

**Keywords:** Sāmoa, land, titles, *matai*, custom.

### Introduction

This paper aims to contextualise contemporary land issues in Sāmoa. Customs have been evolving over time in response to changing circumstances and today it is not unusual for people to disagree about what is Sāmoan custom. In the nineteenth century the traditional hierarchy or rank began to be levelled, in keeping with the Christian principles promoted by the churches, and the modern *matai* system emerged. Customs have been evolving over time in response to changing circumstances. There has been a slow economic revolution toward dependence on money, which has accelerated rapidly since the 1970s as a result of mass emigration and subsequent remittances. The rank and status of *matai* titles are defined in the formal honorific salutations of villages (*fa'alupega*). These have only been slightly modified since the nineteenth century when the population was only a quarter of what it is today and when almost all Sāmoans lived in villages. But now the total population of Sāmoans at home and overseas is more than 300,000.

Only a small proportion of all Sāmoans live in villages, so few Sāmoans actually live under the customary laws of Sāmoa. However, most Sāmoans, wherever they are living, identify with one or more ancestral villages in Sāmoa and with an extended family. Many believe that they have rights to land if they returned to live with their kinsfolk in one of their ancestral village. This is one of the underlying reasons for *matai* title splitting—bestowing the same *matai* title on two or more, or many holders. In this paper we will provide an overview of the historical process and issues concerning land and custom in modern Sāmoa.

### Land Alienation in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century (1800–1900), political conflicts in Sāmoa were greatly magnified by the arrival of relatively large numbers of foreigners (see Gilson 1976 for a detailed history of this period). The first Christian missions were established in the 1830s and 1840s and Christianity had a revolutionary impact on traditional religious beliefs and practices. Rival Christian sects (Congregationalists, Methodists and Roman Catholics) become entangled in the historic rivalries between the traditional political factions for supremacy over leadership. By the 1850s foreign settlers had begun to acquire land, and during the intermittent civil wars over the next 40 years warring factions sold parcels of land in exchange for guns, cash and other goods. As Meleisea (1987) has argued elsewhere, most leaders in this period were unfamiliar with a market economy or with the concept of land as a tradable commodity. They very likely assumed that they would have continuing authority over the land they were ‘selling’, because they thought that they were transferring use-rights to land in the customary manner, not absolute and permanent authority over it, or the right to transfer it to another foreigner. Gifts of land to settlers, or to the churches were exchange transactions, but the ‘payment’ received was likely understood by Sāmoans.

By the late nineteenth century Sāmoan leaders had undoubtedly begun to realise that when land was sold, they had lost authority over it, but for most of the period when the major land acquisitions were taking place, the transactions were understood in terms of Sāmoan customs; that if use-rights to land were given, service to the giver was provided in return. A good example is presented by Sciusco and Martinsson-Wallin (this volume) drawing on documentation by Martinsson-Wallin (2011) on the acquisition of landholding in Savai’i. The land was sold in 1872 by a high ranking *ali’i*<sup>1</sup> of the sub-district where the land is located, and the documentation affirming the sale was witnessed by high ranking *tulafale* of the same polity. However, in 1894, the transaction was contested by another *matai* who claimed the land as his own, and the matter was settled with the return of a portion of the land. The land was used as a coconut plantation and cattle farm for over a century, but in 2003 and 2010, the village made further claims to the land. Although the courts found for the freehold owners, the village was not appeased by the decision. The whole saga indicates the continuing uncertainty about who had the customary right to sell the land in the first instance, or to accept compensatory allocations in the second and third instance, and that the alienation of this land was never fully accepted.

Before foreign settlement became extensive, it is clear that the highest ranking *ali’i*, those at the head of large lineages and districts, considered that they had the right to allocate land within their own lineages and to foreigners. As Gilson has explained, from the point of view of a Sāmoan individual:

*His first interests in land convey to him no direct negotiable value, in the Western manner, unless the controlling parties decide to sell or lease which processes are*

*alien to Sāmoan custom. Otherwise the principal economic value of land lies in its occupation and use for the purposes of residence, subsistence and ceremonial ... production. (1970: 31)*

Until the 1880s foreigners who believed they had bought land outright had limited legal means of proving their claims to it, however much they anticipated the establishment of a central monarchical government (when the warring Sāmoan factions came to an agreement) or perhaps the imperial annexation of Sāmoa. There were many land transactions in the 1860s, mainly of small parcels and Gilson (1970: 271) cites an observation of the (then) US commercial agent, Jonas Coe that it was difficult for settlers aspiring to become commercial planters to acquire large enough sections, as suitable land was already subdivided into Sāmoan family holdings. However in the period 1870–1972 with a major resurgence of civil war, German interests managed to acquire 25,000 acres in north-west Upolu and there was also a massive burst of speculative land acquisition by US interests (Gilson 1970: 267–288).

By the 1880s land claims by foreigners amounted to about twice the area of the whole country, as Sāmoan leaders had sold the same areas of land to many foreign buyers. While this may have, in some cases, involved deliberate trickery, it might also have been the outcome of a continuing misunderstanding about what was being transferred—whether it was the right to occupy and use the land, or to own the land outright in the sense of having authority over it. It is also likely that some transactions were sales of land that had belonged to those who had been, at least temporarily, conquered in the wars of the period. Most of the civil wars of this period were conflicts for supremacy between the great paramount families of Sāmoa, their high chiefs and the districts that supported them. Among the settlers, different factions competed for influence among the Sāmoans, supporting different sides in successive outbreaks of warfare. The desire for legal recognition of land provided foreigners with a strong motivation to push for a national government with centralised authority, instead of the decentralised district-based system of the past. This would allow a land registration system to be established so that legal recognition of their property acquisitions could be sought.

Consular representatives of Britain, the United States of America (US) and Germany became involved to protect the interests of their nationals. The dubious nature of many of land transactions and the massive extent of land claimed by foreigners led to the establishment of a Land Commission under the *Berlin Act* 1889, comprising members nominated by each of the three powers with claims in Sāmoa (Germany, US, and Great Britain). It dismissed most of the land claims, but validated others, notably the claims by the German Plantation Company (*Goddefroy und Sohn*, which later became the *Deutch Handels und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee*). By 1899 there was an impasse between the two main warring Sāmoan political factions. Interventions by the rival consuls and the powers they represented failed. Accordingly

in 1900 a deal was made and sealed in Berlin between the US, Great Britain and Germany to reflect their colonial interests at the time and Sāmoa was divided into two—the western islands were acquired by Germany and the eastern islands by the US. Sāmoans were of course not part of the decision.

### German Colonial Land Policy

Both major political factions among the Sāmoans were defeated by the partition and colonisation of Sāmoa, but it may well be that after nearly a century of conflict and instability, many were relieved by the prospect of peace. A few days after the German flag raising ceremony in (Western) Sāmoa in March 1900, Mata'afa Iosefo, who was recognised by most of the Sāmoans as their highest ranking chief at that time, wrote a letter addressed to the Kaiser of Germany. He thanked Germany for taking over Sāmoa but asked for consideration, writing as follows:

*All officials appointed to Sāmoa by the German government .... acted according to the law and customs of Sāmoa ... other Europeans don't act straightforwardly, they do crooked things whereby corruptions and wars are brought upon Sāmoa ... . I therefore pray that Your Majesty be pleased to order that the laws of the Sāmoans be made in conformity to the rules and customs of the Sāmoans. (Meleisea 1987: 47)*

A month later the Governor of German Sāmoa, Dr Wilhelm Solf, called a meeting of all the senior ranking chiefs from throughout the country to outline the guiding principles for his administration. He emphasized that his government's intention was:

*...to respect your old traditions as far as these are not against the laws of Christianity and against the welfare and security of the individual. The government has confidence in the Sāmoans, that they will be able to govern themselves, subject to its control and promises to make such laws, and issues such orders as shall be for the benefit of the country and in conformity ...with Sāmoan ideas. (Meleisea 1987: 4, our emphasis).*

Solf aimed to encourage individualism through his administrative policies, believing as did Robert Louis Stevenson (1892: 8) who wrote of his observations of Sāmoan communalism a decade earlier, that "... the particular drawback of the Polynesian system is to depress and stagger industry."

The administrative structure that Governor Solf proposed was aimed to centralise political authority away from the traditional district centres of power, and was the beginning of a process of weakening the authority of the village councils and the traditional councils of orators and heads of high ranking lineages. All the major decisions were to be made by the Governor and the appointment of Sāmoans to the administration were to be approved by him. Shortly after annexation, Solf realised that the loyalties of the *matai* he appointed to carry out the wishes of his administration at the village and district levels could not be relied upon. These men had more loyalty to

traditional political structures and protocols of their villages and districts than to the administration that appointed them. Accordingly, the Governor cultivated and rewarded the chiefs he favoured and who adhered to his rules, and he continued to review the imposed administrative structures to reflect the way he wanted Sāmoa to be governed. Solf intended no further land alienation; the large German Plantation Company was given economic primacy by his administration and the ambitions of small planter-settlers were strongly discouraged (Meleisea 1987).

Solf introduced several measures to weaken traditional village and district authority and his principal instrument was the Lands and Titles Commission (now the Land and Titles Court). The Land and Titles Commission was the first official move to take away the most important traditional functions and authority of the heads of families, leaders of paramount lineages and village councils who allocated use rights to land in the various polities and bestowed *matai* titles. As Tchekezoff (2000: 151–190) explains in detail, the events of the preceding century and the new German policies were transforming the political system of Sāmoa, blurring the traditional distinctions of rank, power and authority and producing what Sāmoans now call the *fa'amatai* (*matai* system).

Solf aimed to centralise the power to adjudicate over family and inter-village disputes over land boundaries and land usage, and to approve—through a complicated system of principles and practices—the appointment and succession to *matai* titles. It was the beginning of the process to transfer these decision-making powers away from the village councils and traditional 'king-making' groups such as Tumua and Pule and 'Aiga Salevalasi to the authority of the central government.

A number of the Governor's interventions had already alerted Sāmoan leaders to the reality that peace had come at a price. Suspicions among the Sāmoans were confirmed when Solf changed the national honorific salutations which acknowledged the principal chiefs and districts of Sāmoa (*fa'alupega*), to one that elevated the Kaiser himself and the administration officials above the traditional Sāmoan hierarchy. Their suspicions soon hardened into overt opposition, and differences between Sāmoan leaders and the German administration came to a head in 1905 when the first Sāmoan-led rebellion, the *Mau* of *Pule*, agitated for a renewed recognition of Sāmoan political institutions, and for greater Sāmoan representation and authority in the administrative structure of government. *Pule* was the traditional group of 'king-makers' in Savai'i. When it looked as though an initially small rebel movement was gaining support from beyond Savai'i to the whole country, leaders who had voiced opposition and their supporters and families were eventually exiled to Saipan in the German-controlled Mariana Islands in 1909. Their leader Lauaki Namalau'ulu Mamoe died at sea on his return from exile before reaching his home country (Davidson 1970).

In Eastern Sāmoa, which was administered by the US Navy, the naval Commandant—B.F. Tilley—was carrying out similar reforms, giving reassurances to the

Sāmoans there that their traditions would be respected. The major difference of course between the two administrations was that Tilley was quite clear from the beginning, that American laws and ideas of justice took precedence. The two colonial Sāmoas, with a common culture and political traditions, were undergoing the same pressures to their traditions but under different colonial rules.

After nearly a century of Christian and other foreign influence, the principle was established by the Land and Titles Commission that land was no longer under the authority of the highest chiefs of Sāmoa, as in the previous century, but that land belonged to families. The German Chief Justice wrote as follows in 1911:

*A legal limitation of his [a matai's] power (pule) exists with respect to his authority over the land—fanua, lau'ele'ele—which belongs to the family. Some families still possess the whole of their land undivided; others have given up joint possession and have handed over a definite portion to each branch. In the first case, no one matai can alienate family land without the approval of the others, not even the matai sili, who has authority over the whole clan. In the latter case the approval of the others is not necessary for the matai who wishes to alienate. Land that anyone has received by inheritance, or as the gift of a third party, or has acquired with his own means—the payment consists in mats, pigs, etc., and lately also in money—is private property and subject to no family control. (E. Schultz-Ewerth 1911:44)*

### **New Zealand Land Policy in Sāmoa**

The German colonial administration lasted only fourteen years after they were ousted by the New Zealand soldiers at the beginning of World War I but they left behind a colonial structure which the subsequent New Zealand military administration (1914–1921) and the civil administration under a League of Nations mandate (1921–48), inherited. These were also integrated into the government structures at independence and still exist today—in some cases being strengthened and reinforced. Under the military administration 1914–1921 ex-military officers were appointed as administrators. They were paternalistic in their approach and inexperienced and arrogant in their dealings, so their behavior aggravated Sāmoan grievances. Unlike the Germans, who knew the political culture of the Sāmoans and its courtesies, the New Zealand administration lacked understanding of the Sāmoan system and had no clear policies to re-shape it. The New Zealand colonial administration began in an environment where the Sāmoans were already very weary of foreign control. They were angry about the death of about one fifth of their population when the incompetent New Zealand military administration had failed to quarantine Sāmoa from the deadly Spanish influenza pandemic.

After New Zealand was awarded trusteeship of Sāmoa by the League of Nations, the *Sāmoa Act* of 1921 transferred all the freehold land held by German companies and individuals to the New Zealand administration. Most of the extensive holdings of the

German Plantation Company became the New Zealand Reparation Estates and began their slow economic decline under the New Zealand's Trusteeship administration.

Keesing's research on land and economic issues in Sāmoa in the 1920 and early 1930s led him to comment:

*A casual student of land matters in the modern Sāmoa might well think that little change has taken place. He would find, so far as he was able to penetrate behind the jealous veil of secrecy, that old land customs and ideas are still alive, and that the Sāmoans display little desire to take over those of the white man, Nevertheless, deeper study will show that in the last century the Sāmoan land system has been vastly modified; there have been factors at work that have tended on the one hand to stabilize and on the other to disorganize it. (1934: 257–290)*

Keesing notes that between 1903 and 1931 a total of 763 cases were brought before the Land and Titles Commission of which about two thirds were to do with land. He notes that some *matai* were astutely accumulating land in their own right by registering it (*pulefa'amau*), under an ordinance passed in 1925, the *Sāmoan Individual Property Ordinance*, which allowed owners to register their land so that they could bequeath it by a will (*mavaega*), just as if it were freehold land. There is, he commented, "a new type of land tenure coming into being in Sāmoa, 'individualized' native land free from traditional usages" (1934: 278).

In 1924 the New Zealand authorities attempted to formulate and implement a policy to modify the use of all customary land, on the grounds that the Sāmoans had more land than they could put to economic use, and that land was unequally distributed. The administration sent a selected delegation of elected Sāmoan representatives (*faipule*) to Tonga to study the modified land tenure system there. The Tongan system, adopted in the 1880s, allocated a taxed allotment of plantation land and a house site to the eldest male in each family, which in turn was passed to the eldest son in the succeeding generation. According to Keesing, the *faipule* were impressed with the Tongan system and proposed that it be adopted for Sāmoa under the Native Regulations. All land was to be surveyed, and all that was uncultivated was to be divided into 5-acre blocks, to be allocated to untitled men, who could bequeath it to their heirs. Another proposal considered by the *faipule* of the same period was that all *matai* titles should become hereditary, or be bestowed upon a successor by the current title-holder (Keesing 1934: 280–281).

These plans were undoubtedly forestalled by the Mau rebellion, which was reactivated in 1926. As with its beginnings in 1905, the new Mau with its old motto 'Sāmoa for the Sāmoans' demanded that Sāmoan leaders be given a greater share in government policy and decision-making by the New Zealanders. Demands included recognition of the legitimate economic interests of the local business community—mainly people of mixed Sāmoan and European parentage. When the police opened fire on a peaceful procession organised to support the movement in Apia, the one of the

*Tama'aiga*<sup>2</sup>, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III was killed and others were wounded. The administration declared the movement seditious and its leaders and some supporters were exiled to New Zealand.

When the sedition order against the Mau was revoked by the New Zealand Labour government in 1936, it marked the beginning of improvements in the relationships between the administration and the Sāmoans. More Sāmoans were included in decision making organs of government and some economic restrictions on villages and merchants were revoked. However, the proposed land reforms were not put in place, except in very few villages. In 1944 Sāmoa requested self-government which was eventually granted in 1948 after a combined visit by a team from the United Nations and New Zealand officials. After fourteen years of self-government, Sāmoa became a fully independent country in 1962.

### **Sāmoan Government Land Policy**

Writing a constitution for Sāmoa at independence involved major cultural challenges. During the Constitutional Conventions Sāmoan members were advised by United Nations delegates, New Zealand government officials, legal experts and academic political scientists (see Davidson 1967). The Sāmoan leaders argued vociferously for recognition of the age old principles and practices of Sāmoan culture, traditions, values and protocols as well as Christian principles. However, as a United Nations Trust territory, they were also required to enshrine western legal principles based on notions of freedom, justice, equality and individual rights. The Constitution was eventually approved, after a sometimes very heated debate, with recognition of custom (Article 100), Christianity (Preamble to the Constitution and Article 15) and human rights (Article 15). The document was forward looking and open to potential future developments and changes, leaving many decisions to be made by Sāmoans after independence. Most significantly it provided for the inalienable rights of Sāmoans to their customary land under Article 101. However the sea beyond the high tideline was declared government property, whereas according to Sāmoan custom, villages owned lagoon areas as far as the outer reef. Article 103 provides for a Land and Titles Court (in effect, the old colonial Land and Titles Commission). The Constitution was approved by a majority after a UN-initiated national plebiscite on the eve of independence in 1961. The reparation estates acquired by New Zealand in 1921 were transferred to the new independent government 1962 as state property incorporated as the Western Sāmoa Trust Estates Corporation (now the Sāmoa Land Corporation).

Since independence electoral reforms have been initiated, and the most significant of these was for adult universal suffrage, which came into effect in 1991. Everyone over the age of twenty one was eligible to vote—a major change from the *matāi*-only suffrage which was adopted at independence. Since then there have been reforms in the Electoral Acts to address issues such as the conferring of titles to increase electoral



support, and electoral bribery, which rightly or wrongly may be justified as 'Sāmoan customs'. The *Village Fono (Council) Act* of 1990, limits the powers of the village councils to making by-laws on related to economic development and public health matters. It is currently under amendments which will require, among other provisions, that villages formalise their by-laws in writing. The *Land and Titles Court Act* 1981 provided for the establishment of a 'Court of Record'.

About 80 percent of the total land area of Sāmoa is under customary tenure. This means that most of the land and land boundaries are unregistered and authority over them and the rights to use land are decided by *matai*, families and villages. Disputes regarding customary land or land boundaries, as well as appointment of *matai* or succession to *matai* titles, are dealt with by the Land and Titles Court which remains fairly much as it was when it was first established by the German colonial administration.

According to a former Registrar of the Land and titles Court, Galumalemana Netina Schmidt:

The main features of the traditional land tenure system of Sāmoa are:

1. *Pule* (control) of land is vested in the *matai* who allocate land to each family member.
2. Land may be classified as:
  - (a) The residential site: *maota* or *laoa*,
  - (b) Land immediately behind a *maota* or *laoa*: *tuamaota* and *tua laoa*.
  - (c) Bushland which stretched to the mountain ridges.
3. The *pule faamalumu* or overriding *pule* of all land allocated to a branch of the family rest with the principal *matai* (*sa'o*)
4. The *pule* of land allocated to an independent branch of the family is vested in the subsidiary or serving *matai* (*matai tautua*).
5. The beneficiary *pule* for occupation and usage is vested in the family members under the direction of the *matai*.
6. The *pule* of any new land cleared by a sub-branch after the split from the maximal extended family is vested in the *matai* of the branch.
7. Entitlement to land used by members of a family is contingent on the rendering of service to the *matai* and on continuing residence on family land.
8. Produce of the land was returned to the *matai* (*sa'o*) who saw to the welfare of each member while he kept the surplus for family social obligations.
9. Special arrangements for member use of certain sections of land were made by the title holder in his/her *mavaega* [testamentary will], which was substituted during the New Zealand administration by the *pulefa'amau* or registered ownership. (Schmidt 1994: 170)

Schmidt elaborated her ninth point with regard to the *pulefa'amau* saying that;

*Other than the fact that ownership has to be registered under the owner's title, pulefa'amau is similar to the concept of individual ownership in so far as it legally excluded occupation and usage of the land by any other owner or his heirs. Even after absence from the family or country, the owner can claim back his land (1994: 174).*

The right to claim *pulefa'amau* was only revoked in recent years as it became apparent that with a growing population and demands for rights to use land, *pulefa'amau* has enabled some *matai* to acquire estates for themselves and their heirs, excluding other heirs of the title to which the land was originally appurtenant. Keesing (previously cited) observed this was happening thirty years before Sāmoa became independent. Schmidt (1994: 173) mentions that of cases before the Land and Titles Court in 1989, only a few (4.9 percent) were to confirm *pulefa'amau*. The majority of cases (73.8 percent) were disputes over *pule*; meaning disputed authority over land, while 11.5 percent were over land boundaries, and 9.8 percent were cases where a family had been banished from their land and residence for an offence, by decree of the village council.

Most *matai* titles now have at least two holders. As the population grows the practice continues to escalate. Families now have many branches claiming their rights to a *matai* title, they also have successful relatives that they wish to honour, and they have connections with families overseas that they want to maintain, so titles are divided and bestowed on people who live outside the village or overseas. Sāmoans also have the habit of bestowing *matai* titles on visiting dignitaries. *Matai* titles have become badges of status and identity, even—as is very common—if the holder of the title is not playing the role of a *matai* in his or her family or village. However, there are no clear principles that define the rights of the multiple holders of the same title, in relation to the particular land associated with that title, or the role defined for the title in the *fa'alupega* in the village hierarchy and governing council.

Civil law in Sāmoa has gently, and fairly successfully, nudged Sāmoa into the modern world; people in rural areas are nowadays much more likely to report offences to the police rather than leaving them to be settled by the village council as they did a generation ago. However, it is still assumed that each village will make its own by-laws that reflect their unique set of customs. With the *1990 Village Fono Amendment Bill* before parliament, it may now be time to start thinking about whether we are ready to define a core set of by-laws for every village in Sāmoa.

### **Contemporary Land Issues**

Today most people live in houses made of modern materials, located along roadsides; some are even becoming like small towns. People no longer live in thatched houses around a central sacred place (*malae*) as they did as recently as forty years ago. When villages were nucleated settlements of houses close to one another, everyone knew

each other's business and there was a great deal of communal cooperation that benefited every household, as well as tight social control. Village councils met every week, as did the associations for youth and women. Without telephones, electricity, machines such as grass cutters and often without piped water, people had to share and help each other to survive. Today people live much more independent lives and social pressure is no longer enough to ensure that a community is well governed.

The population of Sāmoans living in Sāmoa is now approximately 200,000 and there are just as many if not more Sāmoans living overseas. The influence of the Sāmoan diaspora on Sāmoa is very significant and remittances comprise a substantial proportion of Sāmoa's GDP. Urbanisation has also had several effects on the traditional village structures and functions. Generally the population of rural Sāmoa has not grown much, with the exception of the densely populated and increasingly urbanised villages of north-west Upolu. The population of villages and districts in some rural areas has declined or remained static in the last decade or so. People have either moved to Apia or migrated overseas. The traditional districts exist only in name and in their traditional *fa'alupega*. Electoral districts have taken over.

The foundations of Sāmoan customs are group interests and collective rights governed by a hierarchical system of rank and seniority, whereas modern Western laws are based on liberal principles of individual rights. These principles increasingly come into conflict in the Land and Titles Court and less frequently in the civil courts. However since 1962 most, if not all, Supreme Court judgments on cases involving conflict between custom and individual rights have favoured principles of individual rights. These principles are sometimes also applied in Land and Titles Court proceedings and reflected in some of its decisions.

Research by O'Meara (1995: 109–156) demonstrates clearly that customary land tenure is no longer customary—that is to say it no longer conforms to the principles that prevailed in the nineteenth century, nor even those enunciated by Schmidt, outlined above. As we have explained previously, under the customs that prevailed in the pre-colonial period until the late nineteenth century, the highest ranking chiefs of large lineages allocated and re-allocated use rights to land and retained authority over it regardless of who was actually using it. This flexible system both upheld the importance of the high chiefs and made sure everyone had access to resources according to their needs. It was well suited to a subsistence economy.

Some villages still have tracts of common land under their traditional village council jurisdiction, such as inaccessible upland forests and uncultivable lava fields. But most accessible land is owned by families. O'Meara (1995, 1987, 1986) provides detailed research findings that most Sāmoans "... today describe as their customary land tenure a set of principles which closely match those reported by Europeans in the nineteenth century, those recorded in early Land and Titles records and those elicited by researchers throughout the 20th century." Put simply, these principles are that land

is held on corporate basis by *matai* who have authority over it and utilised by the extended family of the *matai* according to their needs, who render service to him, or in rare instances her, in return. As O'Meara has shown and as we have also observed, people's actual beliefs and behaviour often do not match those principles. Most people believe that the customary land they occupy is the property of their immediate family, often nuclear families, and consider that rights to it will be inherited only by children of the present landholders.

The expression of claims to land by individuals and their immediate family is visibly demonstrated by the trend in villages for people to fence off not only agricultural land but residential areas of land with chain wire fences and gates, including land over which there is no *pulefa'amau*. Another device for the assertion of individual property rights is the location of graves. It is not unusual to see a grave or two located right in the middle of an area of unoccupied land. What does this signal? It tells everyone that "this land belongs exclusively to the immediate descendants of the person or person buried here." Until 1962, under colonial regulations no-one was allowed to be buried in front of a house. Everyone had to be buried in cemeteries, with the exception of those who had family graveyards, and very high ranking chiefs who could be buried only beside the residence-place associated with their title. Today most houses have graves in front; they may be graves of *matai* but may also be graves of other relatives of the house owners, including mothers and grandmothers. According to old customs no longer observed, when a married woman died she was returned to be buried in her own village, not on land within the village of her husband. There is clearly no consensus today about what the customary rules are, and the evidence is that each family does as it prefers to do. Practices are gradually becoming customs.

By constitutional guarantee, customary land cannot be sold and therefore cannot be mortgaged, but it has been possible to lease customary land since 1992. Non-citizens may not own freehold land or hold leases on customary land. Recently, with funding from the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for a technical assistance project 'Promoting Economic Use of Customary Land' (ADB 2009), measures have been taken to alter the customary land-leasing framework and to set up a database of leased and leasable land, possibly with the aim of developing a registry of all customary land. These measures allow for the possibility of leasing land to non-citizens, and so have triggered concerns aired in local newspapers about defending customary land tenure system, and anxieties that foreigners are somehow being empowered to take it away from Sāmoans (see links to these articles, IDI 2015).

A group of concerned *matai* has protested to the ADB about the project, particularly about insufficient consultations on proposed changes to land laws. They are Leuluai Tasi Malifa, lawyer and *matai* of Afega village, Telei'ai Dr. Sapa Saifaleupolu, *matai* of Samatau, and Fiu Mata'ese Elisara, *matai* of Sili and Savai'i and Executive Director of Ole Siosiomaga Society Incorporated, and Lilomaiava Ken Lameta, *matai* of

Vaimoso and Safotu. Journalist and newspaper editor Mata'afa Keni Lesa quotes from the concerns they raised: "Land in Sāmoan culture is regarded as an inheritance from God and connected intimately to the *matai* system. ... The fear is that if land is lost so will the *matai* system, hence also the culture of Sāmoa." (PIDP 2015). A California-based nongovernmental organisation, Inclusive Development International (IDI) has backed these concerns and assisted to direct the complaints to the ADB's office for accountability and legal matters. IDI summarised the concerns of these *matai* on their website as follows:

*The chiefs are gravely concerned that the reforms, which have been carried out without meaningful consultation of the Sāmoan people, could have the effect of individualizing control over land throughout the country, and ultimately placing large tracts of land in the hands of banks.*

*Under the ADB-driven reforms, Sāmoan law has already been changed to allow mortgages over leases of customary land that have been granted by the Minister of Lands, Surveys and Environment, without any consultation whatsoever with the 'aiga. A number of concerned matai warn that as a result, Sāmoans are in danger of experiencing the same type of corrupt land deals as those recently exposed in Papua New Guinea, where local communities have been duped out of large swaths of their customary land. (IDI 2015)*

There may be some substance to these concerns as there are undocumented rumours, difficult to verify, that a number of prime locations in Sāmoa have been leased to foreign developers with the agreement of a small number of present-day holders of *matai* titles, who assert ownership of the land, without consultation with the 'aiga and with the land rental going only to the *matai* who signed the lease, excluding others with hereditary claims of rights in the land. Whether true or not, customary land is slowly and informally becoming individualised into small farms and residential compounds. It seems likely that in the future, people will eventually come to accept the registration of customary land in ways that confirm ownership of it. At present it is unlikely that most people would support registration of customary land. To do so would probably provoke competing claims from people living elsewhere, who may consider they also have hereditary rights to it. People are also likely to fear the uncertain outcome of cases taken before the Lands and Titles Court.

The Land and Titles Court was originally intended by the German administration to reshape and redefine Sāmoan customs. As previously explained, it was established in 1903 with that objective, but since the end of the German administration in 1914, the court has not developed any new policy objectives other than ruling on disputes and maintaining records. Under the New Zealand administration when non-Sāmoans held the positions of Chief Justice and President of the Land and Titles Court they were informed on the core principles of Sāmoan custom from procedural notes written by the Chief Justice Dr E. E. Schultz-Ewerth who was later Governor of German Sāmoa. In the New Zealand colonial period a book by F. J. H Gratton (1985[1948]), the Secretary of

Sāmoan Affairs, carefully describes the customs and organising principles of Sāmoan Society, drawing on the writings of Schultz-Ewerth. Over the 51 years since independence there has been no attempt to record the principles by which decisions regarding disputes over customary land will be made. Assuming that all Sāmoans know their customs and culture, the Land and Titles Court makes its decision on the basis of undefined, possibly arbitrary, and often contrary principles, depending on the opinions of those on the bench. Accordingly, the Land and Titles Court has no principles to fall back on when it comes to making decisions on the relative rights of those living on and utilising land and others who assert rights to it through a split title, or a common ancestor, or the relative rights to land between those members of a land-owning family living in Sāmoa and those living overseas. Perhaps this is what was intended by the architects of Sāmoa's Constitution, that customs would evolve, that the Sāmoans would muddle through, and eventually a new consensus would emerge about what is customary.

**Notes:**

1. Sāmoa has two categories of *matai* (titled heads of families or lineages), *ali'i* (chiefs) and *tulafale* (orators).
2. The term *Tamaaiga* refers to four paramount titles associated with the struggles over the monarchy in the nineteenth century.

**References**

- Asian Development Bank 2009. *Technical Assistance Completion Report: Promoting Economic Use of Customary Land*.  
<http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/projectdocument/64171/37234-sam-tcr.pdf> (accessed 13 August 2015).
- Davidson, J. W. 1967. *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Sāmoa*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Gilson, R.P. 1970. *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Gratton, F. J. H., 1985 [1948]. *An Introduction to Sāmoan Custom*. Papakura, New Zealand: R. McMillan Publisher.
- Inclusive Development International (IDI). "Sāmoa: Asian Development Bank-backed land and financial reforms."  
<http://www.inclusivedevelopment.net/what/advocacy/Sāmoa-asian-development-bank-backed-land-and-financial-reforms/> (accessed 13 August 2015).
- Keesing, F. M. 1934. *Modern Samoa: Its Government and Changing Life*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2011. "The Complexity of an Archaeological Site in Sāmoa: The Past in the Present." *Terra Australia* 35.
- Meleisea, M. 1987. *The Making of Modern Sāmoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific.

- O'Meara, J. T. 1986. "Why is Village Agriculture Stagnating: A Social and Economic Analysis of Western Sāmoa." PhD Thesis, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- O'Meara, J. T. 1987. "Sāmoa: Customary Individualism." In *Land Tenure in the Pacific*. ed R. Crocombe. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies 74–113.
- O'Meara, J. T. 1995. "From Corporate to Individual Land Tenure in Western Sāmoa." Pp. 109–156 in *Land, Custom and Practice in the South Pacific*. eds. R. G. Ward and E. Kingdon. Cambridge: University Press.
- Pacific Island Development Program (PIDP). 2015. *ADB Looks At Complaints About Economic Use Of Sāmoan Land* Pacific Island Report.  
<http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/2015/July/07-21-06.htm>.
- Schmidt, G.N. 1994. "The Land and Titles Court and Customary Tenure in Western Sāmoa." In *Land Issue in the Pacific*. eds. R. Crocombe and M. Meleisea. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies.
- Schultz-Ewerth, E. E. 1911. "The Most Important Principles of Sāmoan Family Law and the Laws of Inheritance." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 20: 2, 43–53.
- Stevenson, R. L. 1996 [1892]. *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa*. Auckland: Pasifika Press.
- Tcherkezoff, S. 2000. "The Sāmoan Category *Matai* ('chief'): A Singularity in Polynesia? Historical and Etymological Comparative Queries." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109: 2, 151–190.





# The Impact of Rural Access Roads in Sāmoa: The Case of Vaitele Street (Lalovaea-Lepea) and other Selected Roads

Susana Tauaa, National University of Sāmoa

## Abstract

*Sustainable road infrastructure is a priority development goal to meet land transport demands for rural and urban Sāmoa. It supports inclusive social and economic development through sharing the benefits of economic growth to lessen poverty in rural and urbanized part of the country. Access road projects, for example, are intended to encourage and support village agriculture as prioritised in the Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa 2008–2012 and 2012–2016. Similarly, the drive to meet Sāmoa’s obligation towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2015 translates into transport infrastructure priority investment areas for the government. As such, the study explores the impact of selected road infrastructure on the social-economic welfare of households residing near and within the vicinity of these donor funded road projects.*

**Keywords:** Sāmoa, rural, infrastructure, government, development

## Introduction

Infrastructure<sup>1</sup> is a long term asset that demands continuous upgrading and maintenance. Transport, energy, water and telecommunications are crucial to household existence and economic production. In the small states of the Pacific, such as Sāmoa, infrastructure plays a critical role in national development. Improvements in road and transport enhance connectivity between Apia and its hinterland and in turn promote access to key services such as health and education. This paper explores the socio-economic impact of upgraded road infrastructure on selected households in urban and rural Sāmoa. The first section outlines the issues and challenges related to road infrastructure development in small island states. The second section discusses the benefits of rural road improvements to rural communities, and the third presents the conceptual framework. The fourth section details the methodology and the fifth discusses the findings.

## Issues in Road Infrastructure Development

First, infrastructure provides for the economic base of development in forging connections between islands in the Pacific and their main trading partners, New Zealand and Australia. These connections are in the form of shipping and air travel. For almost fifty years now, this inter-connectivity has proven critical in the movement of goods and people across the region (ESCAP 2011). In addition, in-country connectivity between urban Apia and rural Sāmoa has improved in the last twenty years with access to water and electricity at almost 100 percent. This is higher than its larger wealthier neighbours Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands (World Bank 2004: 152). Road expansion projects in Sāmoa in the last 10 years have contributed to increasing efficient

and effective travel around the islands where people can now commute to work from outside the vicinity of Apia and peri-urban Apia.

Second, the spatial and demographic impact of infrastructure is reflected in the growth of urban populations in and around Apia. The 2006 Census survey highlighted north-west Upolu as the most densely populated region on the island. In the 2011 Census, 62,390 persons or 33 percent of Sāmoa's population resided in north-west Upolu (Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics 2011: 4). This is attributed to high connectivity to the international airport and ferry services to the larger island of Savai'i (Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics 2006: 23). As of 2009, the Sāmoa Ports Authority resumed ferry services between Aleipata and Tutuila utilising the Satitua Port located in the south-east. There was a public outcry in terms of extra costs to the travelling public, especially those from Savai'i and western Upolu who are required to travel for over 60 kilometres to Aleipata to be ferried across to Tutuila. The decision was justified on the grounds that it would reduce travel time between American Sāmoa and Sāmoa. Elsewhere in the region, cities are known to drive economic growth where 70 to 80 percent of GDP is being generated (Storey 2006). As urban centers expand, infrastructure needs also to keep up with demand for services to allow cities and urban centers to become competitive. Infrastructure is also linked to spreading the benefits of growth to rural populations to improve their livelihoods. The growth of Apia brings with it a host of infrastructure challenges. These challenges are explored by looking at the impacts of arterial and access roads on those living close to and using these road services.

Third, is the issue of environmental challenges. Roads and road networks have potentially important environmental impacts. Often there are negative impacts, but there are also positive impacts such as in encouraging agriculture in rural regions. For instance, opening up village lands through tar sealing previously existing access roads (*auala galue*) encourages primary production at the village level. The villagers themselves pointed this out as a positive outcome of rural road rejuvenation projects. As stated before, economic growth and urbanisation impact on environmental issues, and infrastructure helps drive economic growth and urbanisation. The challenge in this respect is to manage the environmental impacts of infrastructure at the village-household level.

The fourth factor in infrastructure delivery is the political dimension. Low population densities and challenging topographies in the Pacific countries complicate infrastructure provision and generally are seen as a comparative disadvantage to private sector participation in infrastructure provision (Mellor and Jabes 2004). The government of Sāmoa supported by its development partners is the sole provider and regulator of infrastructure. The implementing agencies are the state-owned enterprises such as the Sāmoa Ports Authority, Sāmoa Water Authority and the Land Transport Authority. This model has often been criticised for failing to create an environment of accountability on the part of implementing agencies (Ahmadu 2005).

Delivering infrastructure services is critical in meeting the Millennium Development goals (MDGs) and alleviating poverty pockets in the Pacific (Asian Development Bank [ADB] 2012; AusAID 2009). This requires resources for investment, operation and maintenance. Infrastructure is unlike other key services such as health and education because large scale transport services demand higher capital intensity, carry high risk, and long pay-back periods but enjoy substantial economies of scale (Caldron, Cesar and Serven 2004). Once constructed, infrastructure assets, such as huge pipelines and underground cables, water treatment plants and their extensive water distribution systems, need constant repair, upgrade and maintenance and in the long run, they define and dictate where and how people live and work. Infrastructure mistakes can return to haunt government and tax payers in the long term. As such, long-term vision and planning is crucial.

Previous studies on rural transport services in Malaysia, India, Philippines, Nigeria and Western Sāmoa concluded that there have been inadequate consultations about the needs and requirements of the rural people (ADB 2012; Barwell et al. 1985). The transport needs of rural people range from plantation-farm transport between farmers' homes and their fields, water sources and the market. In Africa, women spend a lot of time head-loading goods on foot, whereas in other parts of the developing world, carrying devices such as a shoulder pole, back pack frame, wheel barrows, handcarts and bicycles that are appropriate to local level transport are being used. Given there is so much travel by foot in the rural areas, improving the condition of foot paths and footbridges can have a significant impact on the efficiency of rural travel and transport (Barwell et al. 1985). In many villages in Sāmoa, shoulder poles are used to carry coconuts, root crops and firewood from the plantation.

A series of studies have provided much insight into the socio-economic changes related to investment in transport infrastructure in the developing world (Devres 1980; Howe and Richards 1984; World Bank 1994). In Sāmoa, road expansion projects since 2007 are an attempt to build up the country's base infrastructure to precipitate growth. Improved roads are expected to generate market activity and generate economic linkages that boost agricultural productivity, improve land use decision making and stimulate farm diversification. Elsewhere, rural roads arguably are critical in raising living standards in poor rural areas (ADB 2012; Gannon and Liu 1997).

Sāmoa is being flagged in the Pacific as the socio-economic success story in meeting the MDGs and the yet to be realised accession into the World Trade Organisation (Pacific Island Trade and Investment Commission 2008: 2). However, a review of Sāmoa's progress towards achieving the MDGs by the Commonwealth Foundation (2013) shows a different picture. The country remains vulnerable to global economic shocks and natural disasters such as the 2009 tsunami and 2012 tropical cyclone Evan that caused widespread damage to key infrastructure, particularly roads and water supply. Sāmoa's integration into the fast pace of international competition

for capital and resource markets may have spurred the many changes introduced in the last five years such as the change from right- to left-hand driving known as the road switch, time-change, and massive expansion in infrastructure—roads, electricity, and telecommunications. (Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics 2011: 136–142). Having said all that, the challenge for Sāmoa rests in assessing how these infrastructural developments, particularly roads, are impacting on users, that is, the ordinary people in urban and rural Sāmoa.

Sustainable road development is a priority development goal to meet land transport demands for rural and urban Sāmoa. It supports inclusive economic development and sharing the benefits of economic growth to reduce poverty. Access road projects initially were intended to encourage and promote village agriculture (Ministry of Finance [MoF] 2012). At the same time, the need to meet Sāmoa's obligation towards achieving the MDGs meant that road transport infrastructure was also part of a government priority area of investment (Government of Sāmoa 2010). The most immediate poverty-alleviating effect of investing in a road is the local employment created in its improvement and subsequent maintenance. If suitably targeted, the poor can benefit most directly through earnings. Studies elsewhere in Bangladesh and Sub-Saharan Africa show labour-intensive road works to be 25 to 30 percent cheaper than comparable capital intensive methods, and employ five times more labour which can be wage targeted on the poorest group (Howe and Richards 1984; Keddeman 1997).

While there are no similar data found anywhere in the Pacific, anecdotal evidence suggests similar experiences in Sāmoa. The sub-contraction of road construction and maintenance work in Sāmoa began in the 1990s in response to public sector reforms and restructuring of government ministries where the former Public Works Department became the Ministry of Works, Transport and Infrastructure. Benefits to road users such as farmers, school children, public servants, and village communities need to be quantified to determine whether people are better off, as stipulated in the planning and implementation stages of road construction and rehabilitation. Given the lack of previous work on impact studies of this nature in Sāmoa, this research exercise provides primary data on the benefits accruing to selected urban dwellers living along the Lepea-Lalovaea section of the main Vaitele street and selected rural *auala galue*. The Lepea-Lalovaea street is a section of the main west road connecting Apia Central Business District and the north-west part of Upolu island to the Faleolo international airport (Refer to map in Appendix 1). This study examines the socio-economic impact on households residing within the vicinity of this improved section of the road.

### **Benefits of Rural Road Improvements to Rural Communities**

Similar impact studies conducted in the Asia-Pacific produced some positive results in terms of benefits to rural communities from road upgrading and maintenance (Hughes

2005). For instance in Papua New Guinea, small-scale agricultural sellers, particularly women as the major producers of market produce, were able to gain ready access to markets, and the road doubled as an important element of the marketing network.

Increases in income earned are directly related to improved or upgraded roads. Evidence from rural Asia suggested that upgraded roads increased market-supplier access and temporary employment on road improvement projects, which raised the income of poor rural households enabling them to pay for school fees and a whole range of other consumer goods (ADB 2002). Similar studies in Africa (Lombard and Coetzer 2008) point to a positive correlation between economic growth and improved road networks.

Then there are the benefits to service delivery, such as health, education and agricultural extension services to remote rural villages. Studies from Papua New Guinea pointed to improvements in health and education delivery to remote parts of the country either through road maintenance, or rehabilitation and upgrading (Hughes 2005). The extent of access and the amount/measure of benefit depends upon the level of road improvement. For instance, road maintenance ranges from filling in potholes to re-sealing pre-existing asphalt pavements or re-gravelling. Rehabilitation involves major road works that require reconstruction, removal and replacement of pre-existing asphalt base layers. The quality of road repair works in Sāmoa and elsewhere in the Pacific is tested during the wet season; likewise, accessibility and frequency of travel is affected where some parts of rural access roads in this study sustain extensive damage due to heavy rains.

Having said that, the construction of new roads and/or rejuvenating existing roads present economic opportunities for residents. As will be demonstrated in this study, the upgrading of road infrastructure facilitates accessibility and ease of population and product movement across space. Populations taking advantage of road improvement to maximise income earning opportunities is an economic response mechanism to the state of being poor whether it is in the Pacific, Africa, or Asia.

### **Conceptual Framework**

Transport geography has received renewed interest among geographers since the 1990s in response to the rapid and increased globalisation of trade, the international division of labour and multinational corporation activities that demand the movement of goods, services, resources and people between different locations (Rodrique et al. 2009). Transport infrastructure (roads), terminals, equipment and networks take up a critical chunk of space which is the basis of a complex spatial system (De Blij et al. 2007: 409). Given that geography seeks to explain spatial relationships, transport infrastructure and networks therefore are important because they facilitate and impact on these interactions.

Two fundamental dimensions of transport geography that are important in this study are accessibility and mobility. Accessibility and access are different concepts. Accessibility, for example, is a relative concept based on space, place and income status (Rodrique et al. 2009). A public motorway can be accessed by everyone from various entry and exit points as long as the user has a car or uses public transport. The moment the government imposes a tax or toll fee, then the question of accessibility emerges. In contrast to accessibility, access implies a universal access to the established transport systems since no particular user can have a competitive advantage over others; in other words, access is the same for everyone—trucking vehicles or individuals and families with small cars.

There are other factors that affect the socio-economic impacts of roads for the people and community. These are the amount of traffic, road condition, speed limits, load restrictions, road width and road maintenance.

The study reported in this paper explores the socio-economic impacts of the newly expanded Lepea-Lalovaea trunk road and selected rural access roads. Relying primarily on classical road assessment tools such as traffic movements, vehicle operating costs and passenger prices to assess impacts would not be sufficient. As such, the socio-cultural, economic, environmental and institutional factors that determine how people respond to a road, and which shape their livelihood constraints and opportunities are examined.

### **Methodology**

The study draws upon themes and concepts from the discipline of social science, economics, transport geography and environmental science. A simple quantitative approach was used in the collection of primary data through structured and semi-structured questionnaires, designed so that optimal information regarding actual and perceived benefits was obtained. Qualitative participatory appraisal methodologies, including focus group discussion sessions and key informant interviews, were used to support the quantitative data that was collected. Focus groups are important in stimulating debate and generating interaction in the group, where one group member might remind or validate information that otherwise would have been overlooked by the interviewer. *Talanoa* methods were used because the respondents were Sāmoans and conversing in the vernacular allowed for the free flow of information between researcher and participant (Vaioloti 2006: 21). *Talanoa*, situated within a constructivist paradigm allows both the researcher and participant to contribute to the discussion, where both can learn from the experience (Prescott 2008: 131). These research tools are encompassed in the 'case study' approach that is adopted to gather the data required for this study.

The case study approach is used to examine the real life experiences of a selected number of urban and rural households whose livelihoods have been impacted by state-funded road improvements. There are two important reasons for choosing the case study approach. First, the approach involves the application of many tools and techniques in the data-gathering process as suggested earlier. This enables a sound and methodical collection of quantitative and qualitative data from a small study sample. Second, is the constructivist idea that underpins the case study method (Yin 2003). The constructivist paradigm is helpful to the study because it recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning, but does not reject outright some notion of objectivity (Baxter and Jack 2008: 545). This is ideal for the study population of 15 urban households and 10 rural households, where the participants can describe their realities and experiences in relation to road improvements in their area that may reflect similar experiences of Sāmoans residing in other parts of the country. The objectives of this case study are as follows:

- i. to profile the socio-economic impacts of *auala galue* roads on selected villages in Savai'i and Upolu;
- ii. to gauge the invariable socio-economic impacts of the Lepea-Lalovaea trunk road on selected residents (Vaimoso, Vaimea, Taufusi, Togafua) of the Apia township;
- iii. to bring together in one document a comparative analysis of a cross-section of road user experiences, and how public infrastructure (roads) have impacted on their socio-economic well-being; and
- iv. to provide preliminary guidance on strategies and activities that can be used to inform government road expansion plans in the future.

### Findings

A total of 21 individuals from 15 urban households participated in the survey, where 47.7 percent (10) were females and 52.3 percent (11) were males. In the rural sample, there were 16 persons interviewed from 10 households with an equal number of females and males. Their ages range from 18 to 71. All respondents were asked to identify the type(s) of income-earning activity the household was engaged in. Only the head of the household and one other household member were interviewed. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, there is a wide range of activities, from formal small businesses to road-side stalls, to formal employment and subsistence production.

**Table 1: Demographics of Urban Participants**

Household and/or other member of Household	Gender	Age	Type of Activity	Frequency of Road Usage-access
1 [Vaimoso-2] HH +other	M, M	60, 28	Taxi operation	Daily, 24/7
2 [Vaimoso-1] HH	F	36	Small shop	Daily, except Sundays
3 [Vaimoso-2] HH +other	M, F	52,47	Road stall	Daily
4 [Vaimea-2] HH +other	M, F	56,52	Furniture shop	Daily
5 [Vaimea-1] other member	F	35	Furniture shop	Daily
6 [Vaimea-1] HH	F	68	Shop	Daily
7 [Taufusi -2] HH +other member	M, M	53,25	BBQ stall	3 days per week
8 [Taufusi-1] HH	F	41	Sewing shop	Daily
9 [Taufusi-1] other	M	24	Taxi operator	Daily
10 [Taufusi-2] HH+other	M, F	31,19	Elei printing	Daily
11 [Taufusi -1] HH	F	56	Sewing shop	Daily
12 [Taufusi-1] other	M	19	Charcoal making	Daily
13 [Togafuafua-1] HH	M	38	Used tyre shop	Daily except Sundays
14 [Togafuafua-1] other	F	25	Canteen	Daily
15 [Togafuafua-2] HH+other	M, F	36, 29	Ice pop making	Daily

HH=Head of Household, Other = one other member of the Household

**Table 2: Demographics of Rural Participants**

Household and/or other member of Household	Gender	Age	Type of Activity	Frequency of road usage/access
1 [Vailoa(Aleipata)-2] HH +other	F, F	48, 21	Fresh produce stall	3-4 times per week
2 [Vailoa (Aleipata)-1] other	M	20	Coconuts seller	Weekends
3 [Vailoa-2] HH +other	M, F	38, 27	Root crop farming	Daily
4 [Vailoa-2] HH +other	F, M	69, 18	Handicraft and weaving	Daily
5 [Satapuala-1] other	M	29	Hotel security	Daily
6 [Satapuala-2] HH+ other	M, F	35, 33	General farming	Daily
7 [Satapuala-2] HH + other	F, F	71, 24	Weaving, hotel work	Daily
8 [Safotu-1] other	F	22	Hotel work	Daily
9 [Safotu-2] HH +other	M, M	52, 19	Fishing, farming	Daily
10 [Safotu-1] HH	M	59	Shop operator	Daily

The common element that threads these economic activities together is road access and usage. Access to the main road (as in the case of urban respondents) and access roads (rural respondents) plays an important part in the economic opportunities for the identified respondents. The type and nature of the economic activity demands a



certain number of consumers and sufficient traffic movement to facilitate the exchange of goods and services to generate maximum income for sellers. For example, in the case of Household 2 in Table 1, the economic activity is a small shop (estimated stock value SAT\$28,000), and the respondent indicated a significant increase in cash sales after the newly improved four-lane Lepea-Lalovaea main road. She noted that Thursday and Friday takings before the road improvement project were around SAT\$500 and SAT\$700 respectively, but since the road extension, sales on these particular days were around SAT\$900 and SAT\$1000. In addition, there was also a marked increase in the number of customers traveling by car stopping to buy small items like cigarettes, water and alcohol. Improved parking space is another key factor that has allowed for the increase in vehicle travelling customers.

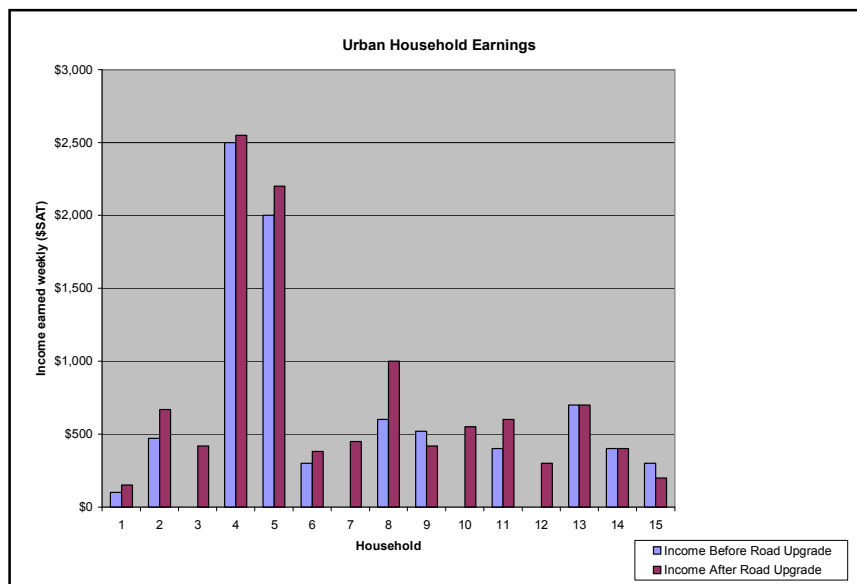
Road side operations (see Table 1, Households 3, 7, 10 and 12) were new small-scale ventures set up after the road expansion project. According to the respondents, the opportunity to earn extra income and cut back on costs of transporting vegetables, charcoal, firewood and other items to the Fugalei market presented itself as the newly upgraded road began to take shape. They observed that the travelling public would stop and buy these basic items, if they were available, to avoid going into the congested Fugalei area, and to benefit from cheaper prices and fresher vegetables and barbecue (BBQ) food compared to the main market.

Similarly, other small businesses (see Table 1, Households 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13) existed before the road improvement project, but since the road expansion, these businesses have also made some improvements and extensions in line with the increased volume of traffic and potential customer base the upgraded road would bring. The second-hand (used tyre) tyre shop operator, for instance, invested in expanding parking and workshop floor space in response to potential demand for tyre services given the increased number of vehicles as a result of the road change in 2009 and the number of taxi operations. (There are six taxi stands along the study area, but only two were included in this study). A survey of cash earnings was the variable used to measure any correlation between the road expansion upgrade and household-individual income. In relation to income, the respondents were asked a question about their earnings in the 4–5 months before and after the road upgrade. Figures 1 and 2 show the respondents' earnings on a weekly basis before and after the road upgrade.

There is a significant difference in income earned before and after the road upgrade; 47 percent (7 out of 15) of urban households indicated some significant improvement in earnings as a result of the road upgrade (see Figure 1 Households 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11). Other factors that may impact on the respondents' earnings as indicated during the focus group discussion include firstly, the type of activity. For instance, the taxi operation (Household 1) recorded a slight increase in the period of the survey, but according to the owner, income fluctuates primarily due to the fact that there are too many taxi businesses on this stretch of road. His sentiments were reiterated by

Respondent 9, also a taxi operator, who reported a drop in his income during the study period. The second factor that affects income other than the road upgrade is the time of day in which the economic activity takes place. Respondents 8 and 11 operate sewing-tailoring micro-enterprises from home. The hours of operation are flexible, and clients prefer after work hours or during low peak traffic hours, such as mid-morning (11am) and early evening (6pm) after the work rush hour.

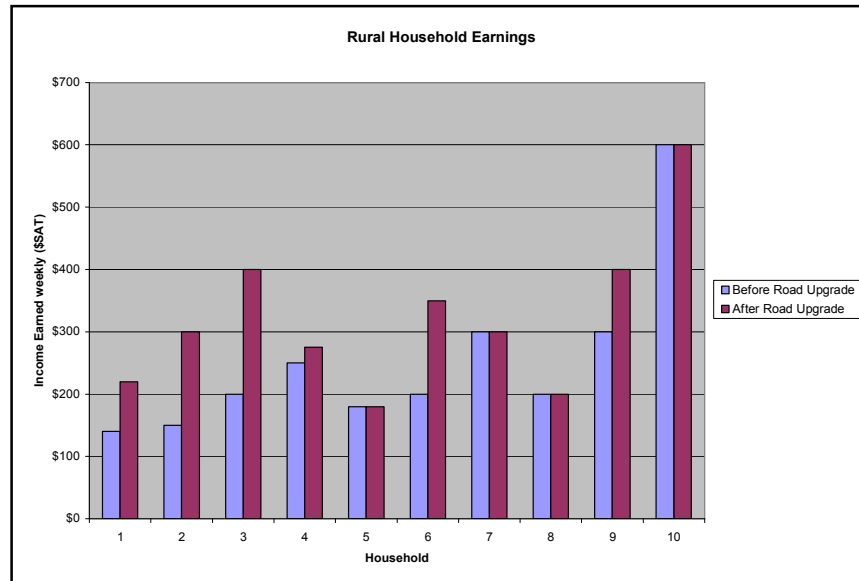
**Figure 1: Urban Household Earnings**



Households 3 (road stall), 7 (BBQ stall), 10 (elei printing), and 12 (charcoal making) in Figure 1, are new ventures that started operations after the road upgrade. The respondents are rural migrants living with family in the area, and these informal ventures were intended to utilise the opportunity to earn a living while awaiting formal employment in Apia. Similarly Respondents 14 and 15 operate street food stalls or canteens selling ice-pops and snacks to school children, and income varies depending on the number of informal operators and the existence of school-operated canteens.

Table 2 and Figure 2 show the demographics and earnings for rural participants. The study indicated that economic activities involve self-employment among both men and women such as general farming, trading, fishing and weaving. Alternative economic activity in the form of formal employment in hotels and beach *fale* operations provides some form of regular income (Households 5, 7, 8). The respondents were queried about the 'significance' of and the 'need' for an improved access-feeder road in their villages. The responses are summarised in Table 3.

**Figure 2: Rural Household Earnings**



**Table 3: Rural Responses to Questions on the Importance of, and need for access roads.**

Question	Response: Yes	Response: No	Not Sure - No Response
Is the access road important?	13	-	3
Is there a need for an access road in your village?	14	-	2

The majority of rural respondents (81.3 percent) believed that access roads are very important and that there was a need (87.5 percent) for paved access roads in their villages. The reasons underpinning the need for access roads are reflected in the following comments during the focus group ‘*talanoa*’ session:

*... we have moved inland, because the government said it is safer from the tsunami ... so we need good roads to link up with the main road. (Rural Respondent 2)*

*... our plantation is 100 or so meters from the main road, we have a pick-up from my older brother in Hawaii, as you can see, now we can take the pick-up to the plantation, transport our family, to and from ... 100 plus acres of our family land going up to the mountain range, so I am thankful to our MP and the government, for these two new roads ... yes. (Rural Respondent 3)*

*... more than half of our village lands are inland, so we definitely need good tar sealed access roads, and we have three, well, we have a big village anyway, and I work at Aggies resort, but I live inland, so, for me and other people of my village, we don't have to walk all the way to the main road to catch the bus, we are serviced regularly by two buses ... (Rural Respondent 7)*

*... I'm grateful to our MP for voicing our need to government, this has been a long standing issue, the old access road was a dirt road, during the wet season, it is completely useless, but, as you can see, we can come to the hotel and sell our produce, come to church, go fishing ... it is much easier and cheaper now with our tar sealed access road connecting the coastal and inland parts of our village ...*  
(Rural Respondent 9)

The few who did not respond to the question elected other members of the study group to speak on their behalf out of cultural respect for the views of older or senior persons within the study sample.

### ***Impact on life patterns***

Respondents reported that the improvement of main roads and rural access roads made life easier for them, in addition to the impetus given to people living in the vicinity to set up businesses (see Table 1: Households 3, 7, 10, 12 and Table 2: Households 1, 10). For the rural respondents, the access roads provided the impetus for road-side economic activities such as road-side fresh produce stalls and a small general store. Investment in rural access roads has indeed translated into income generating opportunities for the respondents. The benefits of paving rural roads extend beyond making traffic (by foot and vehicle travel) easier and less costly. 31 percent (5/16) of rural respondents support the view that paved access roads translated into improved access to schools and district health centres as well as improved social interaction and mobility, which are important for social and economic development. For instance, 19 percent (3/16) of rural respondents belonged to church and village youth groups and village social organisations (*'autalavou* [youth], *'aufaipese* [church choir], *auluma* [women's group], and *taulele'a* [untitled men social organisations]). They indicated how the road has facilitated ease of travel to fulfill their social obligations to the church and the village. Likewise, those respondents employed in the hotel and hospitality industries find commuting to and from work much easier with paved access roads (see Table 2: Respondents 5, 7, 8). 19 percent (3/16) were satisfied that the paved roads meant that they do not have to put up with the dust from the unsealed road anymore, while the other 13 percent (2/16) were only too happy that the sealed road adds to the aesthetics of their village. The repetitive activities associated with daily living in the village are somehow easier to cope with given the newly improved village access roads.

Travel time to Apia has been reduced significantly compared to the 1970s. As is to be expected, the intensity of communications and information exchange is much greater and improved with regular bus and taxi operators within the neighbouring villages providing an alternative to travelling by bus. Upgrading rural access roads has impacted on the travelling population's behavioral responses in terms of the frequency and timing of trips. This is evident across the country where the number of registered buses and taxis doubled since the road change in 2009. This increase is attributed to several reasons. First, vehicle prices dropped significantly, and many relatives in New

Zealand and Australia purchased cars for their families in Sāmoa. Second, the 2009 road switch indirectly influenced the increase in the number of registered taxis and buses for public transport from 245 buses and 1778 taxis before 2009 to 621 buses and 4742 taxis in the years 2010 to 2014 (Land Transport Authority 2015). Rural households residing inland can travel up to three times per day with regular bus services connecting the inland and coastal parts of the rural areas. This was confirmed by three rural respondents from Households 1, 4, and 6, who reported that prior to the improvements to their village access roads, it took two hours or more for people to walk inland to their plantations, but since the road upgrade, families with vehicles (see Table 2, 6/10 rural households have cars) can reduce travel time to the plantations by 50 percent.

During the rural focus group discussion sessions, respondents indicated some indirect benefits where a couple of households not included in the study have set up small businesses, such as a small village store, to make the most of the rehabilitated access road. Indeed, the road was reported to be a factor in their decision to start the business.

#### ***Problems associated with road usage***

On the question of problems that may have emerged as a result of the road upgrade, the responses were mixed. 80 percent (17/21) of urban respondents agreed there had been an increase in road traffic noise levels since the two-lane road was upgraded to a four-lane road. The focus group discussion raised the question of acceptable noise thresholds for residences in and around the Lepea-Lalovaea main road. Comparing before and after experiences showed that before the road expansion project, the noise levels and amount of traffic were tolerable. Since then, there has been a significant increase in both noise and traffic volume along this stretch of road. Given the Lepea-Lalovaea road connects the north-west part of Upolu, where 33 percent of the population are concentrated, with the international airport and Apia central business district, it is expected to generate a higher volume of traffic particularly in the morning, lunch and after work peak hours.

Tasks such as crossing the road have also become quite difficult and problematic according to 29 percent (6/21) of the urban respondents. While every effort to put in place pedestrian crossings where schools and churches are located, the public seem to think that the 10 pedestrian crossings built along the 700 metre Lepea-Lalovaea stretch is inadequate. The increase in the volume of vehicles using the Lepea-Lalovaea main road raises the potential for pedestrian road fatalities given that road users have very bad or careless habits when crossing the road.<sup>3</sup>

The use of non-motorised means of transport such as bicycles and wheel barrows for local movements in and around the villages has increased due to improved access roads and walking tracks along rural roads in general. 31 percent (5/16) of rural respondents either own a bicycle, wheel barrow, infant pram, or another member of

the household uses one of these non-motorised means of transport. Bicycles, widely owned in rural areas, especially among young men, offer greatly increased mobility compared with walking and can be used to carry a passenger or a significant quantity of goods. The problem arises when bicycle users are not careful on the roads; accidents are more likely to happen, and one fatality was recorded in the beginning of March 2012, when a young man was run off the main road in one of the rural areas in the south-west of Upolu.

In terms of vehicle operating costs, both urban and rural respondents reported the increased price of fuel as a major concern, particularly among the urban taxi operators. Even though rehabilitated roads facilitate efficient transport, the price of fuel and vehicle maintenance costs can pose constraints to road users. The two taxi operators in the study commented that travel between Apia and the rest of Upolu has greatly improved in the last 10 years. However, they were critical that passenger fare prices have remained the same for the last 10 years despite the fourfold increase in the price of fuel. For instance, travel by taxi from Taufusi, Lalovaea, Vaimoso (see map in Appendix 1) to Apia central business district costs SAT\$3.00 to SAT\$4.00, and the current price of unleaded petrol is SAT\$3.02 per litre. From one taxi operator's perspective:

*I have to make 50 to 60 trips per day to earn any significant monies to pay for the petrol, feed the family and other living expenses ... sometimes it pays to take a passenger to the airport which costs SAT\$60.00 one-way, provided I find a passenger from the airport into Apia, then that should cover my expenses. (Taxi Operator Household 1: Table 1)*

Similar concerns about costs were expressed by the rural respondents (Table 2: Households 6 and 10) who acquired second-hand vehicles from families overseas. Improved rural access roads and rural main roads supported the extensive ownership and usage of second-hand private vehicles especially after the road switch, but the rising cost of fuel and car maintenance may impact on any direct economic gains derived from vehicle ownership in the rural context. One rural bus operator who was not part of the sample survey, but expressed his interest in participating in the rural focus group session commented on how income from his shop and remittances from his children overseas are earmarked for vehicle registration costs, and servicing given the 'marginal' earnings from the Aleipata to Apia route.

### **Road impact on gender**

One of the issues that emerged in the focus group session related to whether there were different impacts of road improvement according to gender. Studies elsewhere have identified some major gender issues where women experience constraints on their mobility due to their reproductive work, cultural restrictions, and different travel needs from men (Mandel 2004; Porter 1995, 2000). The rural sample seem to agree that the reproductive role of women tended to dictate their mobility in terms of how

far and how long they can travel from the home. Improved rural access roads required women to exercise more caution in looking after children, fearing that without their constant supervision children would run onto the road. Similarly women in the urban sample commented on how they are required to take extra care when taking young children to school during the morning rush hour along the newly upgraded four-lane road.

The study sample indicated a gender balance in the use of roads both in the urban and rural settings. There were no significant differences in 'access', 'mobility' and 'accessibility' between men and women in utilising the road network. In the urban sample, it is the type of economic activity, rather than gender that determines access and mobility along the Lepea-Lalovaea main road. Taxi operators reported a fluctuation in their income due to several factors, such as the increased number of taxi businesses along this stretch of road competing for the same amount of business (the travelling public). They were unwilling to cooperate amongst themselves to share the business in such a way as to minimise income fluctuations. This is a main determinant of access, mobility and accessibility rather than gender relations.

#### ***General welfare impacts of roads***

Roads are promoted by governments and donor agencies as crucial to development and economic growth. Rural access roads for example, lead to higher land values for village customary lands. In this case those with a greater share of the village lands will be better able to take advantage of the changes. While this study has found some positive impacts of rural roads in terms of improved access to services and markets, there is less evidence of the poverty reduction effects of rural roads. There are other variables besides road improvement, such as remittances and employment in the formal economy that may have a direct impact on poverty reduction. There is inconclusive evidence of poverty reduction as an outcome of rural access road improvement. Rural access roads can be likened to 'a tide that lifts all boats' rather than a highly effective means of reducing income inequality.

Improved rural access roads reinforce men's responsibility for crop production. 50 percent of the rural households found the major household tasks of collecting firewood and fetching taro, giant yam and other root crop staples, requiring travel within the village boundaries much more bearable with improved rural access roads. Similarly, water collection, predominantly by women and children, has also been made easier with tar-sealed access roads. Tasks that require the participation of every member of the household were made more bearable.

In relation to increased agricultural productivity, evidence was scattered and inconclusive. When the Sāmoa government undertook some major upgrading of rural access roads, the idea was to facilitate ease of travel to and from village lands in the hope of revamping village agriculture. The '*talomua*'<sup>4</sup> programme became very popular

with some of the villages with upgraded access roads, but it cannot be sustained across rural Sāmoa for two reasons. Firstly, it takes more than an improved access road to boost agriculture production; other variables such as market availability and product price guarantees are crucial. Secondly, the programme is premised on competition among individual rural farmers, and not all farmers are equipped with the means and resources to undertake the demands of the *'talomua'* programme. Given that the practice entails 'giving away' the first harvest of staple crops, from a commercial perspective, this can be a discouraging factor.

When the 2009 tsunami struck the eastern and southern parts of Upolu island, road infrastructure as well as many other utilities and lives were lost. The importance of accessibility and connectivity between the urban and rural areas was highlighted by this natural disaster. In fact, road reconstruction was one of the priority areas for development to enable the delivery of other services such as water, electricity and food supplies.

### Conclusion

This study looked at selected rural access road sites and the Lepea-Lalovaea main road to discern what the impact of road improvement has been on the socio-economic well-being and development of those households residing in and around this public transport infrastructure. Urban household respondents reported marked increases in income after the main road upgrade, particularly for those with small to medium-sized businesses. This is an indirect benefit for the respondents that lends support to Goal 5: improved economic and social well-being in the *Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa 2008–2012* (Ministry of Finance 2008: 41). While urban and rural households reported significant benefits, urban households appear better off in terms of total economic returns which is expected given that urban Sāmoa generates more than 80 percent of the country's gross domestic product and the quality of road infrastructure is far superior in the urban areas compared to rural Sāmoa.

Nonetheless, upgraded roads reaffirmed the spatial relationships between users and various services, such as health and education that produced some positive results as reported by the respondents. Improved personal transport and greater social mobility that is linked to better quality rural roads helps to facilitate knowledge and opportunity for new businesses. Above all, better access increases income which is a major social impact.

Road infrastructure is important hardware for socio-economic development, and in some cases for political bargaining. For some households in the urban sample, the road upgrade urged them to make improvements to their small businesses upon realising the potential to yield higher income earnings. The ruling Human Rights Protection Party slogan of 'what is good for Apia is also good for the rural areas', seems



to have underpinned Sāmoa's strategy for development in the last thirty years. Improved quality of life for all is the vision that permeates through all the seven *Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa* (SDS) documents including the current one for 2012–2016 with the theme of 'boosting productivity for sustainable development'. For the respondents in this study, improved roads have a direct bearing on making life just a little bit better for them, and are a welcomed change that has the potential to boost their productivity and quality of life.

### Notes

1. Infrastructure generally refers to roads, bridges, power supply, telecommunications connectivity that provides basic services to a community. See World Bank Publications on Interurban Transport <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTTRANSPORT/EXTURBANTRANSPORT/0,,contentMDK:20251033~menuPK:610879~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:341449,00.html>.
2. *Talanoa* is a formal and/or informal conversation, exchange of ideas, knowledge, information or stories between two people or within a group (Vaiotei 2006).
3. This view emerged out of the focus group discussion where 50 percent of the group believe that pedestrians do not seem to fully grasp the potential danger of not using the designated pedestrian crossings. Road safety awareness programmes by the Ministry of Police on radio and television continuously remind the public about road safety and use of pedestrian crossings is always emphasised. Weekly Road Safety Awareness Programme on Radio 2AP.
4. *Talomua* is a tradition of presenting the first harvest of *talo* staples to the chiefs of the village. The government of Sāmoa through the Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries and the Ministry of Women and Social Development are the responsible ministries providing technical support to the villages. See Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (<http://www.maf.gov.ws/>).

### References

- Ahmadu, M. L. 2005. "Evaluating Public Procurement Regimes in the South Pacific: Perspectives on Fiji, Sāmoa and Vanuatu." *Journal of South Pacific Law* 9 (1): 23–34.
- Asian Development Bank. 2002. *Impact of Rural Roads on Poverty Reduction: A Case Study Based Analysis*. <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/evaluation-document/35049/files/rural-roads.pdf> IES: REG 2002-15 October 2002.
- Asian Development Bank. 2012. *Infrastructure for Supporting Inclusive Growth and Poverty Reduction in Asia*. Manila: Asian Development Bank. <http://www.adb.org/sites/files/publications/29823> (accessed 10 April 2015).
- AusAID 2009. *Annual Report 2008–2009*. <http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications> (accessed 10 December 2012).
- Barwell, I. G., Edmonds, A., Howe, J. D. G. F. and de Veen, J. 1985. *Rural transport in Developing Countries*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

- Baxter, P. and Jack, S. 2008. "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers." *The Qualitative Report*. 13(4): 544–559. <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/baxter.pdf> (accessed 13 April 2015).
- Caldron, Cesar A. and Servén, L. 2004. *The Effects of Infrastructure Development on Growth and Income Distribution*. (Policy Research Paper 3400). Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Commonwealth Foundation 2013. *A Civil Society Review of Progress towards the Millennium Development Goals in Commonwealth countries: National Report for Sāmoa* Commonwealth Foundation. London: Marlborough House.
- Devres Inc. 1980. *Socio-economic and environmental impacts of low volume rural roads, a review of the literature*. (AID Program Discussion Paper No. 7). Washington D.C.: Agency for International Development.
- De Blij, H.J., Murphy, A.B. and Fouberg, E.A. 2007. *Human Geography: People, Place, and Culture*. (8<sup>th</sup> edn.) Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP). 2011. *Asia-Pacific Trade and Investment Report*. [http://www.unescap.org/tid/ti\\_report2011/download/Asia-Pacific-Trade-and-Investment-Report-2011-Update-March-2012.pdf](http://www.unescap.org/tid/ti_report2011/download/Asia-Pacific-Trade-and-Investment-Report-2011-Update-March-2012.pdf) (accessed 16 August 2012).
- Gannon, C and Zhi Liu. 1997. *Poverty and Transport*. (TWU Discussion Papers). <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTURBANTRANSPORT/Resources/twu-30.pdf> (accessed 12 July 2012).
- Government of Sāmoa. 2010. *Millennium Development Goals: Second Progress Report 2010*. [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/MDG/english/MDG%20Country%20Reports/Sāmoa/Sāmoa%20mdg\\_report2010.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/MDG/english/MDG%20Country%20Reports/Sāmoa/Sāmoa%20mdg_report2010.pdf) (accessed 13 November 2012).
- Howe, J and Richards, P. 1984. *Rural Roads and Poverty Alleviation*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd.
- Human Rights Protection Party. Web page: <http://hrpp.org.ws> (accessed 10 June 2012).
- Hughes, P. 2005. *The Difficult Problem of Measuring the Village-Level Socio-Economic Benefits of Road Rehabilitation Projects in Rural Asia and Papua New Guinea. Resource Management in Asia-Pacific*. (Working Paper No. 28). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Keddeman, W. 1997. *Of Nets and Assets: Effects and Impacts of Employment Intensive Program: A Review of ILO Experience*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Land Transport Authority 2015. *Registered Vehicles for Public Transport 2009–2014*. Vaitele.
- Lombard, P and Coetzer, L. 2008. *The Estimation of the Impact of Rural Road Investments on Socio-Economic Development*. <http://www.roadfundtz.org/web/pdf/session%203/Estimating%20the%20Impact%20of%20Road%20Inv%20on%20SocioEcon%20%20%20%20%20Development.pdf> (accessed 1 March 2012).
- Mandel, J.L. 2004. "Mobility Matters: Women's Livelihood Strategies in Porto Novo, Benin." *Gender, Place and Culture*. 11(2): 257–258.
- Mellor, T. and Jak, J. 2004. *Governance in the Pacific: Focus for Action 2005–2009*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

- Ministry of Finance. 2008. *Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa 2008–2012: Ensuring Sustainable, Economic and Social Progress*. Apia: Ministry of Finance, Economic Policy and Planning Division.
- Ministry of Finance. 2012. *Strategy for the Development of Samoa 2012–2016*. Apia: Ministry of Finance, Economic Policy and Planning Division.
- Pacific Islands Trade and Investment Commission. 2008. "Doing Business in Sāmoa." <http://www.pitic.org.au/pdfs/big/s/Sāmoa.pdf> (accessed 10 December 2012).
- Porter, G. 1995. "The Impact of Road Construction on Women's Trade in Rural Nigeria." *Journal of Transport Geography*. 3(1): 314–333.
- Porter, G. 2002. "Living in a Walking World: Rural Mobility and Social Equity Issues in Sub-Saharan Africa." *World Development*. 30(2): 285–300.
- Prescott, S, M. 2008. "Using Talanoa in Pacific Business Research in New Zealand: Experiences with Tongan Entrepreneurs." *ALTERNATIVE Special Edition/Special Issue 2008*: 126–148.
- Rodrique, J. P., Comtois, C. and Slack, B. 2009. *The Geography of Transport Systems*. (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.) New York: Routledge.
- Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics. 2006. *Report of the Population and Housing Census, Apia*. Apia: Samoa Bureau of Statistics.
- Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics. 2011. *Population and Housing Census 2011*. Tabulation Report v.1. Apia: Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics.
- Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics. 2012. *Population and Housing Census 2011 Analytical Report*. Apia: Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics.
- Storey, D. 2006. *Urbanisation in the Pacific*. Targeted Research Paper for AusAID. State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Vaioleti, T, M. 2006. "Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research." *Waikato Journal of Education* 12: 21–35.
- World Bank. 1994. *Infrastructure for Development: World Development Report 1994*. Washington D C: World Bank.
- World Bank. 2004. *Making Services Work for Poor People: World Development Report 2004*. Washington D.C. World Bank.
- Yin, R. K. 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

**Appendix 1: Map of Study Area**

**Main Apia Urban Area and Selected Urban villages**  
Source: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment



**Map 2: Rural Study Sites**

**Safotu, Savai'i**

Source: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment Mapping Section



### Satapuala

Source: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment mapping Section.



### Vailoa-Aleipata

Source: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment Mapping Section





## The Role of Institutions in Place-making and Securing Livelihoods for Urban Residents in Samoa: Exploring Resettlement Programmes at Sogi and Taufusi

Anita Latai-Niusulu, National University of Samoa

### Abstract

*Since the start of the twentieth century, people have shifted onto lands owned either by the state or the church in the Apia Urban Area. Over time, it has become evident that this has not been entirely to the benefit of the landowners. Some families were not paying for their leases and their houses were generally in poor repair, with inadequate drainage, poor access roads and little or no sewerage service. Early in the twenty-first century, the Sāmoan government and the Catholic Church decided to resettle households that had been living on church or state land next to the Central Business District to designated areas on the edge of the Apia Urban Area. This paper examines these resettlements, and especially the role of institutions such as the government and the church in terms of their policies and the processes undertaken. It also highlights lessons that could be learnt from these experiences, by treating them as constructive insights for strengthening future work relating to the management of urban areas. The findings and ideas discussed in this article would be further explored in a continuing program of research.*

**Keywords:** Samoa, informal settlements, resettlements, urban development, urban management, development.

### Introduction

Urbanisation is contributing to the growth in numbers of landless families and related poverty in Pacific countries where people are pulled towards urban areas by the promises of cash employment and basic services. Their inability to secure higher paid employment and land has forced many to live in substandard conditions (Bryant-Tokalau 1995; Connell and Lea 2002; Storey 1998). This is most evident in Melanesia and Micronesia where there has been an exponential growth of informal settlements in cities like Suva, Honiara and Port Moresby (Asian Development Bank 2012; Connell 2011) and in South Tarawa (Asian Development Bank 2012; Haberkorn 2008; Kiddle 2011). In 2006, 17,000 out of the 50,000 people residing in Honiara were informal settlers. The estimated total for Suva was 90,000 (URS Australia 2006 cited in Chand and Yala 2008). According to Haberkorn (2008), the population density of Betio in South Tarawa is 10,400 persons per square kilometre, far greater than that of Hong Kong or Singapore. Figures such as these have led many to conclude that numbers of informal households will continue to grow and be a permanent feature of most cities in the Pacific (Jones 2012; Jones and Cocks 2003).

The recent census of Samoa showed that the population of Apia has decreased in the past five years (Samoa Bureau of Statistics 2011). Contrary to this, studies on urbanisation in Samoa state that there has been a growing number of low income households (Connell and Lea cited in Storey 1998; Devas and Rakodi 1996 cited in Storey 1998), characterised by poor quality housing, inadequate waste discharge systems (Asian Development Bank 2011; Jones and Cocks 2003), financial hardship and

landlessness (Wood 2006; Thornton et al. 2010, 2013). Studies by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2008, 2011) found that one fifth of households in and around the Apia Urban Area were earning a weekly income below the poverty line (SAT\$37.49 equivalent to US\$10). According to Thornton et al. (2013: 359), “[a]lthough squatter settlements at levels experienced in the Melanesian context do not yet exist in Samoa, an urbanizing trend does indeed exist and related urban poverty is increasing.”

### **Urban Poverty and the Role of Institutions**

Managing urban growth is therefore critical in the Pacific. However, many (Bryant-Tokalau 2012; Bedford and Hugo 2008; McKinnon et al. 2007; Mohanty 2006; Storey 2005) agree that Pacific islands’ planning departments and local governments face not only resource constraints, but also a lack of capacity to effectively plan and monitor strategies and policies. On the positive side, studies in Fiji concerned with formal and informal institutions show that they have helped improve the lives of urban residents (Chung and ECREA 2007; Kiddle 2010, 2011; Koto 2010; Mohanty 2006, 2011). Koto (2010) discusses how the government, the Methodist Church of Fiji and local community groups have contributed to the upgrading of Namadai from a squatter settlement to a formal residential subdivision. The residents of that settlement were given the opportunity to secure land tenure and proper housing. Chung and ECREA (2007) and Kiddle (2010) mention numerous organisations and community groups that are helping to upgrade and build homes for the urban poor in Fiji: for example, Housing and Relief Trust (HART), Rotahomes, Habitat for Humanity, Save the Children, the Ecumenical Centre for Research, Education and Advocacy (ECEA) and NZAID. Other studies have demonstrated the resilience of urban residents where “... even in the midst of hardship they find ways to earn cash, build houses and send their children to school” (Bryant-Tokalau 2012: 212). Mohanty (2006, 2011) discusses the role of the informal sector in providing livelihood support for squatter settlements in Fiji.

### **Overview of Urban Development and Management in Apia**

The Apia Urban Area comprises a mixture of traditional villages, suburban and commercial areas in which land may be government-owned, freehold or under customary tenure. Significant areas of Apia remain under customary authority, such as Moata’a, Vaiala and Apia village (Meleisea 1987; Ward and Ashcroft 1998), but historical trends since the 1900s have led to households on freehold land being owned by the government and the Catholic Church in parts of Apia. At independence, some land close to town owned by the government and the churches was subdivided and sold as freehold to Sāmoan citizens. According to Meleisea (1987), the opportunity to buy land allowed Sāmoans to move outside the confines of traditional village authority for the first time. Areas such as Vaivase, Tulaele and Tiavi were allocated to government employees and individuals in the business sector. Other people were able to obtain



land rights by lease arrangement. Unauthorised leasing was also commonly practiced, though people were well aware of the insecure, unsatisfactory and non-legal nature of this form of lease. Those who chose this alternative did so because they wanted to avoid higher rents and solicitors' fees. Churches in Apia took the lead by making lease arrangements for church land and collecting nominal rents on plots (Galuvao 1987). The government and some customary landowners followed suit in formulating lease arrangements for land located at Sogi, Taufusi and villages in the Apia Urban Area.

Freehold land in the urban area is managed by the central government, which covers costs for services such as waste collection and disposal, drainage and road maintenance from the national budget. Settlement areas, such as suburbs arising from subdivision, housing around the Central Business District, commercial enclaves, the prison, and major church compounds are treated administratively as though they were villages. There are more than 300 villages (*nu'u*) most of which are governed by traditionally appointed village councils of chiefs (*matai*) following customary norms. The government pays allowances to government representatives who provide liaison services between the communities and the state. The male government representative, who is also a chief and a member of the village council, is known as the *sui o le nu'u* and the female representative, who is a member of the women's committee, is known as the *sui o le malo*. Any project that might affect the village, whether proposed by the government or by an external agency, would go through these representatives. New settlements, including those in the urban area, have representatives who are mostly selected by the government. All government representatives report to the Division of Internal Affairs in the Ministry of Women, Social and Community Development (MWSCD).

The current approach to urban management is legislated by the *Planning and Urban Management Act* (PUMAct 2004) which led to the establishment of the Planning and Urban Management Authority (PUMA) under the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MNRE) to oversee development activities in Apia. This legislation also formalised the place of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in development activities throughout the country (MNRE 2006). PUMA developed guidelines for the management of housing in 2006 and recently completed a town plan for submission to Cabinet (PUMA 2006). State-owned agencies with roles in urban development include the Samoa Housing Corporation (SHC), the Samoa Land Corporation (SLC) and the Samoa National Provident Fund (SNPF). No rates are levied on urban businesses or residents, although a fee is charged for power and water, and for wastewater disposal in some areas. Efforts to improve the quality of housing and address health and environmental issues include the ADB-funded Sanitation and Drainage Project 2003–2009 implemented by the Samoa Water Authority (2006). The latter resulted in septic tanks being installed for 100 households, as well as removal of rubbish from mangroves and silt from saltwater drains. It also funded new drainage channels (Asian

Development Bank 2008). As part of the overall plan for urban development, there have been drives to relocate households from particular church and government land to areas outside the Apia urban area. The remainder of this paper will discuss these resettlement programs.

### **Financial Hardship, Landlessness and the Role of Institutions in the Apia Urban Area**

In comparison to the literature for the wider Pacific region, little has been written about people who are facing financial hardship and landlessness in the Apia Urban Area. A study by Meleisea (1980) reported the presence of Melanesians on government land in Sogi and how attempts to secure land for these people were resisted by the government at that time. Since then there has been little mention of these people in the literature. Thornton et al. (2010, 2013: 357) recently argued that the “[l]andless are urban-based Sāmoans who have opted out of reciprocal kinship and redistribution systems, and now depend on informal land tenure arrangements through urban-based church membership.”

The literature on urbanisation in Samoa focuses on the role of the government and neglects interventions by institutions operating at the community level. The challenges relating to urban management in Samoa include citizens questioning the authority of government over development on customary land, and the denial by government and some members of the public that poverty exists (Amosa 2006; Connell and Lea 1995 cited in Storey 1998; Devas and Rakodi 1996 cited in Storey 1998). More studies are needed, not only to provide updated information on the status of people facing hardship and landlessness in Apia, but also to demonstrate what has been done to address these issues in Samoa.

This paper seeks to address these gaps by examining the role of institutions in urban management, using information obtained from a study of two villages facing resettlement in the Apia Urban Area. It seeks to contribute to discussions and debate on the needs of urban residents, and to show how state and private institutions can provide related services. The study uses notions of place attachment and place-based identity to provide insight into how urban residents respond to resettlements in their villages. Studies in these areas show that places are imbued with meaning (Harvey 1996; Hess et al. 2008; Low and Altman 1992) and can contribute to the development of self-identity (Proshansky et al. 1983). Prolonging one’s stay in a place strengthens one’s emotional bond to that place, which subsequently leads to that place becoming part of one’s conceptual and extended self (Neisser 1988). These socially constructed meanings of places can be very powerful and have varying consequences. For instance, the failure of planning and management processes to recognise and address the range of meaning of places can create conflict (Adger et al. 2011; Harvey 1996; Hess et al. 2008).

## Methodology

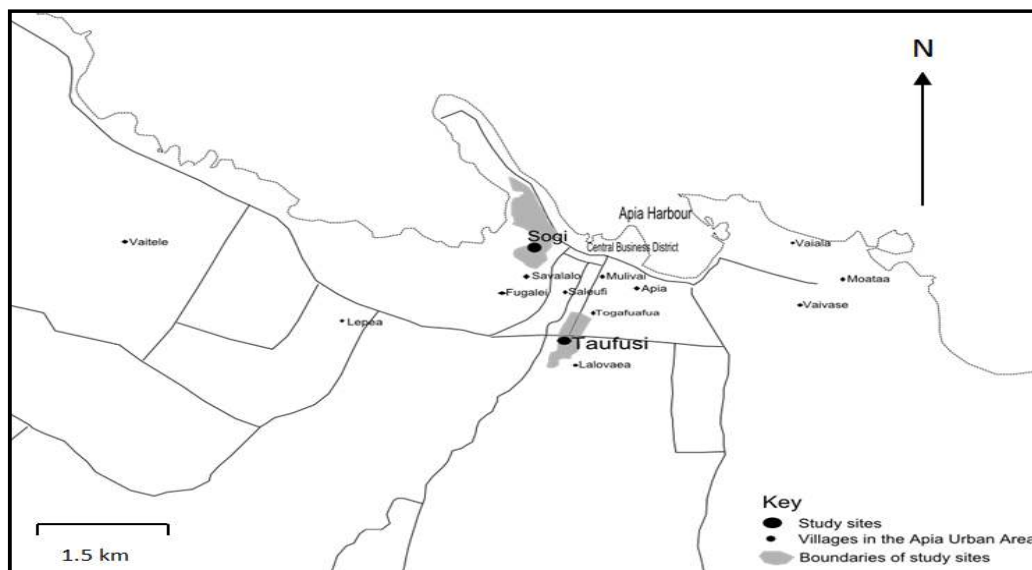
This section discusses the findings of a qualitative study that sought to develop a bottom-up understanding of resettlement programs in the Apia Urban Area. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the Sāmoan language with members of 30 households from the villages of Sogi and Taufusi. Any citations of the respondents' words are later translations into English by the author. The head of each household was the key informant. For extended families, the oldest person became the key informant, although in most cases both parents were present during the interviews. Informants ranged from 28 to 75 years of age.

The flexibility of semi-structured interviews made them the ideal method of data collection for this research. This technique uses an interview schedule comprising fully worded questions prepared in advance, but the interviewer was not restricted to asking only these (Bogdan and Biklen 1998; Opie 1999). An interview schedule was drafted in the Sāmoan language, and then used as a guide during the interviews. This proved useful because it gave me the opportunity to ask follow-up and more probing questions during the interview. Moreover, the participants were encouraged to talk about issues that they felt were important but which were not wholly within the scope of the interview schedule.

Being Sāmoan assisted me in identifying and approaching households to request their participation and conduct the interviews. I spoke the language and followed cultural protocols relevant to entering and conducting studies in urban Sāmoan communities. I employed guides who lived in these villages and they accompanied me during my visits. In each of the villages, the first family I visited was that of the village government representative, *pulenu'u*. After consultation with the village *pulenu'u* and my local guide, I then planned out the rest of my visits. In each visit the guide introduced me to the families, and I then clarified the objectives of my study and formally requested their participation. These steps were helpful in gaining the trust of the families that I visited and enabling me to carry out my study.

## Study Sites

Map 1: The Apia Urban Area and the Study Sites.



(Source: Adapted from Google Maps 2015)

The two villages selected for this study are Sogi and Taufusi. Both are within the central part of the Apia Urban Area, with Sogi located next to the Central Business District. They are also small compared to most villages in the country, but the population of Taufusi (469) is significantly larger than that of Sogi (294) (Samoa Bureau of Statistics 2011). Sections of both villages are often affected by flooding at times of heavy rain.

Sogi lies on the Mulinu Peninsula, north-west of the Apia Urban Area. Most of the north-eastern end of the village is occupied by government buildings, hotels, the main road and a sea wall. A small part of Sogi comprises residential land on which a few families occupy freehold sections that they purchased from the government in the 1960s. A large area of mangrove lies on the western side of the village. A study by Meleisea (1980) discussed the presence of Melanesians on government land in this village. Between 1880 and 1914, the German plantation company *Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft* (DHPG) operated a store at Sogi, as well as its central administrative offices and a depot for their estates in A'ana and Savai'i. The DHPG recruited indentured labourers from Malaita in the Solomon Islands, Bougainville and the Bismarck Archipelago to work in Sāmoa. Later referred to by indigenous Sāmoans as the black boys (*tamauli*), a number of these workers lived at Sogi. Most were repatriated at the end of German rule in 1914, but some men, particularly those with Sāmoan wives and children, remained. Ownership of German land at Sogi was passed to the New Zealand colonial administration, which continued to operate the plantations as a government enterprise. When Sāmoa became independent in 1962, the land was

transferred to the government of Sāmoa as part of the Western Sāmoa Trust Estates Corporation (WSTEC). The Melanesian settlers at Sogi and their descendants continued to work on the plantations during this period. Although attempts were made to secure land rights for Melanesian settlers at Sogi, as well as on the plantations, these efforts were unsuccessful (Meleisea 1980). Recent media releases (*Samoa Observer* 2013a) have reported that some descendants of the Melanesian labourers still occupy the area.

Taufusi is on a floodplain at the foot of Mt Vaea. The term *taufusi* means swamp because most of this area was originally swampland. The area was largely customary land belonging to Vaimoso families before parts of it were gifted to the Catholic Church. Today, there are still families living on customary land belonging to Vaimoso people. However, most of the southern end of the village comprises residential land on which several extended families occupy freehold sections that they purchased from the Catholic Church in the 1950s and 1960s. Other families were able to pay for their land under the Church's 'lease-to-own scheme'. Their payments were completed in the 1980s and 1990s. Much of the northern end of the village has been reclaimed for infrastructure, houses and businesses where there are people living on land leased by the Catholic Church. With the exception of a few media reports (Tavita 2011), there has been little reference to the status of these people in the literature.

## Findings

### ***Background to the Resettlements: Government Resettlement at Sogi***

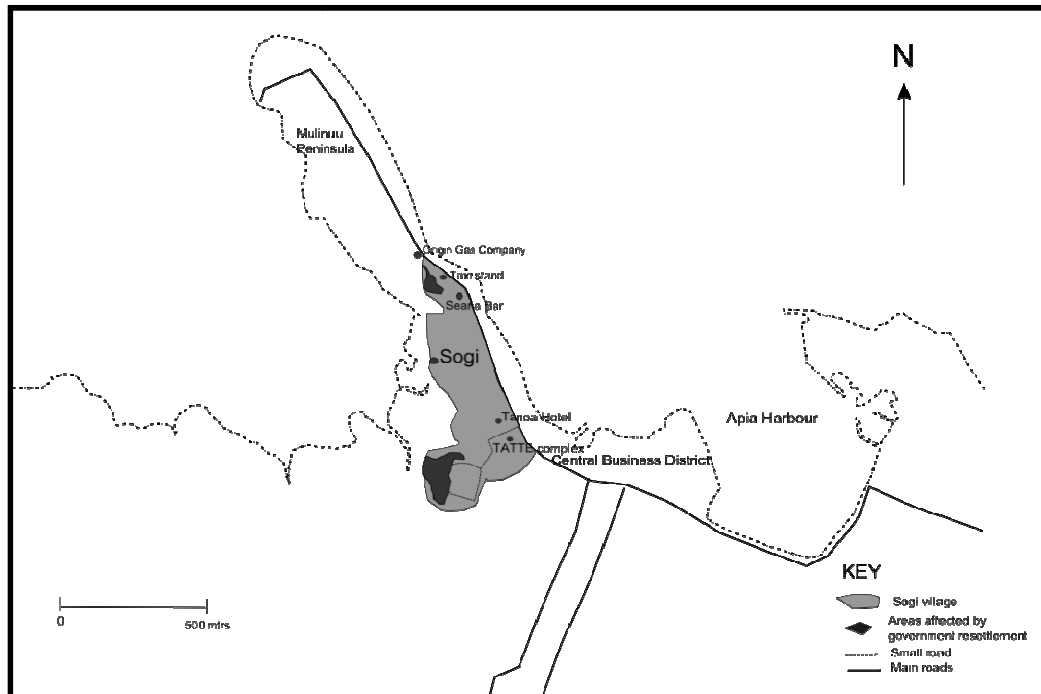
The government initiated resettlement of families living on state-owned land at Sogi in 2008, and many are still living on the edge of the mangrove swamp that covers much of the western side of the peninsula. Most occupy the area behind the Tanoa Hotel and the Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Tupua Tamasese Efi (TATTE) government complex. Another cluster of families lives between the Seana Bar and the Origin Gas Company (refer to Map 2).

Land at Sogi is valuable because of its proximity to hotels and public buildings, so the government believed that relocation was the best option for these households, given the site's overcrowded and unhealthy environment. It is mostly covered by water at high tide, which poses a threat to the health and safety of residents. In addition, the adjacent area of mangrove is a breeding place for fish and shellfish, and needs protection from human activities and related impacts. In 2013, the Prime Minister said, "[t]here is not enough land to grow crops for families to rely on ... the area is unhealthy for the residents. Waste water directed out to sea under an Asian Development Bank project of over \$300 million is being channelled through Sogi" (*Samoa Observer* 2013a).

The residents of Sogi were informed that government had assigned land to them at Falelauniu, approximately 7km from the town centre (refer to Map 3). Falelauniu is next to the village of Tafaigata where a private school is located. The country's prison

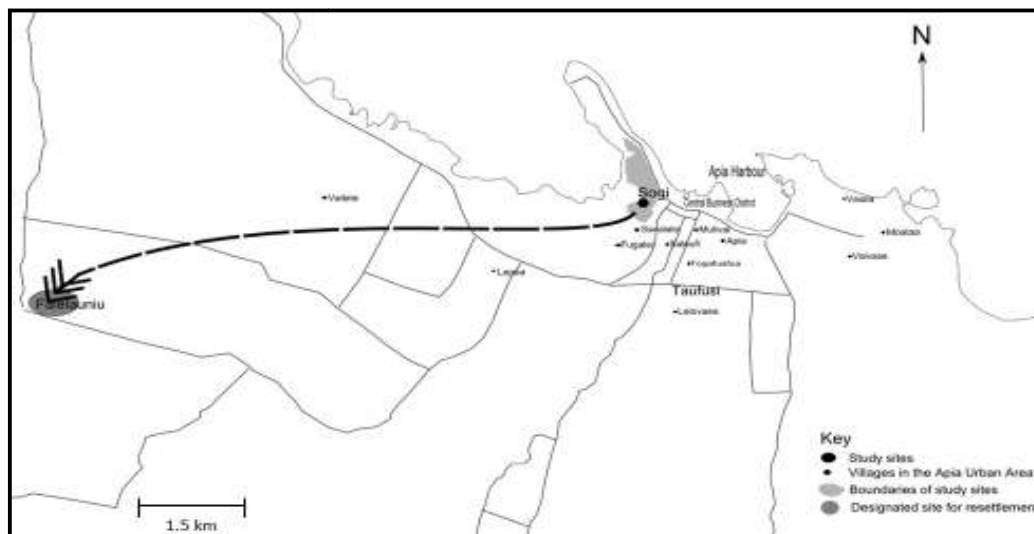
and waste landfill are also located nearby. Each family was allocated one quarter of an acre, valued at SAT\$30,000, which they were expected to repay. The number of years taken to repay the land was not specified. In addition, households were offered SAT\$3000 to cover relocation costs, available when the family signed a document confirming its willingness to move to the new settlement. As the Prime Minister has stated, the designated area for resettlement is not only inland but higher, which means that residents will be protected from rising seas. Land would also be available for families to grow food crops (*Samoa Observer* 2013a).

**Map 2: Areas at Sogi Affected by the Government Resettlement Program.**



(Source: Adapted from Google Maps 2015)

**Map 3: Sogi and the Designated Area for Resettlement, Falelauniu.**

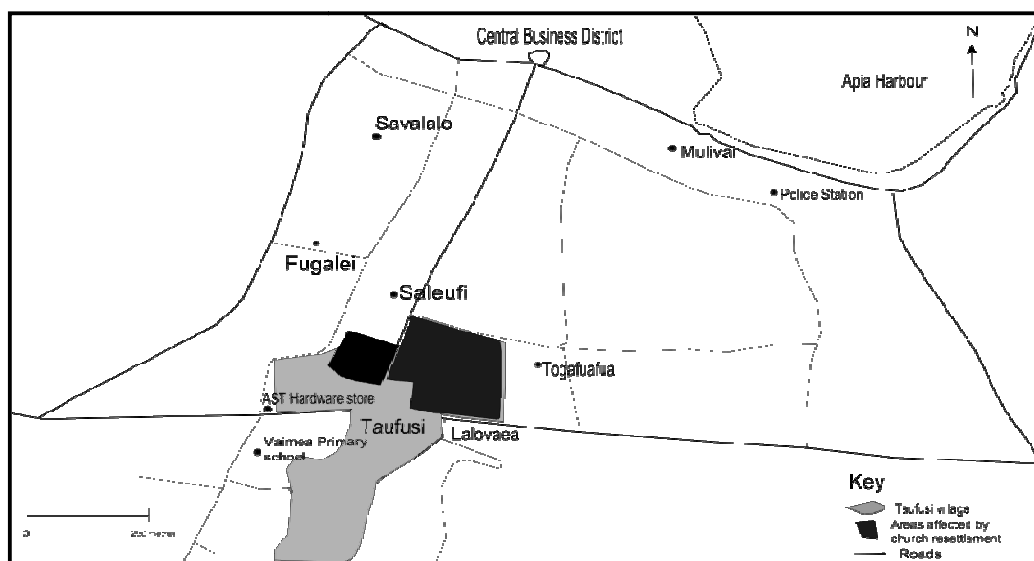


(Source: Adapted from Google Maps 2015)

***Background to the Resettlements: Church Resettlement at Taufusi***

The second resettlement program was managed by the Catholic Church, and it targeted households living on Catholic land at Taufusi. In 2011, the Catholic Church informed tenants who leased their sections from the Church at Taufusi to move off their land. These families lived between shops and businesses on the north-eastern side of the village (refer to Map 4).

**Map 4: Areas at Taufusi that were Affected by the Church Resettlement.**



(Source: Adapted from Google Maps 2015)

The main reason for resettling these households was so that the Catholic Church could earn money to pay for its development projects: for example, the newly built Mulivai Cathedral. Until 2008, the Church was receiving little to no income from those leasing its lands in the Apia Urban Area. Most households had not made regular payments, so the decision was made to resettle these residents and lease lands out to businesses. One of the Church leaders said, "... the church wants to pool its vast tracts of land in the town area and lease them to businesses at a higher rate. We have very few sources of income but have a lot of assets. The church is undergoing several expensive development projects that require lots of money" (Tavita 2011).

Initially Church members were given six months to buy the land they were living on, but as none were able to do so, they were offered a free quarter of an acre on Catholic land at Moamoa (refer to Map 5) (Tavita 2011). The families were also given SAT\$30,000 by the Church to move from Taufusi. Former residents and church leaders thought that this was a very good deal.

### ***Characteristics of families affected by the resettlement schemes***

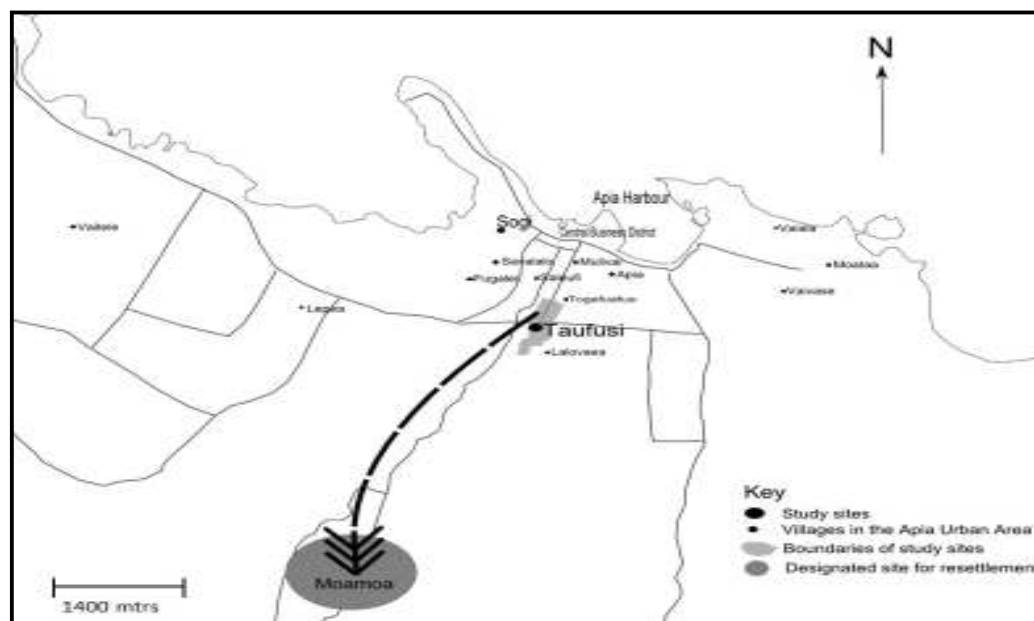
#### **Descendants of Melanesian workers**

Three of the families surveyed at Sogi were part-Sāmoan descendants and relatives of the Melanesian laborers that Meleisea (1980) reported in his study. These families live beside the mangrove area to the south of the Tanoa Hotel and the TATTE government building (refer to Map 2). They have been living there for more than a century, but do not own their sections. Two residents now aged in their 70s were born here in the late 1930s. One elder said,

*I am 74 years old. I was born here in 1938. The reason why we are living here is because our ancestors the tamauli came and worked here for the government. Our tamauli ancestors have passed on but we continue to live here. (Respondent 6)*



**Map 5: Land at Moamoa has been allocated for the resettled Taufusi residents**



(Source: Adapted from Google Maps 2015)

A widow in her early 60s lives there with her children and grandchildren. She had married the son of a *tamauli* and said,

*I married a Sogi man. He was born here. His father wanted us to come and live here with him. I came here when I was 26 years old. My husband built this house on his own. It was from his own design and also the design may have been influenced by the materials that we can afford and the design he and his friends knew. We had some money from selling crabs and we bought the wood, the roofing iron. (Respondent 5)*

#### **Relatives of Melanesian labourers and owners of freehold land/ private landowners**

Between the 1970s and the 1990s the Sāmoan relatives of *tamauli* came to Sogi either to take care of their elderly relatives or to stay there while looking for employment in Apia. Most initially lived in the houses of their Sogi relatives, but over the years several requested permission from their relatives to build houses of their own on the edge of the mangrove. A 40 year-old male who was interviewed said that he was born in Savai'i but shortly afterwards moved to Sogi because this is his mother's village. He has lived there for more than 30 years. Two families claimed that they regularly paid rates for their leases until the late 1990s, but since then they have not done so. One woman stated,

*We moved back here and built a small open fale in 1986. It was on stilts. This is where we started our family with two children. We made arrangements for the lease of this piece of land. We went to WSTEC to request a lease and they came to measure the piece for our lease. Although they said that our lease was approved,*

*there was no limit in terms of how long the lease would last. We started paying SAT\$40 a year for the lease, but this time we are not paying anything. (Respondent 3)*

Most families located between the Seana Bar and the Origin Gas Company are relatives of private landowners on the northern end of the village. Like the relatives of *tamauli*, these people initially came to live with their relatives, but later built houses of their own on the edge of the mangrove. A father said,

*The reason why we first came here is because we are related (through my father) to the family who owns that land over there. We initially lived closer to their house, but we shifted and built our house here because it was getting crowded over there where the main house is. (Respondent 1)*

### **Families leasing Church lands**

The residents affected by the scheme at Taufusi are mostly families belonging to the Catholic faith that moved to find employment in Apia in the 1970s and 1980s. In contrast to other Taufusi residents, these families were paying rates to the Church. A leader of the Church said, “[m]any of the tenants have been in arrears to the church for many years. Though the lease is only SAT\$15 per month, many have never bothered to make any payments” (Tavita 2011). According to the families interviewed, they were initially able to pay their leases, but were later unable to do so because of insufficient income. For some households, the parents who signed and paid the rates for the leases have passed on and their children, who have since grown up, did not make regular lease payments. A woman in her late 40s said,

*My parents moved here when I was young. My parents have passed on but I have lived here all my life, went to school and got married and raised my family here. It's not easy trying to meet our expenses as things are expensive, but my job does not pay much money. (Respondent 2)*

Most of these households have paid employment at nearby shops and companies. The average annual income for such work is SAT\$10,000 (equivalent to US\$4250). They also rely on income from informal economic activities, mainly as street vendors. The annual average income received from these activities ranges between SAT\$8000 to SAT\$10,000 (equivalent to US\$3400 to US\$4250). For most of these households, their regular income is barely sufficient to cover daily expenses such as food and electricity. According to one resident,

*We struggle to feed our children and the whole family so that most times we do not worry about the lease at all. Sometimes money is also needed to fix the house. For instance, when the roof of the house leaks or the wooden floor and stilts [on which the house sits] rot. Most times these things come first. (Respondent 4)*

### ***Successes of the Resettlement Programs***

The Church's offer of free land and SAT\$30,000 allowed households living at Taufusi to shift to Moamoa. Most, if not all of the informal households surveyed were in the process of relocating at the time of the study. This will make way for new businesses that will be built where respondents' houses once stood. Most residents understood and accepted the Church's decision, recognizing that the land was not theirs. Those who were interviewed expressed gratitude to the Church, and excitement at the chance of owning their own land. Land means they now have a property to own and use as collateral for loans needed to rebuild their homes at Moamoa. They also have space to grow food gardens to sustain the family.

In addition, the money given to them to cover relocation costs was helping them relocate their properties and begin building their houses. One respondent said,

*What the Church has done for us is really good. I think things would be very difficult for us if we did not get an offer of land and money. We are very thankful and we thank God for his blessings. (Respondent 12)*

While some elderly residents were particularly concerned about leaving their Church at Mulivai, the option of attending the Moamoa Church saw their concerns resolved.

In 2013, soon after the survey, I found that most households with insecure tenure had relocated away from Taufusi. New businesses, such as Neti's Supermarket and Laundromat, the Samoa Stationery Bookshop, Special Occasion Supplies (SOS) and a car dealer now occupy the land where the houses once stood (refer to Photographs A and B).

**Photographs A and B: New businesses replace old homes being demolished at Taufusi**



**(Source: Author 2013)**

A number of families have relocated from government land at Sogi. Recent media reports have been about Sogi families now living at Falelauniu. For instance, one elderly lady remarked favourably that her family is now able to cultivate food gardens to feed

the family. She said, “[w]e don’t need any money to buy food like taro and ta’amu. Unlike in Sogi you can hardly grow anything there because there is not enough land” (Samoa Observer 2013b).

### **Challenges of the Resettlement Programs**

Most of the challenges were evident at Sogi, where the pace of resettlement has been slow. While some Sogi families resettled at Falelauniu, all the households interviewed were planning to move. Older residents in their 60s and 70s refused to leave Sogi because of their ancestral ties to the land. The claim that people perceive and attach different meanings to spaces is evident (Low and Altman 1992; Harvey 1996; Hess et al. 2008). The government sees Sogi as a biophysical area that is unsafe for residents and, according to Liki (2008), a space the government believes is better suited to business development, new hotels and government offices where profits can be made. However, interviews with Sogi residents revealed ‘affective relationships’ (Hess et al. 2008) with the spaces they occupy. The interviews also showed that since the elderly residents had stayed there for a long time, their emotional bonds with the place had intensified. The passion and sense of desperation in the voices of elders during the interviews revealed their intense emotional connection to Sogi as home. The elderly residents talked about Sogi as their place of birth. They had lived there all their lives and they had raised their children and grandchildren there. As one elder said,

*This part of the land was reclaimed and settled by our ancestors. They have passed on but we have continued to live here, our children and grandchildren were born here. Our ancestors made an important contribution to the development of our country. The government should consider that and not force us to move.*  
(Respondent 6)

In addition, these people believed that over the years they had invested a lot in this place, and consequently enjoyed improved socio-economic conditions. Most households occupy brick houses that are difficult to leave behind and expensive to move. The money offered by the government to cover relocation costs does not compensate them for what they have paid over the years to develop the sections they occupy. One elderly resident described how hard it was to make ends meet. However, his children and other family members have helped improve the whole family’s living conditions. His children had gained educational qualifications and are employed as government officers and teachers, making them the household’s main income earners. He said,

*When I got married we moved here [at the back of his parents’ house at the time] to develop our family and raise our children. This whole area was just mud and dirt. We laid logs on the ground to walk on ... from my parents’ house to our house and to our kitchen ... we also used sand to try and cover and bury the mud. Later on we were able to pay for truckloads of gravel and sand to help raise this land. Now the*

*land is dry and solid. Most of the work we did was carrying and transporting sand to here ... it was not an easy task ... This house we are now living in was built in 2001 with money from our children. Our family members came to support us in the building of the house. (Respondent 4)*

In another household, the children had left to work overseas, but sent money to help the family. A resident earning income from selling crabs and fish described her attempts to reclaim eroded land and improve their living conditions over the years:

*The water covers this whole area at high tide so when I have money I go to the truck drivers that work at the hardware shops and pay them twenty tala or thirty tala for a truckload of sand or crushed coral to raise our land. Before, when my husband was alive, he always used the wheelbarrow to dig the sand from the mangrove to reclaim the eroded parts of the land, but he is not here to do that anymore. (Respondent 5)*

Another challenge mentioned during the interviews was the difficulty people experienced in leaving their church behind. Most of the elderly residents interviewed were founding members of the Sogi Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. Shifting out of this area would mean they would have to join another parish in a village close to Falelauniu. This is because they had heard there are no churches at Falelauniu. The other option would be to commute to the church at Sogi on Sunday.

Younger residents in their 40s, who may be earning income for food at nearby businesses and in the mangrove area, refused to move because they feared losing their livelihoods; yet the government has not offered long-term assistance to struggling households like theirs. Some said they would lose their sole source of income, and there were no options in the new settlement for them to earn income at Falelauniu. The study found that most of these households earned an annual average of SAT\$10,000 (equivalent to US\$4250) from either paid work or informal activities. Some of the females who were interviewed worked as receptionists and cleaners at nearby hotels or as assistants in shops. The males worked as construction workers, machine operators, builders or taxi drivers. In addition, some households depended on income from informal economic activities, such as selling food in the streets of Apia or providing traditional healing services. One household earned income from selling fish and crabs caught in the mangrove area. The annual average income for households that depend mainly on informal activities ranges between SAT\$8000 and SAT\$10,000 (equivalent to US\$3400 to US\$4250).

Some residents expressed fear of moving out of Sogi because they had insufficient money to pay for the relocation of their properties, lease of the land, and materials and labour to build another house. Relocation would impose an additional burden on already tight household budgets, which are mostly for food, water, electricity, school and church related expenses. The SAT\$3000 offered by the government was not enough for them.

Travel from a distant location to their current jobs, schools, shops and the hospital would impose new costs. Falelauniu is far from town and most of these people are employed in hotels and construction companies close to Sogi. To travel by bus from Falelauniu to Apia costs SAT\$20 a week for one person. One household that I visited had seven people, so for the parents and the five children to get to work and school they would need to set aside SAT\$140 for transport, money that they did not have. Here at Sogi, however, they do not have worry about such costs. One resident said,

*Most of the services here are within walking distance. People are free to walk to and from work and schools without paying for transportation. We hear that people that have moved [reference to those that have relocated] are struggling with the cost and time taken to get to work and schools ... Issues like the unpredictability of buses and were never part of their lives while they lived here. (Respondent 3)*

The tension between government and residents has led to worsening conditions in parts of Sogi, where people lack secure tenure. Inadequate sewerage disposal is a threat to the health of residents who depend on septic tanks in an area liable to flood at high tide. Some residents were reluctant to improve their houses out of fear of possible eviction, even though the government did not connect these households to the new sewerage disposal system recently built at Sogi. A few households are trying to improve their living conditions, but feel that their efforts are in vain. One resident had just finished building a new bathroom and toilet. He stated that these improvements made him happy. However, he also indicated that these improvements do not improve the whole situation at Sogi as neighbouring families do not have proper waste disposal for their toilets:

*There is a bad stench coming from where my neighbours live and we have to live with it everyday. This is a big problem and I have gone over several times and discussed the matter with them but it seems like nothing is being done as the stench is still strong ... It has made life very difficult. (Respondent 13)*

During one interview a resident said that at high tide water floods her house and her neighbours' houses. These people live in mostly wooden, open-sided structures built on stilts. The latter are important because of the area's poor drainage. She said,

*Soon you will see the water coming in because the tide is now high. See there's the water, the tide is high so the water is coming. My son has to drive the taxi that he drives over to our neighbour's place when the water comes up. (Respondent 14)*

Her situation is illustrated in the following photographs, which show the combined effects of poor drainage, adjacent swampland and heavy rain.

**Photographs C and D: Houses at Sogi during a period of heavy rain**



**(Source: Author 2013)**

### ***Discussing the role of institutions***

The decisions to undertake resettlement programs showed good intentions by the landowners. Both were willing to exempt their tenants from paying overdue leases, and offered opportunities for them to start afresh; for instance, the chance to own land and rebuild in areas that are not flood-prone or near the sea. The study found that effective communications, adequate financial compensation, and institutional connections at the designated sites for resettlements were crucial factors to the overall success of the programs. This is because the affected residents were being removed from the places where they traded formally and informally to raise money needed to feed their families, and where they could easily access (low cost) nearby health and educational facilities and attend church.

The landowners' approaches towards the planning and implementation of their resettlements were different, and consequently produced contrasting experiences for the affected residents. The program undertaken by the Catholic Church was more successful than the government scheme for several reasons. Firstly, the Church was more informative and clearly stated to its members why they were being resettled. In addition, the Church did not simply dispossess a household, but offered it an attractive financial package for resettlement. The assistance took into account the cost of relocation as well as the socio-economic situation of affected residents. The land designated for resettlement also had a Church, shops and schools which would service the needs of the resettled residents.

On the other hand, the study findings revealed that the government's indifferent attitude to the different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and ages that existed at Sogi challenged its resettlement program. Adger et al. (2011: 3) suggest that "... actual changes to the physical environment may contribute to the renegotiation of meanings" but conflict emerges when meanings are undervalued or ignored. The

government's silence on the *tamauli* land issue, from when it was first raised in the 1980s (Meleisea 1980) until now, has been interpreted as a refusal to consider the historical connections these people have with their land. To those elderly residents who were interviewed, this treatment is unfair and insulting, and they intend to remain at Sogi. The government's silence on the requests by residents for additional financial assistance and infrastructural support at Falelauniu has also been viewed in a similar way.

The study also showed that a shared burden of disadvantage for Taufusi and Sogi residents relates to financial compensation. The three factors that should have been taken into account were the cost of resettling a property, reimbursement of capital improvements on the land originally occupied, and the cost of rebuilding at the new site. For the Taufusi residents, the SAT\$30,000 may be enough to build a simple brick house. The government scheme for relocation was considerably less generous than the Catholic Church resettlement program. The financial offer of relocation to Sogi residents was one tenth of what the Catholic Church offered Taufusi residents. This is not enough to take down and relocate a building or erect a new house at Falelauniu. According to Downs (2004), a household can afford a decent quality house if the cost does not account for more than 30 percent of household income. In the case of the families in my survey, their weekly expenses exceeded their income and at most times there was no money left for anything else unless they borrowed from co-workers, relatives or neighbours (which was quite common). These issues further restricted them from qualifying for the formal housing assistance currently available in Samoa. The Samoa Housing Corporation, the National Provident Fund and the Development Bank charge service fees of SAT\$100 or more to loan applicants. In addition, applicants are required to commit a certain percentage of their regular income to weekly loan repayments. Some residents said that they had applied for housing loans from these organizations, but were declined because the calculations showed that they could not afford the required repayments. Some said they had not applied out of fear of being embarrassed if their applications were rejected. In 2008, the pastor and the Sogi Congregational Christian Church petitioned the government to revise the terms of the relocation scheme and increase the amount of time and financial assistance available to families to move. At the time of this study, they had not received a response from the government.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The resettlement programs at Sogi and Taufusi provide useful lessons for urban planning and management. Firstly, dialogue with communities is essential to avoid misunderstanding and resistance. Sogi residents were not aware of government intentions to resettle them until they were evicted, and the silence of the government in regards to the plight of Melanesian people and struggling households continues to



challenge the resettlement program. The passing of the PUMAct in 2004 recognised the government as the sole authority for land development. At the same time, the Act established the EIA process that allows the concerns of residents to be voiced and considered. The government, as the main developer in this context, has a responsibility to inform affected communities before introducing and implementing any major projects that will affect them. Moreover, it must consider issues that are being raised by those affected, and allow adequate time and suitable spaces for consultation with those affected.

Age should be an important factor when considering the planning and implementation of a resettlement program. Elderly people must be treated with care and respect, and efforts should be made by government to include them in future community consultations. This study found elderly residents were especially affected by the resettlement programs, and most expressed fear at losing their homes and membership to their churches. Provision of effective and efficient subsidised public transport and health care services would make it easier for a 70 or 80 year-old person to move.

The findings reveal that adequate financial assistance given by the Church to residents at Taufusi enabled households to move, while many Sogi residents were forced to remain because they could not afford the move. Government, church and relevant civil society organizations should provide financial and other relevant assistance to families at Sogi to enable them to resettle. As Payne and Majale (2004) have pointed out, any policy package aimed at increasing security of tenure for informal settlers should be combined with initiatives to improve livelihoods, provide services, and ensure more affordable housing for low-income earners. Some options are as follows:

- i) The government to plan and implement community workshops based on the processes relating to applying for housing loans from government institutions such as the National Provident Fund, Samoa Housing Cooperation and the Development Bank.
- ii) Assurance from government that infrastructural support, such as water and effective public transportation, would be available so they can continue to work and provide food to survive.
- iii) Community livelihood programs provided by the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development (MWSCD) and Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAFF) should include the households in the process of resettlement. Current programs mainly target rural villages.
- iv) The government should reconsider criteria for the selection of government representatives in non-traditional villages and new

settlements in the urban area. Village households should be involved in the selection of eligible persons to represent their community.

- v) Both churches and civil society organizations could usefully provide financial assistance or housing materials to assist these families. The study showed that most residents at Sogi were founding members of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. A few were members of the Latter Day Saints Church.

### Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the National University of Samoa UREC Fund and the Oceania Development Network (ODN) for providing financial assistance that enabled me to carry out the research on which this article is based. I also thank Emeritus Professor Peter Holland for his expert guidance and assistance. Most importantly, I acknowledge with deepest gratitude the families of Sogi and Taufusi for allowing me into their homes and for sharing their stories. *Faafetai tele lava.*

### References

- Adger, W.N., Barnett, J., Chapin, F.S. and Ellemor, H. 2011. "This Must Be the Place: Underrepresentation of Identity and Meaning in Climate Change Decision-Making." *Global Environmental Politics* 11: 1–25.
- Amosa, D. 2012. *Social Policies in Samoa*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat and United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Asian Development Bank. 2008. *ADB Country Partnership Strategy: Samoa 2008– 2012*. [www.adb.org.samoa](http://www.adb.org.samoa) (accessed 8 February 2011).
- Asian Development Bank. 2011. *ADB and Samoa Fact Sheet*. [www.adb.org.samoa](http://www.adb.org.samoa) (accessed 8 February 2012).
- Asian Development Bank. 2012. *The State of Pacific Towns and Cities: Urbanisation in ADB's Pacific Developing Member Countries*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.
- Bedford, R. and Hugo, G. 2008. *International Migration in a Sea of Islands: Challenges and Opportunities for Insular Pacific Spaces*. Hamilton: Population Studies Centre, University of Waikato.
- Bryant-Tokalau, J. J. 1995. "The Myth Exploded: Urban Poverty in the Pacific." *Environment and Urbanisation* 7: 109–129.
- Bryant-Tokalau, J.J. 2012. "Twenty Years on: Poverty and Hardship in Urban Fiji." *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania* 168: 195–218.
- Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S. 1998. *Qualitative Research for Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Chand S. and Yala C. 2008. "Informal Land Systems within Urban Settlements in Honiara and Port Moresby: Reconciling Customary Ownership and Development." Pp. 85–107 in *Making Land Work* Vol. 1. eds S. Wawrzonek, D. Fitzpatrick, T. Levantis, and P. O'Connor, AusAID, Canberra.
- Chung, M. and ECREA. 2007. *Fiji Poverty Report 2006: No Fit State, Housing the Urban Poor in Fiji*. Suva, Fiji: Ecumenical Centre for Research Education and Advocacy.
- Connell, J. and Lea, J. P. 2002. "Urbanisation in the Island Pacific: Towards Sustainable Development." London: Routledge.

- Connell J. 2011. "Elephants in the Pacific? Pacific Urbanisation and its Discontents." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 52 (2): 121–35.
- Downs, A. 2004. *Growth Management and Affordable Housing: Do they Conflict?* <http://www.ecampus.com/growthmanagement-affordable-housing-do/bk/9780815719328> (accessed 17 January 2011).
- Galuvao, M. 1987. "Land and Migration in Western Samoa." Pp. 110–117 in *Search of a Home*. eds L. Mason and P. Hereniko. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies 110–117.
- Haberkorn, G. 2008. "Pacific Islands' Population and Development: Facts, Fictions and Follies." *New Zealand Population Review* 33: 951-27.
- Harvey, D. 1996. *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hess, J. J., Malilay, J. N, and Parkinson, A. J. 2008. "Climate Change: The Importance of Place." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 35 (5): 468–478.
- Jones, P. and Cocks, J. 2003. "Urban Development and Uncontrolled Discharge in Apia." *Sāmoan Environment Forum: Proceedings of the National Environment Forum 2002* 4: 29–36.
- Jones, P. 2012. "Pacific Urbanisation and the Rise of Informal Settlements: Trends and Implications from Port Moresby." *Urban Policy and Research* 30 (2): 145–160.
- Kiddle, L. 2010. *Intervention in the Fijian Low-Income Housing Sector: Challenges, Partners and Prospects*. [www.odn-gdn.org](http://www.odn-gdn.org) (accessed 8 February 2011).
- Kiddle, L. 2011. "Informal Settlers Perceived Security of Tenure and Housing Consolidation: Case Studies from Urban Fiji." PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Koto, C. 2010. *Institutional Roles in Service Delivery: Meeting the Housing Needs of Fiji's Namadai Community*. [www.odn-gdn.org](http://www.odn-gdn.org) (accessed 24 April 2008).
- Liki, A. 2008. "Sogi Relocation and the Melanesianization of a Sāmoan Problem." Sāmoan Association of Women Graduates Seminar Presentation, 24 April 2008.
- Low, S. M. and Altman, I. 1992. "Place attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry." In *Place Attachment*. eds. I. Altman and S. M. Low. New York: Plenum Press.
- McKinnon, J., Whitehead, S., Chung, M., and Taylor, L. 2007. *Report of the Informal Settlements Scoping Mission*. Wellington: New Zealand Agency for International Development.
- Meleisea, M. 1980. *O Tama Uli: Melanesians in Western Samoa*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Meleisea, M. 1987. *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment. 2006. *State of the Environment Report*. Apia: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment.
- Mohanty, M. 2006. "Urban Squatters the Informal Sector and Livelihood Strategies of the Poor in Fiji Islands." *Development Bulletin, No. 70 April: 65–68*. Canberra, Australia: Australia National University.
- Mohanty, M. 2011. "Informal Social Protection and Social Development in Pacific Island countries." *Asia-Pacific Development Journal* 18: 2.
- Neisser, U. 1988. "Five Kinds of Self-Knowledge." *Philosophical Psychology* 1: 35–59.

- Opie, A. 1999. "Unstructured Interviewing." Pp. 240–250 in *Social Science Research in New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding*. (2<sup>nd</sup> edn). eds C. Davidson and M. Tolich. Auckland: Pearson Education New Zealand Limited.
- Payne, G. and Majale, M. 2004. *The Urban Housing Manual: Making Regulatory Frameworks Work for the Poor*. London: Earthscan.
- Planning and Urban Management Agency. 2006. *Planning and Development Guidelines for Housing*. Apia: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment.
- Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., and Kaminoff, R. 1983. "Place Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3: 57–83.
- Salele, W. 2006. "Economic Update". Pp. 101–111 in *Samoa National Human Development Report: Sustainable Livelihoods in a Changing Samoa*. eds A. So'o, U. F. Va'a, T. Lafotanoa and J. Boon. Apia: Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Samoa.
- Samoa Bureau of Statistics. 2011. *Samoa: Population and Housing Census Report*. Apia: Samoa Bureau of Statistics.
- Samoa Observer*. 2013a. "Sogi Plan Hits Snag." *Samoa Observer*, 29 July.
- Samoa Observer*. 2013b. "Sogi Families Praise New Start." *Samoa Observer*, 1 August.
- Samoa Water Authority. 2006. *Water for Life-Water Sector Plan and Framework for Action*. Apia: Samoa Water Authority.
- Storey, D. 1998. "The Politics of Managing Urban Development in Pacific Island States: The Case of Samoa and Tonga." *The Journal of Pacific Studies* 22: 61–80.
- Storey, D. 2005. *Urban Governance in Pacific Island Countries: Advancing an Overdue Agenda*. Discussion Paper. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Tavita, T. 2011. "Time to Leave, Church Tells Tenants". *Savali*, September 22.
- Thornton, A., Kerslake, M., and Binns, T. 2010. "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa." *Asia-Pacific Viewpoint* 51: 1–16.
- Thornton, A. Binns, T. and Kerslake, M.T. 2013. "Hard Times in Apia? Urban Landlessness and the Church in Samoa." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 34: 357–372.
- Ward, R. G. and Ashcroft, P. 1998. *Samoa: Mapping the Diversity*. Suva: Bluebird Printery.

## Food and Textiles Technology in Sāmoan Schools: Development or Retrenchment?

*Faamoemoe Hakai Soti, National University of Sāmoa and Lex McDonald, Victoria University of Wellington*

### Abstract

*Most countries throughout the world, including Sāmoa, have adopted a new paradigm in technology teaching. In Sāmoa, this paradigm is evident in food and textiles technology (FTT) education, which has been broadened to adopt a more inclusive localised approach, and is regarded by many as an intellectual discipline grounded in technology processes. However, the introduction of this approach has not been easily accomplished in Sāmoa, and there are potential threats to its sustainability. This exploratory qualitative study on the current status of FTT in Sāmoa involved the interview of six teachers (and two new graduates) to gather data and used the researcher's experiences and reflections to provide additional information. The results indicate that retrenchment in technology teaching is a potential problem and attention needs to be directed toward a number of corrective elements, but in particular in the first instance, provision of increased effective professional development to ensure improved student outcomes is needed. Limitations of the research are outlined and additional research recommended.*

**Keywords:** Sāmoa, food and textiles, education, technology teaching

### Background

Today there is a range of a technological knowledge and skills for males and females, and this promotes a range of meta-cognitive skills including informed decision making, evaluative and critical thinking. This new paradigm has been designed to support individual empowerment for citizenship and practical skills development (McCormick 1990; Pendergast 2006). In response, many school curricula have promoted the notion of a technological literacy (Jones 2009), so individuals can take their place in society. Nevertheless, issues have arisen in relation to the technological advancements, and how learning is perceived.

In Sāmoa, as in many countries in the world, an acknowledgement of technology developments resulted in changed thinking about technology education. A new curriculum was developed (Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture [MESC] 2004) and professional development (PD) opportunities were advanced for teachers. However, a number of problems occurred in the implementation of the revised curriculum: academic and core subjects remained a priority for many; resource availability was problematic; and early school leavers had minimal food and textiles technology (FTT) experiences resulting in restricted employment opportunities. Subsequently, it was realised that a revised FTT curriculum could provide a means for gaining skills to increase employment prospects. Then in 2013, the award of the Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate, previously carried out by the Secretariat of the Pacific Board for Educational Assessment in Suva, was delegated back to each of the participating countries, which meant more local autonomy for teaching FTT.

Nevertheless, despite these developments there is a perception amongst a number of educators that key stakeholders such as the National University of Sāmoa (NUS) and MESC do not actively promote some curricula (including FTT) and the teaching and learning practices that promote better learning in these subject areas. For instance, at NUS all 300 level papers in FTT, physical education and the visual arts have been withdrawn because of resource implications whilst other areas will continue to be taught to the 300 level. This means that the development of higher level thinking skills associated with these subjects will be somewhat limited.

With the introduction of the new paradigm, there was a need to develop a revised concept of technology and practice. In discussing this development internationally, Jones et al. (2013) note the importance of not only procedural and conceptual knowledge, but also refer to the significance of Shulman's (1986) pedagogical content knowledge (PCK)—the 'what-how' knowledge of teaching. Developing this idea further, Mishra and Koehler (2006) identify TPACK (technology, pedagogy and content knowledge) as a modification of Shulman's ideas and highlight the intersection of content, pedagogy and technology. In relating PCK to technology, Jones and Morelands (2004) indicate that there are seven pedagogical content knowledge constructs in technology: nature/characteristics of technology; conceptual, procedural and technical aspects; knowledge of the relevant technology curriculum; knowledge of student learning; specific teaching and assessment practices; understanding the role and place of context in problem solving; and classroom environment and management in relation to technology. Accordingly, if the pedagogical knowledge of technology is to be achieved by both teachers and students, it is important to address these seven points in the teaching and learning in the Sāmoan schools in the context of a problem-solving approach.

For a technology teacher to be effective then, it is accepted that knowledge, skill and practice is needed for the development of content, pedagogy and in the intersection of these two dimensions. Yet, it has been observed that the new paradigm objectives are not being achieved in many countries, despite the implementation of PD programmes (Jones et al. 2013).

Indeed, for the past 10 years or so, concern has been mounting about the lack of progress in teachers' understanding of the new paradigm and its implementation. Jones (2007) reports, for example, that the terms like creativity, design-centred approaches, and higher-order thinking were not routinely developed in technology education. Nevertheless, in a review of technology education, Jones et al. (2013) note some significant advances have been made, although the threat of retrenchment was ever present. Given this, technology still remains a fuzzy concept in many countries as it lacks a coherent philosophy. To redress this, questions such as the following need to be addressed: What are the main characteristics that constitute technology? What are the basic concepts that should be taught and learnt? What activities are characteristic for

the domain? What is the role of teachers in the change? What PD is likely to be most effective? What research approaches can facilitate teacher development? How can the social and political context contribute to technology education development? What value needs to be placed on resource allocation to ensure effective teaching and learning occurs? The answers to these issues would help to advance a sound philosophical position.

According to Jones et al. (2013), philosophy and theory development is necessary, but this needs to be related constantly to practice which will in turn promote: valid assessment; effective teaching and learning approaches; recognition of technology education as a legitimate academic area of study in the context of an educational environment that emphasises 'basic' education; effective professional development; and research.

The need for these advances has under-scored the need to explore learning approaches to facilitate improved student outcomes. For example, Jones et al. (2013) note some promising developments, particularly as they relate to the adoption of a constructivist approach. An illustration of this is reported by Chikasanda et al. (2013) who describe a constructivist-centred teacher education programme in a resource poor environment and note significant positive impacts. Nevertheless, despite the adoption of a constructivist orientation, a modicum of resources and teacher education is essential, and in Sāmoa this is not always forthcoming.

However, although some developments have occurred, the value of technology education is often overlooked because many still regard it as a vocationally oriented subject, best taught via a behavioural approach, placing the constructivist approach in a position of perceived limited value (McCormick 2004). Furthermore, the validity of school technology programmes is questioned. Turner and Seeman (2012) for example, maintain that schools need to align more with post-school industry demands in food technology to validate school-based learning. Often however, it can be more fundamental teacher/student and resourcing factors that impede progress. A case in point is Arubayi's and Obunadikes' (2011) observations that negative attitudes, lack of teacher confidence, choice of unsuitable content, lack of resources, inappropriate pedagogy, and lack of improvisation resulted in problems when teaching textiles technology. It is likely that many of these issues are relevant in the Sāmoan context as well.

A further complicating issue is that curriculum change itself brings its own systemic issues. Firstly, educational change is problematic, often slow and frequently ineffective if driven from the top-down (Hargreaves and Fullan 2013). Secondly, if it is a priority that teachers lead the changes, importance needs to be given to professional learning and development. Well-trained and confident teachers, in a supportive environment, are necessary to deliver the new curriculum in technology (Thompson et al. 2013) and, what is more, it is often over-looked that teachers know their students' needs best and

what engages them. As Hattie (2009) identifies, change arising from PD is likely to be less problematic if teacher knowledge and skill is emphasised because teachers can make a difference. Credibility must be given to them as powerful change agents, and this is particularly so if teachers understand the link between theory and practice (Smith and Lovat 1991). Fullan (2007: 129) identifies the importance of teachers when he states “educational change depends on what teachers do and think—it’s as simple and complex as that.” Furthermore, teacher ownership of the curriculum is more likely to be accomplished, and teaching confidence and efficacy developed when both teacher interests and student needs are locally recognised. According to Engelbrecht and Ankiewicz (2015), the creation of effective technology PD experiences depends upon the integration of subject-school-pedagogical knowledge sets with the teacher’s personal constructs and beliefs, and this underpins the professional knowledge. This explains the importance of a localised contextual approach. According to Chikasanda et al. (2013), this needs to be developed around a model of technology teaching that emphasises four factors: contextual elements (e.g. resources, place); process (e.g. a presentation approach); structure and strategy of PD (e.g. time allocation); and content.

It is clear then that teachers’ understanding of technology is critical for improved student outcomes. As Jones (1999) notes, the perceptions, worldviews, subcultures and contexts of teachers are significant for developing programmes, with Macdonald (2003) urging the importance of updating via constructivist learning approaches and unlearning of old ideas and notions. However, curriculum change is often not successfully accomplished because it overlooks the teachers’ perspective (Al-Daami and Wallace 2007). A number of commentaries and research reports about FTT in Sāmoa identify this very issue. For example, Faoagali (2004) called for assistance for the teachers and curriculum administrators to bridge the gap between the old approach and the new paradigm. In a later report, Soti and McDonald (2012) indicated that FTT teaching and learning were not being positioned well in the education system, and attention needed to be directed to the development of effective teacher PD. Similar findings can be located in a study undertaken by Soti and Mutch (2010), which called for improved teaching strategies. In these studies, teacher PD designed to revise and advance thinking and practice is identified as a priority.

There is considerable literature and research studies indicating that teacher PD can improve the quality of teaching and impact upon student learning outcomes (Avalos 2011; de Vries et al. (2013); Timperley et al. 2007). It is clear however, that the traditional in-service model has often been replaced by a more contextually driven, constructivist, dynamic approach. As in all PD, this literature is of two types: PD that is directly related to the subject (i.e. technology) and the literature of a more general nature. It is beyond the scope of this paper to identify the range of approaches, but indicated below is a selection of evidence-based PD approaches.



- Avolos (2011), Bingman and Smith (2013), Borko (2004) Desimone et al. (2002), Fullan (2007) and Vega (2013) note the importance of: sufficient time for PD; linking PD to teacher work; using a range of PD teaching strategies; effective facilitation; flexibility; shared decision-making; participant reading and undertaking of research; extrinsic incentives for PD participation; reflection; use of technology to promote learning; team building; coaching, mentoring and collaborative learning; intensive examination of a lesson by number of teachers; school-based learning; university-school partnerships; teaching cases (with student work, dialogue, teacher instruction/thinking), video observation and feedback; customised in-service; student examples of work and content knowledge exercises.
- In using any PD approach, it is important to follow up with an assessment of the learning to establish whether the teachers learn and change their practices, and whether student achievement improves (Vescio et al. 2008). If theory and practice are emphasised in PD, it is more likely that teachers will incorporate suggested changes into their practice.
- Timperley et al. (2007) identify seven elements of teacher professional development that impacted on student outcomes: sufficient time for learning; external expertise; effective teacher learning; challenging prevailing discourses; communities of practice; consistency with wider trends in policy and research; active school leadership.
- Timperley (2011) stresses the importance of adopting a professional instructional sequence: identification of student needs; identification of what a teacher needs to know to satisfy student needs; deepening knowledge/skills for this to occur; understanding what should happen when these ideas are implemented in the class; and evaluating the impact on the students.
- Kennedy (2005), in attempting to classify PD opportunities, identifies a range of models that needed to be considered depending upon teacher needs: transmission (e.g. training approach to update skills) to transitional (e.g. coaching-mentoring; community of practice) to transformative (e.g. action research) models.
- Overall, little is known about teaching pedagogical content knowledge. However, a highly regarded approach is the content representation or CoRe model (Eames et al. 2011) which provides a tool for identifying the dimensions and links between the knowledge of content and teaching. This could readily be used by teachers in Sāmoa.
- Jones and Compton (1998) suggest that establishing links and learning connections with technology communities promotes effective technology education.
- The Developing Professional Thinking for Technology Teachers (DEPTH) model (Williams 2008) has been successfully used in technology education. It promotes a user-design approach for the learner, setting the learning path and making decisions and actions after reflecting. The graphical tool acts as a

framework to identify the subject knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and school knowledge enabling teachers to become more self-aware.

- Bitner and Bitner (2002), although mainly describing ICT (but having applicability for other areas of technology), developed a model that delineates the key issues for effective integration of technology into the curriculum. This includes: dealing with teacher change; ensuring basics training; encouraging personal use; using a range of teaching models; appreciating that teachers and students share the learning; encouraging teacher innovation and acceptance of failure; facilitating teacher motivation; and the provision of support. Many of these issues are readily incorporated in a PD programme.
- There are numerous studies and commentaries that indicate the processes, teacher characteristics and structural elements of PD important for achieving objectives. For example, West (1994) indicates the importance of a learning organisation that values learning and promotes deliberate continuous sharing of learning. The sharing of learning amongst teachers is very valuable as all benefit—those who help others often learn more than the learner. In another setting, the relationship between PD and teacher efficacy was found to be important by Ross and Bruce (2007) because efficacy was observed to impact on teacher motivation, student participation in learning and student persistence/outcomes.
- An important factor to ensure effective PD outcomes is to ensure that the transfer of training occurs. Programmes are often characterised by a lack of transfer to the classroom (McDonald 2012) and unless the strategic implementation is planned for, teacher use of new ideas in the classroom is likely to be thwarted. McDonald (2014) recommends the use of a culturally-sensitive audit to ensure important strategies are in place to promote transfer and this tool could be useful for the Sāmoan PD context as it has been developed with an emphasis on cultural appropriateness. Throughout the world (including Sāmoa) transfer of learning is problematic. Many teachers do not transfer knowledge and skills to the classroom, and this may be due to a range of factors such as lack of support from key stake-holders, insufficient teaching resources and lack of PD facilitator knowledge on how to program for transfer. Many of these issues are evident in Sāmoa.

Given the changes in technology education, this small scale research project was developed to investigate the implementation of the FTT curriculum and its localisation, its adequacy and the ways the teachers could develop their professional learning for the new paradigm. It was anticipated that the findings would promote better understanding of Sāmoan FTT teachers' perspectives, and also add to the international literature on the perceptions of teachers regarding aspects of the new paradigm in technology education.

## Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine the implementation of the recently localised FTT curriculum in Sāmoa and in specific terms FTT teachers' perceptions about the FTT curriculum and their needs regarding professional learning. The questions addressed to the teachers were:

1. What importance do you attach to the contextualised (localised) program and is it useful?
2. Does the new curriculum adequately cover the important aspects of FTT?
3. How do you believe you can best continue to develop your teaching expertise to teach the localised programme?

A number of sub-questions (used as prompts) were also developed. These were:

1. Why are there more students involved in the food and nutrition course (in comparison to textiles)?
2. Were there any difficulties encountered in the teaching programmes?
3. Were there any problems encountered when the course was administered from Suva?
4. Is MESC providing sufficient PD opportunities for FTT teachers?

The research was undertaken in 2013 via a convenience sample of six full-time FTT teachers (three based in Savai'i and three in Upolu) from six different secondary schools. Two newly-graduated teachers were also asked to add their voices to the findings. The six teachers were selected because of their on-going involvement in professional development. Essentially, it was a qualitative exploratory survey approach informed by interviews, researcher observations and *talanoa*. *Talanoa* is a relatively informal collaborative conversational face-to-face meeting often used in the Pacific region to gather data (Vaiotele 2006). The approach was designed to capture the personal perspectives and lived experiences of the teachers. The views of the participants were recorded on audio tape and then transcribed.

The researcher was an 'insider' and 'outsider' participant. She had 20 years' teaching experience and working as a curriculum officer at MESC and six years' FTT lecturing experience at the National University of Sāmoa. During this time, a comprehensive understanding FTT teachers' professional learning was developed, placing her in an advantageous position knowing many of the teachers and aware of the curriculum and professional learning opportunities. It was important therefore, that she negotiated the research carefully and remained neutral in gathering data from the teachers.

The data collected consisted of the teachers' perceptions about the new localised Sāmoan programme, views on sewing education, food preparation and PD. The *talanoa* centred on gathering data as indicated by the research questions and the subsequent teacher interviews gathered supplementary data to follow up some of the issues that were identified. The observations were the anecdotal experiences and observations of the researcher gathered over a number of years since the changes. The interviews were analysed for key themes and the results indicated via teacher narrative; researcher observations were directly reported.

Trustworthiness (i.e., credibility transferability dependability and confirmability) of the study was established via a range of processes/strategies: making known the researcher's experience and familiarity with topic area; rapport building with participants; debriefing and scrutiny sessions with a co-researcher colleague, and auditing of data; provision of narratives; linking findings to previous research/understandings; a clear description of the research process; and, purposive sampling. Ethical approval for the research was obtained from MESC in 2014.

### **Results**

The research centred on issues related to the significance and adequacy of the localised FTT programme and the development of teacher learning. The results identified a number of supportive factors and difficulties and four key themes emerged.

#### ***Importance of a localised program***

The teachers were asked for their perspectives concerning the new localised program in Sāmoa, which had provided more local autonomy. Key ideas that emerged included the importance of the practical nature of the curriculum and development of skills.

A number of the teachers commented that the localised programme was particularly important because it attracted more students, provided improved learning opportunities, was easier to implement and resources seemed more abundant (in food technology). As one of them stated:

*We feel that the localised FTT program has helped to improve and increase the number of students taking FTT mainly in the area of food and nutrition ... [but] very little ... in textiles. Furthermore, this change has enhanced the strong sense of learning skills and knowledge in the classroom for practical tasks.*

Another identified how much easier it was not having to communicate outside Sāmoa:

*In terms of localising this program it is more relevant and much easier for me to cope, because I found it difficult to get contact with people in Suva ... Sometimes, I waited for a couple of weeks and it really disappointed me.*

Resources became more plentiful for teaching (in food and nutrition), and as one teacher identified:

*This program of localisation was essential and relevant to the schools in Sāmoa as I could see MESC is providing more consumables for the schools ... This is a good change because without these resources schools may not be able to achieve a sensible way of improving the practical FTT tasks.*

Because the localised programme had become easier to teach and provided additional local opportunities to succeed, there had been an increase in student enrolments. Furthermore, sometimes the students' lack of success in other curriculum areas (e.g. mathematics) was related to enrolment. A teacher commented:

*I found out that this issue increased the number of students taking FTT ...*

Overall, the use of the localised program enhanced the teacher's sense of ownership, provided more flexibility and was perceived as more relevant. It became attractive to students who were not excelling in other areas, and gave them an opportunity to continue to achieve. More resources became available with the localised programme (but others commented later that there were still insufficient resources, such as sewing machines, scissors, tape measures, fabrics, and needles for sewing).

### ***A Need to Improve Sewing***

It was reported that all aspects of the FTT curriculum had not had the desired impact, and urgent changes were needed. In particular, it was noted that attention had not been directed to the basics about fibre production, garment making and promoting the designing and creation of other articles. A strong plea was made for improved professional development to promote textiles technology development. The participants indicated that MESC had under-resourced this area of the curriculum, and more input was needed. Nevertheless, one teacher explained how the sewing PD had initially facilitated her development:

*Sewing PD had helped better prepared me for the sewing practical activities and individual learning.*

However, a number of the teachers emphasised the need for further development of sewing for teaching and personal reasons. For instance, it was stated by one teacher:

*I wanted to become a creative dress maker—unfortunately my skills in sewing are limited and I wanted to learn more.*

There were other problems which created additional barriers. For example, it was observed that there was the lack of sewing equipment in the home to follow up the class learning and that this meant additional resources were sorely needed then in school:

*I found out that in the home there were no textiles equipment ... like sewing machines, needles and threads, and scissors so the students could do their sewing during their free time at home.*

Another problem was the cost of the textiles and this impacted upon availability of resources:

*I think the food consumables are much cheaper than the textiles fabrics and equipment.*

In addition to these difficulties, the researcher was aware that there had been few sewing PD opportunities for teachers over the years, and it was her belief that this needed to be attended to urgently. It was noted that although no answers were readily available for these problems, a plan for improved resources and an invigorated PD programme would be a useful start. A practical PD programme of mentoring and modelling of approaches was considered a valuable first step:

*This is the only way to improve myself as a textile teacher is to learn the techniques and processes through practical sewing developed during PD.*

One important issue identified via the *talanoa* was the position of the young teachers and their almost absolute lack of experience in fabrics and sewing. More time to learn techniques and sustain their learning was considered to be a priority.

These findings recognise the importance of the sewing component, but overall, it was viewed as the poorer cousin in the technology education curriculum. Many believed that an overall improvement of attitudes towards the importance of this technology was required and that the limited resources and teacher knowledge were continuing to restrict development. Furthermore, the home could not always contribute or promote the school learning due to resource scarcity. It was also believed that additional and urgent attention needed to be directed to the younger teachers who required extra experience. Furthermore, although it was indicated that textiles was an expensive curriculum cost, this needed to be weighed against potential for higher-level thinking skills and the domestic and economic potential offered by learning about sewing.

#### ***Food Preparation is a Valued Easier Component***

Teaching the food component as a technology was considered an easily accomplished activity as food is readily available in school and in the home environment. In many home contexts, cooking skills are introduced early in the child's life (in comparison to sewing skills), and when the children arrive at school, a basic understanding has already been achieved.

One teacher noted that:

*Most students opted for foods and nutrition during final examination because they already a lot of cooking skills and learning about food in both school and at home ... Cooking is a skill to be encouraged as a daily life-skill and it earns money quickly.*

Another teacher commented upon the quality being achieved:

*I was impressed by the ability of my students in the cooking room where they produced very good and healthy dishes ...*

Teachers noted that teaching food and nutrition in schools was more readily encouraged by teachers (in comparison to sewing) as it was easier for students to bring ingredients or cooking equipment from home:

*We found more students responsive in getting ingredients or cooking equipment from home rather than bringing the textiles materials and tools for sewing.*

Food and nutrition aspects of the curriculum appeared to be easier to teach, and the links between the home and school were easier to maintain, providing an ongoing development of skills and knowledge advancement. The importance of being able to make money with food was noted, and this helped to make it a favoured activity.

### ***Professional Development is Key***

PD for the FTT teachers was considered a priority. However, emphasis was upon practical skills development, and little comment was made about learning technology for promoting higher level thinking skills. Transfer to the classroom of PD ideas was not always accomplished readily.

One teacher asked that all FTT teachers be able to access PD:

*I think that the PD has helped me a lot to learn FTT knowledge, skills and understanding therefore all teachers should be involved in the PD programs.*

Others indicated the value in the collaborative work in PD or in the schools:

*I found it very useful for the FTT teachers to come together to attend PD ... share the tasks to improve their practical skills. This is the key to development for the students learning and teachers.*

*Teachers do not often come together for PD, but it is important for them to work actively and collaboratively together.*

*I want experienced FTT teachers to make a lead in training teachers in their own schools to become confident in teaching knowledge and skills of FTT in order to help with student learning*

*PD is now school-based as required by MESC so I think that teachers need to discuss within their school context how to improve FTT learning and practical skills.*

It was reported that in one school, collaboration was occurring and positive outcomes were being achieved. Nevertheless, it was clear from the focus group discussion that although a range of PD activities were of value, transferring learning to the classroom was not always well planned. The researcher confirmed that over the years she had observed that transfer was a problem probably because there was a lack of resources. On the other hand, another teacher recognised the transformatory nature of knowledgeable skilled teachers and stated:

*Teachers are important because they can change the subject ... they are very important then.*

The researcher reported that the teachers' role was considered very significant for FTT development. If the teachers could give more support to assist families better with FTT issues in the home, this would assist domestically and also promote economic advantages in terms of employment and income for Sāmoan families.

Another teacher was less positive:

*The quality of PD learning activities varied and not all teachers participated in the FTT programmes because they attended other PDs like English, science and maths.*

Furthermore, it was indicated by one participant that the principals and governance personnel were not always assisting FTT development—they lacked knowledge about the technology and had less than positive attitudes. According to the researcher, school authorities and MESC should assume a more active role and provide additional resources. School-based PD could be problematic if the level of skill development and knowledge is not at a satisfactory level. The assistance to establish a FTT learning community in schools would be welcomed. It was also noted that feedback from school-based PD was not readily available from MESC to assist other interested parties (e.g. the FTT lecturer) to understand what was occurring so that provision for additional follow-up work could be planned.

Overall, the participants' viewpoints on PD indicated that PD was considered a very necessary component for ongoing knowledge and skill development. Apart from the professional benefits it was recognised that there was an inherent value in the PD—effective teachers will contribute to improved student outcomes.

## Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gather information from teachers about the localisation of the Sāmoan FTT curriculum which was centred upon the new paradigm introduced early this century. Information was collected on the value and adequacy of the localised curriculum and how to ensure ongoing professional learning. Some personal observations/experiences of the researcher were also used to contribute understanding. The teachers reported positively on the localised programme relating that it led to better learning and increased enrolments. There was, however, a perception of uneven development in the FTT curriculum; textiles technology education was less well developed and regarded in comparison to the food component. Overall, PD opportunities were regarded as necessary to maintain and develop FTT skills and knowledge.

There is frequent mention of the significance of a contextualised local programme in teaching and PD. For example, Engelbrecht and Ankwicz (2015) indicate teachers' knowledge of context interacts with the subject and personal beliefs, whilst in



Chikasanda et al.'s (2013) Malawi study the interaction of local context, content and specific teachers' needs was noted. In Sāmoa, prior to the localised programme, the local context issues were under-played. As Lee (2011) notes, to bring technology alive, it is important that it be related to local history culture and society—with localisation in Sāmoa, this made technology education more meaningful for teachers and students. Lee also observes that culture and design are embedded in culture and accordingly brings life to learning. Hence, with a localised curriculum there were enhanced feelings of ownership, change could occur readily, meaning was added to the teaching and learning, value in local innovation and communication lines were more manageable.

The participants believed that the sewing component of FTT was languishing. In a country that highlights traditional, colourful, and elegant garments, and with a rapidly growing tourism market, this is somewhat surprising. It was reported, however, that teachers do not have the necessary skills and knowledge; home and teaching resources are scarce; and the immediate economic advantages are less apparent. The findings of Arubayi and Obunadike (2011) in Nigeria regarding sewing technology are mirrored to a large extent in the reported situation in Sāmoa—the status of sewing appears to be an issue in Nigeria as well, as attitudes toward sewing, lack of resources/funding, and teacher lack of expertise are problems noted in both studies. In Sāmoa, limited numbers of students are enrolling in sewing, teaching and home resources are considered inadequate, and teacher skills and knowledge reported as deficient. It is believed that unless these issues are attended to, it is unlikely this area of technology will flourish. The roles of MESC in Sāmoa and school governance bodies in promoting a more positive approach are crucial if development is to occur. The research participants all noted there was an urgent need for improved PD, but it is likely more is needed. For example, changes in attitude are needed; improved links between the school technology and the commercial sector are required; and the role of MESC and school authorities needs reassessment.

It was reported that food technology has a more prominent curriculum position and is more favourably regarded by the students, with the food links between home and school an advantage. The place of food in the Sāmoan culture (*fa'aSāmoa*) and the growth of tourism has no doubt contributed to this interest, and it is considered a valued means of employment and income. Like sewing, the teaching of food technology would benefit from having closer ties with the food/catering and hotel industries. At present the major focus is on practical food-making, but a more career-oriented approach is required, including increased attention to the scientific principles of food technology, understanding international food issues, and ensuring the technology is preparation for citizenship and employment. This is a need expressed by a number of researchers in various countries (see Owen-Jackson and Rutland 2014).

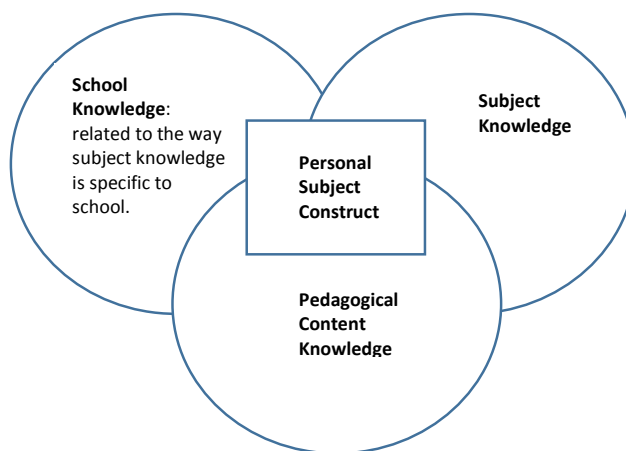
No mention of the key higher level thinking skills (e.g. creativity, problem-solving) was expressed when the participants discussed either sewing or food technology,

implying perhaps that both technologies are still regarded as vocationally-centred by the teachers. Understanding that FTT can contribute to the cognitive development of students, as well as the more practical implications, would provide a more substantial foundation for future development.

A central theme in this study is the importance attached to PD. The participants indicated that the development of the new paradigm, the introduction of the localised programme, and the constant changes in FTT require on-going teacher development. PD is urgently needed for basic sewing knowledge and skills, and the food technology curriculum needs expansion. However, although teacher PD is considered best achieved via school-based teacher learning, this is a deceptively simple approach. For example, as Poskitt (2005) notes, school based PD is effective but demands a wide range of professional skills and leadership including theoretical, practical and logistical expertise. Indeed, PD is better considered as a range of options dependent upon the needs of the teachers and students. Kennedy's (2005) options of 'transmission to transitory to transformatory' provide a more advantageous approach dependent on teacher need. School-based learning is not always the most appropriate form of PD for as Craft (2002) adds, it can pool ignorance and develop an insularity of thought. As indicated, there is a growing wealth of information and research on effective PD approaches that could promote FTT, but most importantly a knowledgeable facilitator is needed to link needs and approach, whether it is school-based or off-site PD.

One PD strategy, often discussed and researched for technology education, is the DEPTH approach (Williams 2008), see Figure 1 below.

**Figure 1. A teacher Knowledge Tool Kit for PD**



The purpose of this model is for the facilitator to assist teachers to examine their professional knowledge in each domain and then, together develop a PD plan to fill the knowledge/skills gaps. Subject knowledge refers to the knowledge teachers have about the technology area, while pedagogical content knowledge concerns the way the teacher presents the material to the students to ensure understanding. The way the

school perceives the technology is the school subject knowledge. The past experiences of learning technology, views about what good teaching is, and the teacher's understanding of the purposes of technology constitute the personal knowledge construct. This highly regarded tool provides teachers and PD facilitators with a way of explaining what is known, understood and done, as well as expressing what beliefs are held about teaching technology. Considerable research has been undertaken on this tool (see Banks 2008).

Another PD approach that could have applicability for Sāmoa is the model outlined by Chikasanda et al. (2013). It is comprised of four phases: phase one establishes the needs and the planning for subsequent sessions; phase two consists of collaboratively based workshops examining key technology concepts; phase three is based around on-going reflections and support (interspersed within phase two to demonstrate concepts and permitted immediate reflection-in-action); and phase four emphasises reflection in a school-based context using a collaborative/cooperative learning approach. The advantages of this model are that it incorporates teachers' beliefs and practices in a collaborative environment, enabling the teachers to learn from the perspectives of the students and encourages on-going reflections which can lead to changes in practice.

This study is significant because it is further evidence that years after the paradigm change and the more recent subsequent localisation of the curriculum, considerable uncertainty amongst the Sāmoan FTT teachers persists. As previously noted, attention to this issue has been indicated in a number of studies (Faoagali 2004; Soti and McDonald 2012; Soti and Mutch 2010). It seems that the recent commentary by Jones et al. (2013) that technology education potentially remains under threat is relevant to Sāmoa unless consideration is given to the identified issues.

Although this study has highlighted a number of significant issues, caution is required in interpreting these findings. Firstly, the perceptions of the informants do not necessarily equate with reality. Subjective data is always valued, however, because participants' viewpoints and experiences can impact upon values and behaviour. Secondly, it is a small scale exploratory study utilising a qualitative approach; therefore, in a study of this nature, generalisations can be limited and indeed problematic. Nevertheless, the findings concur with other studies. Further research is needed to explore the issues in depth and a comprehensive quantitative study could add significant understanding to the issues of technology education in Sāmoa.

This study has highlighted issues regarding the state of FTT teaching in Sāmoa. Although developments have been positive, there is an ongoing need to reassess the direction and promote its growth, and in particular there is an expressed need for increased and improved PD to sustain FTT as an important and significant area of study. As Bill Gates has said, "Technology is just a tool. In terms of getting the kids working together and motivating them, the teacher is most important." The role of increased teacher agency in FTT in Sāmoa needs to be re-evaluated.

## References

- Al-Daami, K. K. and Wallace, G. 2007. "Curriculum Reform in a Global Context: A Study of Teachers in Jordan." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39(3): 339–360. doi:10.1080/00220270601057790.
- Arubayi, D. and Obunadike, J. 2011. "Problems of Teaching and Learning Clothing and Textiles in Senior Secondary Schools in Anambra State, Nigeria." *Studies on Home and Community Science* 5(2): 113–119.
- Avalos, B. 2011. "Teacher Professional Development in Teaching and Teacher Education Over Ten Years." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 27(1): 10–20. doi: 10.1016/j.tate.2010.08.007.
- Banks, F. ed. 2008. "International Journal of Technology and Design Education" 18(3): 221–284.
- Bingman, M. B., and Smith, C. 2013. "Professional Development and Evidence-based Practice in Adult Education." *Toward Defining and Improving Quality in Adult Basic Education: Issues and Challenges* 69.
- Bitner, N. and Bitner, J. 2002. "Integrating Technology into the Classroom: Eight Keys to Success." *Journal of Technology and Teacher Education* 10(1): 95–100.
- Borko, H. 2004. "Professional Development and Teacher Learning: Mapping the Terrain." *Educational Researcher* 33(8): 3–15. doi:10.3102/0013189X033008003.
- Chikasanda, V. K. M., Otrell-Cass, K., Williams, J., and Jones, A. 2013. "Enhancing Teachers' Technological Pedagogical Knowledge and Practices: A Professional Development Model for Technology Teachers in Malawi." *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 23(3): 597–622. doi: 10.1007/s10798-012-9206-8.
- Craft, A. 2002. *Continuing Professional Development: A Practical Guide for Teachers and Schools*. London: Routledge.
- de Vries, S., van de Grift, W., and Jansen, E. 2013. "Teachers' Beliefs and Continuing Professional Development." *Journal of Educational Administration* 51(2): 213–231. doi:org/10.1108/09578231311304715.
- Desimone, L. M., Porter, A. C., Garet, M. S., Yoon, K. S., and Birman, B. F. 2002. "Effects of Professional Development on Teachers' Instruction: Results from a Three-year Longitudinal Study." *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 24(2): 81–112. doi:10.3102/01623737024002081.
- Eames, C. W., Williams, P. J., Hume, A. C., and Lockley, J. 2011. "Core: A Way to Build Pedagogical Content Knowledge for Beginning Teachers." <http://www.tlri.org.nz/tlri-research/research-completed/school-sector/core-way-build-pedagogical-content-knowledge> (accessed 16 March 2015).
- Engelbrecht, W. and Ankiewicz, P. 2015. "Criteria for Continuing Professional Development of Technology Teachers' Professional Knowledge: A Theoretical Perspective." *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 25(2): 1–26. doi: 10.1007/s10798-015-9309-0.
- Faoagali, S. 2004. "Home Economics vs. Food and Textile Technology: Bridging the Gap between the Old and New Secondary School Curriculum in Sāmoan Secondary Schools." Master's Thesis. Christchurch College of Education.
- Fullan, M. 2007. *The New Meaning of Educational Change* (4th edn.). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

- Hargreaves, A. and Fullan, M. 2013. "The Power of Professional Capital." *JSD, Learning Forward*, June, Vol. 34 (3): 36–39. doi.org/10.1108/09578231311304715.
- Hattie, J. 2009. *Visible learning: A synthesis of over 800 meta-analyses relating to achievement*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Jones, A. 1999. "Teachers' Subject Subcultures and Curriculum Innovation: The Example of Technology Education." Pp. 155–171 in *Researching Teaching: Methodologies and Practices for Understanding Pedagogy*. ed. J. J. Loughran. London: Falmer.
- Jones, A. 2007. "Reflecting on the Development of a New School Subject: The Development of Technology Education in New Zealand." *Waikato Journal of Education* 13: 273–294.
- Jones, A. 2009. "The Development of Technology Education Internationally." Pp. 13–16 in *International Handbook of Research and Development in Technology Education*. eds. A. Jones and M. J. de Vries. Netherlands: Rotterdam.
- Jones, A. and Compton, V. 1998. "Towards a Model for Teacher Development in Technology Education: From Research to Practice." *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 8(1): 51–65. doi:10.1023/A:1008891628375.
- Jones, A. and Moreland, J. 2004. "Enhancing Practicing Primary School Teachers' Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Technology." *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 14(2): 121–140. doi: 10.1023/B:ITDE.0000026513.48316.39.
- Jones, A., Buntting, C., and de Vries, M. J. 2013. "The Developing Field of Technology Education: A Review to look Forward." *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 23(2): 191–212. doi: 10.1007/s10798-011-9174-4.
- Kennedy, A. 2005. "Models of Continuing Professional Development: A Framework for Analysis." *Journal of In-service Education* 31(2): 235–250. doi: 10.1080/13674580500200277.
- Lee, K. 2011. "Looking Back, to Look Forward: Using Traditional Cultural Examples to Explain Contemporary Ideas in Technology Education." *Journal of Technology Education* 22(2): 42-52.
- Macdonald, D. 2003. "Curriculum Change and the Post-modern World: Is the School Curriculum-Reform Movement an Anachronism?" *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35(2): 139. doi:10.1080/00220270210157605.
- McCormick, R. 1990. "The Evolution of Current Practice in Technology." A paper prepared for the NATO Advanced Research Workshop, Eindhoven, Netherlands. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/education/news/heconf/presentations/index.shtml> (accessed 24 March 2015).
- McCormick, R. 2004. "Issues of Learning and Knowledge in Technology Education." *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 14(1): 21–44. doi: 10.1023/B:ITDE.0000007359.81781.7c.
- McDonald, L. 2012. "Learning, Motivation and Transfer: Successful Teacher Professional Development." *Teacher Education and Practice* 25(2): 271–286.
- McDonald, L. 2014. "Planning for Impact: Transfer of Training Audit." *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 141: 129–13. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.05.024.
- Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture 2004. *Food and Textiles Technology Curriculum Statement Years 9–13 Sāmoa Secondary Schools Curriculum*. Apia, Sāmoa: MESC

- Mishra, P. and Koehler, M. 2006. "Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge: A Framework for Teacher Knowledge." *The Teachers College Record* 108(6): 1017–1054. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9620.2006.00684.x.
- Owen-Jackson, G. and Rutland, M. 2014. "Food Technology in the School Curriculum in England: Is it a Curriculum for the Twenty-first Century?" *International Journal of Design and Technology Education*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10798-014-9293-9> (accessed 14 November 2014).
- Pendergast, D. 2006. "Sustaining the Home Economics Profession in New Times." Paper presented at the University of Aberdeen: Home Economics Conference, Dundee, May 2006.
- Poskitt, J. 2005. "Towards a Model of New Zealand School-based Teacher Professional Development." *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work* 2(2): 136–151.
- Ross, J.C. and Bruce, C. 2007. "Professional Development Effects on Teacher Efficacy." *Educational Journal of Research* (101)1: 50–60. doi:10.3200/JOER.101.1.50-60.
- Shulman, L. S. 1986. "Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching." *Educational Researcher* 15: 4–14. doi:10.3102/0013189X015002004
- Smith, D. and Lovat, T. 1991. *Curriculum: Action on Reflection*. Wentworth Falls NS: Social Science Press.
- Soti, F and Mutch, C. 2011. "Teaching and Learning Food and Textiles in Sāmoa: Curriculum implementation as a contested process." *Pacific Asian Education* 23 (2): 89–100.
- Soti, F. and McDonald, L. 2012. "Perspectives on the Food and Textiles Technology Curriculum in Sāmoa." *Journal of the Home Economics Institute of Australia* 19(3): 23–30.
- Thompson, D., Bell, T., Andreae, P. and Robins, A. 2013. "The Role of Teachers in Implementing Curriculum Changes." Pp. 245-250 in *Proceedings of the 44th Association for Computing Machinery Technical Symposium on Computer Science Education (SIGCSE '13)*: 6–9 Mar 2013. Denver, CO, USA. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1145/2445196.2445272>.
- Timperley, H., Wilson, A., Barrar, and H. Fung, I. 2007. *Teacher Professional Learning and Development: Best Evidence Synthesis Iteration (BES)*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education. [http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0017/16901/TPLandDBESentire.pdp](http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/16901/TPLandDBESentire.pdp) (accessed 24 March 2015).
- Timperley, H. S. 2011. *Realizing the Power of Professional Learning*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Turner, A. and Seemann, K. 2012. "Food Innovation and Technacy Genre Theory: Implications for Teaching and Learning". Pp. 104–114 in *Current Trends in Technology and Society* (Volume 1), ed. R. Van der Zwan. Brisbane: Primrose Hall Publishing Group.
- Vaiolati, T. M. 2006. "Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research." *Waikato Journal of Education* 12: 21–34.
- Vega, V. 2013. *Teacher Development Research Review: Evidence-based Practices and Programs*. EDUTOPIA. <http://www.edutopia.org/teacher-development-research-evidence-based-practices-programs> (accessed 1 April 2015).

- Vescio, V., Ross, D., and Adams, A. 2008. "A Review of Research on the Impact of Professional Learning Communities on Teaching Practice and Student Learning." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 24 (1): 80–91. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2007.01.004.
- West, P. 1994. "The Concept of the Learning Organisation." *Journal of European Industrial Training* 18(1): 15–21.
- Williams, P. J. 2008. "Using DEPTH as a Framework for the Determination of Teacher Professional Development." *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 18(3): 275–284. doi: 10.1007/s10798-007-9047-z





## Pastors' Daughters: Boundary Ambiguity or the Fishbowl Effect?

Bernadette Samau and Penelope Schoeffel, National University of Sāmoa

### Abstract

*Many studies have shown that the family of clergy experience specific challenges, particularly in relation to the maintenance of boundaries between their private lives and the individual needs of each member of a clergy family, and the public pastoral roles of a church minister. In this paper we review this literature and ask a question: do the challenges experienced among clergy families in Western societies resonate with those of clergy families in Sāmoa? To explore this question we present the results of in-depth interviews with nine Sāmoan women who grew up as daughters of pastors of different denominations serving in both Sāmoan villages and in Sāmoan communities overseas. We conclude that culture plays a particularly significant role with regard to public expectations of the daughters of clergy in Sāmoan communities. Because the distinction between public and private life is less well defined in Sāmoan culture, the concept of boundary ambiguity has limited heuristic value in understanding the situation of daughters and families of village-based clergy although it may be more relevant to the circumstances of Sāmoan clergy families overseas.*

**Keywords:** Sāmoa, clergy, church communities, family, boundary ambiguity, gender relations.

### Introduction: The Challenges of Clergy Life

The challenges of clergy life have been widely researched by scholars in the fields of theology and psychology (for example, Blackbird and Wright, 1985; Lee and Balswick 1989; Morris and Blanton 1998; Ostrander et al. 1994). Studies of society and religion have attempted to conceptualise more broadly the social dynamics of family life as encountered in the context of pastoral ministry to include children of the parsonage (for example Lee 1988; Lee and Balswick 1989; Stevenson 1982). These studies look at the impact of public expectations and the social roles of the clergy on their families, noting as Morris and Blanton (1994) have done that stress resulting from the expected role and status of a church minister in the community is not just experienced by the pastor but also by his (and in some countries, her) family members. In this paper we extend these insights to the situation in Sāmoa, with a focus on pastors' children, and to pastors' daughters in particular.

In all Christian communities the clergy play an important community role in assisting individuals and families, as well as performing their religious office. Among these roles, pastors are expected to provide a model of a "Christian home" (Anderson 1998). In Sāmoa the mainstream churches (Congregational, Catholic, Mormon, Methodist) to which 72 percent of the population are affiliated do not ordain women (Samoa Bureau of Statistics 2011). The Catholic Church has married catechists in charge of all village-based Catholic congregations; the Methodist church appoints ordained pastors; and in the Congregational Church each village congregation chooses and appoints its own ordained pastor on a contractual basis. The Mormon (the Church of

Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints) is led by chosen members of its laity and has no clergy. For over a century in Sāmoa, Congregational and Methodist pastors, and Catholic catechists and their wives have been specifically trained to fulfil the expectation that they represent an ideal of Christian marriage and family life in their communities (Schoeffel 2011).

The pastor himself (and in some instances herself) sees his “profession is not just a career of his choosing, but as a ‘calling from God’” (Anderson 1998: 394). In Sāmoa the pastor is seen as a representative of God on earth while his wife is seen as the Christian model of ‘helpmeet’ (Genesis 2:18) and a supporter for her husband’s vocation (Proverbs 31: 10-31) or as expressed in Sāmoan, his *faletua*, referring to the “house at the back” where all the domestic work is attended to. In the mainstream churches a man may not become a minister unless he is married. In Sāmoan cultural contexts most women who marry clergymen understand that their role is also a vocation, although it is not one that is formally rewarded. In the mainstream churches of Sāmoa, pastors’ wives wear distinctive dresses that set them apart from other women, marking their special status and earning them respect that is derived from the sacred status of their husbands.

But what of the pastor’s children? Unlike pastors’ wives, they have not chosen their role and most are born into it. Our question was whether there are cross cultural similarities between the issues faced by pastors’ children in Sāmoan and non-Sāmoan contexts, and the extent to which there were particular issues for the daughters of pastors in the Sāmoan context. This paper is by no means an attempt to criticise the churches or their pastors or church members; our aim is to contextualise the experiences of pastors’ daughters in comparison to analyses of pastors’ children in non-Sāmoan contexts, and to consider whether Sāmoan culture is a significant variable in the nature of the experiences.

### **Children of the Clergy in Non-Sāmoan Contexts**

One of the key issues for families of the clergy in Western and non-Sāmoan contexts has been described as “boundary ambiguity.” Boundaries can be defined as “invisible barriers that surround individuals and subsystems, regulating the amount of contact with others” (Nichols and Schwartz 1995: 214). In the context of clergy families it refers to the margin between the personal characteristics and aspirations of children of a minister, and the role attributed to them by virtue of their parent’s position. In the family context, it refers to the margin between private family life and their openness and availability to the community. Boundary ambiguity has been shown to characterise problems experienced by pastors’ children in many Christian communities (Blackbird and Wright 1985). They face expectations about their behaviour and their home life that would be considered inappropriate or even unthinkable if they were extended to the families of other professional people in a community (Lee and Balswick 1989).

The vagueness of boundaries between ministry work and family life has been shown to restrict “family only” time because it crosses many aspects of family privacy (Lee 1999; Lee and Balswick, 1989). Boundary ambiguity refers to dilemmas resulting from the intrusive expectation that clergy families are always ‘open’ and available to everyone, at any time. No private family time can be counted upon because they must always be prepared when people show up unexpectedly at the house, often late at night or early in the morning.

According to these studies, the maintenance of appropriate boundaries between the role obligations of the ministry and the minister’s family life is important for healthy, functioning family systems. Boundary ambiguity occurs when clergy families experience stress resulting from coping with high expectations, lack of family time, being in the public eye and loneliness from being in a sense an outsider in the community served by their parent (de Vries 1984; Mickey, Wilson and Asmore 1991). As Nichols and Schwartz (1995: 240) point out, “in healthy families, boundaries are clear enough to protect the separateness and the autonomy of individuals and subsystems, and permeable enough to ensure mutual support and affections.” When boundaries are firm and clear, they serve to protect the autonomy of the family’s subsystems and the entire family unit. When whole family systems are not protected by secure boundaries, the individuals within the system may be placed in vulnerable positions and may not have the opportunity to develop healthy patterns of relating and functioning (Nichols and Schwartz 1995). Stevenson (1982: 179) comments that:

*Clergy children are perhaps the most deeply affected of all the church's offspring by the values and structures of the church. Most of them are reared in homes owned by the church and set aside for their and their parents' use. They are more likely to be involved in the church's activities than other church-raised children.*

Another issue was that of high expectations. As Lee observed (1999) “ministers’ children are often expected to be better behaved and more spiritually mature than other children in the congregation their age”. Stevenson, in his study *Children of the Parsonage* (1982) discovered that pastors and their wives were deeply concerned with the effects of parsonage life and the existence of more stringent behavioural standards often applied to parsonage children. Reflecting on the tendency of some ministers’ children to reject the norms of piety and conformity expected of them, Anderson (1998) suggests that if the children of clergy had experienced more family time, less extra expectations and clearer boundaries between church and home, they would be more religiously committed and less rebellious. A study carried out by Darling, Hill and McWey (2004), which examined families of the clergy in US culture, highlighted how common it was for the needs of the pastors’ spouses and families to be unaddressed. The image of a fishbowl is attributed to life in the parsonage because the family of the clergy are scrutinized, evaluated, monitored and judged by the church community.

### Pastor's Daughters in Sāmoan Contexts

Our analysis of the Sāmoan context draws on interviews conducted *talanoa*-style (Vaioleti 2006) with nine women of different ages and denominational backgrounds who had grown up in clergy families in Sāmoan communities in Sāmoa (six) and overseas (three). By way of background, we note that the expected behaviour of all Sāmoan children is that they should serve and obey their parents and put the interests of the parents first. In this world view there is no boundary between the parents' vocations and their private family life. A pastor, his wife and children all have roles determined by their status in the community and the expectation that they should be a model Christian family. Pastors are nearly always 'outsiders' in the villages where they serve, responsible for their spiritual welfare, and (as is expected) aloof from its politics. They and their families are expected to maintain a certain social distance befitting their sacred status. As one of our informants said of her experience in a village parish, "you are excluded from youth activities such as volleyball, and aside from church and Sunday school, you don't mingle with the church members kids." Another spoke of her loneliness:

*I'm the only girl in our family, so life as a pastor's daughter often brought me to tears. It was hard to trust anyone and I often felt lonely because I was not allowed to be with my friends. People always expected me to know everything and to do everything asked of me. In fear of my parents I couldn't express how I really felt about church members to anyone.*

Pastors' children must avoid any non-conforming behaviour that could reflect poorly on the calling of their parents. In a modern society where young women have opportunities and choices that their mothers did not have, pastors' daughters are still likely to experience more than usual social pressure to conform to a restricted female role. Sāmoan social norms are more permissive towards boys than girls, so that girls feel particularly obliged to avoid disappointing their parents and to protect their reputation, and to avoid being talked about by church members. As one young woman said:

*People always smile and approach you in a respectful way, but the extent of how much that smile is genuine is always questionable because many church members are such pretenders. The most stressful part of being a pastor's daughter is trying to live up to the many expectations that come with the role. People expect you to walk, dress, talk, sit or even smile in a certain way. It is sad that they don't expect such high standards from their own kids and expect that from us after all we are not saints.*

Other women recalled the restrictions of life and of parish scrutiny that creates what one referred to as an "anvil-like weight" in relation to the denial of personal aspirations:

*There were certainly many limitations especially in terms of what you can wear ... Being a pastor's daughter not only limits what you can do, it makes you feel like*

*you are stuck in a tiny highly guarded living space. Many times, the church members were stricter on me than my own parents. I didn't really have a problem with people visiting all the time as I like to serve guests. My parents knew I was a bit of a rebel and I know I am probably an example of a 'holy terror', but the biggest challenge for me was trying to live up to the expectations of people because in the end, people would always blame my parents for my actions.*

Several recalled the expectation that the pastor's daughter should be both knowledgeable and serve as a role model for other girls and young women:

*Not only is there an expectation to know everything about the Bible, there is also the expectation to know everything about our Sāmoan culture.*

*I agree that life as a pastor's daughter is not an easy one; you are expected to be a good role model for all the other girls in the church. People see your parents as sacred and holy and also expect that to reflect through their children. Being a pastor's daughter limits what you do, what you wear, where you go, and so forth; so where ever you go, you are silent all the way and you act in such a way to mirror the expectations of people. For me, regardless of what I wanted to do, I had to consider the fact that my actions would reflect on my parents and their ministry work, so I had to be well behaved at all times.*

Others referred to the ambivalence with which a pastor's daughter is viewed by the church community; there is a sense that because she is privileged she is obliged to conform to a set of very high expectations:

*While there is an expectation that in the community that the pastor's daughter should behave at all times as a virtuous angel, there is also the idea that she is spoiled and indulged, a potential holy terror. Accordingly, some parishioners wait hopefully for the pastor's daughter to make a wrong move, allowing them to gossip and publicly gloat over her perceived failures.*

Similar pressures were reported by two informants who grew up in New Zealand as daughters of Sāmoan ministers serving Sāmoan congregations. As one of them put it:

*Life as a pastor's daughter is never easy; firstly people judge your parents based on your behaviour so that was enough to make me realize I couldn't socialise the way I wanted to most times. You can never make everyone happy and no matter how well behaved you are, there is always a negative comment made somewhere. Growing up in a family with many pastors, we were disciplined from the early years to always be well behaved.*

The pastor's house belongs to the church congregation in the mainstream churches and the pastor and his family are expected to receive and welcome guests at any time. A high school student spoke of the demands on her time:

*Life as a pastor's daughter is a life full of hardships. The things I dislike the most about this life is that people tend to visit all the time and it is expected that I stay around to make tea, cook, clean, and make more tea until they leave. Most nights my study is disrupted because of these home visits and as much as I would like to tell the visitors to stop coming in the late hours of the night, I can't because it's not*

*the way I was raised and I don't want to behave in any way that would be considered rude or disrespectful by members of our church.*

While respecting the ministry of their parents, all those interviewed said the most difficult aspect of their experience was living in a metaphorical “fishbowl”. This places particular pressure on those who grew up in Sāmoan village manses. These, unlike manses in suburbs overseas, are in the public eye because the manse is usually located near the church and close to the homes of all the members of the church congregation belonging to the same village. All comings and goings by the pastor’s family are open to observation by parish members. All our informants reported how closely watched they were and some described how they would try to avoid this:

*There were many moments when I had my hair pulled by my mother for jumping the window to go out with friends; I was still able to run off and enjoy my teenage years because my older sisters were able to cover for me.*

*I was an active sports player and would often jump my bedroom window to attend functions only to find that my parents would later be told about my adventures by people in our church. In my early twenties I started drinking and smoking but again everything was done in secrecy. Members of our church saw me as a disobedient problem child.*

Such restrictions on young women in the Sāmoan context are commonplace. The most scandalous thing that a pastor’s daughter could do would be to become pregnant while unmarried. Protecting the virginity of high ranking girls is an ancient Sāmoan tradition, and, in the modern context, in mainstream protestant churches, a pastor’s daughter is the highest ranking girl in her community. This would disgrace any Sāmoan family, but many times more in the case of the daughter of a serving pastor, who would have to apologise to his congregation, and in the case of some churches, would risk dismissal. Yet two informants reported that the counsel they received from their parents to guide adulthood was more spiritual than practical. Closely guarded daughters of the village-based clergy are often at greater than usual risk when they leave the “fishbowl” to go to university or other training, because they are so unaccustomed to personal freedom, as one of our informants put it:

*I didn't know there was a bigger world out there until I left home to attend university. I went from living a controlled life to living an out of control life. I didn't know how to behave at times.*

Another common theme in the narratives of our informants was the expectation that they will follow in their parents’ footsteps. They noted the perception that the children of pastors should follow in the footsteps of their parents, sons becoming clergymen themselves, and daughters marrying clergymen. Pastors’ children are usually, like their parents, well educated; some are high achievers, and in the modern world daughters, like sons have many choices and opportunities for careers and lifestyles. Many Sāmoan children envy the children of the pastors, seeing only the high

status attributed to them, and the gifts of food and money going into their houses, but not the pressures of public scrutiny and lack of family privacy.

*My dad became a minister mostly because his father wanted him to become one. As the eldest of my dad's children, I ended up marrying a pastor partly to ease the disappointment my dad had in my brother for not wanting to follow his footsteps and partly because I wanted to carry on the family tradition. Now that I am a pastor's wife also serving [her father's] church, I am also hoping that one of my children would find it in his/her heart to also serve the Lord.*

Two informants who had lived overseas mentioned that they had felt neglected due to their parent's vocation:

*We moved from here to there, pushed to different baby sitters, as children we never had that mother and father relationship because my parents were always busy with the church. My parents at all times put the church and the needs of the church members before our needs and just last night I said to my husband that my relationship with my parents and siblings is very dysfunctional.*

*I experienced feelings of abandonment because of the lack of quality family time. The much needed parent-daughter relationship was clouded by the pressures of my parents' ministry and the guidance I received for adult life provided for a spiritual rather than a practical context. My parent's ministry determined every aspect of my parent's life and family quality time together; even on holidays there was always the stressful presence of other people to be considered.*

Reflecting on the positive effects, several informants reported that they enjoyed the public attention they received and the opportunities to observe and learn leadership roles.

*On a positive note, I have learned so much from the ministry. The leadership skills I acquired from the ministry have enabled me to be the confident leader that I am today. There are many qualities I apply to everyday life and work that were taught in the ministry and although there was little freedom and many sacrifices made, life as pastor's daughter is an unforgettable experience.*

## Conclusion

There are echoes in modern Sāmoa religious culture with that of the ancient past. Over the past 170 years the clergy in Sāmoa has replaced the sacred chiefs (*ali'i paia*) of ancient pre-Christian times. Today the clergy, particularly those of the long established Congregational and Methodist churches, occupy a residual status from those times which carries with it many privileges. In Sāmoan village parishes, where the mainstream Congregational, Catholic and Methodist churches predominate, the congregations have a responsibility to provide for their pastor and in the Congregational church, this includes providing for him financially. As God's representative, the pastor often enjoys a higher standard of living in terms of the house and furnishings and even food provided for him and his family. In old Sāmoa the sons of the sacred chiefs (*manaia*) were

permitted many liberties but not their daughters (*taupou*) who were expected to remain virgins until they made an important marriage alliance (Schoeffel 2011). Some echoes of those days linger on into modern times in relation to social expectations about the daughters of pastors; like the carefully guarded *taupou* of the olden days, their high status in their parents' church community obliges them to behave with virtue, dignity and circumspection.

The interviews show that the findings on children of clergy in non-Sāmoan contexts, resonates with the Sāmoan experience particularly in the case of women whose fathers served Sāmoan communities overseas. In both the Sāmoan and the non-Sāmoan contexts children of clergy have negative experiences which include the intrusiveness of the congregations served by their parents, the pressure of presumptive expectations that a pastor's family should display certain ideal behavioural and personality characteristics, the sense of entitlement among leaders of a congregation of their right to be critical of the personal characteristics and behaviour of members of a clergy family, and "boundary ambiguity" (Lee 1999). However we suggest that the concept of boundary ambiguity has limited application to understanding the pressures experienced by Sāmoan girls growing up as children of village-based clergy. We also suggest that notions of boundaries between 'private time' and 'family time' do not conceptually exist for most Sāmoans. Only the three informants, all of whom had lived outside Sāmoa referred to a lack of 'family time' or reported issues of parent-daughter relationships. Boundaries between public and private, between work life and family life are accepted in modern urban societies but are only gradually becoming recognised in Sāmoa among those who have experienced more individual ways of life than are common there. In terms of traditional Sāmoan attitudes, the concept of privacy and family time might be considered alien.

Most Sāmoans live in extended family households and live lives surrounded with extensive community interaction. As Shore (1982: 136-141) explains the Sāmoan concept of "person" is defined only in the context of social relationships associated with the roles and status of each individual. The expected personality traits of individuals, as well as their behaviour are governed by their social roles.

Rather than the boundary ambiguity reported in studies of non-Sāmoan contexts, it was the lack of any boundaries at all that our informants from village-based parishes emphasised. Others spoke of behavioural expectations of pastors' daughters as being life-long, some saying that they continued even after their parents retired or passed away. This was emphasised by one woman who spoke of the burden of her parents' expectation that even though she was married and living in town far from her father's parish, she should look after several members of his congregation who needed a place to stay in town. Like several other informants she said she struggles with resentment about the obligation to do her duty to her father and his ministry, feeling, as she put it,



that "... the calling of the father and the mother need not be the calling of the daughter."

Our small sample varied by age, geographic location, culture and environment but these were all of minor significance in relation to the common experience of these pastors' daughters. What was of most concern to them was parish scrutiny and expectations, of coping with restrictions and social isolation, especially in adolescence, when teenagers typically want to conform and be like others in their age group. The issue most reported was that high expectations, if not lived up to, would lead to criticism. This would reflect badly on the parents and could undermine their role and their status in their community. Their concern was the burden of duty to their parents to suppress their own wishes and the pressure of living up to expectations imposed on them by the church community. In comparison with the studies of non-Sāmoan experiences that we have cited, their narratives illustrate that while there are many common experiences among families of clergy in Christian communities, some are culturally specific.

In our *talanoa* we discerned that the daughters of clergymen who grew up in village parishes were more accepting of the social restrictions placed upon them. Although they referred to their exasperation with the performative demands of their father's vocation, and the "fishbowl effect", they were more accepting of the notion that the whole family shared the responsibility for that vocation. They accepted that they must play the expected role of a pastors' daughter, just as their mothers played their roles as pastors' wives. Women who grew up in overseas Sāmoan communities reported more stressful experiences; they had a greater sense of themselves as being rightfully distinct from their father's ministry, and a greater consciousness of "boundary ambiguity".

## References

- Anderson, C. 1998. "The Experience of Growing Up in a Minister's Home and the Religious Commitment of the Adult Child of a Minister." *Pastoral Psychology* 46(6): 393–397.
- Blackbird, T. and Wright, P. 1985. "Pastors' Friendships: Project Overview and an Exploration of the Pedestal Effect." *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 13: 274–283.
- Darling, C., Wayne Hill, E. and McWey, L. 2004. "Understanding Stress and Quality of Life for Clergy and Clergy Spouses." *Stress and Health* 20: 261–277.
- de Vries, V. 1984. "Pastors' Wives take a Look at Their Kids." *Partnership*: 24–30.
- Lee, C. 1988. "Toward a Social Ecology of the Ministers' Family." *Pastoral Psychology* 36(4): 249–259.
- Lee, C. 1999. "Specifying Intrusive Demands and Their Outcomes in Congregational Ministry: A Report on the Ministry Demands Inventory." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 38: 477–489.

- Lee, C. and Balswick, J. 1989. *Life in a Glass House: The Minister's Family in its Unique Social Context*. Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan.
- Mickey, P., Wilson, R. and Ashmore, G. 1991. "Denominational Variations on the Role of the Clergy Family." *Pastoral Psychology* 39(5): 287–294.
- Morris, M. and Blanton, P. 1994. "Denominational Perceptions of Stress and the Provision of Support Services for Clergy Families." *Pastoral Psychology* 42: 345–363.
- Morris, M. and Blanton, P. 1998. "Predictors of Family Functioning Among Clergy and Spouses: Influences of Social Context and Perceptions of Work-related Stressors." *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 7: 27–41.
- Nichols, M. and Schwartz, R. 1995. *Family Therapy*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Ostrander, D., Henry, C. and Fournier, D. 1994. "Stress, Family Resources, Coping, and Adaptation in Ministers' Families." *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* 13: 50–67.
- Samoa Bureau of Statistics. 2011. *Population and Housing Census 2011*. Apia: Samoa Bureau of Statistics.
- Stevenson, R. 1982. "Children of the Parsonage." *Pastoral Psychology* 30(3): 179–186.
- Schoeffel, P. 2011. "Sexual Morality in Sāmoa and its Historical Transformations." Pp. 222–231 in *Sexualities in Anthropology*. eds. A.P. Lyons and H. D. Lyons. Maldon MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Shore, B. 1982. *Salailua: A Sāmoan Mystery*. New York: Colombia University Press.
- Vaiioleti, T. M. 2006. "Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research." *Waikato Journal of Education* 12: 2006
- Ward, R. G. and Ashcroft, P. 1998. *Sāmoa: Mapping the Diversity*. Suva: Bluebird Printery.

# Measuring Gender-Based Violence: Towards Improved Services for Victims in Sāmoa

Ramona Boodoosingh, PhD candidate, National University of Sāmoa

## Abstract

*Combating gender-based violence (GBV) and providing services for victims requires a multi-sectoral approach to data collections as well as service provision. This paper reviews definitions and approaches to GBV and the sources of data in Sāmoa. It argues that data collection by different agencies should be improved and suggest that the Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics should be given the resources and responsibility for gathering relevant data from the Ministry of Justice and Courts, and the Ministry of Health on an annual basis and providing a summary report for the use of the various stakeholders in government and non-government sectors to ensure continuity of policy development and provision of programmes.*

**Keywords:** Sāmoa, gender-based violence, data, policy development.

## Introduction

This paper will seek to highlight the important role data plays in understanding GBV in Sāmoa and its importance when deciding upon the services needed for survivors. GBV is a catch-all term that refers to violence that is directed at an individual based on his or her biological sex, gender identity, or perceived adherence to socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity. It includes physical, sexual, and psychological abuse; threats; coercion; arbitrary deprivation of liberty; and economic deprivation, whether occurring in public or private life (USAID 2014: 1). The 2013 *Commission on the Status of Women Agreed Conclusions on the Elimination and Prevention of All Forms of Violence Against Women and Girls* stated in item 11: “violence against women” means any act of GBV that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women and girls, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UN Women 2013a: 33).

GBV is a global issue. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2013: 2) 35 percent of women worldwide experienced either physical and or/sexual partner violence or non-partner sexual violence. This figure has risen to 70 percent of women having experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime by an intimate partner in some national studies. In the Pacific the levels of violence are high. An estimated 68 percent of ever-partnered women in Kiribati reported experiencing at least one act of physical or sexual violence or both by an intimate partner and in the Solomon Islands 64 percent of ever-partnered women aged 15 to 49 reported physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner (UN Women 2012: 8).

According to the WHO (2014: 3) women who have experienced intimate partner violence are twice as likely to experience depression, almost twice as likely to have alcohol use disorders, 16 percent more likely to have a low birth weight baby, and 1.5

times more likely to acquire HIV and 1.5 times more likely to contract syphilis infection, chlamydia or gonorrhoea, and 38 percent of all murders of women globally were reported as committed by their intimate partners. Children who have witnessed violence in the home are also more likely to become victims and perpetrators of violence as adults (UN Women 2012: 8).

Another dimension of the problem is the economic cost. The direct and indirect cost of GBV includes lost economic productivity, health care costs and a negative impact on the quality of life. In Fiji the estimated cost was US \$135.8 million or 7 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2002 (UN Women 2012: 8). Duvvury et al. (2013: 22) cited data gathered by the Centres for Disease Control in the US in 2003 which estimated that in the US in 2003 the cost was \$5.8 billion dollars in health care costs, missed work days and foregone earnings. This was estimated at 0.065 percent of the GDP. To indicate the comparative magnitude of the cost, in that year 1.56 percent of the GDP was spent on primary education (Duvvury et al. 2013: 22). Duvvury et al. (2013: 23) also cited data gathered by Walby in 2004 which estimated that in the UK there were 626,000 incidents of violence which was 2.8 percent occurrence of violence and the cost of £23 billion per year was attributed to the cost of service provision, economic output and human and emotional costs. This was estimated to be 1.91 percent of GDP compared to which the cost of primary education was 1.15 percent of GDP (Duvvury et al. 2013: 23).

### **How has the World Responded?**

There have been many strategies employed by countries as they continue to recognise the importance of addressing GBV. Two thirds of the countries around the world have laws which are specific to domestic violence; however, many countries do not clearly state that marital rape is illegal (UN Women 2012: 9). Many countries have ratified UN Treaties on women's equity and the rights of the child. To date 187 out of 194 countries have ratified the *Convention to End all Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW); and 194 countries are parties to the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Under Section C of the *2013 Commission on the Status of Women Agreed Conclusions on the Elimination and Prevention of All Forms of Violence Against Women and Girls* it was recommended that adequate resources services be established to serve the needs of the survivors of violence against women and girls including the police and justice sector, legal aid, health care services (sexual and reproductive health, medical, psychological and other counseling services), state and independent shelters, counselling centres, and public housing services among other services (UN Women 2013a: 12).

It was also noted by the UN Special Rapporteur (Manjoo 2013: 19) that the state could fulfill this individual due diligence obligation of protection by providing women with services such as telephone hotlines, health care counselling centres, legal

assistance, shelters, restraining orders, and financial aid. Many developed countries have the financial capacity to support welfare programs which provide support throughout the process of transition to a new life. However for developing countries this cost is prohibitive. According to UN Women (2014: 13), the availability of services is limited for survivors, especially in remote areas. What has become clear is that the issue of GBV cannot be solved by the application of any single solution; it is a complex multifaceted issue with many contributing factors including culture and societal norms, social class and economic status as well as other factors such as drug and alcohol use (World Health Organisation 2012: 3–5, 8).

### **Sāmoa's Commitment to Tackling Gender Based Violence**

Sāmoa is a small island developing state in the Pacific with a population of approximately 187,000 spread across the two major islands of Upolu and Savai'i. According to United Nations development criteria, Samoa graduated from Least Developing Country Status in January 2014 (Government of Samoa 2014: 2). As a relatively young state having gained independence in 1962, Sāmoa has made many strides towards placing GBV on the national agenda. This includes changes initiated by the government, the private sector, the nongovernmental sector and different donors.

There are a number of state initiatives. A Domestic Violence Police Unit was established in 2007 to handle domestic violence matters and to handle submissions for protection orders. There are two main police stations: one on Upolu and one on Savai'i with six outposts on Upolu and three on Savai'i. There is a female officer at each outpost to take reports from women who come in. All cases of sexual assault or an offence which carries a sentence of five years or greater are transferred to the Criminal Investigation Division and are seen by the Supreme Court. Matters which remain with the Domestic Violence Unit are seen by the Family Court; previously these types of matters were seen by the District Court on specifically allocated days. The Family Court officially commenced operations in June 2014 with the passage of the *Family Court Act*; however, it unofficially commenced operations towards the end of 2013. There are only two other Family Courts in the Pacific Region: New Zealand and Australia. The Government of Sāmoa has included in its *Strategic Plan 2012–2016* an increased reporting of crime and a reduction in crime levels, community policing programs enforced and a promotion of customary based justice and the formal justice system as some of its key indicators (Ministry of Finance 2012: 13).

Domestic legislation has been passed which covers GBV such as the criminalisation marital rape under the *Crimes Act* of 2013. However, there are certain aspects of the Act which are contradictory and/or do not consider the power relationships in GBV. According to the Act any individual of the age of sixteen or older engaged in incest can be charged. However, this does not factor in the power differential in these types of relationships and Sāmoa put out a draft of the *Child Rights Bill* in 2014 for public

comment and within the Bill, a child is considered up to the age of 18. Another important piece of domestic legislation which was passed in 2013 was the *Family Safety Act 2013* which includes a No Drop Policy provision (Duty to Prosecute) where complaints filed with the Domestic Violence Unit cannot be withdrawn by the individual and must be processed by the Unit. Should the officer fail to pursue the matter, they will face disciplinary action.

The National Human Rights Institute was established in December of 2013 under the Office of the Ombudsman and among its responsibilities, it will conduct reviews of existing and proposed legislation to determine if they adhere to human rights principles and make recommendations based on those reviews. In the event that there is a systemic or widespread situation where human rights are violated, an inquiry will be conducted and recommendations made (Ombudsman 2013).

Sāmoa has also shown commitment to international conventions with the ratification of CEDAW in 1992 and the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* in 1994. Sāmoa is current with CEDAW reporting and submission of CEDAW Shadow reports (prepared by Non-Governmental Organisations). The Sāmoa Law Reform Commission is presently conducting an assessment of CEDAW compliance. The draft Child Rights Bill was put out for public comment mid-2014 and comments are currently being compiled by staff within the Division of Women within the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development (MWCSD). Under the MWCSD there are also National Policies for Women, Children and Youth.

There have been a number of other public initiatives including media campaigns, project grants and community awareness action. The Transformational Leadership Development Programme has been an initiative of the United Nations Development Programme that began in 2013 with three week-long workshops. These trained a group of participants from various walks of life on ways to initiate changes to reduce violence against women and increase the empowerment of women. One of the major outcomes has been an increase in the visibility of GBV as an issue that is covered and addressed in editorials in local newspapers, particularly the main daily, *Samoa Observer*.

For many years non-governmental organisations (NGOs), as social support providers, have been expected to take the lead in addressing GBV. As in other developing countries with limited state resources and social welfare provisions, NGOs are funded by public donations and development assistance partners, and have taken the lead in providing advocacy and services. In Sāmoa several organisations address GBV and currently the most prominent of these is the Sāmoa Victim Support Group which provides a helpline service for persons to call in for assistance, temporary shelter for survivors of abuse in their villages, shelter for women made pregnant through rape or incest, shelter for their babies and for children who have been sexually abused or placed in the care of SVSG while their abused mother seeks alternative housing. In Sāmoa there is no shelter for abused women. Other NGOs such as the GOSHEN trust

provides care for low risk patients in need of mental care (referred by the State National Health Service) and others provide counselling for depressed and suicidal patients, such as *Fa'ataua Le Ola*. However, there is little accessible documentation about these organisations and the services which they provide. Some NGOs are utilizing the radio stations and television as avenues to raise issues of family violence (which includes GBV and violent punishment of children). For example the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) has an 'Open the Door' programme (a media campaign to foster improved communication within families on sensitive issues) and the *Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa* (EFKS) church-owned TV station provided free televised coverage for the Ending Violence in Sāmoa Roundtable (a discussion forum hosted by UN Women regarding this issue). There are also grants now available specifically targeted to the UN goal of 'Ending Violence against Women' such as the Pacific Grant Funding Facility run by UN Women that are open to applicants whose projects are focused on this area (UN Women 2013c). Sāmoa Victim Support Group, previously mentioned, was a recipient of this funding facility.

### **The Problem of Data in Sāmoa**

The Government of Sāmoa has noted the importance of statistical data on violence against women and children within the *Sāmoa Strategy for the Development of Statistics 2011–2021* which highlighted Statistics against Women and Children as priority statistics for 2014/2015 (Government of Sāmoa 2012: 34). The lack of segregated data to enable comprehensive gender analysis was noted as a challenge in the *Millennium Development Goals Second Progress report 2010 of Sāmoa* in addressing violence against women (Government of Sāmoa 2010: 30). Recommendations from the report include the institutional strengthening of the Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics, to enable better data for analysis.

Because GBV is an extremely sensitive issue, it is likely to factor into the reticence about reporting and disclosure by survivors. According to the *Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study* (SPC 2006: 49), 91.4 percent of never abused respondents and 92.3 percent of abused respondents thought family problems should be kept private. Women who have been abused may also not report because they are worried about the consequences of shaming their family; although abused respondents also cite personal embarrassment as a factor. 41 per cent said they did not report because it would be bad for their family's reputation (SPC 2006: 43). Most respondents accepted that violence was normal (72.5 percent) and this was the reason given for not seeking help by abused respondents (SPC 2006: 43).

Statistical information may not be gathered systematically due to the financial cost and human resource availability. Relevant data is spread across different ministries and agencies and there is no system to collect it in a centralised repository, or analyse it.

Examples of relevant institutions that can generate categories of data needed to better understand and prevent GBV include the following:

- The National Health Service: the number of women who go for emergency care at the National Hospital with domestic violence identified as the underlying cause; the number of these women who reported the abuse to the Domestic Violence Unit; the proportion of cases referred by doctors to the Domestic Violence Unit; the proportion of cases that are admitted to hospital and are seen by the social workers at the Social Services Unit.
- The Domestic Violence Unit within the Police: the number of cases referred to the Criminal Investigation Division (CID) due to the type of offence or severity of offence.
- The Division of Correction, Enforcement and Maintenance in the Ministry of Justice and Court Administration: information from perpetrators of domestic violence about underlying triggers for violence; information from survivors about the impact of the violence, and the services which they need; and information on the outcomes of family conferences that have taken place on place upon the instruction of the Family Court judge.

### **Surveys Conducted in Sāmoa**

The first research report on domestic violence was conducted by the NGO *Mapusaga O Aiga*. This NGO was founded to raise awareness about sexual abuse and domestic violence and to educate the population on these matters. It received support from the Sāmoan Government under the three-year Assistance Programme for Sāmoan Women (established in 1994). The report was published in 1996 based on data collected in 1995 from interviews with 257 women aged 15 and older in major regions of Sāmoa. This survey found that a little more than 50 percent of women were aware of violence against women in their villages and about 25 percent were victims of violence (SPC 2006: 7).

The largest study done in Sāmoa was the Sāmoa *Family Health and Safety Study* which was part of a joint research initiative of the MWCSO and the United Nations Population Fund. This study was among the first parts of a multi-site study and used the method and questionnaires developed for the WHO multi-country study of women's health and domestic violence. The goals of the study were to collect detailed information on the prevalence of violence, frequency of violence, risk and protective factors, health and legal consequences, strategies and interventions used by victims, families and communities, and to assess the impact of attitude on the prevention and intervention of violence. The study included a qualitative study to identify key issues related to domestic abuse upon which the WHO questionnaires were modified for the Sāmoan context. The resulting questionnaire was administered to 1646 women and a separate questionnaire developed for men was administered to 664 men (SPC 2006: 1).



Only one woman per household was interviewed in this study. In the men's study, only one male per selected household within the age range of 15–49 was interviewed. The data was collected in 2000 and the report was not published until 2006. To date, this study remains the base for many reports generated which discuss the impact of domestic violence in Sāmoa. In this study the estimated prevalence was 46.4 percent among women between the ages of 15–49. There have been many changes since the study was conducted, including services presently available through NGOs, legal and judicial changes by the state, and changing attitudes to violence.

In 2009, the Sāmoa Ministry of Health in collaboration with the Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics and technical assistance from ICF Macro undertook the *Sāmoa Demographic Health Survey*. Funded by World Bank/International Development Association, the Australian Agency for International Development and the New Zealand Agency for International Development, the survey was nationally representative and a total of 2247 households were interviewed and in all of the households selected for interview, all eligible women between 15–49 were administered the women's survey and in every other selected house (half of the houses) all males between 15–54 were administered the men's survey (Ministry of Health 2009: 20). Designed to improve health care in Sāmoa, the survey gathered detailed information on fertility, marriage, sexual activity, fertility preferences, awareness and use of family planning methods, breastfeeding practices, nutritional status of women and young children, childhood mortality, maternal and child health, awareness and behaviour regarding HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Ministry of Health et al.2010: 19).

The Survey included a section on Women's Empowerment and Demographic and Health. In this section there were questions related to attitudes towards wife beating, decision making, refusing to have sex, contraceptive usage, and family planning. This survey is repeated every five years and has recently been administered using the same survey instrument, with the addition of questions on disability and nutrition. While it does not provide data on prevalence of violence, it provides invaluable information on changing attitudes towards violence and levels of women's empowerment.

Another small but relevant study is the *Mother and Daughter Study* which was conducted in Savai'i in April 2014 by the Division of Women under the MWCS (Division of Women 2014: 1–10). The project included a pre-test and post-test component to assess the knowledge levels of different components of the training programme. The *Mother and Daughter Study* targeted the mother and daughters from four villages in Savai'i and included participants who were adolescents and older. The training covered communication and decision making skills on sexual and reproductive health, awareness of CEDAW and positive parenting, and livelihood skills to raise the levels of self-esteem of mothers and daughters. While the sample size was small (the maximum sample size was 35), there were some very interesting results obtained. There was little awareness that family planning was intended to help space out births of children and is

reflected in the results of the pre-test survey; 6/29 of Tufutafoe participants understood what family planning means for women, 11/35 for Falelima, only 7/25 from Satupaitea and 10/25 for Neiafu. There was poor recognition of symptoms of sexually transmitted infections in several villages; Falelima and Tufutafoe showed little understanding of STI symptoms (14/35 and 9/29 participants) and while there was great awareness of the impact of violence (that 95 percent of the violence within families impacts women and girls) there were respondents who were not aware of the different forms of violence. In Satupaitea, 5 out of the 15 women respondents (33.3 percent), and in Neiafu, 8 out of the 21 (38.1 percent) were not aware of the different forms of violence. In the discussion with the women, there were mixed opinions on whether a woman could refuse sex to her partner. This study highlights the need for increased awareness programmes on violence, legislative changes and sexual and reproductive health (Division of Women 2014: 9).

### **Importance of Data**

There are many reasons why statistical information is necessary in decision making, especially in regard to addressing the issue of GBV or domestic violence. Data can provide information on the number of women affected, the women who are coming forward to report violence, the types of services which they need and are being utilized and the list continues. Two examples illustrate the need for information that is current and comparable.

First, high levels of underreporting of cases of GBV is a significant issue, as survivors will not be able to access services if the referral system is attached to the reporting mechanism and does not provide essential information to the government on the gravity of the issue to be addressed. In Table 1 below, estimated numbers of women between the ages of 15–49 experiencing abuse in 2006 and 2011 have been calculated using the prevalence figures from the *Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study* and the population census for 2006 and 2011 (Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics 2011: 30) Data on the cases reported by the Domestic Violence Unit for 2007 and 2011 (UN Women 2013b: 2–4) have been inserted and the number of Family Court Matters seen and or scheduled for 2010–2011 (Ministry of Justice and Court Administration 2011: 21) and 2009–2010 (Ministry of Justice and Court Administration 2010: 17).

Based on the expected number of cases of abuse (416/ 19, 770) approximately 2 percent reported those cases to the Domestic Violence Unit in 2011 and approximately 1.1 percent in 2006. This is an extremely high level of under reporting and more research is needed to identify the characteristics of those who are reporting and the reasons why there is such a high level of reporting. It should also be noted that cases of sexual assault or matters which carry a sentence of five years or more are transferred to the Criminal Investigation Division and are not factored in the number reported by the Domestic Violence Unit. Also, the estimated numbers of women affected by

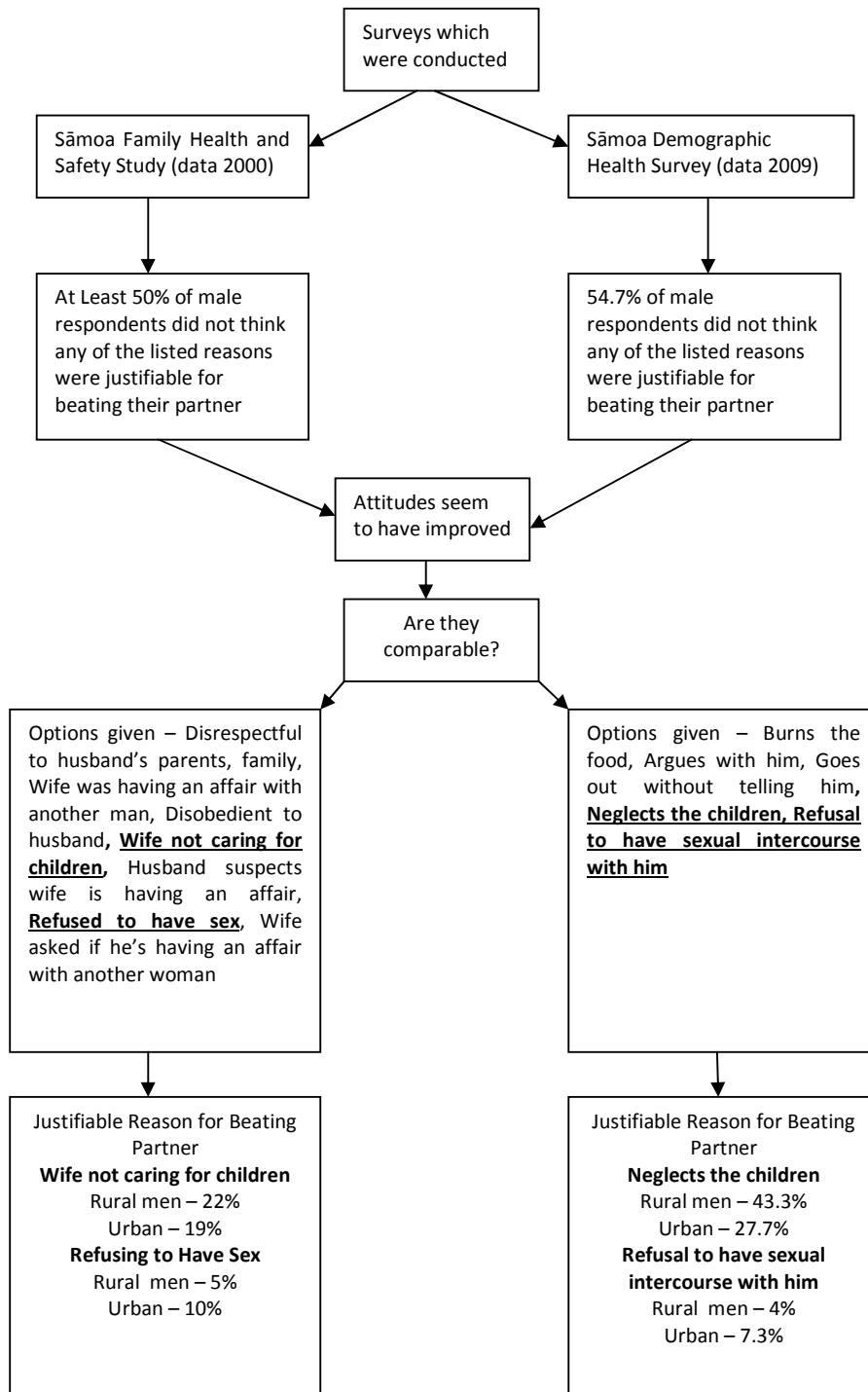
violence are for the age ranges of 15–49; the cases reported to Domestic Violence Unit include cases involving victims over the age of 49. This implies that the estimated number of cases annually is even higher as these estimated figures do not include women over the age of 49.

**Table 1: Estimated Number of Women Experiencing Abuse in 2006 and 2011 Based on Prevalence Measures from the *Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study***

	Census Year	
	2011	2006
Population	187820	180741
Women	90830	86895
Number of Women between 15-49	42609	40768
Prevalence of All forms of Abuse from <i>Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study</i>	46.40%	46.40%
Number of Women between 15-49 who may have suffered abuse (46.4%)	19770.58	18916.35
Prevalence of Physical Abuse from <i>Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study</i>	37.60%	37.60%
Number of Women who could have suffered physical abuse (37.6%)	16021	15329
Prevalence of Emotional Abuse from <i>Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study</i>	18.60%	18.60%
Number of Women between 15-49 who may have suffered emotional abuse (18.6%)	7925	7583
Prevalence of Sexual Abuse from <i>Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study</i>	19.60%	19.60%
Number of Women between the age of 15-49 who could have suffered sexual abuse (19.6%)	8351	7991
Number of Cases Reported to DVU *used 2007 data	416	*148
Number of Reported Cases to Family Court using 2010-2011 and *2009-2010 data	151	*501

The second example is that while the *Sāmoa Demographic Health and Safety Study* and the *Sāmoa Demographic Health Survey* include questions related to attitudes on acceptable reasons for physical abuse, the reader must exercise caution in looking at the figures. The options presented within these questions may differ, affecting the ability to consider the overall figures as representative of changing attitudes. One example is the question posed to men in both the *Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study* and the *Demographic Health Survey* regarding acceptable reasons for wife beating or physical abuse. Based on the overall attitude towards acceptable reasons for hitting of a spouse or wife beating, there appeared to be some improvement between 2000 and 2009 from 50 percent to 54.7 percent of male respondents not thinking that the reasons given were acceptable (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Interpreting Survey Data on Male Responses**



However, the options presented within these questions differed, barring two which were neglect of children and refusal to have sex. While there was decreased acceptance that refusal to have sex was a reason for violence, there was a large increase in the acceptance that neglect of children was a justifiable reason for violence. This highlights the need to scrutinise gross figures and to look at underlying comparability. Data is needed to make informed decisions on service provision for survivors of violence to maximise the available resources. A lack of or insufficiency of data means that it is very difficult to assess the sufficiency of services available to GBV survivors, or measures to reduce the prevalence. Duvvury et al. (2013: 43) note that a major weakness in the data available in low and middle income countries is that there is no annual survey of crime victimisation as in the United States of America or other Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries. This is why the UN CEDAW Committee adopted General Recommendation 19 in 1992, which required national reports be made to the Committee to include statistical data on the incidence of violence against women, information on the services provided for victims, and information regarding legislative and other measures taken to protect women from violence in their everyday lives (UN Women 2002–2009). For this means that the Bureau of Statistics should be given the resources and responsibility of gathering relevant data from the agencies of the Ministry of Justice and Courts, and the Ministry of Health on an annual basis and providing a summary report for the use of the various stakeholders in government and non-government sectors to ensure continuity of policy development and provision of programmes.

## References

- Division of Women, 2014. *Mothers and Daughters Report: Tufutafoe, Falelima, Neiafu, Satupaitea*. Apia: MWCSA.
- Duvvury, N., Callan, A. and Carney, P. 2013. "Intimate Partner Violence; Economic Costs and Implications for Growth and Development" *Women's Voice Agency and Participation Research Series 3*.
- Government of Sāmoa 2010. *Millennium Development Goals: Second Progress Report 2010*. Apia: Government of Samoa.
- Government of Sāmoa. 2012. *Sāmoa Strategy for the Development of Statistics 2011–2021*. Apia: Government of Samoa.
- Government of Sāmoa. 2014. *Samoa's Smooth Transition Strategy Report*. [http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/ldc\\_documents/2015-cdp-samoa-transition.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/ldc_documents/2015-cdp-samoa-transition.pdf) (accessed 23 October 2015).
- Manjoo, R. 2013. *Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, its causes and consequences*. Geneva: United Nations.
- Ministry of Finance. 2012. *Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa 2012–2016*. Apia: Ministry of Finance.
- Ministry of Health, Bureau of Statistics, and ICF Macro. 2010. *Samoa Demographic and Health Survey 2009*. Apia: Ministry of Health.

- Ministry of Justice and Court Administration. 2010. *Ministry of Justice and Court Administration of Sāmoa Annual Report 2009–2010*. Apia: Ministry of Justice and Court Administration.
- Ministry of Justice and Court Administration. 2011. *Ministry of Justice and Court Administration of Sāmoa Annual Report 2010–2011*. Apia: Ministry of Justice and Court Administration.
- Ombudsman. 2013. *Ombudsman, Human Rights Institution*.  
<http://www.ombudsman.gov.ws/> (Accessed 10 August 2014).
- Sāmoa Bureau of Statistics. 2011. *Population and Housing Census 2011 Analytical Report*. Apia: Samoa Bureau of Statistics.
- SPC. 2006. *The Sāmoa Family Health and Safety Study*. Noumea, New Caledonia: Secretariat of the Pacific Community.
- UN Women. 2002–2009. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women: General Recommendations made by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women*.  
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/recomm.htm>  
 (accessed April 28th 2015).
- UN Women. 2012. *Post MDG Development Framework: Why Gender Equality Matters What Future Do You Want*. Suva, Fiji: UN Women
- UN Women 2013a. *Elimination and Prevention of All Forms of Violence against Women and Girls—2013 Commission on the Status of Women Agreed Conclusions*. New York: UN Women.
- UN Women. 2013b. *Sāmoa Country Review*. Apia: UN Women.
- UN Women 2013c. *Pacific Regional Ending Violence Against Women Facility Fund—FAQ*. Suva, Fiji: UN Women.
- UN Women. 2014. *Pacific Brief: UN Women's Position on the Post 2015 Stand Alone Goal on Achieving Gender Equality*. Suva, Fiji: UN Women.
- Walby, S. 2004. *The Costs of Domestic Violence, Women and Equality Unit*. Leeds: University of Leeds.
- World Health Organisation. 2012. *Understanding and Addressing Violence Against Women*.  
[http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77432/1/WHO\\_RHR\\_12.36\\_eng.pdf?ua=](http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77432/1/WHO_RHR_12.36_eng.pdf?ua=)  
 (accessed 28 April 2015).
- World Health Organisation. 2013. *World Health Organisation, Global and Regional Estimates of Violence against Women*.  
[http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/85239/1/9789241564625\\_eng.pdf](http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/85239/1/9789241564625_eng.pdf),  
 (accessed 28 October 2014).
- World Health Organisation. 2014. *Factsheet Violence Against Women: Intimate Partners and Sexual Violence Against Women*.  
[http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/112325/1/WHO\\_RHR\\_14.11-eng.pdf](http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/112325/1/WHO_RHR_14.11-eng.pdf)  
 (accessed 5 November 2011).
- USAID. 2012. *Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender Based Violence Globally*.  
[http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2155/GBV\\_Factsheet.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2155/GBV_Factsheet.pdf).  
 (accessed 20 October 2014)

## Contributors

**Lorena Sciusco** is a lecturer in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage at the National University of Sāmoa. She has a B.A (Hons) from La Trobe University and a Graduate Diploma in Applied Science, Cultural Heritage Management from the University of Canberra, Australia. She is a PhD Candidate at the University of Otago, New Zealand and her doctoral research is concerned with understanding narratives of the archaeological past through the contemporary management of archaeological heritage in Sāmoa and American Sāmoa.

**Helene Martinsson-Wallin** is an Associate Professor of Archaeology at Uppsala University and she has worked as a researcher and curator at The Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo since the mid-1980s. For the past 30 years she has been engaged in archaeology of the Pacific, especially in Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and Sāmoa. She was the project leader of the extensive excavations at Pulemelei mound (2002–2004), and since then been involved in higher education, heritage management and archaeological investigations in Sāmoa. In 2011, she was appointed Adjunct Professor at the National University of Sāmoa, and also has an affiliation as a visiting research fellow to the Australian National University (2001, 2015–17).

**Meleisea Leasiolagi Professor Malama Meleisea** is Director of the Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa. He taught Pacific History at the University of the South Pacific, and later was the Director of the Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of Canterbury and at the University of Auckland. Before returning to Sāmoa, he was the UNESCO Regional Advisor for Social Science for Asia and the Pacific, based in Bangkok, and subsequently the UNESCO Country Director in Afghanistan and Bangladesh.

**Penelope Schoeffel** is Associate Professor (Development Studies) at the Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa. She is an anthropologist with a special interest in cultural change in Sāmoa. She formerly taught at the University of Auckland, and has worked as a social development consultant throughout Asia and the Pacific Islands.

**Susana Tauaa** is a Senior Lecturer in Geography and Head of Department of Social Science in the Faculty of Arts. She is a PhD candidate at the Centre for Sāmoan Studies under the supervision of Associate Professor Dr. Penelope Schoeffel. Her doctoral research is focussed on the urban informal sector in Sāmoa and its potential to create employment and income-earning opportunities for the growing urban-based population of the country.

**Anita Latai-Niusala** is a PhD candidate on a University of Otago Doctoral Scholarship. She was born in Sāmoa and has been teaching at the National University of Sāmoa since 2001.

**Faamoemoe Hakai Soti** is a teacher by profession. She spent ten years teaching in rural secondary schools in Sāmoa. She also spent more than 15 years working in the Curriculum Division, Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) developing the Food and Textiles Curriculum from Years 9–13, and supervising its implementation. Currently, she is a Lecturer of Food and Textiles Technology in the Faculty of Education, National University of Sāmoa. Faamoemoe graduated with a Master of Teaching and Learning from the University of Canterbury, 2011.

**Lex McDonald** is a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He was a teacher and then worked for numerous government agencies as a psychologist. Lex has lived and worked in Wales (UK), the Cook Islands and Sāmoa. His interests and research include education in the Pasifika region, training of teachers and psychologists, professional development and learning, counselling and special education. Recently he has developed a much needed training audit (TOTA) to identify key components for ensuring training and professional development initiatives are transferred to the intended setting. Lex also practices as a consultant for a number of agencies.

**Bernadette Samau** is currently a Marketing and Management Lecturer in the Faculty of Business and Entrepreneurship at the National University of Sāmoa. Bernadette's areas of specialisation in academic teaching include: marketing, advertising and promotions, consumer behaviour and management. Her research areas of interest are: tourism development, Sāmoan culture and consumer behaviour, the impact of advertising on company sales in Sāmoa, and organisational behaviour.

**Ramona Boodoosingh** obtained a BSc in Chemistry/Management from the University of West Indies at the Trinidad campus; a MSc in Environmental Health from Tufts University (United States), and she is currently a PhD candidate in Development Studies at the National University of Sāmoa. Her doctoral research explores the support services available to survivors of gender-based violence in two developing countries, Sāmoa and Fiji.