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The *Journal of the Arts Faculty of the National University of Samoa (JAFNUS)* is published annually in December. Its purpose is to encourage scholarship in the arts, humanities and social sciences that has practical relevance for Samoan society. It publishes articles, reviews and poetry that speak to issues and concerns facing Samoa today, and also have resonance for other Pacific island nations, Pacific communities in the diaspora, and other small island states.

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SUBMISSIONS POLICY

Articles should be submitted to the *JAFNUS* editorial board that make a constructive contribution to Samoan society, in the disciplines of the humanities, arts, social sciences or religious studies. Articles should be no more than 7,500 words in length. Reviews should be approximately 3-5 pages in length. Submissions should be in Times New Roman font, with 1.5 spacing, using the APA Referencing Style. Contributors may also submit poetry or art work. Submissions are welcome at any time, but must be received by 30 September to be eligible for publication in each December issue.

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EDITORIAL

This issue of *JAFNUS* is cause for celebration, as it represents the rebirth of the journal after a long hiatus since its last publication in 2005. The rebirth of *JAFNUS* is a sign of renewal in more ways than one. First, there is a sharper focus on scholarly discourse on issues that are impacting Samoan society during this challenging era of globalisation, neocolonialism, and the climate change crisis. Scholars representing diverse disciplines in the arts, humanities and social sciences are bringing their areas of specialisation to bear on real issues and concerns that are impinging on Samoan life – and, by extension, on life in other Pacific Islands societies.

Second, there is now a greater gender balance among contributors to *JAFNUS*, with the majority of contributors to this issue being women scholars. This is a sign of encouragement for young Samoan and Pasefika women just 'getting their feet wet' in academia. *JAFNUS* is committed to showcasing the research not only of women but of early-career academics across a variety of disciplines. This includes an openness to publishing poetry and visual art.

The articles in this issue cover a wide range of topics, yet are held together by a common commitment to make a positive contribution to Samoan society across a number of interrelated concerns. The first two articles focus on how climate change is affecting Samoa. Anita Niusulu challenges the commonplace narrative in climate change studies that small island states are weak and vulnerable, and must therefore rely on Western 'experts' to tell them how to cope. She focuses instead on the *resilience* that is an inherent part of Pasifika cultures. It is fitting that Susana Taua'a's article on rainwater harvesting in Samoa has the sub-title 'A Case in Point.' Her research on the benefits of this practical approach to conservation is an excellent example of Niusulu's resilience argument.

The following two articles, by Tahere Si'isi'ialafia and Grace Manuleleua, both make positive suggestions regarding initiatives to benefit social life in Samoa. Although Si'isi'ialafia's article on the intrinsic benefits for young people of immersion in the arts is based on research in Jamaica, her findings are relevant for youth development in Samoa. Manuleleua's article on the positive effects of the enhancement

of English language learning in Samoa likewise offers practical suggestions regarding how such developments can be achieved.

The final three articles, by Ma'ilo Helen Tanielu, Mercy Ah Siu-Maliko and Selota Maliko, are connected thematically by their concern to address serous social problems in Samoa. Tanielu and Ah Siu-Maliko address the problem of domestic violence – Tanielu highlighting the perspectives of Samoan youth, and Ah Siu-Maliko presenting a public theology response to domestic violence. Selota Maliko provides a pastoral theology critique of contemporary practices of banishment. With the latter two authors coming from a theological background, their research results, in both cases, in a challenge to the Samoan churches to be more proactive in addressing these social problems.

This issue is rounded out by book reviews by Grace Manuleleua (on teacher education in the Pacific), Fa'aafu Taeleasaasa Matafeo (on 'transfer-of-training' from teacher educators to student teachers), and Setope So'oa'emalelagi (on the memoir of Samoan Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi).

It is hoped that the renewal of *JAFNUS* will be a welcome and fresh addition to scholarly journals in Samoa and the wider Pacific. It is a reflection of a renewed commitment to make academic scholarship speak more directly to the social realities and concerns of our people.

Dr. Lydia Johnson, Guest Editor, for the
JAFNUS Editorial Board
December, 2018

Challenging the Notion of 'Vulnerable Islands': A Review of Paradigms in the Climate Change Literature

Anita Latai Niusulu

Abstract: *Climate change science has shown that the impact of these events is heightened in island settings, but there is insufficient information on how island societies are enduring and anticipating climate change. This paper argues that the main reason for this lack of knowledge is that the majority of studies on climate change have focused on discussing islands from a vulnerabilities perspective, while neglecting the possibility that island societies could be resilient, as they have survived throughout history. To address this gap, this paper recommends using non-equilibrium and cultural ecological perspectives which consider how islanders are devising ways to cope and endure environmental disturbances, including climate-related changes.*

Climate change has received much attention since 1990, when the first Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report concluded that the increase of greenhouse gases from human activities was adversely affecting the earth's climate. The most recent IPCC report in 2013 stated that greenhouse gases already in the atmosphere will cause further changes to the global climate system for the next 50 or more years. Rising temperatures and sea level rise are forecast to continue. Some regions will experience stronger cyclones, while others will continue to face spells of greater warmth and heavy rainfall. The impacts of these changes should be beneficial to residents of higher latitude regions, where longer growing seasons could become possible. But storms, floods and droughts could also cause havoc, and may subsequently lead to the loss of homes, food and water sources, impacting the health and livelihoods of many communities and individuals.

This paper is a critical review of the literature on climate change and islands. The first part summarises the majority of climate change studies reports on the vulnerabilities of islands using physical, scientific and macro-economic indicators. The weaknesses of these studies and related indicators are highlighted. The author then suggests that it is crucial to explore, from a resilience perspective, the

perceptions and experiences of islanders and island societies who have long occupied these spaces. Theoretically sound and relevant definitions, indicators and approaches are crucial to adequately portray the capacity of islands to survive current and especially future climate related changes.

Climate Change and 'Vulnerable Islands': Reviewing Current Paradigms, Concepts, Theories and Policies

The notion that islands are especially vulnerable to climate change is underlined by three bodies of literature, namely: Western science, neo-classical studies, and political studies. Since the 1990s, many scientific studies have contended that physical indicators such as the small size and low elevation of islands make them particularly vulnerable to climate change. The first IPCC assessment report on climate change (1990b, p. 61) stated that "…a 30-50 cm sea-level rise projected by 2050 would threaten low islands, and that a one metre rise by 2100 would render some island countries uninhabitable."

The scientific literature on climate change is largely based on the theory of global warming, which is defined as the gradual warming of the earth's atmosphere caused by emissions of heat-absorbing greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide and methane. "Naturally occurring greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide keep the earth warm enough to be habitable. By increasing their concentrations, and by adding new greenhouse gases like chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), humankind is capable of raising the global average annual mean surface air temperature" (IPCC, 1990a, p. xiv). The term has since been generally used to reflect longer-term changes, such as higher air and sea temperatures and rising sea levels (IPCC, 2007).

Scientific authorities have asserted that the smallness of islands enhances the interconnectedness of socio-ecological systems, thus making them vulnerable to the impacts of these changes, and at a faster rate compared with the inhabitants of other environments. The rates of sea level rise in some parts of the Indian and Pacific oceans have been significantly higher than the global average (Meyssignac et al., 2012; Becker et al., 2012; South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 2013; SPREP, 2014). In addition, these regions have witnessed elevated sea surface temperatures (Wilkinson et al.,

1999; Alling et al., 2007; Williams et al., 2010) and slightly more intense weather events, particularly during the warm and cold phases of the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) (Payet, 2005; Australian Bureau of Meteorology and Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (ABM & CSIRO), 2011).

In the Pacific region, the projected increase in air temperatures near the surface will range from between 1°C and 4°C, and associated sea surface temperatures will likely be 1°C to 3°C higher by 2070. Sea level rise is predicted to increase between 0.19 and 0.58 metres by 2100. These changes will be marked by a greater incidence of hot days and nights, irregular rainfall, droughts and stronger cyclones (ABM & CSIRO, 2011; SPREP, 2013).

In addition, neo-classical studies have used macro-economic indicators to emphasise the vulnerabilities of islands. Briguglio (1995) pointed out that the small size, remoteness and disaster proneness of islands make them particularly vulnerable. Disaster proneness is determined by potential economic damage in relation to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), percentage of population affected, and number of deaths caused by natural disasters as a proportion of total population (Briguglio, 1995; Wells, 1997; Atkins et al., 1998; Burton et al., 1993; Crowards, 2000).

Further, the political ecological argument states that while island communities may have been resilient and adaptable to environmental changes in the past, island societies have been weakened by the processes of colonisation, capitalism and globalisation.[1] The third IPCC assessment report (2001) which, for the first time, included a specific chapter on islands entitled 'Small Island States,' stated that with limited resources and low adaptive capacity, these islands face

[1] Political ecologists argue that political and economic processes have occurred in the past century resulting in poverty and environmental degradation, which have in turn reduced the capacity of these populations to effectively respond to current and future changes. Watts terms the inability of people to cope with environmental changes 'structural maladaptation.' His study of famine in rural Hausa communities in Northern Nigeria revealed that households used to have access to land, time-tested agro-ecological knowledge, institutions and technologies suited to the characteristics of their hazardous environment, particularly drought. But this adaptive capability, he argues, was eroded by the process of European colonisation and the new social relations of capitalist production in Hausaland (Watts, 1983a; 1983b).

the considerable challenge of meeting the social and economic needs of their populations in a manner that is sustainable.

The vulnerability of Pacific islands is clearly increasing, due to economic and social changes such as population growth and overcrowding (Spennemann, 1996; Storey & Hunter, 2010; Veiyataki, 1993; 2010), internal and external migration, poorly planned coastal development (Gero et al., 2011; Yamano et al., 2007), unplanned urban growth and land use (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Asian Development Bank (ADB), 2012), and environmental and ecosystem degradation, including contamination of sub-surface and coastal waters (Englund, 2008). Moreover, social capital, which is a key component in the capacity of a community to respond to crisis situations, is also weakening (Campbell, 1990; Sutherland et al., 2001; Veiyataki, 2010).

These conclusions have been widely used by international and regional agencies and national governments to gauge the vulnerability of islands to climate change. A major component of the literature on island vulnerabilities has been reports prepared by island governments and regional organisations in response to their commitments to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and IPCC. Island nations in the Caribbean and the Pacific oceanic regions were the first to ratify the UNFCCC in the 1990s, and since then have followed the UNFCCC process of identifying and reporting climate change impacts and adaptation.

The UNFCCC-endorsed process for Least Developed Countries (LDCs), which includes the majority of island nations, is the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA). The National Climate Change Country Team (NCCCT) and National Task Team (NTT) deal with the identification of vulnerable areas that urgently need climate change adaptation and report these to the UNFCCC. National initiatives like the National Environment Management Strategies (NEMS) and Integrated Coastal Management (ICM) plans in the Pacific Islands emphasise the formulation of policies and strategies for climate change and sea-level rise (Barnett & Campbell, 2010; Veiyataki, 2010).

Many authors have challenged the conceptualisation of vulnerable island societies based on physical and macro-economic indicators. Viewing islands as small, stable, low-lying and isolated spaces with scarce resources is ‘belittling’ and not only homogenises but misrepresents islands and islanders (Hauofa, 1993). Some indicators

which have been used to portray islands and islanders as vulnerable are not accurate and do not adequately represent actual vulnerability (Baldaccino & Bertram, 2009; Barnett & Campbell, 2010; Nurse et al., 2014; De Souza et al., 2015) or local coping responses.

These criticisms echo Chamber's concern about how the widely used term "…vulnerability lacks a developed theory and accepted indicators and methods of measurement" (1989, p. 1). Kelman and West (2009; 2013), in their critique of the category Small Islands Developing States (SIDS), make the important point that not all islands are similar. The category 'island' masks substantial geographical and cultural differences that exist within these places. For example, Papua New Guinea, with an area of 462,840 km,[2] is almost twice New Zealand's size and could not be considered 'small' compared to Tuvalu's 26 km.[2]

In his article, "Introduction: The MIRAB[2] Model in the Twenty-first Century," Bertram (2006) emphasised how small Pacific island economies such as those of the Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Kiribati and Tuvalu are coping with global economic changes through "stock flow relationships." First, there is the stock of overseas-resident migrants and their descendants, who sustain the flows of remittances and new migrants; secondly, there is the stock of domestic public sector employment, sustained by the flow of aid. Additionally, Bertram argues that being small brings certain advantages, such as being able to form strong networks of mutual support in the face of threats or danger, although personality clashes in small communities can often be more corrosive than in larger ones; nevertheless, solidarity is generally easier to establish and sustain in small communities.

The technocratic and top-down nature of scientific methods mainly used in climate change studies and the majority of country reports to the UNFCCC have been criticised as exclusive in downplaying local knowledge that could inform adaptation strategies. "Climate change has developed its own cadre of experts … and all these people seem to circulate in a science-policy bubble that at times floats far above the

[2] This is an economic model proposed by Bertram and Watters in the 1980s to explain how small islands in the Pacific are developing. MIRAB stands for Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy (Bertram & Watters, 1984; 1985; 1986).

places where impacts will be felt and adaptations required…" (Barnett & Campbell, 2010, p. 179). The majority of country reports to the UNFCCC are mainly scientific evaluations of the vulnerabilities of islands, using IPCC methods and evaluation criteria that were developed and used in developed countries – for instance, by using remote sensing to monitor physical climate parameters, detailed mapping of topography and bathymetry, and running computer models with various data (Kelman & West, 2009). Some studies (Nunn, 2009; Kuruppu & Livermann, 2011) have stated that islanders, especially those living in rural communities, have a low level of climate change awareness and do not consider climate change to be a local priority.

The ultimate goal of most of these studies has been to see whether islanders understood the 'scientific concept' of climate change. Some have also adopted models used elsewhere to analyse islanders' perceptions of climate change. For example, the Model of Private Proactive Adaptation to Climate Change (MPPACC) (Grothmann & Patt, 2005) used by Kuruppu and Liverman (2011) represents islanders' perceptions of climate change by focusing on a pre-determined and specific climate change risk. In these studies, climate change has already been pre-defined in scientific and largely 'reductionist' terms, leaving little room for alternative understandings and interpretations.

Such approaches privilege Western knowledge about environmental systems and rarely include information critical to understanding the risks which climate change poses to people in the region, and their capacity to adapt (Kelman & West, 2009; Barnett & Campbell, 2010). Farbotko (2010, p. 47) argues that "…islands imagined as laboratories appropriate the space of an already marginalized population; these are imaginings by cosmopolitans who demand, for various and at times conflicting reasons, that disappearing islands provide tangible manifestations of the statistical abstractions that dominate climate science."

Moreover, placing emphasis on 'climate change' and largely portraying it as a 'hazard' ignores the holistic nature of the environment and the opportunities associated with climate change, and produces impractical notions of adaptation. Climate change science follows a linear sequence of analysis beginning with projections of future emissions trends, then moving on to the development of climate scenarios, thence to biophysical impacts and the identification of

adaptation options (Kelly & Adger, 2000). The majority of climate-related changes are perceived as hazardous to people and other aspects of the environment, and adaptation is viewed as 'adjustment' to reduce the damages of such hazards.

Burton and colleagues (1978) describe the 'adaptability' of a society as the combination of decisive adjustments where factors such as technology, location, income levels and institutions control the analytical framework and drive the adjustment process. The 2012 IPCC report not only provides separate definitions for adaptation of human and natural systems but emphasises this idea of 'adjustment.' The report defines adaptation for human systems as "…the process of adjustment to actual or expected climate and its effects, in order to moderate harm or exploit beneficial opportunities. In natural systems, [we see] the process of adjustment to actual climate and its effects; human intervention may facilitate adjustment to expected climate" (IPCC, 2012, p. 5).

Adaptation based on reducing the hazardous impacts of climate change has not been a sustainable solution. The majority of adaptive solutions to reduce the injurious impacts of climate change are largely 'sectorally based' (Barnett, 2001). They are similar to 'command and control' strategies aimed at controlling the variability of a target resource or designed to intervene in key sectors to secure steady yields (Gunderson & Holling, 1995; Holling et al., 1998; Folke, 2006).

Infrastructural developments such as seawalls are a common climate change adaptation strategy on islands. However, a number of studies have shown that these have damaged local environments and undermined the livelihoods of some residents through impeded access to food, shelter and water. For example, the construction of a seawall to protect land and infrastructure on one end of Nukufetau atoll in Tuvalu caused the other end to erode (Resture, 2006, cited in Veiyataki, 2010). Also, the construction of the causeway on Tarawa, Kiribati interfered with the natural flow of currents and is blamed for the disappearance of Bikenman, an islet opposite the causeway (Veiyataki, 2010).

Further, pit latrines and septic tanks on atolls, especially in built-up areas, perform less effectively than in other places because effluent drainage lines are short due to the small allotment sizes and the porous soil. With the high water table, the nutrient-rich waste quickly enters the groundwater, causing supplies to be contaminated (Resture, 2006,

cited in Veiyataki, 2010). Infrastructural developments have also restricted people's ability to harvest marine flora and fauna. A consequence is that the vulnerability of communities is enhanced because of the loss of their livelihood resources (Kenny, 2012; McNamara, 2013).

Considering the 'Resilience' of Island Societies

The term 'resilience' entered the climate change literature in the early 2000s and has become the latest catchphrase in global, regional and national climate change adaptation strategies, including the policies of island nations. The concept emerged in ecological studies in the 1970s (Holling, 1973; Holling et al., 1998), and evolutionary and holistic understandings of resilience have since been advanced by studies exploring the adaptive capacity of societies (Torry, 1979), regional economies (Pike et al., 2010; Simmie & Martin, 2010) and social ecological systems (Berkes & Folke, 1998; Gunderson & Holling, 2002; Folke, 2006).

In the latter disciplines, theoretical understandings of the concept have shifted from views of resilience based on the achievement of stability or a state of 'equilibrium' (O'Neill et al., 1986; Pimm, 1991; Tilman & Downing, 1994), towards explorations of the dynamic 'non-equilibrium' nature of systems and their capacity to endure change. The concept 'non-equilibrium' means an unstable condition or state and refers to the highly dynamic, unpredictable and complex nature of systems. The notion of non-equilibrium resilience is also reiterated in psychological studies of resilient individuals who 'thrive' under adversity (Waller, 2001; Mahoney & Bergman, 2002; McElheran, 2011).

This theoretical shift towards appreciating the 'non-equilibrium' nature of systems has been slow to occur in the literature that discusses the resilience of islands, and continues therefore to limit discussions and explorations of how island societies could endure the likely impacts of climate change. A few studies (Fletcher et al., 2013; McMillen et al., 2014) have emerged over the past few years which identify the role resilience plays in islands. Nevertheless, on the whole, indicators and methods used to assess the resilience of islands are still largely influenced by Western science and neo-classical economics.

Briguglio and colleagues (2006; 2009; 2010) proposed a 'resilience index'[3] to assess the adaptive capacity of island nations, based on indicators of 'macro-economic stability' and 'market flexibility.' In this way, the resilience of an island country is generally assessed by looking at price changes, government fiscal deficit and debt, balance of payments, unemployment rates and exchange rates. The study concluded that there was a strong correlation between GDP per capita and a country's score or resilience index, and identified countries with advanced economies registering high scores. This model is similar to the way Briguglio developed his vulnerability index in the 1990s, in which macro-economic indicators such as GDP were used to define and determine the vulnerability of islands to disasters. Recently, the main components of the resilience index were revised to include political governance and institutions, social development and environmental management (Briguglio, 2014). Quantitative methods and macro-economic indicators remain a large part of determining these components.

Ideas and Strategies to Consider in Explorations of Island Resilience

Researchers have argued that the development of approaches to assess the resilience of communities is still at an exploratory phase (Resilience Alliance, 2007). Non-equilibrium understandings of resilience, which have been developed in ecology, psychology and evolutionary economics, will be useful to assess the capacity of island communities to adapt to environmental changes, including climate-related changes. Instead of understanding resilience as the degree and timing within which a community can return to 'stability' or its pre-shock position after a disturbance, it can be understood as the ability of the system to evolve with, and adapt to, changes that such events may cause. This definition is predicated on an understanding that the environment is not stable but highly dynamic (Holling, 1973; Holling

[3] The Mauritius Strategy (United Nations, 2005), paragraph 81, called for the establishment of a task force to develop a 'resilience index' supported by the international community. Such an exercise was carried out by the Commonwealth Secretariat in collaboration with the Islands and Small States Institute of the University of Malta, culminating in the publication of Briguglio et al., 2006.

et al., 1998). This perspective is captured in the following quote by Eric Waddell (2015, p. 329): "Reality is not simple or naïve … rather, it is fluid, interacting and constantly evolving; it is openly inquisitive and essentially equivocal."

Secondly, it is important to assess the resilience of island societies using a cultural ecology lens. Proponents of cultural ecology not only reposition humans into discussions of environmental changes but apply holistic ideas from ecology and systems theory to understand how humans adapt to their environments (Sauer, 1952; Steward, 1955; Boserup, 1965). Human geographers assert that by engaging with residents of places, one can develop an in-depth understanding of changes which such places have experienced and are likely to experience.

Relevant here is Husserl's [1859-1938] theory of phenomenology, which claimed that objects are 'phenomena of consciousness' (otherwise humans would not recognise them), and that the significance of an object lies in its meaning in the human experience (Couper, 2015). 'Being' is key to understanding the relationship between people and the world, as human experience is itself an essential part of reality (Heiddeger, 1953). Places are "… not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but … a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning" (Tuan, 1979, p. 387).

In this light, studies by Fletcher and associates (2013), as well as McMillen and colleagues (2014), argue for the importance of indigenous and local knowledge (ILK) in understanding island resilience and adaptation. The latter group of Pacific academics highlights the critical need for research that interrogates the interrelated areas of local-scale expertise and observations of change with regard to weather, life-history cycles, ecological processes, customary resource management institutions and practices, and the role of leaders, social institutions and social networks in the context of disturbance and change. A cultural ecological approach is therefore a powerful way of developing a 'bottom-up' understanding of islands, the majority of which are not simply physical spaces but have been 'lived-in' places for more than a millennium.

Thirdly, human derived indicators must be used to assess the resilience of islands. Departing from previous efforts to determine the resilience of island societies using macro-economic indicators, studies

must consider in their assessments human perceptions and understandings of historical, current and future environmental changes at the local village/community level, as well as key human survival strategies. In addition, studies should consider social networks as a 'binding factor' that brings other diverse strategies, such as diversification, mobility, mental and spiritual strength, into context.

Qualitative methodologies and interpretive frameworks that capture the world as 'we live it' rather than as 'we abstractly theorise it' are more suitable ways of understanding and appreciating human experiences (Relph, 1981; Tuan, 1991; Allen-Collinson, 2011). Qualitative methods such as interviews and focus group discussions are crucial ways of gathering research information. Interpretivist processes such as primary and secondary coding can be used to create tools to evaluate research findings and elucidate the resilience of selected island societies from a non-equilibrium perspective.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed and assessed gaps in the literature on islands and climate change. The review has outlined the extent to which the combination of the non-equilibrium perspective of resilience and a cultural ecological approach could be productive in shedding light on ways in which contemporary island societies are enduring challenges and anticipating future climate change. The literature referred to in this paper has highlighted the fact that systems, including human societies, are dynamic. The role of disturbances is considered crucial, rather than only detrimental to the development of resilience. Cultural ecological studies provide evidence that societies have developed ways to survive in what are considered highly challenging environments. These insights could inform future conceptualisations of the resilience of islands.

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Rainwater Harvesting in Samoa: A Case in Point

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Abstract: *This paper explores the practice of rainwater harvesting among selected urban and rural households in Samoa. Rainwater harvesting is the process of collecting, storing and using rainwater as a primary or supplementary water source. As a renewable resource, its availability in space (specific location) and time (different periods of the year) is limited by climate, geographical and physical conditions, as well as the type of technology used for harvesting. Rainwater has always been harvested as a low-volume but high-quality source of water in the Pacific Islands and elsewhere in the developing world. Hence the focus of the paper on rainwater harvesting at the household level is to demonstrate the water behaviour of consumers as well as the social-economic desirability of rainwater harvesting, beginning with the household. Harvesting rainwater translates into cash savings and improved water reserves for households during dry seasons and, at the same time, reduces the adverse impacts of surface runoff on the environment.*

Water is a fundamental resource for the life and wellbeing of human society. Yet millions of people worldwide suffer from lack of water. The problems of fresh water resource conservation have been well documented (Van der Bruggen, Borghgraef & Vinckier, 2010; Duncan, 2011), but there are still numerous factors that compromise the quantity and quality of water supply sources in many developing countries. In the case of Samoa, rapid urbanisation, deforestation, destruction of wetlands, agricultural development and water leakage from water distribution systems are causal factors underlying the country's water problems. To aid Samoa's efforts to conserve and manage its waning water resources, Rain Water Harvesting (RWH) is identified and explored in this study as a viable solution to meet the escalating water demand. This study helps to mitigate the lack of hard evidence to date that could convince the relevant authorities of the benefits of RWH, beginning at the household level and staircasing into a nationwide practice.

Literature Review

Rain Water Harvesting (RWH) is the process of collecting, storing and using rainwater as a primary or supplementary water source. The practice has been used throughout history as a water conservation measure, particularly in regions where other water resources are scarce or difficult to access (Clark, Viessman & Hammer, 1977; Julius, Prabhavathy & Ravikumar, 2013). As a renewable resource, its availability in space (specific location) and time (different periods of the year) is limited by climate, geographical and physical conditions, as well as the type of technology used for harvesting. Yet rainwater has always been harvested as a low-volume but high-quality source of water in the Pacific Islands and elsewhere in the developing world.

Since the nineteenth century, the use of rainwater in industrialised countries has received less attention than more technically oriented centralised water systems (Latham & Schiller, 1984). In recent years, researchers and policy makers have shown renewed interest in water use strategies due to rising water demand and increased interest in water resources conservation. In addition, the costly operation and maintenance of conventional water supply systems has drawn attention to alternative, affordable and easily maintained systems such as roof water collection systems.

Rainwater harvesting can be divided into large, medium and small-scale systems. Large-scale systems involve the collection of flood water for irrigation and ground water recharge, whereas medium-scale RWH involves the collection of water from rock outcroppings or large impervious constructed surfaces such as dams. Small-scale RWH is typically roof-collected rainwater channeled into small (500 litres) to large (10,000 litres) tanks for storage.

Rainwater usage is promoted in the Pacific to aid in meeting the UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) No. 6 – *sustainable access to safe drinking water*. This practice is particularly important in places like Tuvalu, Tokelau and the smaller outer islands in Tonga and the Cook Islands groups, which are characterised by average, moderate rainfall and lengthy dry spells. Constructing large catchment and storage facilities to store and distribute rainwater on these small islands can be an expensive exercise compared to small-scale household rainwater collection from all or part of the roof, stored in small to medium sized tanks and containers. Further, RWH is a

renewable resource with minimal environmental impact, requires little or no energy for extraction of the resource, requires minimum transportation, and the labour, material and spare parts can be sourced locally (Kallren, 1993).

Moreover, the practice of rainwater harvesting plays a provisioning, regulating and cultural function in the overall ecosystems services of a place or region (UNEP, 2009, p. 4). For example, the provisioning role of RWH is evident in increasing the availability of water for livestock and poultry, and its regulating function can be seen in the reduction of fast flows of water and the incidence of flooding and soil erosion in low-lying areas. The cultural functions of RWH are manifested in the spiritual and aesthetic values attached to water, particularly in creating green, lush landscapes.

Making the Case for Rainwater Harvesting

The Apia Urban Area (AUA) and North West Upolu (NWU) are rapidly expanding settlement areas on Upolu Island. Urban demand on the reticulated water supply is increasing with population growth in these areas. 79 percent of households in the AUA source their drinking water from metered water taps, and a corresponding 73.6 percent of NWU households also rely on metered water (Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2012, p. 89). Climate change and its associated forecasted drought periods will further compound the water stress caused by urbanisation.

With rainfall of sustainable volume and good quality (3,000 mm per annum in the Samoa group), coupled with a growing demand on the urban water supply, RWH is increasingly being considered as a supplement to the main water supply (MNRE, 2012; SOPAC, 2009). This idea is flagged in this study as an urban water management strategy to ease the demand on reticulated water supplies, particularly during the dry season. Further, the household unit is the target group for RWH in this study, for several reasons. First, household water harvesting practices can be performed by individuals, even children, who can be tasked with ensuring that containers for water collection and storage are readily available during the rainy season for the purpose of RWH.

Second, the technologies available for household RWH are simple and cheap (rooftop collection and storage in above-ground water

tanks) and benefit the entire household and community. Third, selling the idea of RWH to the household is an important do-it-yourself 'green' solution to Apia's emerging water shortage problem in the dry season, where RWH provides a more continuous and reliable access to clean water for domestic uses. Promoting RWH at the household level entails the active participation in and ownership by the household of RWH systems and technologies that will guarantee the long-term sustainability of RWH, given the sense of responsibility that is encouraged among members of the household. And if RWH were to be extended as part of a collective village/community project, the same attitude of ownership and responsibility found at the household level could be expanded to community owned assets (SOPAC, 2004, p. 5).

Many other supporting arguments for RWH have been researched and publicised (SOPAC, 2004; 2009), but seem to have been overlooked by the local water authority. This is unfortunate because, in areas of inadequate groundwater supply or surface water flows, RWH provides a practical solution. In addition to the benefits noted above, RWH reduces surface water runoff into storm drains, where in many Pacific Island towns and cities urban drainage is either inadequate or absent, and where the incidence of urban flooding has become a frequent occurrence in many of these towns, such as Apia, Suva and Nuku'alofa.

Furthermore, RWH is a simple solution to the multiple water challenges identified in the country's national water policy. Poor water quality, competing and conflicting demands for resources by consumptive and non-consumptive users, lack of community understanding and appreciation of responsible water management, and insufficient knowledge and understanding of water resources nationwide are examples of critical water resources challenges that the responsible Ministries have yet to address in their quest to ensure "community access to water of suitable quality and appropriate quantities to meet all reasonable health, environmental, and economic development needs" (Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, 2008, 17).

Conceptualising Rainwater Harvesting

The practice of collecting and storing rainwater, in addition to the reticulated water supply, is best conceptualised in the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA). The essence of SLA is its systemic and

adaptive approach that links wellbeing, sustainability and empowering processes (for example, participation, gender neutrality and good governance [water governance]) (Petersen & Pedersen, 2010). Underpinning the SLA are livelihood assets consisting of human, natural, financial, social and physical capital. These are the assets people rely on to produce their livelihood outcomes. People's livelihood outcomes depend on the strategies they employ and how they utilise the assets within their control.

A case in point to illustrate this is the increased usage of rain water that is collected and stored to irrigate farmlands, thereby reducing the pressure on forests, grazing lands, wetlands and other fragile ecosystems (Barron, 2009, p. 26). Since this study explores RWH at the household level, the practice of RWH is seen as one of many strategies adopted by individuals and households to ensure their wellbeing, particularly under natural stresses and shocks such as extremely dry or drought conditions. Focusing RWH at the household unit is a 'soft path' approach to address the issue of water security, emphasising the importance of using community-scale and environmentally sustainable approaches such as household RWH, as opposed to large-scale centralised infrastructure (Cain, 2014, p. 149).

Study Objectives

This study sets out to answer three important questions:

- Is RWH environmentally, socially and economically feasible?
- Should it be mandatory for all newly constructed houses to adhere to water-saving designs and products such as water-efficient devices and RWH fittings?
- What are the prevailing beliefs and views among average Samoan households in relation to RWH practices?

Methodology

A number of methods were used to collect the data and information to answer the study questions. First, a stakeholder consultation with the Plumbers Association and plumbing trades instructors was held to gauge the practicability of RWH. The focus of the discussion was in relation to the existing building code, costs to the average Samoan household, and the relevance of the idea in response to the global

issues of climate change and the fresh water crisis (Srinivasan, Lambin, Gorelick, Thompsen & Rozelle, 2012), in addition to meeting the Sustainable Development Goal of access to clean drinking water for all. The second method consisted of questionnaires with both open-ended and closed questions that were entrusted to the participating households for their responses. Focus group interviews were an additional method adopted to enable a more in-depth and face to face discussion and to follow up on key household responses stated in the survey questionnaires.

Survey Questionnaire

Thirty households from rural, urban and suburban Apia areas were asked to complete a questionnaire consisting of questions related to household bio-data, views on the idea and practice of RWH, costs related to RWH, savings on household water bills, and household water use. These are examples of questions explored in the questionnaire. The responses and findings from the questionnaire determined the questions asked in the focus groups.

Focus Group Interviews

One focus group session was conducted with the heads of the households (HH) involved, to clarify the responses in the questionnaires and to debate the advantages and disadvantages of RWH. The focus group helped to clarify and reaffirm the themes identified in the questionnaire analysis. The second focus group served as a forum to debate a policy statement for RWH at the national level, particularly in relation to the issue of making RWH mandatory.

Participants and Recruitment

Thirty households from rural and urban villages of Apia, together with members of the Plumbers Association of Samoa (PAS) and plumbing instructors (APTC or NUS), participated in the study. There were 10 rural households (Vailoa and Lalomanu Aleipata) and 10 urban households (Vaivase-uta and Vaivase-tai) who were pre-selected and consulted based on the criteria that they practice RWH, as evident in their ownership of small (less than 2,000L) to medium (2,000 to 5,000L) sized water tanks used to store rainwater collected from the roof of the family house, in addition to the reticulated water supply.

Another 10 households from around suburban Apia (Taufusi and Palisi) made up the third cohort of water users, who rely completely on their reticulated water supply.

Latest Water and Sanitation Statistics

Table 1 summarises the latest data from the Samoa Bureau of Statistics in relation to Water and Sanitation key variables, such as household main source of drinking water, ownership of water tanks, and size and type of tank, as enumerated in the 2016 Census Survey. This latest data provides the 'big picture' to situate RWH data collected from the case study.

Table 1: Selected National Data on Water & Sanitation 2016

Variables	Number of Households
Total Number of Households Enumerated	28,862
Metered Water (Samoa Water Authority)	18,013
Non-metered water (Samoa Water Authority)	2,226
Total households who own tank	6,474
Type of tank –concrete	2,490
Type of tank – plastic	3,984
Total households with tank by size:	
500 litre	744
1,000 litre	1,204
3,000 litre	1,802
5,000 litre	1,593
10,000 litre	1,072
Others	36
Not Stated	23

Source: Samoa Bureau of Statistics Census Brief, 2017: 62.

Table 1 indicates a selection of the latest data collected by the Samoa Bureau of Statistics in relation to Water and Sanitation in Samoa. A total of 28,862 households were enumerated in the 2016 Census, and 18,013 or 62.4 percent of these households have metered water, compared to 7.7 percent (2,226) of households with non-metered water. Of the total number of households counted (28,862), only 22.4 percent (6,474) own a water tank. Ideally, every household

should own at least a small-sized (500 litre) tank as a back-up to the main water supply. According to 93.3 percent of the study sample (28 households), owning a water tank is a good idea (*manatu lelei*), as long as the government is prepared to subsidise the price of water tanks available to households, especially for low-income households. Even the urban households with only reticulated water supply concur that owning a water tank is indeed a good idea and an important household asset. This support is important if RWH is to become mandatory.

Findings of the Study

Table 2: Summary of Household Profiles

Variables	**Rural Households: RW Tanks & Reticulated Water Supply**	**Urban Households: RW Tanks & Reticulated Water Supply**	**Urban Households: Reticulated Water Supply Only**
Number of people in household [range from]	4 to 11	6 to 9	2 to 12
Number of households surveyed	10	10	10
Age range of people in the household	18 months to 83 years	2 to 76 years	5 to 84 years
Main Drinking Water Source?	Reticulated Water Supply for all 10 households	Bottled Water = 8 households Reticulated water supply = 2 households	Bottled water = 7 households Reticulated water supply = 3 households
Size of RWH tank [range from]	1,000 to 3,000 litre	500 to 5,000 litre	none

Table 2 presents a summary of the relevant variables pertaining to the study sample. Twenty out of thirty (66.7 percent) of the households surveyed practice RWH, as evident in the installation and usage of Roto polyethylene rainwater tanks that vary in size from 500 litres to

the largest at 5,000 litres. For the rural households, reticulated water supply is the main source of drinking water, whereas 8/10 (80 percent) of urban households with reticulated water supply and RWH products depend on bottled water as their main source of drinking water. Likewise, 70 percent of households with a reticulated water supply rely on bottled water as their main source of drinking water. The explanations for urban households' reliance on bottled water for drinking purposes are as follows, as stated by some heads of household and other household members in the interviews:

> "Just to be on the safe side, we don't trust water from the tap; prevention is better than cure." (44-year-old male)
>
> "Do not really trust our water, plus our house is more than 30 years old, I think the plumbing is rusty…" (68-year-old female, head of household)
>
> "My older children who visited from overseas said that we should not be drinking water from the tap, and if we do, then we should boil our water first … they introduced us to buying and refilling our water from the shop." (75-year-old male, head of household)
>
> "We have young children, they are very vulnerable to diarrhea and the doctor said it could be the water, so we buy our water from Apia Bottling, it is $6.00 for a refill…" (39-year-old female)

The majority of urban households in the study sample that have access to a reliable water supply (water tanks and reticulated water supply) rely on bottled water for drinking purposes. It was gleaned from the informal *talanoa* sessions and questionnaires that there is an element of doubt about the cleanliness of the water for drinking purposes. Otherwise, the rest of the households' water requirements for washing, cleaning, cooking and flushing are met by both reticulated water and RWH products.

As for the rural households, piped water provides the main source of drinking water. There is a general consensus among the rural respondents that their reticulated water is generally clean and safe to drink. RWH, through the proper installation of rainwater tanks, is a recent practice (in the last 10-15 years), although the practice of collecting rainwater using barrels and other large containers has always been in existence. Rainwater collected in tanks doubles as a

water reserve when the reticulated water supply is reduced or rationed during the dry season.

60 percent of rural households with properly installed rainwater tanks reported that the water tanks were always part of the household plans for home improvement, given some very unpleasant experiences they have had with an unreliable water supply in the past. Interestingly, only 10 percent (2 out of 20 households) have properly installed booster water pumps that automatically switch on to pump water when needed. The remaining 90 percent of households with installed water tanks simply collect and store water in the tanks and, when the need arises, buckets and other containers are used to transport water from the tanks for use indoors or elsewhere. The costs of a water pumping and filtering system, excluding the costs of electricity or gas, depending on the type of water booster pump, deterred the remaining households from installing water pumping devices.

As for urban households with reticulated water supply only, four households (4 out of 10) reported, through *talanoa* with the heads of households, that they collect rainwater in large 44 gallon and medium-sized buckets or other containers, particularly during the heavy rainy season when the reticulated water supply is either rationed or turned off indefinitely. 30 percent (3 out of 10) of the urban households with reticulated water supply were keen to own a water tank if it was affordable. RWH is a common practice among the majority of households surveyed, particularly at times when the reticulated water supply is under threat.

Table 3: Household Motives for RWH

Stated Reasons for RWH	**Rural Households: RW Tanks & Reticulated Water Supply [10]**	**Urban Households: RW Tanks & Reticulated Water Supply [10]**	**Urban Households: Reticulated Water Supply Only [10]**
To aid with the water bill	4 households	6 households	
Unreliable piped water	7 households	5 households	
Reduce flooding to	1 household	3 households	

other parts of the land/ property			
To supplement water for the laundromat (small business)		1 household	
Part of proposed family owned car washing business		1 household	
So that we are not totally reliant on the Samoa Water Authority		1 household	
Water for family farm: livestock and vegetables	2 households		

Table 3 summarises the motives for collecting rainwater as stated by the households with installed rainwater tanks. The motivating factors for RWH were predominantly of a socio-economic nature. Other useful benefits of RWH were only evident after the water tanks had been installed. For instance, three rural households were given priority in the distribution of vegetable seedlings from the village farming project, based on their ownership of water tanks. Vegetable farming requires a lot of watering, and to ensure the sustainability of the project certain water requirements must be met by the participating village households – hence the households with existing rain water tanks were given priority.

Adding value to the existing property is another advantage of having a properly installed RWH system, as stated by one head of household, as he was contemplating renting out one of the buildings on his property. Extended *talanoa* sessions with five urban households that practice RWH indicated a certain degree of eco-environmental appreciation of harvesting rainwater to meet the bulk of their household needs. Two urban households resolved to use RWH as a

means of managing the rapid flow of excess rainwater from the main family home located on higher ground, which had the potential to flood the families' smaller rental units built on the lower slopes. While modern RWH began as a response to the often disrupted service from the government reticulated water supply, a more multi-dimensional approach to RWH is envisaged based on this study.

The Economic Dimension of RWH

Installing tanks to collect rainwater was a household initiative funded by the household. Four households (two rural and two urban) were asked to carry out a simple exercise to map out the cost of installing their RWH system, in order to gauge the costs involved; this would enable the researcher to make an economic analysis of the benefits of RWH to the household. In the context of this study (which is small and family/household based), the economic measures of hedonic price methods to assess the real estate value of RWH or Life Cycle Cost (the sum of acquisition cost and ownership cost of a product [in this case the water tank] over its life cycle) are complex methods that are best reserved for a nationwide study of the water and energy sector. Cost is the single greatest inhibitor of installing RWH systems, as informally reported by the urban households with reticulated water supply only. The results of the 'costing' exercise as mapped out by the heads of household of the four households are presented in Table 4. Initial investment and maintenance costs are the two main types of costs associated with RWH.

The cost of installing a simple RWH system, as indicated by the four households, can be fairly high for a low-income country with a minimum wage of $2.37 an hour. Financing the purchase and installation of RWH tanks was borne by the employed household members through personal loans, or funded by family members overseas. "It is a one-off expense that we had to bear, but the long-term benefit is obvious… [it] saves time travelling to fetch water from the District Hospital water tank, and there is always water for our vegetable garden; that is very important" (Rural Head of Household #1). The costs for maintenance, such as clearing the rain gutters, require mostly manual labor. Actual costs are minimal, but if gutters are neglected over long periods of time, leaves and debris can interfere

with the process of collecting and transmitting water to the downspout pipe and into the collection tanks.

On a closer observation of the installed rainwater conveyance systems (gutters and drain/downspout pipes), not a single household in the study sample with RWH systems (both urban and rural) has a complete rainwater conveyance system that captures rainwater from all four sides and corners of the rooftop surface that functions as the catchment area. When queried about the absence of a complete conveyance system, two rural households cited the cost of fittings as a major obstacle to installing the full conveyance system.

RWH and Potential Savings for the Household

Five households (two rural and three urban) with RWH systems and reticulated water supply were very positive about the cost-saving impacts of RWH, based on the household assumption that the more water they collect and save, the more money they save. The households identified monies saved by comparing their July-December 2016 and July-December 2017 water bills. One of the rural households paid an average of $58.00 per month in 2016, compared to $46.00 for the same period in 2017. Although savings were minimal, the fact that savings can be achieved encouraged a positive attitude towards water management through RWH practices. Data limitations and difficulties in quantifying the value of ongoing maintenance expenses to RWH systems at the household level complicate efforts to predict realistic water and financial savings.

Table 4: Household Investment Costs for RWH

Household (Both RW tanks & Reticulated Water Supply)	**Water Price** (Reticulated Water)	**Cost of tank** (Size & fittings)	**Cost of installation**	**Mainte-nance**
Rural household #1	0.5000 per unit (cubic metres)	$899 (1,000L) + $500 fittings	$200, some food and 2 fine mats	Clearing gutter
Rural household #2	0.5000 per unit (cubic metres)	$1,800 (3,000L) + $680 fittings	$180, food and alcohol	None so far

Urban household #3	0.5000 per unit (cubic metres)	$3,500 (5,000L) + $800	$400 and food	Minor repairs to down-spout pipe
Urban household #4	0.5000 per unit (cubic metres)	$1,200 (1,000L) inc. fittings	$300	none

Should RWH be Mandatory?

Given the threats of global warming and shifting rainfall trends associated with the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) phenomenon, it is imperative that RWH be made mandatory, particularly for small island states that are vulnerable to adverse impacts of climate change such as prolonged drought events, or excessive precipitation and coastal flooding episodes. Plumbing instructors and members of the Plumbing Association of Samoa concur that RWH should be mandatory, for many reasons. First, it makes economic sense to collect and store rainwater as it translates into savings for the household budget. Second, it is a well-known fact that RWH reduces surface runoff (Mallin, Johnson & Ensign, 2008, p. 476), particularly storm runoff, which is a major contributor to non-point pollution.

For these reasons, the Plumbers Association of Samoa (PAS) is advocating for mandatory RWH in order to reduce the adverse impacts of surface runoff and, by the same token, to improve on household water reserves for the dry season. To make RWH mandatory would require a change in the existing regulations governing the building code and practices in Samoa. In countries like Australia, efforts have been undertaken by the different states (Victoria, South Australia, Sydney and New South Wales, Gold Coast, Queensland) to ensure that newly built houses comply with the latest energy and water efficient products, and such initiatives are backed by legislation. PAS is advocating for a similar approach that calls for collaboration across the Ministries of Natural Resources and Environment, Works, Transport and Infrastructure, and other relevant government authorities, such as the Samoa Water Authority, to rework national master plans to promote and support RWH policy.

Moreover, RWH is a site-specific source control that satisfies both indoor and outdoor demands for water. While it is beyond the scope of this study to carry out a hydrologic analysis to quantify the ecosystem services benefits of RWH, anecdotal evidence from the focus group sessions with PAS members strongly indicates the valuable contributions of RWH to small garden irrigation, and supplementing water for laundromat and car-washing businesses. Significant benefits to storm-water management can also be achieved through the use of rainwater tanks. It is thus both socially and economically desirable to make RWH mandatory, at least beginning with every new building, both private and public, that will be built from 2020 onwards.

A whole-of-house approach is one way of lending support towards efforts for mandatory RWH. This approach calls for more integrative cooperation between home designers/builders and plumbers to ensure that RWH extends beyond the simple practice of collecting rainwater to meet the household's water demands to include the recycling of grey water for flushing and irrigation. "It is not a new idea, it is already a practice in some Asian countries with water deficit problems, like Taiwan, where grey water is filtered and recycled for flushing purposes" (Vice President, PAS, personal communication, 2 February, 2018).

It is important to note that RWH is just one of many components of water resources management that begins with the management and conservation of the watershed, river corridors and river basins and extends to coastal ecosystems, as embraced in the principles of Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM). IWRM promotes the coordinated development and management of water, land and related resources to maximise the resultant economic and social welfare of society in a sustainable manner, without compromising the sustainability of these critical ecosystems (Global Water Partnership, 2017).

It should be a practical matter in a small country like Samoa to make RWH mandatory, because the technology needed for RWH is considered low-cost but high-impact in relation to social, economic and environmental impacts to the household and the community, whether in village, rural or urban areas, or country-wide. Household rainwater tanks can provide assurance of an alternative and independent water supply when the main supply is interrupted. RWH provides a renewable supply of fresh water through natural

precipitation. What is required for this low-cost technology is a collection system (rooftop), gutters with brackets and downspout pipes to convey the water, and a storage system (tank or cistern). These elements must be factored into the building code, and building permits should only be granted upon satisfying RWH requirements.

Derived Themes from Focus Group Discussions

Contamination of Rainwater

Rainwater is collected mainly from rooftops and then channeled into water tanks of various sizes. Rooftop rainwater can provide good quality water if the rooftop is clean. Otherwise rainwater can be contaminated by rust from metallic corrugated iron roofs or other sources, such as bird droppings on the roof. The main source of contaminants identified in this study are derived from bird droppings and debris trapped on the roof. It is also possible that rainwater may dissolve some heavy metals that are present in the materials used to construct rooftops, such as galvanized iron, as well as galvanized iron water tanks.

Reliability and Convenience

The supply of rainwater is always available every time it rains. All we need to do is to ensure that it is properly collected and stored. Installing a rainwater tank is a time-saving investment and a very convenient and useful 'family asset,' compared to a flat screen television that is using up our cash power (64-year-old male from Vailoa).

Household Water Sharing

One of the problems identified by three urban households (two with rainwater tanks and one with reticulated water supply only) is having to share their water with neighbours because the latter's water has been disconnected by the Samoa Water Authority due to non-payment of outstanding water bills. This practice of water sharing has been ongoing for almost 12 months, and there seems to be no effort on the part of the neighbours to pay their outstanding water bill and have their water reconnected. The households that are providing free water for their neighbours believe that their 'generosity and neighbourly

kindness' is being exploited by their neighbors, which could lead to strained relations. This raises issues related to the cost of water and the ability of families to pay for their water, an issue that lends support to RWH as a means of supplementing household water demands to ease sole reliance on the reticulated water supply.

Special Needs of Dependent Household Members

Having young children and elderly (*matua – tausi*) persons in the household is another important reason for the household to install water tanks. Three rural households and two urban households indicated that the daily needs (hygiene) of caring for the young and especially the elderly (more so when bedridden) call for an uninterrupted supply of water. This was one of the reasons for the household decision to purchase and install a rainwater tank. The specific water needs of the elderly tend to be overlooked or sometimes subsumed under the general water needs of the household. It is important to point out that access to clean water, among other things such as appropriate food and sanitation, are critical needs of the most vulnerable members of the household, particularly in an emergency, as was demonstrated in the 2009 tsunami and Cyclone Gita in 2018.

Water Literacy among Household Members

There was one recurring statement from plumbing lecturers/instructors and PAS members consulted in the formal and informal *talanoa* sessions to explore the issue of RWH and the general attitudes of many people towards water (whether managing water at the source or when it is delivered into homes): *Water should be everybody's business*, and water harvesting should not be confined to the household. In fact, it should be a community-wide agenda. Water literacy requires understanding and acting on all aspects of water conservation, management and usage (social, economic, agriculture, leisure).

At the household level, for example, water literacy can include the understanding and acceptance of the need to install water-saving devices such as dual flush toilets and water-efficient shower heads or faucets. In the absence of water efficient devices, simple water conservation actions in the home should be promoted, such as plugging sinks and wash basins when washing dishes, turning off the tap while brushing teeth, and taking shorter showers (Taua'a, 2014, p.

15). There is a need to step up efforts to raise awareness about water conservation, and it ought to be an ongoing aspect of the water resources management campaign by the Water and Sanitation Sector of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment.

RWH and Livelihoods

Climate change and the projected shifting of rainfall patterns can have an adverse impact on small farming families, particularly during the dry season. Two rural households in the study are farming families, one with a sizable mixed vegetable farm (bok choi, cucumbers, round cabbage, chili, eggplant and okra), and the second household raises livestock (cattle and pigs). Cultivating water sensitive cash crops (vegetables) is a household decision premised on profitable earnings from selling the vegetables (as a major supplier) to the surrounding beach *fale* tourism operations in the area. The short growing season (5 to 6 weeks) for some vegetables (bok choi) makes it an ideal produce, earning the family a stable income. Moreover, RWH water has the lowest salt content, compared to other types of water (e.g., river water) available for watering vegetables. Owning and accessing an RWH system has led to changes in crop selection, such as the introduction of new types of vegetables (okra and new bok choi varieties), to boost household income.

Livestock farmers indicated that, aside from their household water needs, their livestock are also important given that the wealth (*tamaoaiga*) and source of income (*tupe maua*) for the family are measured and derived from their cattle (43 head count) and pigs (2 lactating sows, 9 fattening pigs, 6 weaners). All animals should have continuous access to a suitable water supply of fresh drinking water every day. Ideally, the lactating sows need 20 litres of water per day, and cattle, especially the calving animals, need 40 to 50 litres per day. To ensure that the cattle are provided with adequate water on a daily basis, the family built a small 5 x 8 metre open house with a corrugated iron roof, out in the cattle field, complete with a rain gutter and downspout pipe that directs the water into a 1,000 litre concrete water tank.

This small open house serves two purposes: to house the young men working on the cattle farm, and to harvest rainwater for the animals. In addition, the family also built 4 concrete-lined open style

pits that resemble sand bunkers on a golf course but are much smaller in size, in order to collect and pond rainwater (in the dry season, the pits are refilled with water from the concrete tank). These small concrete structures are strategically built and located around different parts of the cattle field to ensure that the animals, wherever they graze on the 40-acre field, have access to drinking water. High water demand in agriculture is one of the many problems encountered by small and large-scale farmers in Samoa, an issue reiterated by the two rural farming households in the study.

Supplementing water demands for small family businesses was the main purpose behind the RWH systems of two urban households (see Table 3). Car washing and laundry services are two water-dependent operations that practice RWH to supplement water from the mains supply and to manage operation costs such as the monthly water bill. It was also observed during the rural focus group session, conducted at one of the beach *fales* in Aleipata, that RWH was a significant feature of this tourist operation, with two 10,000 litre polyethylene rainwater tanks that provide water for the bathrooms and showers.

RWH and Social Desirability

Household RWH is socially sustainable because all members of the household (and neighbours), irrespective of age, gender and social status, collectively benefit. Every household member has an established real need for reliable clean water. Daily household operations such as cooking, cleaning and washing are less burdensome knowing that there is a guaranteed supply of water in the event of an interruption to the mains supply, which occurs quite often, particularly in rural parts of Samoa. Ownership and responsibility for managing water usage and general maintenance (*tausia lelei*) of the rainwater tank are equally shared by both males and females in the household.

Community RWH

The idea for a village centre RWH system, based at the village primary school, to take advantage of the larger roof surface area of the school building was raised in the rural focus group meeting as a practical means for collecting and storing water that is accessible to the wider village community. A similar water collection point using three 10,000 litre tanks was set up at the district hospital after the 2009 tsunami, and

the opportunity remains for a similar RWH system, but using the village primary school building. Having a community based RWH system centred at the village owned primary school allows access to all members of the village, particularly the economically vulnerable households, which goes a long way toward achieving Sustainable Development Goal 6 – ensuring equitable access to safe drinking water for all by 2030.

Other Observed Water-related Behaviours and Comments

In the course of the study, certain behaviours and attitudes that do not necessarily fit in the thematic groupings stated above were observed. First, the respondents generally seemed to display a degree of complacency towards the idea of water use and conservation. Presumably, the relative abundance of fresh water either from rainfall or piped water propagated a nonchalant, carefree attitude that potentially hinders government efforts towards water resources management, particularly with the view towards climate change impacts on fresh water resources in the small island states of the Pacific.

50 percent (5/10) of the urban households with reticulated water supply only were observed with some very poor attitudes towards the use and management of their water supply. For instance, two households with small outdoor taps, apparently used for watering the garden, were leaking water, and another had young children playing with a hose over the entire duration (1 hour) that the questionnaire was being administered. Others kept the taps running while hand-washing items of clothing.

The fresh water spring and pool in one of the study villages (Vailoa) provides an alternative source of fresh water that is mostly used for bathing and drinking by families without reticulated water supply. The fact that more than 80 percent of households in Vailoa village have access to reticulated water supply [and RWH systems] lessens the demand on the village fresh water pool, which was severely damaged in the 2009 tsunami but has since been restored through government assistance to villages affected by the tsunami. The fresh water pool continues to provide a backstop for the village of Vailoa Aleipata in the dry season, when the mains supply is either rationed or turned off for days, depending on the state of the reservoir. Usage of

the village fresh water pool is very pronounced among households without RWH systems.

Owning a RWH polyethylene tank empowers households to improve their livelihoods and social status in the village. It is not unusual to associate water tanks with other household assets such as white goods products, vehicles, livestock, plantations, and a European-styled dwelling, as indicators of the household's socio-economic placing (*tamaoaiga*) in the village community. A similar perception cannot be deduced from the urban respondents.

Conclusion

In this study, RWH has been presented as a positive action that provides the means for households to manage and control their water demands. By the same token, RWH at the household level can save a sizable volume of relatively high-quality water at an economical cost. Understanding the issues that influence households' water decision-making will contribute to water security, first and foremost for the household, but also for villages and the rest of the country. As demonstrated in the study, the household decision to invest in a RWH system is a response to several factors, such as poor or unreliable mains supply, farming needs, and to support water-dependent small family businesses.

RWH provides subsidiary benefits such as reduced vulnerability of households to water rationing in the dry season and interrupted reticulated supply during the wet season. Equally important, the practice of RWH increases the adaptive capacity of households to manage water resources. People learn to value a resource that is pivotal to their socio-economic functioning. Water is a resource that was once freely available, but now people find that they have to pay for it.

Combining mains and RWH is an efficient way to balance water reliability, cost and security. The primary decision by households to invest in an RWH system was to combat an unreliable water supply from the mains, as well as to better manage the household water bill. The urban households without RWH systems acknowledged a certain degree of vulnerability to water insecurity, particularly at times of restricted reticulated supply, which is becoming a frequent occurrence during the wet season.

Numerous social, economic and environmental benefits of RWH were identified by the respondents, drawing attention to and supporting further studies that examine other forms of RWH technologies available and practiced elsewhere in the world, to augment the rooftop RWH that is commonly practiced in Samoa.

Household owned and operated RWH systems are advocated in this study as a simple and cost-saving action to enhance household resilience to extreme climate change events that can impact on the future availability of fresh water resources. This is important in the face of projected water scarcity associated with a rapidly urbanising population and growing numbers of water-dependent small businesses, both formal and informal. When households and communities collectively cooperate to harvest rain water, the per capita investment in large-scale reservoirs required by the main water service provider (Samoa Water Authority) is minimised.

Overall, to ensure maximum benefits of RWH, the government, through the relevant ministries that deal with water resources management, water policy making, and water delivery, in conjunction with the Plumbing Association of Samoa, should seriously consider making RWH mandatory. This can be addressed in an amendment to the existing building code regulations to incorporate provisions for RWH systems to be installed for all newly constructed residential dwellings.

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Channeling Positive Youth Development through the Arts: Intrinsic Benefits for Young People

Tahere Talaina Si'isi'ialafia

Abstract: *Most dialogues and research on youth development have revolved mainly around socio-economic issues, overshadowing other important developmental areas. Young people are socially excluded given the general lack of youth participation or focus on emotional and psychological realities, which are highlighted in this study as intrinsic benefits. Therefore, a qualitative study was conducted to explore and determine the intrinsic benefits that young people gain from participating in an arts-based intervention in an inner-city community in Downtown Kingston, Jamaica. Experiences explored were gathered through Focus Group Discussions. Young people engaged in the study confirmed that intrinsic benefits gained from participating in the arts were evident improvements in the wellbeing of young people through quality of life and social-emotional development, and through promoting social change in their community through awareness and inspirational murals. What the findings imply for social work is that experiencing the arts, in addition to their therapeutic benefits, can bring about drastic changes in behaviours, emotional expression and cognitive development in young people.*

Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic Benefits of the Arts for Youth

How do young people benefit from arts-based interventions? This research study sought to explore the outcomes for young people of participating in the arts. The benefits were based on the immediate results of participation and reported changes in behaviour and attitudes due to participating in arts-based interventions. Therefore, outcomes were measured as benefits from the perspectives of young people rather than measuring them against resources used in the project or general outcomes for the community.

Young people in many contexts are confronted with socio-economic issues today. As a result, many youth developmental frameworks and youth practices have been developed to address such issues, with the aim of benefiting young people in the process.

However, expected benefits are heavily focused on extrinsic benefits, namely academic attainment and decent employment. What has lacked focus in youth development work today is the promotion of intrinsic benefits for young people which are related to their emotional and psychological development, such as self-esteem and self-motivation – traits that are inherent to the individual. In contrast, young people's priorities and values have all too often been shaped by external objectives which hinder them from valuing their innate and instinctive attributes.

The many current youth development programmes – capacity building workshops, leadership training, skills training – to some extent address and meet the expectations of a successful transition from school to work. However, despite these successful transitions, such youth development programs do not address intrinsic aspects of the individual. Therefore, this study brings to the forefront 'the arts' as a means of intrinsically benefiting young people. It is argued that the arts also have extrinsic benefits, as participation in the arts promotes socio-economic goals such as improving academic performance and minimising delinquent behaviours. However, more importantly, the arts promote intrinsic benefits, such as aesthetic pleasure and a sense of self-worth (McCarthy et al., 2004). In an effort to explore further directions that are conducive to elevating youth development programmes, beyond mere extrinsic expectations, this study reports on the arts experiences of young people from Downtown Kingston, Jamaica, with the aim of identifying whether or to what extent they gained intrinsic benefits from participating in the arts intervention in their community.

Youth Development Approaches

Across the breadth of literature on young people, youth have been studied most commonly based on developmental, socio-psychological, attitudinal, transitional, age group and sub-cultural variants (Kahane, 1997). A prominent focus in youth development studies today is deficit-based, whereby young people's behaviours are viewed as meaningless, troublesome, threatening or alienating, and youth are portrayed as inclined to numerous risks and vulnerabilities (Damon, 2004; Benson, 2003; Kahane, 1997). In Jamaica specifically, young people are confronted by issues of high unemployment, substance

abuse, crime, violence, domestic disputes, sexual exploitation, socio-economic deprivation, and numerous related delinquencies (Blank and Minowa, 2001; CCYD, 2010), all of which lead them to become socially isolated. As a result, youth development programmes are often aimed at achieving socio-economic goals such as improving academic performance and delinquent behaviours, better health, positive and law-abiding behaviour and employment. What is lacking in these youth development approaches and frameworks is the promotion of emotional and psychological development, such as self-esteem and self-motivation, which are intrinsic factors that can play a major transformational role in young people's lives, beyond socio-economic factors.

Youth Development Outcomes

Over the past century, since youth development studies began to receive serious attention, there has been a substantial body of evidence that has defined the various life outcomes of youth development programmes. However, as noted above, youth development approaches have tended to focus more on capacity-building to enable young people to reduce 'symptoms of poor socio-economic outcomes,' overlooking the development of their emotional and psychological capabilities (McNeil et al., 2012).

Two imperative distinctions can be made to differentiate between extrinsic and intrinsic outcomes (McNeil et al., 2012). Extrinsic outcomes refer to benefits that are valued by other people and are not internally inherent to the individual who is expected to achieve the outcomes (McNeil et al., 2012; McCarthy, 2004). For example, what is of value to many youth organisations and agencies today is essentially young people making a successful transition from school to work. Young people are thus deemed 'successful' if they achieve certain educational benefits that will help them secure employment.

In contrast, intrinsic outcomes pertain to benefits that are primarily valued by and inherent to the individual (McCarthy, 2004; McNeil et al., 2012). They are instinctive emotional and psychological traits such as happiness, self-confidence, self-motivation, self-esteem, self-worth, resilience, and competence – innate characteristics of a person. Although elusive, evidence suggests that intrinsic and extrinsic benefits are closely interlinked, in the sense that intrinsic values fuel a person's

desire to achieve extrinsic benefits (Lexmond & Reeves, 2009). When a young person develops intrinsic benefits, that young person is highly likely to want to contribute positively to his or her development, along with that of his or her community, on their own account, while at the same time understanding the impact of such contributions. One study shows that the increase in young people seeking extrinsic benefits, coupled with a decline in intrinsic benefits when looking for a job, signifies future challenges for productivity and the wellbeing of young people in the workforce (Wray-Lake et al., 2011).

The reality is that the focus on promoting and attaining intrinsic benefits for young people has declined from generation to generation, both in youth development organisations and programmes and in young people themselves. This calls for an imperative shift in youth development approaches, programmes and interventions, to reconsider promoting and reinforcing intrinsic values so that young people can recognise the importance of attaining intrinsic benefits. The period of one's youth opens a doorway to making important choices in shaping the kind of life one wants to live. Hence, the choices a young person makes on a daily basis, and the social activities in which he or she participates, can either promote or discourage positive outcomes for the young person.

The importance of intrinsic benefits is also reflected in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological framework of human development. Child and adolescent development occurs in interaction with a set of social systems, and the interaction between young people and their environment is reciprocal. Therefore, it is a critical period for young people, where guidance and support is needed in creating conducive spaces for youth to develop both intellectually and emotionally, so that they can make informed choices about what direction to take, regardless of their social and economic circumstances.

Measuring Extrinsic and Intrinsic Benefits

It is easier to identify and measure the problematic behaviours of young people (Catalano et al., 1999) than it is to measure intrinsic benefits. The difficulty in measuring intrinsic benefits may be partially addressed by Little's (1993) offer of the 'Four C's' in a model of youth development known as 'Positive Youth Development' (PYD). PYD is a strengths-based and assets-based approach that focuses on

the capacities and strengths of young people. The Four C's are *competence, confidence, connection* and *character,* all of which are intrinsic qualities.

According to Little (1993), the Four C's constitute social, relational, mental and behavioural factors that can act as possible indicators to measuring intrinsic benefits for young people. It is argued that when young people develop the Four C's, this results in their becoming more caring, leading them to willingly contribute positively to their own welfare and that of their communities, and also to become more aware of the impact of their contributions on themselves, family, community and the wider society (Little, 1993; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner et al., 2003; Lerner, 2004). The Four C's are embedded in the PYD framework, as it refers to an "ongoing growth process in which all youths endeavour to meet their basic needs for safety, caring relationships, and connections to the larger community (intrinsic), while striving to build academic, vocational, personal and social skills (extrinsic)" (Quinn, 1999, p. 103). In light of this, PYD can be seen as a cutting-edge approach that can be a possible mechanism for measuring intrinsic benefits. It is conducive to promoting intrinsic benefits for young people, which consequently has an enduring effect on extrinsic benefits as well.

The Intrinsic Value of the Arts

The 'arts' are by nature an intrinsic form of development. The arts consist of diverse mediums of creative expression encompassing the art forms of music, dance, drama, painting, and other visual arts, all of which are means of communication and forms of self-expression. One of the reasons why the arts can be a very successful form of intervention with youth is that the significance of art lies in how it impacts the consumer, rather than its value on its own – as paint on canvas, movements on a dance floor, or musical notation. Regardless of what form it assumes, whether it is visual or expressive, art has a sense of appeal to young people, to which they can easily relate.

By the 1960's and 1970's, the arts were increasingly viewed as a means to promote extrinsic and instrumental benefits and to achieve social and economic goals, such as improving the young person's academic performance and test scores, their basic literacy skills, and their ability to learn how to learn (McCarthy, 2004). This is still

evident today, in that the arts are used by non-arts organisations and youth development agencies as constructive mechanisms in prevention programmes.

In Jamaica specifically, the Ministry of Youth and Culture (MYC) has implemented an 'Art for Life Programme' in several institutions, such as children's homes and correctional centres (Watt, 2015). According to the Minister of the MYC in Jamaica, the Art for Life Programme was developed so that young people could learn to express themselves through diverse creative outlets, such as dub poetry, theatre and art. It is also assumed that this programme will help decrease traumatic stress and encourage positivity. Crawford-Brown (2010), in her book *Children in the Line of Fire*, uses art as a means for children to express their feelings and describe their experiences in relation to violence. These are just a few examples of how the arts can be used in various youth development areas, including social work.

What has been overlooked is how the benefits of the arts can enhance an individual intrinsically. McCarthy (2004) highlights two important aspects of intrinsic benefits that are not being recognised. The first aspect is the individual's purpose in participating in the arts; one participates simply for pleasure, stimulation and meaning, without expectations of enhancing instrumental benefits such as increasing academic scores. The second aspect is the fact that intrinsic benefits of the arts do not impact the individual alone, but contribute to the public good as well. Participation in the arts has been seen as remediation and redemption instruments of personal and social change for young people, giving them a sense of empowerment, voice and confidence, which are examples of intrinsic benefits (Hetland et. al., 2007; O'Brien & Donelan, 2008).

Research Design

A qualitative approach was used for this study because it allowed the researcher to study arts-based interventions within the natural settings in which the targeted young people live (Creswell, 2004). The main research question this study sought to answer was: What are the benefits that the young people of Parade Gardens (in Kingston, Jamaica) gained from the arts intervention? Hence, the research design employed was that of the Case Study, whereby the study explored the outcomes and experiences of young people who participated in an arts-

based intervention conducted by a youth-led group known as Paint Jamaica in Downtown Kingston, Jamaica. The benefits explored were based on the immediate results of participation and reported changes in behaviour and attitudes of participants in the arts-based intervention. Therefore, the benefits identified and defined are from the perspectives of young people rather than being measured against resources used in the project or general outcomes for the community.

Setting and Participants

Parade Gardens is located within the capital city of Kingston, Jamaica, also referred to as 'Downtown.' Downtown Kingston is historically known for the emergence of garrison communities. The origins of garrison communities involved a great deal of violence and socio-economic delinquencies, which to a great extent are still prevalent today in inner-city communities.

The study engaged two populations. The first comprised young people living in the studied community, and the second involved four members of the Paint Jamaica Group that initiated the arts intervention. The intervention involved transforming an old and broken-down warehouse into a creative space through the painting of murals and inspirational messages which were derived from the perspectives of the community members.

The findings of this study are based on the experiences of the first study population. This group of young people consisted of 22 adolescents from the ages 10 to 14 years, and 5 youth between the ages of 15-24 years. The latter are young people who coordinate a community-based group called Life Yard and who were the key gatekeepers for the arts intervention within the community. The participants were all selected based on the common ground of their willingness to participate in the arts intervention and being within the 10-24 age group. There were no specific requirements based on gender, social or economic status.

Data Collection

Data was collected mainly through Focus Group Discussions (FGD) which were conducted over a period of one week. This particular method was selected based on the assumption that more ideas are generated if young people discuss with their like-minded peers in a

group. Participants were divided into five groups based on two age groups: 10-14 years and 15-24 years. Gender balance was not considered a factor for dividing participants into groups, as the study sought participants' responses based on their collective experiences as young people participating together in the arts without gender differences.

Instruments

A semi-structured design with open-ended questions was used and facilitated the FGD's. Impromptu questions were asked for further expression and clarification. Participants were provided with consent and assent forms before they were able to participate.

Intrinsic Benefits Offered by the Arts

The heart of this study lies in identifying the benefits that young people gained from participating in the arts intervention. Hence, the findings pertain specifically to the responses of the young people of Parade Gardens gathered through FGD's. The findings include both extrinsic and intrinsic benefits. Although this study sought to underline intrinsic benefits, it did not seek to distinguish between which benefits were mentioned more than others but, rather, to establish an understanding of whether or not young people gained intrinsic benefits through the arts-based intervention. The benefits identified from their experiences were organised under four main themes: *Quality of Life, Personal Development, Social-Emotional Development, and Community Development.*

Quality of Life

This theme highlights the benefits that have contributed to the young people's general wellbeing. According to McCarthy et al. (2004), people are attracted to the arts because they give them a special sense of pleasure and an intrinsically rewarding experience. Participants in this study indicated that the arts intervention had 'made their life a bit better.' It had given them benefits related to a) pleasure; b) new leisure time; and c) a sense of belonging and meaningful relationships.

Pleasure: The most prominent response from the adolescent groups was that being in the arts intervention made them feel 'happy and excited,' which ultimately defines a pleasurable experience. The

adolescents further explained that the painting was fun and that they really enjoyed their time spent in painting. Interestingly, other than enjoying the actions of painting itself, they shared that they were happy with the murals that were being painted, and the fact that they were painting on walls and not on paper or a small canvas. The expressions of 'happy and excited' by the adolescent participants were reaffirmed by the older FGD participants, who explained that the children and adolescents were always so eager to finish school and attend the arts interventions. They also stressed that Life Yard was more than excited and happy about the arts intervention, as it was a 'once in a lifetime experience' for them.

New Leisure Time: The adolescent participants highlighted that when they started to enjoy the painting, it became their new hobby after school. According to their list of things they do after school, these were generally unproductive activities, aside from doing their chores and homework. Hence, when the arts intervention started, they had something more productive to spend their time on after school. Although the details of the kinds of trouble they used to get into were not elaborated, three of the adolescent groups mentioned that the art intervention kept them out of trouble and prevented them from 'wasting time doing bad things.' The older youth stressed that it was their first time to experience such an opportunity, and that the success of the project had become their new priority. They also reiterated how they had observed the adolescents and children being more involved in the intervention than in the usual unproductive activities they used to participate in, and that this had made them feel happier about the intervention.

Sense of Belonging and Meaningful Relationships: It was evident across all FGDs that participants felt a sense of belonging in the arts intervention. According to the responses, what made them feel this sense of belonging was mainly the interactions the participants had with Paint Jamaica. This was not only a matter of having foreigners or Jamaicans from other parts of Jamaica taking part, but they emphasised how they were treated. At first they were shy and were not really sure how they would be treated, but they described the members of Paint Jamaica being friendly and, most importantly, they pinpointed that they were treated with respect. When asked to define how they were treated with respect, the adolescents described how they were not scolded or talked-down-to when they made a mistake in their painting.

They were allowed to choose to help paint any of the murals; they were able to talk and ask questions; and most of all, they stressed that they were able to share what they thought about the paintings.

As explained by the older FGD participants, they knew that Paint Jamaica owned the idea and had invested in the resources to conduct the intervention; however, the way Paint Jamaica implemented the intervention made them also feel ownership over the arts intervention. Moreover, they stressed the importance of the friendships and mutual relationships that they had established through participating in the arts intervention. The adolescents highlighted the fact that they became closer with their friends while, at the same time, making new friends, not only from their community but with those from Paint Jamaica. The older youth highlighted that they had become closer to the younger ones in the community, and had established meaningful relations with the diverse artists and volunteers.

Personal Development

This theme generally refers to the development of young people's skills and qualities which are necessary to maximising their potential. The responses from all FGDs reflected three main benefits: self-confidence, empowerment, and a sense of responsibility and accomplishment.

Self-confidence: Self-confidence was evident across both adolescents and the older youth. Adolescents described their increase in self-confidence in terms of overcoming shyness and being able to interact with the different artists and volunteers. Additionally, they also highlighted that they were not afraid of making a mistake in the paintings because they knew that they would not be scolded, and that the problem could be fixed. One adolescent group shared that some of them were scared of heights; thus, being able to climb and paint from the top of a scaffold increased their self-confidence.

Empowerment: Some of the adolescent groups mentioned that they felt inspired to become artists the more they painted, while others explained how the messages portrayed in the murals had encouraged them to be better behaved and to treat others with kindness. The older youth emphasised that the intervention had greatly encouraged Life Yard's vision of making their community better and creating a place where children are safe and happy.

Sense of Responsibility and Accomplishment: The adolescents felt that they had accomplished a lot from the arts intervention. They highlighted that every time they saw the walls, they were reminded of what they had painted, and just knowing that they painted some of the murals gave them a sense of accomplishment. They described how they would tell other young people who came around to the space about which murals they helped paint. Additionally, two of the adolescent groups mentioned their commitment to protect the project site. They explained that ever since the painting exercise was finished, many children and other young people would come to play in the space; therefore, they want to make sure that no one ruined the paintings by drawing over them or scratching the paint off the walls.

The older youth emphasised that since they had encountered Paint Jamaica, they felt a high sense of responsibility over the safety of its members. They reiterated that the arts intervention was a new experience for them, and therefore they wanted to see it completed successfully. With their commitment to the intervention, it was completed with success. They expressed that they had never experienced an accomplishment where 'something was done from the start to the finish' without hesitation, despite little hiccups. They felt a sense of accomplishment because members of the community started to compliment their efforts, and because they had established meaningful friendships and relationships with diverse members of Paint Jamaica.

Social-Emotional Development

This theme pertains to the young people's self-awareness and awareness of others. It is mainly developed and reinforced by their surroundings and agents of socialisation, namely family and school. It is about young people being able to identify, understand and control their emotions, as well as being able to comprehend and manage the emotions of others with whom they interact. FGDs highlighted several benefits pertaining to emotional and social well-being: change in self-perception, emotional expression, and social awareness.

Self-perception: Three of the adolescent focus groups stated that the arts intervention helped them change the way they think about themselves. The females specifically referred to a mural that portrayed a young black female. The artist of this particular mural explained:

"Young girls in Jamaica are bombarded by a Eurocentric beauty standard; from bleaching our skin to relaxing our hair, everyone and everything around us is telling us we have to change ourselves to be pretty; it broke my heart to see these gorgeous little black girls talk about their skin and hair as if they are things to be ashamed of and altered. The young girls who participated in the project thought the girls in the murals were pretty and came to realise that they were too." When the girls in the groups were asked to describe why they liked this particular mural, they explained how young girls are always trying 'to look foreign,' whereby they want to straighten their hair and bleach their skin. This mural made them feel better about themselves, with special mention of their curly hair – after which they further elaborated on the many amazing styles of braids they can do with their hair.

The males, on the other hand, referred to the murals that portrayed a football player and, in another, a lion. They explained that it made them feel that they could become good football players, while the lion represents strength and power. They were asked about what they meant about strength and power, and they explained that they believe that they are strong young males who want to be able to stand up for themselves and not be bullied. More importantly, they highlighted that they want to have the power to stand against the influence of violence in their community. The general response from all groups was that this kind of art made them feel more positive about themselves.

Emotional Expression: What was mainly highlighted by the adolescent groups was that the act of painting made them feel calm. They shared that while painting, they were much more focused, and it helped them also to reflect their feelings onto what they were painting. The older youth explained that they observed the adolescents and children becoming more tolerant and well-mannered throughout the project. They felt that it was the atmosphere within the intervention and the people they were with who had a major impact on the young ones' behaviours; rather than scolding and punishing them for misbehaving, they were talked to and dealt with respect.

Social Awareness: Being among people from diverse backgrounds exposed the young people of the community to different ways of interacting with others. Interacting with Paint Jamaica made the adolescents aware of their own behaviours towards others, and that of Paint Jamaica towards them. They highlighted that Paint Jamaica made them feel happy because of how Paint Jamaica treated them. Thus,

they learned to think about things differently and in a more positive way, which was also evident in the adolescents' connections with some of the murals, as elaborated on above. It also helped them understand why Paint Jamaica is doing such an initiative in their community, and thus some now aspire themselves to become artists for the betterment of their community.

The general sentiment in all the FGDs was that they believed that those in Paint Jamaica were honest and genuine in their intention to make their community better. Additionally, the adolescents expressed how they enjoyed working together with others; according to the older youth, they were happy to see how the different dynamics and energies involved merged into completing one result. Moreover, the adolescents developed an artistic view towards their surroundings, and stressed the idea of painting all the other empty spaces in the community.

Community Development

Youth participation in the arts compels community development by creating social cohesion, a community vision, and the development of a community identity (Lowe, 2000; Matarasso, 1997). The participants were asked about their perspectives on how the arts intervention had benefited the community. The adolescent focus groups highlighted that it had beautified the area. As a result, many community members, especially young people, are now hanging around the warehouse playing football and other recreational activities.

A striking point mentioned in one of the adolescent FGDs was that the arts intervention did not stop the violence in the community. This clearly tells the researcher that the awareness of these young adolescents is beyond the mere fact that this was an arts activity, and shows that they aspire to stopping violence in their community. The adolescents in this particular group explained that, although the arts intervention had not stopped violence directly, they did believe that violence could decrease if more of these art interventions were conducted throughout the whole community and neighbouring communities, in a continuous fashion.

All of the adolescent groups also mentioned that the space is used for videos and music. According to the older youth, several music artists from Jamaica and abroad have come into the community to film their music videos in the space. The older youth highlighted that this

has resulted in Life Yard becoming more visible, not only within the community but publicly, on radio shows and in newspaper articles. As a result of having different people coming in to observe and use the space, this contributes to neighbouring small businesses (i.e., shops, food stalls) by generating income. The participants recognised that although the arts intervention cannot change some of the prominent issues in the community, particularly violence, the arts can make their community better if art interventions continue to be conducted over a long period of time.

Summary of Intrinsic Benefits for Young People Participating in the Arts

Based on the findings elaborated above, the intrinsic benefits of youth arts participation have been summarised in Table 1, in accordance with McCarthy's (2004) three levels of value: private, private-to-public, and public. The intrinsic benefits are highlighted based on the themes or elements outlined in the findings.

Table 1: Summary of the Intrinsic Benefits gained by Young People through the Arts

Intrinsic Benefits for Young People Participating in the Arts		
Private Value: intrinsic benefits that pertain primarily to the individual	***Private-to-Public Value: intrinsic benefits that pertain primarily to the individual but consequently impact on others***	***Public Value: intrinsic benefits that pertain to the community***
1. Pleasure 2. Sense of belonging 3. Self-confidence 4. Empowerment 5. Sense of accomplishment 6. Self-perception 7. Aspirations to be an artist	1. Sense of responsibility 2. Sense of accomplishment 3. Social awareness 4. Aspirations to be an artist	1. Meaningful relationships/social bonds 2. Sense of pride and ownership 3. Sense of communal responsibility 4. Empowerment

Implications for Social Work Practice

This study anticipated generating new knowledge and awareness of the need to rethink current youth development approaches, practices and policies in regards to developing intrinsic benefits for young people through meaningful participation. The study provided insights on the arts as a discipline and a positive platform with which to engage young people. It contributed to advancing the recognition of arts-based interventions as an effective and innovative mechanism for developing not only extrinsic benefits but, most importantly, reinforcing intrinsic values for young people. The results of this research suggest the need for policies to place an emphasis on intrinsic developmental aspects such as self-confidence and competence, rather than being heavily focused on socio-economic factors of youth development, namely youth employment and academic attainment.

Social work encompasses multidisciplinary areas of development, of which an important segment is young people. As expressed in the experiences of the young people in this study, arts-based interventions as simple as painting can have a significant impact on values intrinsic to young people. Incorporating the arts beyond therapeutic purposes in social work can make drastic changes in behaviour, attitudes, empathy, emotional expression and cognitive development in young people.

New Directions

The findings of the study highlight three key implications for social work practice and, more specifically, youth development practice: the need for more research on intrinsic benefits of youth development; the need for more research and programmatic exploration of the arts; and finally, the realignment of practice with PYD principles. Each of these implications is discussed in turn and proposals made for action.

Very few research studies or literature on intrinsic outcomes in youth development exist. This is a major challenge that pertains to measuring intrinsic outcomes for young people. Therefore, further research needs to be conducted in three main areas. The first is evaluating existing outcome models and assessing how such models are used in practice. Secondly, there is a need to increase the knowledge of the role of the arts in youth development in the Caribbean, and Jamaica in particular – with implications for other contexts. As reflected in this study and several others cited, the arts

have a major positive impact not only on developing extrinsic outcomes but intrinsic outcomes for young people. However, this study has found a lack of knowledge on the role of arts in youth development in the Caribbean.

It is also evident that in developing countries such as Jamaica, the arts are typically mere components of certain youth programmes or part of the school curriculum, and are mainly commercialised. For this reason, governments, youth organisations and relevant stakeholders need to de-institutionalise the arts and invest in the arts more at the grassroots level by providing community-based groups (especially informal entities, such as Life Yard and Paint Jamaica) with the necessary resources. Additionally, there is a need to conduct case studies of informal youth work and practices (such as the Paint Jamaica Arts Project) and record their outcomes to inform further youth policies and programmes. There is a need to develop a database of informal community-based and youth-led groups and the activities they are delivering.

Moreover, it is evident that Positive Youth Development encompasses intrinsic factors and aspects. There is thus a great need to re-evaluate current youth development models to ensure that they are formulated on principles of PYD, and that specific indicators of youth participation in practice are defined and outlined to better inform youth programmes and policies. In light of these concerns, stakeholders in the youth development arena, whether in Jamaica or other similar contexts, need to recognise the importance of developing intrinsic benefits by infusing principles of PYD into their practices and frameworks of action, to complement the extrinsic outcomes expected of young people. Stakeholders who focus on fostering innate values will propel young people to have the desire to bring about constructive change and to cultivate sustainable capacity for meaningful social change in their communities.

Although the cultural setting of Jamaica differs in many respects from that of Samoa (as Jamaicans are the descendants of African slaves, with a particularly brutal legacy of slavery and colonialism, and extremely high levels of poverty), we share the experience of being small island states. It is argued that the positive intrinsic benefits of the arts revealed in this study also have relevance for Samoan and other Pacific Islander youth.

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Positive Impacts of Enhancing Quality Knowledge and Proficient Usage of the English Language across Samoan Society

Grace Morita Manuleleua

Abstract: *The pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial eras have had significant impacts on Samoan society. Contact with the outside world has moved the nation into and through various transitions, from traditional to pre-modern, modern and postmodern, from local to global, and from national to international. Just as common preferences for food and beverages have changed over time, so have much broader and deeper changes impacted the Samoan people's culture, beliefs, identity and customs. This paper focuses on the change brought about in the strand of language – Samoan and English. It discusses the importance of the English language in Samoan society, issues in regards to the enhancement of the language, positive impacts of fluency in English language learning, adequate methods and key groups who contribute to the improvement and ample practice of the English language, and also the significance of the Samoan mother tongue that plays a crucial role in transitioning into the second language, which is English.*

Rationale for the Use of English

English language usage has, in the postcolonial period, become increasingly more important, and English is now widely used in all spheres of Samoan life, be it in government, education, or in day-to-day communication. An individual who speaks, reads and writes capably in English is commonly viewed as someone with potential and intelligence and is, to some extent, seen as someone with greater chances for a successful life. English has become a driver of transformation, a key to economic and educational success. This is part of the global relationship between competency in the English language and access to economic and social benefits, which is related to the increase in English speakers, writers and readers in many if not most international contexts (Hann et al., 2014).

The English language plays a crucial role in the lives of the Samoan people, and I maintain that our nation should not lag in developing methods to develop the practice of the English language in every frame of Samoan life, whether in the rural or the urban areas of the nation. I claim this to be important because the English language has the distinction of being the global language connecting nations and peoples who practice the language as a foreign or second language. It is the *lingua franca* of the postmodern world and the vanguard language of globalisation. The English language possesses prestigious economic capital which can be utilised by individuals and family units, whether in Samoa or overseas (Vague, 2014).

Globalisation, which is associated with the 'Digital Revolution,' is impacting every country in the world, moving into many private homes and businesses, and one carrier of this revolution is the English language. It has become a gateway leading to the interaction between technology and traditions, and to the adaptation or even the merging of some habits, customs and values (Alfehaid, 2014, p. 103). Samoa may be an independent nation, but it is just as dependent as any other aid-recipient country of the South Pacific on the more developed, industrialised nations for sustenance, assistance and growth. This is why the nation must do everything possible to create opportunities for all households to have access to the acquisition of sound knowledge in the English language. As Samoa continues to be inevitably connected to the global world, it will be increasingly beneficial to be able to communicate globally, and that means attaining knowledge in comprehension, oral and reading skills in the English language.

Being a bilingual nation, with Samoan as the national language and English as the official language, has allowed the nation to grow out of its former isolation, has helped people to improve their quality of life, and has allowed them to understand contexts other than their own. Ljungdahl (2007) states that the adoption and practice of English as an official language has led to an expansion in peoples' understanding of the languages of technology, science, business and communication.

Samoa has gone to great lengths to expand the usage of English through its educational institutions, into which the vast majority of the population are funneled. The vision of Samoa's Ministry of Education is to establish a quality holistic educational system that recognises the spiritual, cultural, intellectual and physical potential of all participants, enabling them to make fulfilling life choices (Tuia, 2015, p. 129). One

method I would highly recommend is to enlarge the focus of refining the teaching and practice of the global language of English in Samoa's education curriculum. This is needed because English is the band which expands Samoans' understanding of the world, enhances their access to social opportunities, and helps them to understand global influences and impacts. It is becoming more than necessary for the local community to improve their usage and understanding of their second language.

Factors Affecting the Use of English in Samoa

Of the many different groups who have landed on Samoa's shores in the last three centuries, including traders, whalers, colonial rulers and indentured labourers, it was the foreign missionaries whose purpose in Samoa, other than bringing Christianity, was to establish an education system. A study by Tuia and Schoeffel (2016, p. 41) found that the adoption of Christianity in Samoa in the early 19th century led to new justifications of hierarchical power, transformed modes of clothing and housing, expurgated versions of traditional practices, and an aspirational education system based on foreign books, concepts and values. Now, in more recent history, new streams of information and inspiration have invaded Samoa in the form of social media.

Today English has become the dominant language across all educational institutions in Samoa, with the exception of preschools and some village or church-run schools (Vague, 2014, p. 15). From the time of Samoa's independence in 1960 until the early 1990s, the literacy rate of the nation was recorded at around 90%; this was true until 1996, when it was reported that the nation was experiencing a significant decline in literacy standards at the primary level (Vaai et al., 2009, p. 221). The extent to which students are able to learn and develop familiarity with the English language depends on whether they are receiving effective instruction on the basis of English literature, and whether they are motivated by self-discipline to hone the ability to speak and, even more importantly, to read the English language.

Evidence drawn from research carried out by Vaai et al. (2009) found that some of the barriers which hindered reading capabilities in students included: lack of time prioritised for reading, difficult vocabulary, family/household chores, unavailability of reading

materials in the home, and the financial cost of purchasing reading materials (pp. 30-31). In highlighting these barriers to English enhancement, we discover that the majority of these reasons are personal factors that can be mended if tended to as a priority – first by the government, and then by the education system, leaders and parents. In this effort, both speech and reading abilities need to be taken seriously.

A nation's choice to use either an indigenous language or an imposed colonial language – in Samoa's case, English – in the classroom is a political decision with enormous pedagogical implications for its indigenous people. The choice to use English as the medium of classroom instruction determines how learners interpret their classroom experiences and how they relate these experiences to the way they think about the world at large (Lee, Hang & Barker, 1996, p. 100).

Quality teaching is a key influence that leads to attaining high quality outcomes in language learning (Si'ilata, 2014). However, in Samoa's bilingual society, where English is used as the classroom language of instruction, there are obstacles to such high quality teaching. The shortage of teachers, and their limitations with regard to expertise in respective subjects, especially in rural-based primary and secondary schools, are impediments that have impacted students' enhancement of English language learning (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016). If the nation were to place more emphasis on investing in quality teachers, this would make a significant difference for learners who are in need of effective teaching methods.

To implement this idea, I agree with Lameta's (2005) statement that it is the responsibility of two key spheres, the government and social institutions, to effectively and equitably meet the needs of the population, so that groups that vary in linguistic repertoire have an equal opportunity to participate in their government and to receive services from their government. The enhancement of the English language is diminished due to the limitations in delivering and teaching the English language in a way that makes it as meaningful as the nation's mother tongue (Ljungdahl, 2006).

Positive Effects of English Proficiency

This paper focuses on the positive impacts on the populace of attaining proficient knowledge and practice of English as a second language. Adequate usage and application of a second language in any society is an indicator of one's agency, power and career mobility; it develops one's self-perception and changes the way individuals perceive the world around them (Hann et al., 2014, p. 4). Samoa is a strongly culture-based nation, still largely dependent on agriculture and traditional customs. Although some may therefore not understand the need to have excellent skills in the English language, I would argue that most Samoans understand that those who are more advanced in the English language are differentiated from those who have limited English skills, in terms of access to quality employment, higher education, social opportunities, economic benefits, etc. Thus I concur with Hann et al's (2014) claim that those who are proficient in the English language generally have greater life opportunities, such as sustainable work, supporting their families and accessing services.

Shore and Platt (1984) found that Samoans were deeply concerned about their lack of English proficiency, and that the limited English reading and writing proficiency of Samoan migrants, combined with their unfamiliarity with Western expectations and values associated with work, hampered their ability to write resumes, complete job applications, and succeed in interviews. In order to combat this factor that has contributed to Samoan migrants' difficulties in adapting to life in the diaspora, I maintain that more serious efforts must be made to encourage English learning methods and pedagogies for the nation as a whole.

The post-World War II era radically transformed the economic structure of Samoan society. Samoans' earlier exposure to a cash economy, through German coconut plantations during the German colonial period, led to a change in people's expectations. In order to fulfil these expectations, people began to search for wage employment elsewhere, leading to an extensive chain of migrations out of Samoa into industrialised societies. American Samoans went to America, and other Samoans were drawn to mass-production factories in need of migrant workers in New Zealand; from New Zealand, Samoans began migrating to Australia (Gough, 2009, p. 36).

As Samoans continue to migrate yearly to these nations, where English is the dominant language, in order to adapt and to gain comfortable access to economic and social opportunities in these diasporic settings it is prudent and beneficial that they be proficient in the global language of English. I contend that it is the responsibility of the Samoan society as a whole to cater for the development of English practice, despite the inevitable chances of her people moving out of the nation. This commitment signifies the unique cultural identity of Samoan people – to provide *tautua* (service) and communal development for her people in whatever ways they can. For those Samoans who migrate, the knowledge and proficient use of the English language will be immensely helpful in establishing connections and ties with different sectors of the new society, whether this be agencies of the government, the education system, health services, civil society, and of course the employment sector.

The Role of Teachers in English Language Acquisition

English is not the dominant language used in most Pacific Region jurisdictions. In most school systems, language proficiency goals usually include both the students' first language and English. Let us examine the Transitional Bilingual Policy in Samoa, for instance. Lameta (2005) discusses this transitional bilingual policy, with Samoan being the language medium of instruction from Years 1 to 4, while students begin to learn the English language. From Year 5 or 6, English takes over as the medium language of instruction (2005, p. 53). Samoa's students will theoretically have had a sufficient period of time to learn and practice the English language for five years once they reach Year 9, which is the beginning of the high school years.

But while this pattern may be true for some schools in Samoa, it is not the case in all schools. Lameta (2005) emphasises the disparities between students from urban and rural areas, with urban students achieving a higher English literacy level. Burger (2007) provides a vital method that is applicable to Samoa, and that is to provide professional development in addressing the needs of English language learners in the classroom in every setting, and in every primary or secondary school, by targeting programmes for teachers on how to conduct formative assessments and how to address the needs of English language learners.

Teachers play a vital role in imparting English language learning to students. Hattie's (2003) work, "Teachers Make a Difference," identifies teachers as one of six major sources of students' learning capabilities. Teachers can have a very positive effect on students' capacity to attain knowledge in a respective subject (2003, p. 3). Samoa has invested much effort into developing the structures, resources and buildings of schools, but now must take greater strides in investing in quality and expert teachers.

Young Samoan students preparing to enter primary school, usually at ages 5-6 (Year 1), enter a space where the teacher becomes their temporary parent figure. It is the responsibility of teachers to build on the language knowledge of children who are most likely from traditional or semi-traditional homes, where Samoan is the dominant language. I argue that Samoa's teachers should focus on developing strategies to socialise young students by changing the common use of traditional methods of shaming and physical punishment of young people, be it between parents and children or teachers and students.

Samoa's culture of teaching young people to be *mata'u*, meaning respectful, obedient and fearful of those who occupy authoritative positions, is a common means of socialisation in the lives of young people. Pereira's (2010) study, which I do not necessarily agree with, suggests that 'fear' is what Samoan society believes will motivate students to listen and obey and thereby 'learn.' I believe that there is a need for transformation in the relationship context of teacher approaches, methods and mindsets toward their pupils. In claiming this, the focus must be on the building up of students' capacity – not to control their behaviours but to enhance their cognition, and not to demean their character but to encourage interpersonal interactions initiated by the teacher, which will improve results and learning efforts from their students. This more encouraging approach will eventually bear fruit in students' subject grades and overall progress reports.

We discover in Hattie's (2002) study that the most effective outcomes for student learning come through developing and investing in the equipping of professional teachers. Qualified teachers engage students in learning and develop in their students the capacity for self-regulation. They invite students to engage rather than copy. They have positive influences on students' achievement, and they make a distinction between doing what is needed to gain a passing grade and

relating ideas to experience by cultivating in-depth reading comprehension (2002, p. 9).

Bilingual instructional strategies that aim to teach for cross-lingual transfer are entirely feasible and empirically supported, even in second language medium contexts (Cummins, 2011, 1980, as cited in Si'ilata, 2014, p. 21). The second language must not exclude the first language in the learning space; teachers are facilitators of the transfer between the two. The research of Lee, Hang and Barker makes a strong case for the need to use both languages. They use as an example the subject of science to justify the importance of acquiring proficiency in both Samoan and English languages. The implementation of bilingualism in science education in Samoa clearly needs to go hand in hand with perceptions about the style and climate of teaching and learning as a whole. Their findings reveal that participants in their research, both students and teachers, suggested that a legitimised and enhanced bilingualism can do much to promote children's critical thinking and questioning in science (1996, 118). The significance of their study is that not only can the use of both languages enhance students' understanding in the subject of science, but all major or minor subjects, whether at primary, secondary or tertiary level, in social sciences, maths, accounting or history. Again, this bi-lingual teaching requires highly trained teachers.

The Role of Parents in Encouraging English Reading

Children and young people do not learn only in schools; they learn first in the home, then at school, and then back at home again. For this reason, Samoa should examine the impact which 'home teachers' or parent figures have on the learning abilities of their children. Earlier we noted Vaa'i et al.'s (2009) finding that students' learning comprehension suffers from lack of reading time and reading materials. An antidote is found in a study conducted by Whitten (2016), whose work on the impact of 'Pleasure Reading' is an approach I strongly believe should be encouraged and widely practiced in Samoan households.

Pleasure reading outside the classroom is not what most Samoans are accustomed to. It focuses on the development of thinking for oneself, and the practice of independent learning. Parents' significant role here is to make sure their children are completing tasks they are

assigned by their teachers, but also to encourage further reading by providing basic reading materials which will contribute to the learning abilities of their children's second language. Parents can also provide learning space opportunities that no one can take away from them. I discovered through studies conducted by Vague (2014), whose research was based on studying English practice in the Moata'a village area in Apia, that many parents were strongly encouraging their children to learn and use English, as they considered it necessary and important for their future endeavours (p. 44).

Parents, together with teachers, must encourage their children to read outside of the classroom in order to increase reading comprehension, vocabulary, general knowledge and cultural awareness. 'Pleasure reading' at home will not only improve reading abilities in our children, but will open up a world of new knowledge. Whitten's research on pleasure reading with high school students in Southeast Texas found that students who set aside little time and effort for pleasure reading at home tended to have substandard writing skills, poor reading comprehension skills, and low-level vocabulary capabilities (2016, p. 58).

Encouragement of pleasure reading does not need policy or financial investment; rather, it is a very simple yet effective method that can be applied in any education system or home context. It is a method that Samoa is more than capable of employing to enhance and further English usage. But in order for this to make a difference in Samoan society, there must be a shift in priorities. Beyond culture-related and church-related financial commitments, education-related support for Samoa's children should be prioritised.

One way this support can be shown is in parents' commitment to moderate the usage of technology, which has the tendency to take young people away from prioritising their studies. Their time-consuming reliance on technology can have a negative effect on their learning. The technologies of cell phones, i-pads, television, etc, pose a threat because of their highly distracting applications, which take the focus of young people away from their studies. I agree with Whitten's findings that social media has become the activity in which students spend much of their spare time, and their preoccupation with Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat and Twitter is having a negative impact on their reading and writing skills (2016, p. 57).

The Role of Music in Language Learning

Learning sites in which English literacy skills have been shaped in Samoa have included the pastor's house, primary schools and homes, where cultural interactions have occurred on the personal, interpersonal and community levels (Valentine, 2016). Yet English-speaking communities are centred in the urban areas around the capital, Apia. I believe that a method which could instill knowledge and usage of English into children's understanding much more broadly is the practice of music, which can contribute significantly to fluency in the English language.

For children in Samoa, music is usually their first meaningful exposure to the English language. It is an important teaching tool in both preschools and primary schools. Singing occupies an important place in preschool and primary school classes and is an effective language learning method. It is experienced as entertainment by children, and breaks down boundaries in schools with a mixture of Samoan and *afakasi* (half-caste) students. It is effective in second language acquisition as the unfamiliar sounds of the new language are encased in a rhythmic pattern. It is seen as less intimidating than oral repetition of English words. Singing provides a more pleasurable opportunity for language repetition, and repetition is a crucial tool in language learning (Vague, 2014, p. 68). Ljungdahl's (2007) study shows that, as a communicative activity, singing helps children with pronunciation and syllable stress, and aids the memory of language structures.

The Significance of the Mother Tongue

Bilingualism should not be seen as a negative phenomenon in any society. By all means, the Samoan language is the foundation on which to build a person's knowledge of English. Learning to read in the first language supports an individual's success in mastering a second language (Si'ilata, 2014). The mother tongue is the language of the nation. It is the language through which one comes to know the world, the language to which emotional attachment is the strongest. Speaking the mother tongue in school increases self-confidence and thinking skills, and also conveys freedom of speech (Khan, 2014, p. 148).

The Samoan language has already reached a high level of proficiency in our society. I believe the anxiety expressed by some that the English language will cause the loss of Samoa's mother tongue is not something our people need to worry about. The Samoan language in all its richness is unique, and will always be critical to our cultural identity. The use of English can also become a part of our cultural identity, and various studies have shown that bilingualism does not have to be detrimental to cultural cohesion; rather, it can be a rewarding addition to cultural identity. Research findings in Ozfidan's work (2017) show that "Knowing more than one language makes children have strong memories, they are also cognitively more creative and innovative than children who know one language; being bilingual gives children more global perspectives" (p. 15).

This suggests that using both the Samoan language as our cherished mother tongue, as well as English as a second language, will benefit the nation. As important as English is in developing, improving and sustaining Samoan society, the Samoan language also plays an equally significant role in the building up of the Samoan people. Despite being a globally recognised language, English can never be a substitute for the mother tongue. For children, maintaining their first language can extend their cognitive development. Children having a sound knowledge of their first language can transfer skills from one language to another. Knowledge of the mother tongue opens doors, such as knowledge of grammatical structures, to other grammatical structures, which awakens an understanding of a kind of universal grammar that lies within all of us. Therefore, the mother tongue is the master key to acquisition of foreign languages, the tool which gives us the fastest, surest, most precise, and most complete means of accessing a foreign language (Khan, 2014, p. 149).

As noted earlier, Samoa uses the Samoan language as a medium of communication and instruction in the early years of formal learning, and transitions to English in Year 6. There should be a continuation of the study of the Samoan language throughout students' education, so that they transition into high school with a sound knowledge of both languages. Usage of the mother tongue in school reinforces pupils' motivation and makes them more comfortable and confident. There is a strong relationship between the language of instruction used by the teacher and pupils' learning abilities. The mother tongue is a large part of a child's environment, and it goes a long way toward fostering

proper and adequate communication between teachers and pupils. Use of the mother tongue promotes learning as children feel more comfortable expressing themselves in a language they can identify with (Awopetu, 2016).

Conclusion

Samoa is a developing nation which, in the midst of being impacted by a globalising world, strives to maintain, sustain and enhance the livelihood of her people. This paper has discussed various factors, impacts and approaches which can play beneficial roles in enhancing Samoa's usage of the English language. The English language is a key factor in promoting Samoa's progress as a developing nation, and it can help to build and improve our standard of living and to bridge barriers between traditional Samoa and a world that has become interconnected by globalisation. Several key groups – government, teachers and parents – can all do their part to contribute to young people's proficient practice of English. In this way we will enhance our society's understanding not only of the global language of English but of the world around us.

Samoa's population has stretched across the developed Western societies of New Zealand, Australia and the United States. In order for Samoan migrants to adapt to their changed environments in the diaspora, it will be helpful for them to attain a sound knowledge of English language practice. At the same time, Samoa should promote English language skills for all Samoans, whether in Samoa or in the diaspora.

The Samoan language also plays a significant role in understanding the fundamentals of English practice. The enhancement of both the Samoan and English languages should be given greater emphasis and focus in school curricula and the nation's educational syllabus. To be proficient in the usage of the English language, for all peoples of Samoa's society, whether in the traditional villages or in the urban town areas, can potentially improve our people's access to social opportunities, enhance their understanding of the world around them, and support a sustainable standard of living for the Samoan people.

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Samoan Young People Talk about Gender-based Violence

Ma'ilo Helen Tanielu

Abstract: *Violence against women and girls (VAWG) and gender-based violence (GBV) are a global problem. They have devastating effects on the lives of not only women and girls, who tend to be the main victims/survivors, but also on the development of men and boys. In Samoa this issue is of utmost importance because it has major physical, social, psychological and economic consequences for the continuing development of Samoan society. The level of VAWG and GBV in Samoa has risen from 46% in 2007 (SPC, 2007) to 60% in 2016 (MWCSD, 2017). This paper explores young people's perspectives on VAWG and GBV in Samoa by means of a sampling of students at the National University of Samoa, ages 16-24 years. It presents a cross-section of participant narratives from preliminary findings of a qualitative research exercise with four focus groups.*

Overview of GBV and VAWG in Samoa

Gender based violence (GBV) and violence against women and girls (VAWG) is a global concern that has devastating effects on the lives of both women and girls, who are the main victims or survivors, but also on the development of men and boys (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2015). It is "violence that is directed at a person on the basis of gender or sex. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty" (United Nations, 1979, p. 1).

Gender-based violence is a prominent issue in Samoa, especially violence against women and girls (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Lievore, 2007; SPC, 2006; Tauasosi, 2010; Cribb, 2010; Boodoosingh, 2016; Fatuaiupu & MWCSD, 2016; Ah Siu-Maliko, 2016, 2017; Schoeffel, Boodoosingh & Percival, 2018). The first Samoa Family Health and Safety Study (SFHSS) conducted in 2000 (but only published in 2006) identified that, overall, 46.4% of female respondents (aged between 20 and 49) had experienced some form of partner abuse (SPC, 2006, p. 86).

Seventeen years after the first study, the second Family Safety Study (a report launched in 2017) highlighted the fact that 60% of women between the ages of 20 and 49 had experienced some form of partner abuse in their lives (MWCSD, 2017). This indicates a disturbing increase in violence against women in Samoa. A more recent inquiry report in 2018 by the Samoan Office of the Ombudsman showed an even more dismal state of affairs, with identified types of violence (for example, harsh physical and verbal abuse, intimate partner violence, and physical violence against women and children) affecting over 80% of Samoan females (Samoa Office of the Ombudsman/NHRI, 2018, p. 3).

Women in Samoan society have little or no voice in the family, village, local or national government, and rarely take part in decision-making roles (Meleisea et al., 2015; Schoeffel et al., 2018), even though many are well educated. Attitudes and behaviours entrenched in Samoan culture reflect what people believe is the way their society should be governed and how each gender should act and be treated. The obvious impact of the culture's patriarchal ideology, with its assertion of male dominance, power and control, is a great contributor to the problem of violence in Samoa, and the seriousness of this problem is confirmed in the studies on gender-based violence highlighted above (Samoa Office of the Ombudsman/NHRI, 2018, p. 21; Schoeffel et al., 2018).

Family violence can potentially happen to anyone in Samoa, although women, girls, young people and children are significantly more at risk. The impact of violence on young people has associated complications that have far-reaching consequences for the future of the younger generation. Their experiences of physical abuse, emotional abuse, rape, sexual abuse and verbal abuse have negative effects on their ability to make sense of the world around them and to function in the world with confidence (Samoa Office of the Ombudsman/NHRI, 2018, p. 21; Schoeffel et al., 2018).

The research highlighted in this paper represents a preliminary exploration of Samoan young people's perceptions and attitudes about gender-based violence and what it means to them. It utilises a mixed methods methodology by adopting a quantitative short survey instrument and a qualitative focus group method to collect data. Understanding young people's perceptions is important for understanding their experiences in Samoa. The paper presents several narrative

stories from the preliminary findings of qualitative data from four focus groups consisting of young people (students) recruited from the National University of Samoa (NUS).

Methodology

Participants and Place: The research was based at the National University of Samoa (NUS). Ethics approval was sought from the NUS University Research Ethics Committee, which is the University's institutional review board. Students were recruited at the National University of Samoa. Notices for recruitment were placed on notice boards and announced in lectures and tutorials. Those who showed interest and willingness to take part in this study were selected. Information was given about the focus groups, and a participation information sheet (PIS) and informed consent sheet (IC) were distributed and signed.

Qualitative Focus groups: There were four focus groups. A total of 25 students, 14 females and 11 males, participated in these groups. The focus group questions were designed around broad areas based on premises that were similar to those in the questions asked in the quantitative short survey instrument. The developed questions were pre-tested on a group of students randomly selected from the NUS Faculty of Arts peer programme. The thematic areas around which the designed questions were developed were: gender roles in Samoa; defining violence and types of violence in Samoa; perceptions on violence; intervention; and the extent of information participants had about GBV and VAWG. The researcher was the only moderator/ facilitator of the focus groups. All four focus group discussions were digitally recorded and transcribed.

Data Analysis: Using the thematic areas identified above, the data analysis was sorted by category. Grounded theory was used to provide insight into young people's perceptions and attitudes about GBV and to establish themes gleaned from the data, which prompted the main issues to emerge, thereby inductively generating ideas from what participants expressed (Strauss & Corbin, 1995, pp. 5-6). The following narratives are the stories told by students in response to the questions asked. Four stories have been chosen for the purposes of this paper and they are narratively expressed in the young people's words. These are their stories (but not their real names.)

The Narratives

Sina's Story

Sina is in her late teens and has witnessed quite a lot of violence in her home between her mother and father and her grandparents. When asked about gender roles, she says: *"Boys are allowed to have more freedom and girls are meant to stay at home and can do what they like [there]."* She feels most afraid of sexual violence, but thinks that the most common violence found in Samoa is physical: *"…They [males] just want to solve their problems with their hands rather than their words. Especially when they're little, ... I think [they use physical violence] because they can't really use their words to their parents."*

When asked about violence between men and women, Sina spoke about her grandparents: *"... I think it [violence] is common in both the village and urban areas. Like my grandparents on my mom's side, they were brought up in the villages but they went to [Australia] together and there were a lot of cases of physical violence between them. But [for] my grandparents who were brought up in the urban areas, I think there was physical and emotional violence against my grandma, so there was violence on both sides, even though they were brought up in different areas*." In other words, regardless of where people live in Samoa or in the diaspora, violence exists.

Students were asked if violence is a serious issue in Samoa and how much it impacts women. Sina clearly expressed that *"…. violence is a serious issue in Samoa and women suffer more [than men]."* She stated that women do not report their abuse and that there are different reasons for that*: "…When the woman is getting abused in the home… she won't tell anyone because she wants a good life for her kids, or she doesn't want to bring shame on her family, and she feels like it's her fault if she tells."* This view is consistent with broader scholarly research on why women rarely report their abuse to authorities.

Sina related how unhelpful the Samoan police were to her mother when her mother reported being physically abused by her father. They were not aware about the police policy that all reported cases have to be followed through to the court. Her experience at the police station was not a positive one and highlighted how, so often in these cases, the government authority contributes to perpetuating violence by not doing the right thing for the victim/survivor. *"Police are not helpful in*

Samoa… There was this argument that my mom and my dad had and it was really bad, and my mom went to the police station cos he wouldn't let her stay at the house. And …. we were there for a while just trying to sort it out at the police station, and it was [my sister's] birthday, and … there was a man police officer and a woman. They were talking and he was trying to get my mom to go out to dinner with my dad … just work it out like that, but my mom was like, 'no, I don't want to do that…' and my dad was agreeing with them [police]…. She [the policewoman] was telling my mom that she'll try and help, and she tried to get the other male police to stop…"

When asked about intervention in situations where they saw violence occurring, Sina revealed that even though her mother was the one being hit, she was asked by others about what she had done to provoke it. *"…It happened a long time ago, when I was little, so … I didn't really know what to do cos my younger siblings were a lot younger than me, so I tried to intervene. But I knew I couldn't do anything so I went to my grandparents [next door] … and I told them to come. And … it was my dad's parents and they kind of asked my mum what she did for him to hit her. And I think there is a little thing where families do intervene and there is always a blame on someone when the woman gets beaten up, so it kind of depends on who intervenes and what purpose they have in mind."*

Tomasi's Story

Tomasi is in his late teens and has experienced violence in his life. He states that there are different roles for men and women in the family. The dad provides for the family and is the head of the family, and the woman stays at home and is the *'pae'* and *'auli'* of the family. Tomasi is worried about physical and verbal violence in Samoa because of what he has seen and experienced, and he expressed strong views about why he thinks men are the ones who commit the most violence:

"… Here in Samoa, every time you hear a lot of people swearing at each other, saying bad stuff about each other, … physically, … most of the men think that they can control everybody so they have that mentality that they have the right to beat up someone because they're the stronger gender..." And again, *"they [men] think they are strong and they have the right to hit their wives because they see themselves as 'oh, I'm the head of the family, that's how I'm going to control my*

family.'" Clear societal assumptions about male domination over women are evident in this excerpt.

Soteria's Story

Soteria is a 19-year-old young woman who lives in a village some distance from the suburban area of Apia. She had clear views about what she thinks about gender roles and gender-based violence. She expressed that her father was very important to her and her values mirror his. In this value system, *"…Women have to do the work for the men, it's not that the men just sit around, other fathers also do the work in the home, like single fathers…"* Soteria stated that there was a lot of violence in the villages, *"… but then the thing is, they don't show it, but when I go and visit then I get a shock when the woman turns around and she looks hurt…"*

In Soteria's view, children have it hard in the villages because there is a lot of violence towards them. But it was her perception about what was violence and what was not that was interesting, in terms of what she considered to be a violent act: *"I know that just slapping is not violence but ... just a telling off. But violence towards children in our village, it's so harsh and strong… I see it ... but then we don't have any pride to intervene [when it happens] because it's their [parents'] right to hit and give their children a hiding… They say and believe that 'to hit a child is to teach them.' But when I sit and think, when I see them giving the hiding, they use sticks and the kid's body is so bruised. And I know that the law says if a child is bruised or beaten, they need to go to the police and court. That's the conflict between our village system and the government system."* Soteria was conflicted when she said this, because she expressed outrage at the violence, yet at the same time, she thought a lesson was being taught through the use of violence; then again, she believed that it was against the law.

When asked about the place of women in the family, Soteria expressed very traditional views. Speaking of domestic violence, she said: *"It happens in every family; like in my family, my dad is the only worker and my mum … she stays home, that's where she should be... The village and church stuff have taken up a lot of her time, but the husband needs to come home and [see that] his wife is there, to greet [him] with a smile … you know, the husband is stressed and needs his wife to be there… And when the husband comes home and the wife is*

not at home, no food, the house is messy, there is anger too because he can't find the mother of the family. She should tell the kids what to do, and I think that's what causes violence to happen between them."

When asked whether the husband has a right to hit the wife, Soteria said, *"yeah, because it's his wife now ... that's the reason they got married ... isn't that the reason for marriage?"* Even a young, educated Samoan female illustrates here the prevailing belief that somehow men are entitled to hit women, especially their wives. Soteria continues: *"To me, I believe that the wedding means that there is one body now and all the things involved. And [the man has] the authority [and] in anything there is always bad and good. So when the wife gets beaten, it's not because it's bad, there is always some good to it when a woman gets beaten. Like [from] my side, when the woman goes out and does things for the village and church and leaves the family (cos that's what I believe when my dad told me), what I know is that the woman should stay home to look after the kids and make sure that everything at home is good. But when he comes home and there's no mother at home, no instructions for the kids ... that's what happens [violence]."*

Siaosi's Story

Siaosi is an 18-year-old male who has very interesting views on gender. He sees violence in his village and tries to understand what it means for Samoan society. He is clear about what he thinks about women's evolving roles: *"In the past it was different but ... nowadays, women are able to be matais now, and they can be leaders in a way, like for me and my family, my mum is the main [leader]."* The type of violence that he is most worried about in Samoa is mental violence, *"mental cos it affects the way of thinking. Like because of mental violence, some people think that they can't do anything cos they're looked down on…."*

Siaosi believes that gender-based violence is a serious issue in Samoa: *"People don't want to talk about it ... they don't want to bring shame on their family so they don't want to talk about it, because if they do people will talk stuff about them and belittle them. Even if they are being abused at home or anything, they just don't want to."* Siaosi emphasised that men are the ones who have the issues that cause this

problem, because of their need for control:*"Men, they want to control everything and …. they don't want anyone's opinion…"*

Siaosi sees that there is significant violence in his village but has found that the police have largely been unhelpful, even when they are called for help when people are fighting in public view: *"Sometimes there's people fighting on the road and sometimes couples, [but] they usually never report it to the police, so I don't think the police do anything … my parents report but they [police] don't do anything.*

Findings

All of these stories illustrate a number of assumptions that have become entrenched in Samoan society because of the underlying belief system. First, there is the prevailing belief that it is justifiable for a husband to beat his wife, as reiterated by Soteria above, who believes that a husband has the right to hit his wife because they are married.

Second, there is a widespread idea that somehow it is the woman's fault if she is beaten by her husband. This notion was present in three of the four stories above. Because of the view that women are solely responsible for maintaining a domestic situation that caters to the desires of men, the husband or partner is somehow perceived to be innocent when women 'fall short' of fulfilling their domestic role, and violence is the justified result.

Third, a serious reality revealed in this research is the ubiquitous nature of violence, especially gender-based violence, in Samoa. It is everywhere, and all of the stories, both those cited above and others in my broader research, confirm this. All of the participants in the study presented similar sentiments, and all had encountered violence in their homes or communities.

Fourth, violence in the family is considered to be a private domain, and thus there are issues of shame and fear that lead to the inability of women to report abuse. Even when the student participants were asked if they would intervene in situations of violence, many did not want to for fear of repercussions.

Fifth, government agencies that deal with this issue of GBV, namely the police and the courts, have not been helpful in responding to the plight of abused women and children. There is obviously a need to examine this reality further, as the institutions which are legally the first point where women can find refuge and help are not adequately

assisting them in pursuing what is needed to secure their wellbeing and the wellbeing of their children.

Lastly, the realities surrounding gender-based violence reveal that gender inequality is alive and well in Samoa. The behaviours that are the result of patriarchy continue to thrive, in the homes, in the villages, in the churches, in the schools, in the government, and even in the thoughts and belief systems of young people in Samoa. Therein lies the challenge for Samoan society today: In order to make the societal changes that could eradicate gender-based violence, behaviours and attitudes need to change, and new behaviours and attitudes need to be taught to young people. GBV has been researched, documented, presented, and given much thought, but the shocking statistics surrounding GBV still persist. The incidence of GBV in Samoa is extremely high, and shows no signs of abating. In a hopeful vein, three of the stories above do show that young people view women in a more equal light, as expressed by Siaosi.

Conclusion

The findings of this research show that there are differences in what young people think about gender-based violence, although the majority do believe that GBV is not a good thing for Samoa. There are real issues regarding understanding what it means to have GBV in the home, family, village and country, and there are insufficient ways to make sense of and deal with the ramifications of the violence they are witnessing and facing as young people. These issues need to be addressed, and recommendations are made in the full report based on this research. Consistent with behavioural change theories, in which it is shown that behavioural changes must be instilled at an early age, there needs to be a new focus on the education of young people about gender roles and their relationship to violence. This re-education is crucial if we are to make progress in combating GBV and VAWG in Samoa.

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Responding to Domestic Violence in Samoa through Enactment of *Agatausili* (Core Values)

Mercy Ah Siu-Maliko

Abstract: *Domestic violence is a serious problem in Samoa. Social attitudes tolerate the abuse of women in the home, and such abuse is common. The growing numbers of named cases of domestic violence, and many other cases which are not reported, should make domestic violence a priority in Samoan public discourse. This paper analyses the nature and causes of domestic violence and its manifestations in Samoan society. It pays particular attention to the ways in which the churches have embraced a patriarchal theology that has had the effect of condoning domestic violence. The paper proposes concrete ways to translate the interwoven Samoan-Christian values of love, respect, selfless service, consensual dialogue and justice as a response to domestic violence. Clearly this will entail an unequivocal condemnation of domestic violence, honesty about naming its causes, and a commitment to its eradication.*

Defining Domestic Violence

The term *domestic violence* was first used in the early 1970s to name men's violence and abuse toward a female adult partner. Since the 1970s, there has been an enlargement of focus in research on the nature, causes, scope and effects of domestic violence. This has been due mainly to the growth and prominence of the women's movement worldwide, legislation in many countries that has tackled the destructive impacts of domestic violence, as well as the significant numbers of women who are subject to this type of violence in intimate relationships who have increasingly begun to give voice to their experience.

Because of the complex factors involved in domestic violence, researchers have devoted considerable attention to defining its parameters. Ellen Pence and Michael Paymar (1996) and Audrey Mullender and Catherine Humphreys (1998) define domestic violence as physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Intimidating actions, belittling, harassment and threatening also constitute violence against

women. The sociologist Liz Kelly (2000, p. 2) provides this comprehensive definition:

> It is now widely accepted that domestic violence involves a variable combination of physical and sexual assault, alongside forms of psychological and economic abuse. ... Domestic violence is not about a fight, a single or occasional incident... Domestic violence is an ongoing pattern of violence and abuse, often described as violence within a pattern of coercive control. It is a situation of repeat victimisation where the victim is vulnerable precisely because in the majority of cases she shares her home with her attacker and has feelings of loyalty and even love towards him.

A variety of theories have been put forward to explain the causes of domestic violence. Sociological theory assumes that men behave violently in relationships as a response to stress from environmental factors. These influences may include unemployment or discriminatory class structures, for example (Taylor, 2006, p. 31). Feminist theory understands domestic violence as a result of the ideology of patriarchy. According to Pence and Paymar (1996, p. 3), "The feminist socio-political worldview accounts for violence by males in intimate relationships by linking violence and abuse, power and control, in intimate relationships to the larger societal constructs of male privilege." Social learning theory explains how domestic violence is passed down from one generation to another, in a 'cycle of violence' (Taylor, 2006; Moghaddam, 1998). Children who grew up viewing violence as part of their parents' relationship often become abusers themselves as adults, internalising domestic violence as a practice that is normalised. Psychological theory understands domestic violence as resulting from mental health or other medical issues that cause men to behave violently toward their partners (Edwards & Sharpe, 2004).

Numerous proximate factors that contribute to domestic violence have been identified. Perpetrators may commit abuse "…for many reasons, including external stressors such as financial problems, unemployment, extended family pressures, community violence, racism, personal addictions, insecurity, fear of abandonment, or jealousy" (Thomas, 2007, p. 433). But whatever its form and its contextual or personal particularities, violence against women has its roots in the distorted power relations endemic to patriarchy. As Filemoni-Tofaeono and Johnson (2006, p. 11) conclude, "In every patriarchal setting –

workplace, school, home, church, seminary, community, nation – it is women's lower status *as women* that makes them vulnerable to the violence that is the natural handmaiden of patriarchy. Rather than being merely the private moral failing of random individuals, violence against women is the natural outworking of a systematic and pervasive oppression of women."

Contextualising Domestic Violence in Samoa

The Present Reality

Domestic violence in the Samoan context refers in this study to violence and abuse committed by males against their female intimate partners. (For the purposes of this study, it does not address the equally serious problem of child abuse.) A report from the Secretariat of the Pacific Community presents the following facts about violence against women in Samoa (SPC, 2007, cited in Peteru, 2012, p. 14):

> 46% of Samoan women who have ever been in a relationship have experienced one or more kinds of partner abuse. The most common form of spousal abuse is physical abuse (38%), followed by sexual abuse (20%) and emotional abuse (19%). The kinds of abuse experienced by women include: being slapped or having objects thrown (35%); being punched (18%); being forced to have sex (17%); insults (14%); being coerced into having sex (11%); and being kicked, dragged or beaten (11%).

Another study has reported that "More than half of Samoan women are victims of domestic abuse. … And the abuse is getting worse" (Samoa Victim Support Group, 2014, n.p.). Statistics provided by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2005, pp. 1-2) indicate that women in Samoa experience both physical abuse (41%) and sexual abuse (20%), and more than 50% do not tell anyone about the abuse. Of those women who do not seek help, 86% stated that they thought such abuse was 'normal' or 'not serious.' Peseta Sio's study of domestic violence in Samoa (2012, p. 7) found the following:

> Domestic violence victims were reluctant to report cases to the councils and instances were also reported where cases had not received a fair hearing due to the fact that 'some of these *matai* sitting there do this (domestic violence)' and 'they aren't going to judge another *matai*.' Taking complaints to the police was not

> encouraged and some villages banned this. The fact that there are two status groups for women in Samoa – the sisters and the wives – also influenced domestic violence. Wives had no rights in their husband's village and were expected to serve their husband's family, just as he did. They were and are a highly vulnerable group.

Certain sectors of the media have recently been more forthcoming in reporting some of the horrific stories of domestic violence happening in the ostensibly religious nation of Samoa. One of several searing accounts in the *Samoa Observer* newspaper was the story of Lemalu Sina Retzlaff, a well-educated business woman and the first woman to become the president of the Samoa Chamber of Commerce. The *Samoa Observer* recorded the story of her continued experience of domestic violence from her former husband, Brian Lima, despite their having been divorced for two years. The newspaper account (Budvietas, 2014, n.p.) ended with these words:

> Lemalu Sina Retzlaff did something for women not only in Samoa but across the Pacific this year. She broke through a social taboo, talked about her life and how she lived with domestic violence. Lemalu stood up and said enough is enough – she was not going to live her life anymore as if spousal abuse was normal. By doing so, not only did she take her own life back, she gave hope and instilled courage in others to do the same. She took what was considered a 'private matter' and made it a public one, because she felt that it was time for change. Time to say that no matter who you are or where you come from, domestic violence is never okay.

The willingness of Lemalu Sina Retzlaff to allow the *Samoa Observer* to publish a photograph of her with black eyes as the result of domestic violence was extremely courageous and rare, given the culture of silence about such abuse in Samoa. The newspaper has also been bold in its acknowledgement that violence against women "doesn't have any boundaries in terms of culture or religion; it can happen to anyone and I believe it does happen to women from all walks of life" (Lesa, 2014, n.p.). Lesa went on to assert that "in Samoa we need to talk about it [violence against women] a lot more. It exists but it is very much seen as a private matter."

This privatisation of domestic violence has been noted by other Pacific Islander commentators, such as Akuila Yabaki (2003, n.p.), who observes that "Violence against women … has been seen as

personal violence and a domestic problem, and thus privatised and individualised." In the search for the causes of this privatisation of domestic violence, Peseta Sio's research (2012) underlines the 'shame factor' in the way domestic violence is handled in Samoa: "The belief is still widely held that family differences, such as domestic violence, should be settled within the family. These are not a matter for public discussion given the 'shame' this could bring" (p. 2). Incidents of domestic violence are swept under the carpet to protect family unity and honour, at the expense of the victims. This makes it difficult to hold men accountable for the violence they perpetrate. As Filemoni-Tofaeono and Johnson (2006, p. 51) note, "The common response by men [when challenges to violence against women are raised] … is that it is 'our culture' that determines the clear gender role divisions, and that since culture is sacred it cannot be questioned."

Power Imbalance in Samoan Culture

There is general agreement among those who have studied violence against women in Pacific Islands societies that it is premised on a natural law argument, which confines women to the domestic sphere while men 'rule the world.' Akuila Yabaki (2003, n.p.) makes this case in his claim that "Traditional gender roles in Pacific societies have been premised on women's biological capacity to bear children, and a division of labour believed to be dictated by nature and divine decree. Violence against women … is a serious consequence." The cultural ethos that flows from this natural law argument means that gender relations in Samoa are "characterised by inequalities of power, opportunity and access to resources, (and) these relations are closely linked to cycles of violence that maintain low levels of status and high levels of victimization of women and girls" (Commonwealth Secretariat et al., 2003, p. 82). The implications of this power imbalance for the issue of domestic violence are sobering.

The journal of the London-based Council for World Mission (inheritor of the London Missionary Society which was prominent in Samoan mission history), *Inside Out*, reported the following interview from the *Samoa Observer* newspaper (cited in Hallman, 2000, p. 33):

> Reporter: Do you think domestic violence is a problem in Samoa?
> Man: No, it is not really a problem. Why beat your wife? They are useful to do the chores. But if the wife is wrong, she should be

> beaten, and if she is wrong again, she should be kicked out of the house.
> Woman: No, it is not a problem here; if there is love and obedience, then there is [a] good relationship … [which will] work.

This conversation epitomises the reality of gender inequality in Samoa. As the article concludes, "What this conversation highlights is the construction of the man as the 'head of the household' and the way in which such a conversation is predicated on the possibility of violence" (Hallman, 2002, p. 33). Such violence is a logical consequence of the imbalance of power between men and women.

Given this imbalance, violence is inflicted on women with impunity because of the Samoan myth that they are 'the weaker sex' (*itupa vaivai*) while men are 'the stronger sex' (*itupa malosi*). Within this social construction, Samoan women are socialised to be obedient to their husbands, as they were as children to their fathers, and to act in certain passive ways to avoid being beaten. Women internalise this submissiveness to avoid violence, although sometimes the violence is inevitable despite their best efforts. Men, in turn, are socialised to see women as possessions that they own, control, use, and may discard if they wish.

This ingrained attitude can be seen in the following exchange between a Samoan student and one of his lecturers at Pacific Theological College in Fiji after the lecturer visited his student flat and found his wife with black eyes and bruises. The student admitted hitting her, but claimed that "it was his 'duty' to hit his wife after she 'talked too much' in the presence of guests in their home. According to his cultural worldview, a woman should be essentially in the background on such occasions, and certainly not speak out … in a way which contradicted her husband in front of others" (Johnson, 2011, p. 30). Here domestic violence was framed as a morally justifiable act, in the interest of disciplining his wife.

Despite their pride in and loyalty to their Samoan cultural identity, which they share with men, Samoan women need to gain greater awareness of the inequality which plagues the gendered construction of their Samoan identity. The injustice of normalised domestic violence must be a catalyst for their struggle for recognition, respect and rights as women of Samoa.

Using the Bible to Reinforce Patriarchy

The Bible has been used in Samoan churches to justify men's presumed superiority over women. This practice was also commonplace in churches in other parts of the world until recent decades, as the patriarchy of the cultures depicted in the Bible, and male interpretations of the Bible over the centuries, were taken for granted in many cultures. It has taken female biblical scholars to point out the obvious problems in this stance. A pioneer in this regard has been Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, who has reminded Christians that the Bible has not only been "interpreted by a long line of men and proclaimed in patriarchal cultures, it was also authored by men, ... [is] reflective of male religious experience, and ... transmitted by male religious leadership" (1985, p. 130). It would be foolish to think that this biblical history has had no impact on how women have been viewed in the church; it has certainly had an impact on women in Samoan churches.

Prescriptions for male-female relationships in Samoan churches have been strongly influenced in particular by the patriarchal system that dominates the Old Testament. This is a result of missionary teachings, whereby the English missionaries in the nineteenth century placed strong emphasis on the Old Testament. The missionaries proclaimed a theology of patriarchy and unquestioningly promoted the biblical narratives that depicted the patriarchal culture reflected in Hebrew scripture. The missionaries also interpreted the Bible in line with the domestication and subordination of women which was typical of the Victorian England from whence they came. Although Samoan culture was also patriarchal, missionary culture may have made it more so, as Samoan females were at least traditionally venerated in the brother-sister covenant, the *feagaiga*. Church teachings greatly restricted women's influence and agency.

Patriarchal theology continues to shape Samoans' interpretation of the Bible. A literal reading of biblical passages is still used to justify men's dominance over women and their right to physically 'discipline' women and children. In Samoan churches, "patriarchal interpretations of the Bible have been and remain unquestioned. … It is through the influence of this tradition that the inferior status of women has been reinforced" (Filemoni-Tofaeono & Johnson, 2006, p. 96).

Inherent in this approach to Scripture is a patriarchal understanding of God. This is a God who "is in control of everything … [and who] relates to his creatures by command and decree, expecting a response of submission and obedience" (Wren, 1989, p. 56). In the 'father-rule' that flows from this understanding, God is "Sovereign, King, Warrior, God of Power and Might ... [who] cannot be imaged in the faces of women or children" (Ruether, 1985, p. 70). Although some Christian women, in Samoa as in other contexts, have countered that this masculinising of God does not adversely affect the way they experience God, most female biblical scholars "insist that this is where discussions of issues like violence against women must begin," because "we have absorbed male language for God into our very selves … and when this is combined with images of authority such as Father, Lord and King, it is difficult to escape from the picture of God as a male authority figure" (Hood, 2003, p. 220).

The men who have dominated biblical interpretation and church authority throughout the centuries have emulated this image of God in their own teachings and church practices that have sidelined women from leadership and 'voice' in the church. If God is a controlling male father-figure, then men must be like this masculine God, and the question then becomes, to what lengths does their control go?

There are a variety of biblical passages which are used by Samoan clergy to justify this patriarchal theology that has unwittingly ended up condoning violence against women. It has been preached and taught, for example, that, in the second creation story in Genesis 2:4-3:24, the phrase "out of man woman was taken" means that women are secondary to men – an after-thought, an offshoot. This 'order of creation' places men in a position of dominance. 1 Corinthians 11:2-5 is likewise cited from Samoan pulpits, and the words "the head of every man is Christ, the head of a woman is her husband" (vs. 3) have been accepted unquestioningly, forming the basis of a 'headship theology' that compares males to Christ and relegates women to a lower status.

A companion text used to shore up this view is Ephesians 5:22, "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord" (often downplaying the previous verse, "Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ"). Accepting the 'headship' of men as normative today, of course, not only ignores the patriarchal first-century Palestine context in which these passages emerged but, more importantly, the gospel proclamation of the oneness of women and men in Jesus Christ.

Many female biblical scholars have in recent decades called upon the church to reject the patriarchal aspects of Scripture, as they are reflections of cultural norms in the Ancient Near East and not the liberating gospel of Jesus Christ and the all-embracing love and justice of God. These include a growing number of non-Western female scholars, such as the Mexican Elsa Tamez, who has asserted that "the time has come to acknowledge that those biblical texts which reflect patriarchal culture, proclaiming women's inferiority and their submission to men, are not normative" (1988; 2014, p. 176).

Women's way of re-reading the Bible questions the patriarchal threads of scripture and highlights, instead, the underlying scriptural thread of God's unconditional love for all creation, wherein both women and men are created in God's image, and the liberating core of Jesus' ministry, which was directed especially to those on the margins of society, including women. This re-reading of the Bible 'with fresh eyes' is essential if the Samoan churches are to challenge the biblical underpinnings of their complicity in violence against women.

Domestic Violence and the Church

Anecdotal evidence suggests that village pastors in Samoa do at times attempt to protect female victims of domestic violence by offering them a safe house, or by intervening in domestic disputes. However, Penny Martin's (2002) research on domestic violence in Samoa found that "Domestic violence was not a priority on the agenda of the mainstream churches. ... At the same time, churches were seen to be the agencies which should be playing a lead role in addressing domestic violence and abuse issues" (p. 227).

This resonates with findings in other studies from the Pacific region, which can be summarised as follows: "Most of the mainline churches in Pacific Island countries have not taken a proactive role to question or analyse cultural stereotypes, denounce gender inequalities or violence against women" (AusAID, 2008, p. 18). Because Pacific churches are themselves "thoroughly entrapped in patriarchy, it is no wonder that they teach women that they must respect and obey men at all times… This is such a central understanding in these church traditions that it must be viewed as a significant contributing factor to the problem of violence against women" (Filemoni-Tofaeono & Johnson, 2006, p. 106).

With respect to male-female relations, the Samoan churches are primarily concerned with maintaining traditional marriage. Marriages must be kept intact, regardless of the domestic violence that may be occurring within them. Even the churches' marriage rites "…reinforce the understanding that the man is given the divine authority to rule over the woman, since the wife promises to obey the husband, but not vice-versa. Because he is given this divine sanction through the sacrament of marriage, it can never be challenged" (Ibid.)

It is not surprising, then, that in most cases the church is the last resort for women seeking help in situations of domestic violence. There are several reasons for this. First, these women have often internalised the belief that their abuse is their fault, or to be expected. Second, they feel that naming their abuse to their pastor will bring shame to their family. Third, there is a widespread belief that pastors do not honour the need for confidentiality, and that gossip about their abuse will be broadcast far and wide. Finally, abused women feel that pastors all too often display a lack of sensitivity to their experience of abuse, counselling them only to become more obedient, submissive wives.

As a result of this failure of the churches' pastoral care, women choose either to endure violence and remain silent or, in despair, to approach a non-governmental organisation such as the Samoa Victim Support Group (SVSG). The SVSG is the one shining ray of hope in darkness in Samoa in its efforts to come to the aid of abused women, to raise Samoan society's awareness of domestic violence, and to combat all forms of violence against women and girls.

Finally, mention must be made of the problem of the collusion of some Samoan clergy in the problem of violence against women. One of the reasons for church ministers' silence on this issue is that some clergy are themselves guilty of violent behaviour toward women. Filemoni-Tofaeono and Johnson (2007) bring this mostly hidden reality to light: "The venerated position of male clergy … undermines the ability of the church to address the problem of clergy abuse… It is a well-known fact – though one almost never acknowledged – that there are ordained clergy who are themselves perpetrators of abuse against women. … These incidents are generally covered up by church authorities" (p. 120). In short, the church is not only silent about domestic violence but is also complicit in it. It either protects

perpetrators or downplays and turns a blind eye to the domestic violence occurring in its midst.

Application of *Agatausili* (Core Values) as a Response to Domestic Violence in Samoa

The problem of domestic violence reflects a profound values crisis in Samoan society, and thus presents an opportunity to rediscover and reappropriate our values. This is a problem that requires a search for the common good and a reaffirmation of the value and dignity of all life, including all human life. With our summary of relevant literature providing a framework for understanding domestic violence, within which the nature of such violence in the Samoan context has been described, I now examine how Samoan core values can contribute to a public theology response to this issue.

To this end, I wish to claim that the core values embedded in the *fa'asamoa* cannot be separated from their corresponding Christian values. This dual values orientation extends from the personal to the social sphere. I propose that, by reviving, reinterpreting and applying the core Samoan-Christian values of *fa'aaloalo* (respect), *alofa* (love), *tautua* (service), *amiotonu* (justice) and *soalaupule* (consensual dialogue), Samoans can develop ways to initiate dialogue and respond to sensitive social issues such as domestic violence. In these public dialogues, our core values will always be interrelated, such that each value supports, validates and strengthens the others. The following sub-sections suggest how a public theology response to domestic violence might be enacted through a reappropriation of each of the core Samoan-Christian values.

Alofa (Love)

Alofa is much deeper than compassion or natural affection. It is an orientation toward the other that results in behaviours and actions which promote 'right relationships.' Mulitalo-Lauta (2000, p. 22) cites a Samoan saying to confirm this understanding of *alofa*: "*E le na'o upu ma tala, a'o mea fa'atino e iloa ai le alofa"* ("It is not just words, but action and commitment which truly demonstrate love, compassion and concern for others"). This resonates with the New Testament Greek concept of *agape* – unconditional and sacrificial love that seeks to emulate the love of God and Jesus.

Alofa has much to offer to public discussions on domestic violence. It is already at the very core of the work of the Samoa Victim Support Group. But in order to play a socially transformative role in combating domestic violence, *alofa* needs to be restored, first and foremost, within the primary agent of socialisation, the *aiga* (family). To the extent that this happens, successive generations will continue to create a non-violent environment within the family. This is where the cycle of violence in families can be broken, through reconnecting with the value of *alofa* that protects all relationships in God's creation.

The Apostle Paul, in his advice to the church in Corinth, said "Love is patient; love is kind; love is not envious or boastful or arrogant or rude. It does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; it does not rejoice in wrongdoing, but rejoices in the truth. It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things" (1 Corinthians 13: 4-7, NRSV). This is the foundation upon which *alofa/agape* must be built in intimate relationships.

How can this happen in the context of the widespread domestic violence which has become normative in Samoa today? The church must take the lead by initiating a multi-pronged approach to addressing this problem through reappropriating *alofa*. This approach could include the following initiatives:

- Representatives of NGOs and other professionals who have expertise in dealing with domestic violence could be invited to visit churches, where workshops could be held that are open to the public. Information about the root causes of domestic violence and its devastating effects on victims could be presented in a non-threatening way, as a compassionate practice of *alofa/agape.*
- Courses in theological schools could intentionally examine the implications of the value of *alofa/agape* for social problems such as domestic violence. Students could explore the meaning of Christian marriage in this light, critically re-examining the effects on Samoan marriages of biblical passages that present women as submissive partners in marriage.
- Churches could sponsor public forums on the meaning and ramifications of *alofa* in contemporary Samoa, with a particular focus on what it implies in terms of intimate relationships. These could be advertised widely in the media,

and representatives of government could be invited to reflect on how *alofa* could be better integrated into policies and laws relating to domestic violence.

Fa'aaloalo (Respect)

Alofa is broadly linked to *fa'aaloalo* (respect). In the Samoan-Christian value system, showing love toward someone cannot be separated from showing respect. This is clearly articulated in Tavita Maliko's statement (2012, p. 217) that "The action [of respect] denotes love and in effect defines the person." Like *alofa*, *fa'aaloalo* is a holistic principle and set of protocols that govern the observance of *va* (respect for relational space) among people, with the environment, and with God. In human relationships, "*Fa'aaloalo* is ... regarded by Samoans as part of the elaborate etiquette which forms the basis of their culture" (Mulitala-Lauta, 2000, p. 21). Although it is often associated with respect for those in authority, *fa'aaloalo* ideally creates equality in all relationships if used in its deeper meaning, which is *alo mai, alo atu* or 'reciprocal (face-to-face) respect.'

The concept of *fa'aaloalo* also features prominently in the Christian faith, which calls us to treat the other as we would like to be treated, the essence of the Golden Rule: "In everything, do to others as you would have them do to you" (Matthew 7: 12, NRSV). Respect in the Christian tradition is grounded in the fact that all human beings – male and female – are created in the image of God, and are loved and valued unconditionally by God.

In relation to domestic violence, *fa'aaloalo* should be manifested in one's respect for the sacredness of the space between persons (*va*), just as that respect characterises one's relationship with God. *Fa'aaloalo* can never be used to justify domestic violence by men insisting that women obey them as a sign of respect. It can be strengthened and reinforced through practical steps such as the following:

- Churches could invite 'exemplars of wisdom' (respected experts in *fa'asamoa*) to chair special *talanoa* where dialogues could be held concerning the true meaning of *fa'aaloalo* in Samoa today. Such dialogues could take place over a period of time so that all involved could have a solid understanding of what is entailed in *fa'aaloalo.* Participants could then apply

what they have learned to the problem of domestic violence. They could ask questions such as: "What does it mean to enact *fa'aaloalo* in the context of marriage? How is respect best demonstrated between husbands and wives? What does reciprocity mean in marriage? How might the sacred covenant by which brothers must respect their sisters (*feagaiga*) be extended to apply to husbands' respect for their wives?"

- Theological schools could provide intensive refresher courses for clergy, where church ministers and theological students engage in theological reflection about the Christian interpretation of *fa'aaloalo.* Jesus' relationships with others could be studied as examples of Christian *fa'aaloalo.* Participants could then design action plans for their congregations around practical ways to foster *fa'aaloalo* in relationships within the *aiga.* These might include church-sponsored Marriage Enrichment courses or retreats for married couples.
- Churches could partner with NGOs and interested representatives of civil society to arrange public discussions of *fa'aaloalo* through special programmes on television and radio. Based on what has been learned in the *talanoa* in churches and theological schools, proposals could be shared about how to foster *fa'aaloalo* relationships in marriages and families, and through a strengthening of social policies protecting women and children from abuse.

Tautua (Service)

Tautua (selfless service) is already manifested in the commitment of organisations working to combat domestic violence in Samoa. But the church's role is also important, since part of the church's ministry is to provide pastoral care for both victims and perpetrators of violence. The churches' pastoral care for those affected by domestic violence should be their *tautua* to those who are suffering from this trauma. Unfortunately, this has not happened thus far.

At the same time, theological reflection is needed to correct misinterpretations of 'selfless service' which have been detrimental to Christian women. In this twisted version of Christian service, abused women "…have been exhorted to accept their suffering in imitation of

the suffering of Christ … [and] counselled to 'carry the cross they have to bear'" (Filemoni-Tofaeono & Johnson, 2006, p. 89). This theological distortion of *tautua* has resulted in abused women being counselled by pastors to stay in abusive relationships as a form of *tautua* to their husbands.

While *tautua* functions well in terms of the service provided by untitled men to their *matai*, and by members of various groups within the *nu'u* based on their obligations within their respective groupings, it has been misunderstood within the institution of marriage. Here it seems to have been interpreted as sacrificial service by the wife to the husband, but not by the husband to the wife. To correct this imbalance, the following actions could be taken:

- Theological schools can engage in creative theological reflection about the Christian meaning of sacrificial service. They can call on female theologians who have been trained in women's theology to assist them in revisiting biblical passages and theological presuppositions which have relied on patriarchy to teach that Christ-like service means that women must serve their husbands by sacrificing their very selves. Ordained ministers could be invited to join with theological students in *talanoa* exploring how self-sacrifice has been misconstrued so as to keep women subservient – thus opening the door to domestic violence.
- The results of these discussions should then lead to theological schools revisiting the way they teach pastoral care and counselling. Future and present ministers need to be retrained in terms of how they counsel both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. New courses could be designed that incorporate a critique of how church ministers have contributed to domestic violence by counselling women to obey and serve their husbands, both because this is their 'duty' as wives and as a way to avoid future abuse. Scholarship by women in pastoral care and counselling, particularly those who address violence against women, needs to be included in the curriculum of these new courses. Women should be included as students and presenters in these courses.

- Broader public discussions also need to take place around the connection between *tautua* and domestic violence. Experts such as physicians, counsellors and representatives of NGOs can join with church members and ministers to explore what can happen when women's *tautua* to their husbands is misused. Victims of domestic violence who are willing to speak out can be invited in public forums to explain how their belief that they must serve their husbands contributed to their husbands believing that they could demand such service and 'punish' their wives through abuse if this service was not to their liking.

Soalaupule (Consensual Dialogue)

In all relationships there will be differences of opinion. There are no perfect relationships, but the foundation of maintaining healthy relationships is honest, open dialogue. This is the contribution of *soalaupule* to a public response to domestic violence. The Samoan practice of *soalaupule* is inclusive in its positive intent, which is to foster the sharing of ideas. Of course the cultural understanding of *soalaupule* has been constructed in relation to the *fa'amatai*, which assumes respect for hierarchy, rank and status. This means that honest questions need to be raised about how *soalaupule* should be enacted in marriage relationships.

Huffer and So'o (2001, p. 249) remind us that "*Soalaupule* also implies *alofa*. The fact that one has been asked to be part of the decision-making process means that someone cares about one's participation and the interests that one might have in the issues that will be discussed." Jesus in his own ministry utilised this value to enhance his disciples' maturity and to reach out to those who were oppressed in his own society (for example, Zacchaeus [Lk. 19: 1-10], or the Samaritan woman at the well [Jn. 4: 1-29]), with the aim of effecting their liberation. How might *soalaupule* be brought to bear on the problem of domestic violence?

- Since *soalaupule* is highly valued and well understood by all Samoans, opportunities must be created to enable such dialogues to take place around the issue of domestic violence. These can be initiated by a small group of animators joining together to strategise about the best ways to structure such

dialogues. These 'prophets' within each of the spheres of Samoan society (church, village, state, academy) would begin by networking – enacting their own *soalaupule* – to brainstorm about the best way to enable such *soalaupule* to take place in the public sphere.

- Because women – particularly victims of domestic violence – may not be comfortable sharing openly about this issue in the presence of men (especially since the village councils where *soalaupule* typically takes place are male-dominated), it may be wise for the *talanoa* to take place initially in women-only and men-only gatherings. Here the 'prophets' will again serve as animators, creating the conditions that encourage the open sharing of experiences and ideas.
- The intention of this *soalaupule* is to allow and encourage the free exchange of opinions which will lead to positive suggestions on how to combat domestic violence. A goal would be to move toward the time when women and men together could discuss the causes of and solutions to domestic violence.
- The church has a special role to play in initiating public *talanoa*, through educational events or media programmes, about how *soalaupule* should be enacted within the marriage relationship itself. Key questions could be: "What does *soalaupule* imply in terms of how husbands and wives communicate with each other? Are they practicing *soalaupule* if husbands are permitted to order their wives to do certain things, while wives can only silently obey?" Clergy who join the ranks of 'prophets' can challenge their parishioners to apply *soalaupule* to the marriage relationship through sermons, Christian education, and participation in public forums.

Amiotonu (Justice)

Because love and justice are intimately intertwined in both the *fa'asamoa* and the Christian tradition, they are essential values that must be brought to bear on the problem of domestic violence. As we have seen, although domestic violence may have a variety of proximate causes, it occurs because of the unequal power relations

endemic to patriarchy. No matter which causes predominate in any given situation, domestic violence is evidence of a lack of justice.

Amiotonu in the *fa'asamoa* is about ensuring that the sacredness of *va* (respectful space) is safeguarded in all relationships. In the Christian tradition, justice is understood in the light of God's attributes. If human relationships are rooted in God's justice, men and women will relate to one another by adopting the language and practices of unconditional love which are at the very heart of the gospel. The understanding of justice that permeates Scripture is centred in a covenantal relationship with God that flows outward to embrace fair and merciful treatment of all, especially society's most vulnerable. In relation to domestic violence, the value of *amiotonu* challenges Samoans to work toward establishing ways to combat domestic violence because it is a denial of God's justice. This could be enacted in the following ways:

- The value of *amiotonu* highlights the prophetic role of the church in calling on those who have power and authority – particularly *matai* in the village setting and policy-makers in government – to safeguard the rights and safety of the victims of domestic violence through the enactment of just laws and policies. Here again, the 'prophets' who have become allies in proactively working for justice around this issue (ministers, theologians, village and town activists, NGO representatives, progressive politicians, and members of civil society) must gather together to examine existing policies and laws and propose ways of strengthening them.
- The 'prophets' who are spearheading this effort should make full use of the media and public forums to dialogue around the meaning of *amiotonu* in relation to domestic violence. They must explore with the public questions such as: "What does justice mean for the victims of domestic violence? What does it mean for the perpetrators? How can perpetrators be held accountable for their abuse of women while still being treated with Christian love?"
- Theological schools must intentionally revisit the value of *amiotonu* in their training of future ministers. In their biblical studies and pastoral care courses, they must focus on questions such as: "What is God's justice? How can biblical

understandings of justice be applied to domestic violence? How should we counsel victims and perpetrators of domestic violence in terms of the understanding of *amiotonu* as a value that upholds the dignity of all people?"

Conclusion

Christian theology does not lack grounds upon which to stand against domestic violence. In fact, in the biblical concept of *shalom* (peace) we encounter a vision of a society without violence or fear. This vision is realised in the promise in Leviticus 26:6, "And I will grant peace in the land, and you shall lie down, and no one shall make you afraid" (NRSV). Commentaries on the concept of *shalom* speak of a profound and holistic experience of wellbeing – 'abundant welfare' – with connotations of justice for all. A theology of *shalom* should be offered to the Samoan people as a theological gift to bring about justice, restoration and healing in relationships where domestic violence has occurred. This theology is especially relevant given the communal self-understanding of Samoans, where the priority is to maintain peace, harmony and stability.

In the process of naming the church's failure to address domestic violence, opportunities arise to discuss what it would be like if the church embraced its calling to respond to domestic violence as healers. The Samoan Ombudsman, Maiava Toma (2013, n.p.), challenged the church to rediscover this calling in a sermon, proclaiming "Surely the time has come for local congregations and for national churches to cross the road and to give of their time and resources to aid victims of violence within our churches and communities." Toma further called for the church to "…be a safe place for women to come and tell their story and to seek comfort. They should not be told to go home to pray more, to submit more, and to turn the other cheek" (Ibid.). If the church were to engage in serious theological reflection about domestic violence, taking on board insights from other relevant disciplines, it would surely be able to become an agent for healing for all who are affected by domestic violence. This paper is a challenge to Samoan Christians to do just that.

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The Problem of *Fa'ate'a Ma Le Nu'u* (Banishment) in *Samoan* Society

Selota Maliko

Abstract: *This study exposes the realities of banishment in Samoan society. It defines the various forms and practices of banishment and explains the cultural justifications for banishment, as well as the reasons for challenges to banishment in recent years. The study then provides examples of the execution of banishment today, and summarises the negative effects of banishment on its recipients and the coping mechanisms they use to deal with these effects, drawing on participant narratives from a larger research study. The paper ends with a challenge to the Samoan churches to reshape their prophetic and pastoral ministries so as to provide more effective care for those who have experienced banishment.*

The practice of banishment in Samoa is an issue that has relevance for the whole nation, for it has affected people in all sectors of Samoan society. While banishment is still regarded by many Samoans as a justifiable means of social control and a guarantor of peace in Samoan villages, others view it as an unjust practice that undermines the sanctity of human relationships.

Although Samoa is ostensibly a Christian nation, with 99.8 percent of the population self-identifying as practicing Christians (*DIA World Factbook*, 2016), it is evident that the Samoan churches are not doing enough to promote peace and justice in their response to the issue of banishment. Banished individuals and their families who are forced to leave their villages must depend on the hospitality and generosity of others in new settlement areas, rather than the pastoral care of the church. They are not only economically vulnerable, but also suffer long-term psychological effects from the trauma they have suffered. The trauma of their dislocation and estrangement presents a huge pastoral care challenge for the churches in Samoa.

Defining Banishment

Banishment has been defined as deportation, eviction, excommunication, exile, expulsion, ostracism or removal (Gwin, 2002, p. 631). These different nuances are similar in meaning, and collectively they provide a framework for understanding banishment. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2008, p. 217) defines banishment, alongside the word exile, as a "prolonged absence from one's country imposed by a vested authority as a punitive measure." It has connotations of forcibly sending or driving someone away.

Writing from a cultural and sociological perspective, Paul Tabori (1972) defines exile more broadly than displacement from one's country. Tabori speaks of "inner exile," the experience of "being an outcast within one's own country" (p. 32). Lee Beach (2015) cites Walter Brueggemann's assertion that "[e]xile implies more than simple geographical dislocation; it can be a cultural and spiritual condition as well. It is the experience of knowing that one is an alien, and perhaps even in a hostile environment where the dominant values run counter to one's own" (p. 21). This understanding aptly characterises banishment as it is experienced in Samoa.

Defining Banishment in the Samoan Context

In Samoa, *fa'ate'a ma le nu'u* or banishment is imposed by the *fono* (village council) upon offenders by banning them from village affairs, or by forcing them to leave and resettle outside the village for a period of time or for life, sometimes accompanied by the destruction (often by burning) or confiscation of their properties and dwellings. All of these forms of banishment are considered to be a culturally and religiously sanctioned means of social control, whose aim is to maintain peace and harmony in village communities. Although this understanding may be construed as focusing on communal cohesion rather than punishment, banishment in Samoa is also understood as a form of punishment against those who have broken village laws or norms. In that sense, it is an expression of retributive justice.

Banishment as Fa'ate'a

Banishment is often translated as *fa'ate'a*, which is a combination of two words: the prefix *fa'a*, meaning 'to make' or 'to cause;' and *te'a*,

meaning 'ban,' 'expel,' 'terminate' or 'banish.' *Fa'ate'a* refers to a process encompassing two component parts: firstly, the council of *matai* (chiefs) who have made the decision to banish; and secondly, the banished person(s) upon whom the banishment has been ordered. In other words, a person who is *te'a* or 'banished' cannot be understood in isolation from those who *fa'a* or 'have made' the decision to banish. In many cases the banished person's family is also included in the banishment ruling of the village council.

Banishment as Fa'atafēa

The term *fa'atafēa* is a combination of the prefix *fa'a*, meaning 'to make,' and *tafea*, translated as 'adrift' or 'floating away.' Grounding the concept of *tafea* in the metaphor of a canoe that has been detached from its anchor, it could be understood as something that has 'happened by accident' and is thus unintentional, which would mean that no one is responsible for the loss. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a consequence of negligence and stubbornness, as evident in the legend of Tupuivao and Taufau, which gave rise to the proverbial saying, *Ua tafēa le utu a Taufau*[4] ('Taufau's line of succession is terminated'). The term *tafēa* as used in this proverbial saying is

[4] This Samoan saying derives from the story of Queen Taufau, who terminated her line of succession to the monarchy and bestowed it upon her younger sister Sina. When Queen Taufau was very sick, she said: 'Let our family and *faleupolu* (orators) gather and have a messenger go to my son; have him come quickly to see me once more, for I am weak.' The messenger went to the son, who was catching wild pigeons inland of Falealili and Safata. But Tupuivao said: 'I am not coming, Taufau's sickness is not as great as my desire to catch [pigeons].' So the man went back and reported to Taufau,'Tupuivao is not coming.'And the woman said again: 'Go once more, tell him to come quickly, I am about to die.'The messenger hurried once more to him and said to Tupuivao: 'Come, let us go, the Queen is very weak.' Tupuivao answered: 'I will not go until I have caught the pigeons after the full moon.' So the messenger returned again and said to Taufau: 'He is not coming; he said he would stay until he had caught the pigeons after the full moon.' Then Queen Taufau spoke: 'Let our family and the *Tumua* (authority in Upolu) gather; heed my word; as I am growing weak, my own descendants and their line are to be terminated and my sister Sina's line is to take its place. You, Faumuina (Sina's son), have no fear when that fellow comes and wants to make trouble, for the family stands behind you and the *faleupolu* will follow you. If the *Tumua* want you to be king, you alone will be king, for I have cut off my own descendants.' As Taufau suspected, Tupuivao did not take this lightly but started a war. However, he was defeated by Faumuina and exiled to Tutuila.

applied to someone who revokes his or her descendant's entitlements and heritage due to negligence or stubbornness.

When *tafea* is combined with the prefix *fa'a* to become *fa'atafēa*, it is clearly no longer viewed as an accident but as an intentional act, akin to cutting the anchor and making the canoe drift away. Here *fa'atafēa* is a deliberate act of setting someone adrift, with the aim of annihilating the person. The severest impact of *fa'atafēa,* or setting adrift, is that when one is disconnected from the land, one is completely cut off from any point of safety. Punishing someone by *fa'atafēa* is a matter of life and death because the ocean is regarded by Samoans as the *tu'ugāmau le elia*, or 'the wide-open grave.' It cannot be controlled by human power.

Based on this understanding, banishment as *fa'atafēa* may be viewed as a deliberate act of disengagement from safety. When someone is *fa'atafēa* there is no restoration. It is akin to death, as the victim is metaphorically cast out to sea in an open boat with little hope of survival (Care, 2006, p. 34). In this sense, *fa'ate'a ma le nu'u* (banishment) is akin to being set adrift from the network of family and village relationships which sustain life, wellbeing, and identity.

Banishment as Fa'aaunu'ūa

Banishment as *fa'aaunu'ūa* refers to the complete removal from the *nu'u* (village) of residence. At times, *fa'aaunu'ūa* can be experienced as an interstate type of banishment, as it may refer to exile to a separate island or even another country. It is parallel with *fa'atafēa* in the sense that the person banished is removed from the original place of residence and sent to a 'foreign' place. The practice of *fa'aaunu'ūa* was common in the colonial period as a way of dealing with political tensions between the colonial powers and the Mau (nationalist) movement of the indigenous Samoans (see Field, 1984).

Common Designations for Banishment Today

Today Samoans typically refer to various types of banishment using the following designations, as noted by Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano (2011, p. 2):

> 1. *Tua ma le faiganu'u* – non-participation from village life. Here the individual may continue in residence in the village but without participation in village governance.

> 2. *Tua ma le nu'u* – 'behind the village,' implying physical banishment from the village.
> 3. The most serious designation is *mu le foaga, soloa ma le aufuefue* or *ati ma le lau* – immediate departure of the family, [with] property being appropriated, slashed and burnt. Associated with this form of banishment is erasure of identity and … material existence from memory.

The third form is also known as *tafi ma le eleele* ('erasure from the land'). This is carried out to such an extent that anything left behind is demolished and burnt. Taro and other food crops are destroyed and pigs are slaughtered as a part of this sanction. Tui Atua (2009) has referred to *mu le foaga* as 'razing the nest,' which is the severest form of punishment in Samoan culture. As he explains,

> The word *foaga* means more than a nest for it implies spawning and nurturing. To destroy the *foaga* by fire you destroy not only the physical construction, but more significantly, the spiritual nurturing occurring in the dialogue between the living and the dead. Here residence, as a place of spiritual nurturing, when burnt, destroys the continuity of *tofa* and *moe*, of genealogy, history and place (p. 96).

All of these forms of banishment create deep trauma and lament amongst their victims.

Justifications for and Challenges to Banishment

The Fono as Unquestioned Authority

According to the traditional understanding, the practice of banishment in Samoa is normative. It is considered to be an acceptable measure taken by the *fono* for the maintenance of social order and communal stability. The practice is accepted by many Samoans as a justifiable punishment for people's bad behaviour or defiance of the village council. The issuing of a decree of banishment is also a legally vested power granted to the councils through the *Village Fono Act of 1990*. The *fono* is the established mechanism for the discussion, promulgation, enactment and enforcement of village policies (Hills, 1993).

Given the breadth and depth of the authority of the *fono* and the devastating scope of the humiliation of banishment, it is almost

impossible to find anyone who acts with total disregard for the constraints imposed by the *fono*. As the retention of peace and order is extremely important to the village as a whole, banishment is largely accepted as a potent means of achieving that purpose. But while much lip service is paid to the sanctity of the village *fono* through its *pulega* (governance), much less consideration is given to the suffering encountered by the recipients of the banishments imposed by the *fono*. A kind of stasis results, akin to Paul Adler's observation that "To adopt dominant elite standpoints inevitably encourages legitimization and naturalization of the status quo, creating unacceptable limits to what can be learned and what change is possible" (Adler & Jernier, 2005, p. 942).

Recent Challenges to Banishment

In the last thirty to forty years, the traditional Samoan understanding of banishment as a normative practice has begun to be challenged by some. This may be due in large part to the impact of global changes appearing in multifaceted forms of socio-political life, religion and the economy. Large numbers of Samoans have migrated to New Zealand, Australia and the United States, and their exposure to different customs and values has created challenges for relatives left behind, and for the migrants who come and go between Samoa and the diaspora. Access to mass media, telecommunications and other technological advances have likewise created many new changes, causing some Samoans to question what has heretofore been sacrosanct.

But perhaps the major contributing factor to shifts in how people view banishment in contemporary Samoan society has been access to advanced education and exposure to international human rights norms. When people become aware of these norms, this creates a consciousness of their oppressive situation and the denigration of their innate human rights. Such awareness is a turning point that empowers people to speak out and protest.

Although banishment was originally meant to maintain peace and order in village communities, it is often associated today with intimidation, verbal abuse, violence, and sometimes even death. From the viewpoint of those who have been banished, and some social commentators, the practice of banishment has become a serious

problem for many families in Samoa. Regardless of its stated purpose of maintaining social cohesion, its outcome appears to create more damage than good, as it demeans and oppresses people. It also violates the legal rights of individuals to move freely and to be secure in their freehold land (rights guaranteed in the Samoan Constitution).

There is broad speculation today that some cases of banishment are instigated by certain influential *matai* as part of their own hidden agendas and hunger for power. For this reason, some Samoan academics, such as Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano (2011) and Asofou So'o (2008), and several Samoan Court judges, have become thoroughly skeptical of the decision-making abilities of the village councils.

Over the years, the Lands and Titles Court has been consistent in its decisions to dismiss unethical banishment orders that have been imposed by village councils upon villagers. These *fono* decisions have been overturned because the Court has taken into account two factors: First, these decisions made by the village councils to banish villagers have violated the nation's Constitution, which protects people's 'freedom from inhuman treatment' (*Constitution*, 2008)[5] as well as 'freedom of movement' (2008, Article 13).[6] Second, since the decisions of village councils have been taken to the extreme, whereby human lives have been endangered, this is undeniable evidence of the inability of some village councils to make just decisions.

From a Christian perspective, banishment to the extent that family houses and possessions have been burnt and people physically assaulted or killed is clearly un-Christian. It is based on hatred and condemnation rather than on the Gospel's message of love, forgiveness and reconciliation. As an extreme form of punishment, banishment creates disharmony and social disintegration rather than achieving its purpose of social harmony. At the most practical level, it forces villagers to find alternative accommodation and livelihoods in another location at their own expense. According to Tuimaleali'ifano (2011, p. 2), "Many are unable to afford to buy freehold property

[5] Part II, "Fundamental Rights," Article 7, "Freedom from Inhuman Treatment," reads: "No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

[6] Article 13, "Rights Regarding Freedom of Speech, Assembly, Association, Movement and Residence," states: "All citizens of Samoa shall have the right: ... (d) To move freely throughout Samoa and to reside in any part thereof."

[elsewhere], and those who can live in settlements like Vaitele, which are bursting at the seams. Many eventually move out of Samoa."

The Reality of Banishment in Samoa Today

In Samoan villages today, banishment is executed for diverse reasons, depending on social, political, economic and religious contributing factors. Recent cases include speaking out against the village through the media; introducing a new religious group into the village; breaching a code of conduct (such as committing adultery); taking village matters to court; and, most commonly, disobeying the village rules by not supporting the *fono's* approved candidate in a general election.

Execution of Banishment

When banishment is imposed upon an offender, it is given with full force and as a collective decision by the village *fono*. The day of banishment is a day nobody wants to remember, because it is associated with intimidation, abusive language, humiliation, often violence, and sometimes brutal murder. It may be applied to anyone. Respected leaders of Samoan society such as *matai*, political leaders, paramount chiefs and church ministers are not exempt. When offences are committed by someone such as a *matai*, the banishment can be applied to the entire family.

Punishments by the *fono* flow from an assumed common acceptance of both old laws (such as observance of the village curfew, injunctions against stealing or the cutting of fruit trees, foul language, indecent behaviour, and assaulting a *matai*) and newer laws (such as the banning of drugs and verbal or physical abuse against a church minister and his wife). Typically, the banishment process takes an entire day. It begins with the lengthy deliberations of the *fono*, followed by the execution of the banishment order, and concluding with a feast from the food crops and livestock of the banished family.

The customary Samoan procedure for banishing an individual or a family is that the village council meets to deliberate while the individual concerned is not allowed to be present. In rare cases, a representative of the offender's family may be called before the *fono*, such as a case of incest in Asau where the father of the offender, who was also the *matai* of the offender's family, was made to attend the

fono. However, the treatment he received was not the usual treatment of respect, but that of disgrace and insult. He was not present to represent the interests of his accused family member.

Once the village council has made its decision, some of the orators go to the *maota* or house of the person or family who is to be banished. They plant the *to'oto'o* or 'orator's staff' in front of the *maota* and announce the decision that the *fono* has made to the person concerned. A *tulafale* (orator) is sent out onto the road to *manu* or 'announce' the ruling. He walks through the village from one end to the other, announcing the ruling loudly and clearly for all villagers to hear. Normally the time given for the individual or the family to leave is quite limited; usually it is by 4:00 p.m. or 6:00 p.m. on the day in which the verdict is delivered. The banished individual or family is expected to obey immediately. Failure to obey the decision of the village council can lead to very serious consequences, such as the complete burning of family property, referred to as *mu le foaga*.

In some cases, the customary law that is deemed to have been broken has not been clearly stated but is simply assumed in relation to the interests of the *matai*. In this sense, customary laws can become a reinforcement of the political agendas of the dominant *matai*, rather than being commonly shared rules to benefit the welfare of the entire community. Powles (2005, p. 121) makes the following statement in relation to such rules: "If people live under a system in which they regularly obey chiefs when chiefs give orders, make decisions and settle disputes, and if people feel obliged to follow the chief's rules, then the chief's word is law."

Forms of Banishment

As noted earlier, there are three forms of banishment in contemporary Samoa. The first form involves the complete exclusion or shunning from participation in village affairs, although the offender is allowed to remain in the village, also referred to as *tua ma le faiganu'u*, or "ostracism" (Tuimaleali'ifano, 2011, p. 2). Although offenders retain their possessions and remain on their land, they become outcasts and are deprived of the comfort and protection of their traditional groupings within the village, such as *matai* (chiefs), *aumaga* (untitled men), and *aualuma* (unmarried daughters of the chiefs).

In other words, persons who have been internally banished (ostracised) are no longer recognised as members of the village community. *Fa'ate'a ma le nu'u* is complete isolation – physically, socially, mentally and spiritually – from village life and activities. These people bear the shame of public humiliation. They are stigmatised as evil people. Since they are no longer under the protection of the village councils, they can be exposed to threats and abuse by village members. They therefore become the most vulnerable people in the village. In some cases, a group of ostracised *matai* may form a new *faiganu'u* or village, a kind of break-away group.

The second form of banishment is *tua ma le nu'u*, which is literally translated as exile 'behind the village' or 'out of the village.' This entails expulsion from the village, as in *fa'atafēa* and *fa'aaunuūa*. Here individuals and families are forced to leave and to remain outside of the village. Banishment of this kind is extremely life-threatening, as it can easily escalate into *tafi ma le eleele* or *mu le foaga*. This practice is that, immediately after the time permitted by the village *fono* to leave the village has expired, the young *matai* and *aumaga* of the village march in with fire, knives and shotguns, and begin the execution of the order of the village council. Regardless of whoever may stand in their way, they will never back down. Crops are cut down, animals slaughtered, and everything is cooked to serve as a feast for the *fono*. The family involved will have lost all their possessions, and all visible associations with their village are completely erased. Hardly anyone from the families involved attempts to fight back, because they cannot withstand the brutal force of the *aumaga* and the entire village.

At times the houses and other properties of the families being banished may be dismantled and taken away with them, but only if they are able to do this in the time granted by the village council – if not, everything will be burnt. In a case from the village of Salamumu, for example, the family involved was given one week to gather their possessions and move out. Unfortunately, the family stayed past the deadline, a decision that almost cost them their lives. When they had not left by the deadline, the village *aumaga* tied them up and lit an *umu* (earth oven) to put them in. They were only saved by the intervention of the church minister. The last and worst form of banishment is *mu le foaga, soloa ma le 'aufuefue,* or *ati ma le lau*,

which connotes the immediate departure of the family and the appropriation, destruction or burning of all their properties.

Reintegration into the Village Community

Those who have been forced to leave and wish to return to their village have to wait for a protracted period of time, as decisions and conditions about when and how to come back are determined by the *fono*. Each village council has its own conditions and these are not uniform. For example, in Lufilufi offenders may pay $1,000 in order to be reinstated and re-involved in the *faiganu'u* or village affairs. Some banished persons may be allowed to return depending on the mood of the monthly meetings of the *fono*. Other villages require the practice of *ifoga* (public apology). But most villages have no overt conditions; they only say, *e lē po pea se nu'u* ('a village will not be darkened') – we will let you know the day and time when you can return. In other words, the process of being allowed to return to one's village is very arbitrary.

It is also possible that the lifting of the ban on the banished villagers may be related to Christian events. For instance, the village councils of Asau in Savaii and Lufilufi in Upolu allow all banished offenders, both individuals and families, to return in recognition of the season of Christmas and the beginning of the New Year. This gift is offered as an act of forgiveness, to bring the village community together in a spirit of reconciliation.

Effects of Banishment on Victims and their Families

Samoans who are banished always hope for a return to the place from whence their identity is drawn – their *faasinomaga* or 'point of reference.' A person without this foundation is a person without an identity, which is derived from one's connectedness to one's community. It is precisely this sense of interconnected identity that is endangered or lost when people are banished. It is unbearably painful to see their houses, animals, plantations, and more importantly the gravesites of their ancestors consumed by fire or otherwise destroyed, not to mention their sense of belonging with their fellow villagers. This creates deep emotional distress and long-term psychological damage to those who have been banished, as well as those who are related to them.

My field research revealed a number of long-term psychological repercussions of banishment, in addition to the physical impacts such as loss of properties and income, and physical wounds from beatings. First, there is avoidance or ostracism. One research participant described this experience in this way: "There have been lots of changes [since his banishment]. Even when somebody passed by in a car while I was sitting nearby, I waved my hand but they never responded, as if I am not acquainted with them."

This feeling of ostracism is related to the larger experience of social stigma, which results in stereotyping and discrimination that creates a debilitating sense of low self-esteem for many banishment recipients, causing them to stay away even from important gatherings such as church services. Some are no longer even able to work. One research participant said, "... we go to church no more. … Because every time that I or we go to church I could feel people saying, this is the family that is banished."

The most common negative emotional impacts experienced by the research participants surfaced in the form of anger, fear, mistrust and insecurity. Most research participants spoke in some depth about their experiences of emotional suffering as the result of banishment. One described his experience as feeling as though he did "not exist." Another described classic symptoms of depression, which had physical as well as psychological manifestations:

> Possibly that [his banishment] was the beginning of my illness. I began to get sick from that time. ... Many times I feel really tired. Even though I have done nothing [wrong], I still feel unhappy and everything is pressured in my mind. … I cannot sleep properly. It's like my mind is worried. ... I am getting old but I have gone to live in a strange family. … It seems that it has affected my mind … it is like I am mentally paralysed. (He begins to sob.)

Some research participants described a lingering sensation of fear – a recurring fear of encountering assaults, brutal beatings, intimidation and loss. Others expressed ongoing feelings of anger against the perpetrators of violence against them, especially those who had destroyed and burnt their houses and other property. Still others spoke of a persistent feeling of insecurity, resulting from traumatic memories of the experience of violence associated with their banishment. They are haunted by the sounds of violence that continue

to keep them awake at night. One victim said, "Some nights it sounds, especially where we are living now, there are certain sounds [which are] as if I have heard people coming inside the house again."

Coping Mechanisms of Banished Persons

My research indicates that there are several ways individuals cope with the devastating experience of banishment. The main coping mechanisms that emerged from my study were: appeal to the courts, reliance on faith and spirituality, silent submission to authority, and resort to a professional career.

Appeal to the Court of Law

Currently the Samoan Lands and Titles Court is dealing with an increasing number of banishment cases. This indicates that Samoan society is changing dramatically, as growing numbers of citizens are placing their hopes for justice in state authority rather than cultural authority. Yet, although many banishment orders imposed by village councils have been overruled by the Court of Law, the safety of banished villagers and their possessions still cannot be guaranteed. The reality is that 'they may win the battle but lose the war.'

This is evident in the battle between the family of Afu Tutuila and the village of Tanugamanono. When the court dismissed the banishment decision of the village *fono* and ordered Afu and her family to return to the village, the youths of the village then attacked Afu's family, threw stones at the family's houses, smashed the interiors of the houses and burnt their cars. Similarly, the properties of a former Speaker of Parliament, Leota Leuluaiali'i Ituau Ale, were set on fire immediately after the Lands and Titles Court overruled an order by the village of Solosolo to remove the former politician (Ilalio, 2012). In many cases, the village councils simply take the law into their own hands, and they know they can do this because the villages are policed by the *aumaga* (untitled men). Further, the interference of state police in village affairs is often not tolerated by village authorities.

Despite these challenges, almost half of the recipients of banishment involved in my research appealed their cases of banishment to the court of law. Those who sought justice in the court of law had a high degree of confidence that the court would protect the

fundamental individual rights of all Samoan citizens, and they felt that their voices and human rights would only be heard and respected in the court of law.

Appeal to God

Many research participants stated that they coped with their banishment by depending solely on God for help. Some said that it was the Holy Spirit that enabled them to survive. Some committed themselves to a discipline of prayer and fasting as their primary coping mechanism. At times they appealed directly to God for justice, believing that 'in God's time' justice would ultimately prevail. Spirituality and faith played a huge role in the banishment victims' coping strategies.

Silent Submission

Offenders who have been completely dependent on others financially since their banishment, and thus have a very low income, were understandably most likely to submit silently to the authority of the village. Because they depend so much on their land for their sustenance, they believe that fighting against the *fono* through the court would ultimately be counter-productive. Even if their land is restored to them legally by the court, they will suffer further punitive actions by the village *fono* simply because they appealed to the court. Some hoped that by being silently submissive they might avoid expulsion and simply be internally ostracised, thus holding on to their land, or that they might receive a briefer period of banishment outside the village and thus be able to return to their land sooner.

Resort to a Career

Finally, offenders with professional careers tended to use their work as a way to redirect their focus away from the emotional scars of banishment. This group of participants included university academics and others with tertiary educational backgrounds. Although they were also deeply affected by the physical and psychological impacts of banishment, they have been able to recuperate in a shorter period of time than other banished persons. They have had the ability to mitigate the destructive impacts by espousing a philosophy of 'doing something else and not being let down by it' [the banishment].

A Challenge to the Churches

In the village of Asau, three *matai* of Tufuga Fatu's family, including two lay preachers, were banished by the village *fono* due to their having dealt with family matters through the court – an action regarded by the *fono* as an infringement of village protocols. The two lay preachers were then terminated by the church minister from their preaching commitments in the church. According to the parish minister, every decision made by the village council is sanctioned by the church and cannot be questioned.

This acquiescence to the unquestioned authority of the *fono* leaves no room for the church's prophetic role – whether in relation to banishment or to other decisions made by the *fono* that may not be just. In this case, the church pastor failed to be a mediator or a pastoral caregiver for his parishioners who were banished, leaving them with nowhere to turn for comfort or help. While one research participant expressed gratitude that his pastor had prayed for him during and after his banishment, several others noted their sadness that their pastors had not come to their aid in any way.

As an ordained minister, I have seen that the churches in Samoa are not doing enough to provide pastoral care and promote peace and justice in response to the issue of banishment. The recipients of banishment in Samoa who are forced to resettle elsewhere have to depend on the hospitality of relatives or friends, and the church does little if anything to help them. These people were members of their village congregations and consistently contributed financially and through their labour to their churches. Yet most churches' response to their banishment is a deafening silence. Tanugamanono, the editor of the *Samoa Observer*, referring to the local church minister in a village involved in a banishment case in which the offenders had appealed to the Court, stated, "While this case continues, the church minister within this parish remains silent" (cited in Ripine, 2010, n.p.).

In light of this reality, I argue that the pastoral and prophetic roles of church ministers in Samoan villages need to be re-examined in the light of the Christian gospel. Church ministers are called to be the prophetic voice of the church, promoting peace, love, justice, reconciliation and forgiveness in every setting in society. It is also their calling to provide pastoral care for the lost and the broken-

hearted. It is the Samoan church's silence and failure to respond to the issue of banishment that led me to investigate this issue.

Conclusion

Banishment is a very real experience of annihilation of one's identity. It is emotionally catastrophic for the victims. Banishment that is imposed upon the entire family has great economic, social, physical, emotional and spiritual impacts. Starting a new life elsewhere is no easy task. As Samoa has been hit hard by economic stresses in the contemporary era, such as the ever-escalating cost of living, the recipients of banishment must depend on the generosity of friends and relatives elsewhere for accommodation and food as they attempt to survive without access to their land and sources of sustenance. Their innocent children suffer greatly and are thus unjustly victimised themselves.

In many of the case studies of banishment I have examined in my research, the banished persons experienced not only ostracism within their villages but complete eviction from their villages. All of those I interviewed have suffered loss of property, rootlessness, humiliation and shame. None had a voice in the village *fono's* decision-making regarding their banishment. For this reason, there was no opportunity for them to answer the allegations made against them.

In this sense, the traditional Samoan value of *soalaupule* or 'reciprocal dialogue' was not practiced. If *soalaupule* is an important means of reaching an agreement in the *fa'asamoa*, should it not be considered in decisions concerning village offenders? Because those who were banished were not represented in the *fono*, decisions made against them will always be suspected as being biased and dictatorial.

A case of banishment by the *fono* in the village of Salamumu against a family hosting a bible study group that was not part of an officially sanctioned church further discloses a contradiction between the freedom of religion guaranteed in the Samoan Constitution (*Constitution*, 2008)[7] and the authority of the *fono*. Since increasing

[7] Article 14, Freedom of Religion, states: "Every person has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in a community with others, and, in public or private, to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance" (p. 11).

numbers of cases of banishment are punishments for attempting to practice the Christian faith outside the mainstream churches, this raises questions about the society's commitment to uphold the freedom of religion it claims to espouse.

Even if banishment is a consequence of offences that people have committed, the fact remains that these offenders are human beings who deserve the necessities of life and security. At times their pain is too emotionally wrenching for them to speak of, even after much time has passed, because this reopens old wounds which they are struggling to let go of. Those who have been reinstated in their village community do at least regain access to their land; however, they continue to be haunted by the specter of violence, intimidation and humiliation. The younger generations who have witnessed the trauma of their parents' banishment may carry emotional scars forever.

Finally, the intervention of the church, in order to help to mend broken relationships caused by banishment, is part of both the prophetic and the pastoral calling of the church in Samoan society. Samoa's churches are challenged to practice more effective expressions of pastoral care and advocacy for justice in order to restore the dignity and wholeness of those who have been banished.

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A Critical Review of Priscilla Puamau (2007), "Teacher Education in the Pacific: Issues and Challenges," in *Commonwealth Education Partnerships* (pp. 209-213)

Fa'aafu Taeleasaasa Matafeo

Using education as a moral compass of learning to compare and contrast teacher education from colonial times to the present, Priscilla Puamau, education advisor on the PRIDE Project (Pacific Regional Initiatives for the Delivery of Basic Education), did not mince words when she declared that foremost among the 'Issues and Challenges in Teacher Education' is the necessity to "dismantle colonised mindsets" (2007, pp. 209-210). These 'colonised mindsets,' inherited and bequeathed to Pasifika people from their colonial masters, were replete with Eurocentric and colonial instructions in their schooling (and scolding) socialisation process. Puamau presented her passionate argument during a conference in Samoa to prioritise this issue, because it has singlehandedly shattered the morality and goodness of indigenous capabilities, corroded the traditional method of navigating learning, and hindered our freedom to think for ourselves. When the "outsiders" left us, they marked us with a rod of imperial oppression by stamping a mentality deep into our souls that we as Pasifika learners were just not good enough for Western education.

Examination and Critical Review of Issues Discussed in the "Puamau List"

The whole complexion of Puamau's paper is epitomised in its "lessons learned" list, which makes the point that education must be a human development that is accessible for ALL, and an opportunity to rethink how best to arise from our difficult colonial past. This is a critical task given the fact that, as Puamau argues, our way of thinking like despondent people/children arises from speaking a colonial language in schools; this has meant that we have "forgotten" about indigenous epistemologies and how crucial these are to teacher education programmes (p. 210). A recovery of these epistemologies is paramount for the completion of an education as independent teachers who are not a product of the colonial mastery and manipulation that still, in a

sense, 'owns' us and our faculties of thinking. Hence, her first declaration in the list is: "dismantle colonised mindsets."

Puamau's 25 years in education, labour and capacity-building have shaped her deep concerns for our Pasifika future in teacher education. The problem now faced by educators is how we can "synthesise the best of local or indigenous ways of thinking and doing things with the best of contemporary global practices in teaching and learning" (p. 213). The dilemma we inherited from our colonial masters in teacher education is this: to mimic or to perish (p. 210). Our copycat mentality does not offer any agency at all, according to Puamau, because the socialisation theories of Piaget, Vygotsky, Bruner, Maslow and Gardener are by nature Eurocentric and "evidence-based," such that they are effective for cognitive and formal learning. They are also concepts that were perfected for imperial and colonial policies. Such learning theories continue to inhibit our freedom to think for ourselves, as if we do not have a choice in how we teach, and as if we never had a socialisation process of learning in our own culture prior to European contact.

Puamau further identifies the dilemma posed by the fact that teacher education depends on external donor funding. In typical neo-colonial fashion, development partners such as Australia, New Zealand and America impose their "hidden curriculum" to reconstruct and reform the next generation of teacher educators, who will in turn teach the next generation of learners. A warning is issued by Puamau, namely that, by not becoming active participants in negotiations on the reformation of teacher education, we neglect a sense of ownership that we could use to steer our people to be educated in the best of both worlds (indigenous and Western).

Further to this donor dependency, Puamau also identified the sufferings entailed in being "independent" in teacher education platforms and paradigms of development. Teachers as professionals are "underpaid and overworked" and remain in this seemingly inescapable situation (pp. 212-213). The teaching profession as it operates in Samoa today is certainly more liberated compared to the situation immediately after Independence in 1962, where not only were teaching conditions appalling but also the infrastructure was in disarray (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016). Yet the teaching profession remains under-resourced. The donor and globally funded "Education for All" initiative for Pasifika, including Samoa, was designed to ensure that

we are being treated equally in our substantive opportunities and included in the list of education outcomes in the "civilised" world, alongside the wealthy countries. The unanswered question is the extent to which Samoan educators have equal agency.

Apart from a short supply of trained teachers, another issue identified in the Puamau List, which she did not really elaborate on, is the lack of communication networking amongst Pasifika educational institutions. Based on our small demographics and isolated geographical locations, donor funders are able to "manhandle" local educational institutions to bend to their will. This has meant that our dependency on donors to fund teacher education also has the effect of isolating Pasifika islands from one another. They are not adequately connected for the reciprocal sharing of information about education development in the Pasifika and Australasia regions. For instance, Nauru has a very short supply of trained teachers. However, since Nauru is mainly funded by Australia, it would not be able to align with Marshall Islands curriculum development, since it is American funded, or with Samoa, since it is New Zealand funded.

Apart from this geographic isolation, there seems to be a "one size fits all" approach by the money lenders to sustain the training of unspecialised teachers, who are not given opportunities or access to becoming more equipped for specialty teaching vocations. By leaving us "hungry," we are socialised to "beg" for more from donors, and the cycle of non-networking amongst ourselves continues, even though the money from donors is injected into our teacher training. Modern technology, however, is beginning to change this, in the form of the internet and globalisation, which is an element of education Puamau mentioned but did not elaborate on. However, Tuia's thesis of a standpoint theory discussed this in detail in relation to Samoan values and morals that are imperative for postcolonial teacher education (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016).

The education of Pasifika people in their traditional morals and values should encourage a social movement of pride, knowing that even before the Europeans arrived Samoans were already taught the physical and social structures of Pasifika institutions. The inheritance of these morals and values is imperative for our survival in our current situation, because teachers are the forerunners to prepare the nation for the effects of globalisation, including cultural diffusion. For this reason, Puamau reiterates the importance of creating and selecting best

practices of national policies and training programmes for the orientation of newly trained but inexperienced teachers into schools. The failure to establish these best practices needs to be rectified immediately, because this is an ethical problem.

Moreover, the transfer of training, or ToT, must remain an important regulatory framework, so that graduates in Education are schooled in order to become complete teachers. The values aspect of good education also depends on excellent mentoring programmes (Tufue-Dolgoy & McDonald, 2017). The upgrading of learners in their ability to think for themselves can only happen with the upgrading of teacher education, and the upgrading of teacher education equates to social and economic stability. Isolation or demographic resistance should not be an excuse for our teachers failing to take the future of their profession into their own hands. Teachers must be confident in their profession by ensuring they commit to ongoing and contextually relevant professional development paradigms. Without teacher development, every child in school will suffer, but teacher education must be true to Pasifika experiences, while at the same time acknowledging insights from the global community. To neglect professional development of teachers is to neglect the education of the nation.

Recommendations

The identification of Puamau's ten important issues and challenges in teacher education in her list warrants further studies because, although this list of problems and challenges is valuable, we should further investigate which items on the list we should prioritise or adapt as policy makers in education. The Puamau List should be treated as a list of opportunities that are examined in terms of their relevance pertaining to variations in situations or circumstances, especially as these affect our policy frameworks. For instance, what does it mean in our setting that we cannot put "fix teachers' pay and resources" *above or below* "moral and values education?"

The role of education in the postcolonial era is a very important component of the Puamau List. New postcolonial education theories, critical approaches, and modified perspectives on education are essential because education must not be a-historical. The freedom to be and become educated must derive from our own innovations and

modifications of colonial education theories. Puamau alluded to a hope that our education systems in the Pasifika would not be in crisis, and yet that is exactly what we are facing as peoples who inherited the colonial way of thinking. For her appeal to reach every Pasifika country, more research should be undertaken by our own people, without the influence of Eurocentric values and beliefs.

Moreover, teacher education should boost confidence in learning by ensuring that our teachers are competent in research, using research methods that incorporate holistic perspectives, an understanding of globalisation, and interdisciplinary approaches that incorporate, for example, sociological and anthropological theories instead of education theories alone. Finally, research skills and knowledge should always align with advances in technology, and this will enhance teacher education attitudes in terms of their roles as agents of change in mentoring and evaluation designs.

The Puamau List has also revealed substantive opportunities for us to be educated as a human and Pasifika right. More research studies should combine the efforts of Pasifika institutions so as to better communicate with each other and also to internationalise our learning. By developing education as a human and Pasifika right, Pacific Islanders will ensure that their teacher education programmes are mentally preparing teachers to abandon colonial texts and types of teaching methods that are revealed to be outdated (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016). Reconstructing and reconceptualising pedagogy and learning structures in the Pacific must be a priority because ALL Pacific Islanders are inheritors and descendants of colonial ways of teaching and learning.

The FBEAP and UNESCO's EFA initiative, along with the MDGs and now SDGs, are all human development frameworks that include teacher education. However, whether these plans address the issues and challenges we are experiencing as Pacific Islanders is another matter. Contextually relevant policy making and decision making at the highest levels of any educational institution are paramount in order for a nation to be and to become educated. Yes, we need these international strategies to include us in the global ranks of being "civilised" peoples, but they should not label us as incapable of creating our own future simply because we inherited the status of being called "poor" or "uneducated" from our colonial masters (who are also now our donors). One of the greatest pillars of the National

University of Samoa is that we must make our national way of education both relevant to our own needs and internationally respected. That moral pillar identifies Samoans as educated and proud of their cultural identity.

Conclusion

To summarise, Priscilla Puamau identified ten issues and challenges facing teacher education in the Pacific, known as the "Puamau List." The Puamau List identified these key issues and it is up to us to treat these issues as a list of opportunities and capabilities. That is, the list of issues must be treated as a combination of considerations that have relevance for our crisis situations as they happen. In order for these issues highlighted in the Puamau List to be alleviated, each problem should not be treated in chronological order or as though one problem is more important than the others. Undoubtedly the issues and challenges identified by Puamau are a collection of her own experiences as a facilitator of learning and teaching for almost half a century.

The Pacific Islands are now at a crossroads in terms of choosing which path they should take in order to address the issues and challenges identified by Puamau, and this is why her list must be considered by all stakeholders in education and nation-building. Globalisation studies in education should motivate Pasifika people to reconstruct and reconceptualise their lives by returning to their indigenous knowledge, skills and attitudes. People in the Pacific need a healing process and, as illustrated by Puamau, this can be done through teacher education. This is part of the inheritance of being Pasifika: to be highly resilient and to value learning. We cannot afford to be and become uneducated. Teacher training programmes and facilities, including a solid technology infrastructure, must be a priority for every Pacific government. This is the foundation of national thinking that will make us internationally respected in the global marketplace of learning and teaching, and this process requires that we eliminate all values of "colonised mindsets."

Morals and values have always been Pasifika traits of guidance and social integration. We cannot afford to deviate from our value system at this time in our history, and education is therefore paramount as a public reasoning platform for creating stability and peace. Teachers

and teacher education will always be at the forefront of imparting knowledge and skills, but the most important gift for the next generation of teachers, as Puamau rightly identified, is that education is a moral compass for teachers to remind themselves that this is their legacy of correcting the wrongs of the past and healing a wounded nation for a better future.

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CONFERENCE NOTICE

Association of Commonwealth Language and Literature Studies (ACLALS) Conference

Auckland, 15-19 July, 2019

THEME: THE UNCOMMON COMMONWEALTH

From the ACLALS website (http://aclals2019.org.nz/):

"Is heaven also made in Taiwan? And does Jesus really know how to speak Samoan?" Sia Figiel, *The Girl in the Moon Circle*

"In its modern history, the Commonwealth has provided an uncommonly flexible set of social, political, legal and economic forms of association. Founded in British colonialism, it conducts its business in a more or less common language, English and, arguably, shares core cultural values. But the Commonwealth is marked by the distinct topographies, histories, ethnicities and indigenous languages of its member states, variously confronting post-independence, the legacy of Britain's 'masks of conquest.'

It is uncommon in that it survives – albeit haphazardly – as its members are drawn into new strategic alliances and loyalties. But how successful is this survival? Does this new Commonwealth matter, and how long will it last? How important are the traditional commonalities of language, legal systems and political values among countries of such different experiences and concerns?...

What we share may no longer be our unifying factor: commonly, now, we seek instead to restore, document, celebrate and develop our differences. To be uncommon in this fashion, however, may still be to participate in the unfurling of the world, with the peculiar support of Commonwealth histories of dismantling and re-formation. Or to be uncommon may be to speak with our own voices and to determine our own trajectories, to do 'unheard of things' with English, our uncommonly common tongue."

A Critical Review of Rasela Tufue-Dolgoy and Lex McDonald (2017), "Facilitating Transfer of Training for Samoan Student Teachers: An Exploratory Investigation," *Journal of Samoan Studies, 7*(3), 35-46.

Fa'aafu Taeleasaasa Matafeo

Using multi-definitions of Transfer of Training, hereby shortened to ToT, and its gestalt transference applications by Judd (1908), Thorndike (1933), Baldwin & Ford (1988), Salomon & Perkins (1989), Lim (1991), Lave & Wenger (1991), Haskell (2001), Broad & Newstrom (2001), Royer et al. (2005), Scheeler (2008), Baldwin, Ford, Blume & Huang (2010), Daffron and North (2011), Billet (2013), and many other notable educational psychologists such as B. F. Skinner, it is clear that ToT in a developing nation like Samoa is still a new concept to be taught and learned by student teachers and teacher educators alike. Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald conducted a study of six teacher educators from Samoa by interviewing them to ascertain their knowledge and use of ToT when preparing student teachers for teaching practice. Their research found that while the subjects understood that ToT was an important process of transferring learning, the teacher educators did not demonstrate any link to an evidence-based knowledge of transfer theory and use in educational strategies of learning and teaching, so as to ensure a complete learning and teaching experience. The study also revealed that ToT in Samoa needed support in its training infrastructure, particularly by key players who were presumably those in the supervisory and mentoring process as training designers, navigators and enforcers.

Education should not only be a priority in Samoa's human development but also an imperative measurement of Samoan capabilities in the international education markets of tertiary learning and teaching. This is because ToT as a training and planned process is directly related to the economic gains or losses of a trained or untrained workforce. In short, ToT aims to make our national teaching and learning more international, in order to lessen the deficits associated with appearing to be incapable in the global education scene. Furthermore, supervision and mentoring paradigms should be

prioritised as supporting frameworks for ToT. It is also important that ToT as a training platform and framework must function to evaluate whether the teaching and learning in teacher education courses actually transfer meaningful exchanges between teachers and learners, or whether ToT in Samoa lacks innovation in mentoring and supervising the learning of skills in an educated nation.

Critical Review of Issues and Findings by Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald

For Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald, the findings of their study are only considered a 'chunk' of the whole picture, simply because there will inevitably be more written evidence-based arguments arising from this study. One of these will definitely be a response to the fact that ToT as a reasoning platform for mentoring and supervising student teachers in teacher education development was alluded to in the article but not really elaborated on, and for good reason. Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald concentrated on the issue of whether teacher educators utilised ToT to prepare teachers for training practice.

ToT as a process makes it a training design for coaching and schooling in strategic phases of teaching and learning, in order to indicate the performance of the parties involved (Tufue-Dolgoy, 2010, p. 37). An important observation in this study was the cultural knowledge which educators "use but overlooked" in relation to the way they teach and learn. ToT is a formal learning process simply because it is planned, according to a definition by Broad & Newstrom (2001), and thus follows a cognitive logical stream. Its rationalisation would undoubtedly suppress and oppress the educational process outside of the classroom, especially in countries that have been negatively affected by colonialism like Samoa.

McDonald (2001) studied the Cook Islands cultural transfer of training and illustrated that traditional practices of learning and teaching could lead to greater understanding ('on whose part' is unclear). The conclusion was that a modification of ToT was needed in the cultural contexts of Pacific peoples, in order to enrich student learning and teachers' lives. Cultural and traditional elements in formal learning and teaching should not hinder people's confidence in their capabilities, because these could be incorporated into professional practices based on their *relevance* (as part of ToT

capabilities). ToT is not just a list of ascribed steps, as Halpern & Hakel (2003) and Haskell (2001), to name a few, have stated we must all follow. The underlying elements of self-esteem and self-confidence of teacher educators were also very important in the Tufue-Dolgoy & McDonald study, as shown in their interviewee responses. They ensure that ToT does not just follow a "hidden curriculum;" rather, we take what is relevant to our situations of learning and teaching.

Whether ToT remains the main model of assessing learning and teaching, apart from psychological studies, the ability of teacher educators to teach students to become teachers remains the quintessential factor, because the transferring of knowledge, skills and attitudes on a formal learning platform is a highly sensitive matter. It includes the moral duty of teachers (Puamau, 2007) and is not just about human capital. ToT as a platform of transferred learning for student teachers becomes a mentoring process to quantify a system for quality supervisory skills in teacher education and, most importantly, to quantify an economic value in relation to teacher education.

However, in order to benefit a student teacher with the knowledge of both worlds (Western and indigenous), ToT must get it right. If we get it wrong from the beginning, in the act of transferring knowledge and skills, it would be very hard to change the socialisation process. The process of ToT should therefore not only be a system that is innovative, but also one that is relevant for the context and the times in contemporary Samoa. Its evolution, then, as a facilitating platform for teacher education, is not for the meek, especially when it factors in policy making, regulations and execution.

There is a recurrent debate which suggests that student teachers' learning has remained incomplete because ToT as a training platform should have a more flexible framework; its design should suit its learners and fit their geographical/demographic/cultural environment. The low transfer rates of knowledge, according to Georgenson (1982), Saks & Belcourt (2006), Clarke (2002), and Engelmann (1988), to name a few, were disturbing, and the low incidence of ToT success remains under-researched (cited in Daffron & North, 2011). Whether or not there is a blame game to warrant this low incidence of ToT success, all of these studies illustrate that ToT is under-evaluated, particularly its supervisory and mentoring process as supporting structures. ToT therefore requires special care and capacity for adaptation if it is to contribute to the teaching and learning skills of

Samoans. We should use it not because we inherited it from our colonial masters, but because it is a global outlook and we wish to be included in the ranks of the "civilised world." Imagine if we were not included!

ToT as a formal practice and matrix is also highlighted in the Samoan National Teacher Development policy (MESC, 2011; MESC, 2013; Education Sector, 2013). As a policy, it is a different matter altogether, because it must equate to the human capital of a competent and trained workforce. The success of its implementation, however, as Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald illustrate in their study, has remained for the National University of Samoa's Faculty of Education to ascertain, because their findings correlated to a mishmash of language problems, antagonising cultural relativism and biological determinism, even a failure to demonstrate professional commitment and responsibility. For this reason, instead of assessing and mentoring learning, we as teacher educators must perhaps first assess and heal student teachers (and some teacher educators).

The study also revealed a difference in the effectiveness of ToT between teacher educators and student teachers. ToT strategies were identified by some student learners and teacher educators, but only in their shared knowledge of formal classroom management. However, whether or not the message is received by the student teachers (learners) is largely unknown. This means that the emphasis on transferring learning is in its rudimentary stages and is not effective enough for the transfer of learning to be deemed meaningful.

The level of quality teaching and quality teacher mentoring training programmes is thus in doubt. As Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald revealed in their study, "none of the teacher educators, however, could link their sources to the research literature or experts" (2017, p. 41). Teacher educators must never stop learning through self-evaluation and researching about their profession, and ToT, as an important device for evaluating this learning, should evolve to sustain a more reliable execution of the transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes. It should also be a matter of continued review in education faculties to reinforce ToT frameworks as supervisory and mentoring designs that can achieve training which improves performance.

Recommendations

While the study was primarily qualitative, using Miles, Huberman & Saldana's thematics (2017, p. 39), it would have been helpful to have provided a quantitative approach as well. For instance, it would have sufficed to note demographic information about these six teacher educators, such as: gender breakdown, age range, departments other than Education, or socio-economic status, to name a few. This should not have been difficult given how small the sample group was. Moreover, the fact that learning and teaching are now globalised tasks also aligns with the use of technological devices such as I-pads, Tablets or Smartphones; these are relevant to higher learning now and should therefore warrant inclusion as a relevant factor in teacher education. Simply put, when ToT happens, technology is also transferred, and this should be incorporated into future evaluations of ToT.

The strategies identified in the Samoan ToT study suggest that there are more insights regarding the nature of transfer of training to be revealed from this initiative by Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald (2017). To the extent that this study is mainly exploratory, its findings illustrate that there is a big difference between being a teacher educator and a student teacher, because learning, even at a higher or tertiary level, is still mainly enforced by pedagogical and 'colonised' ways of teaching, and this would also be the case for its method of transference. This suggests that part of our mentoring and supervising still takes place in a "colonised mindset" (Puamau, 2007), and this should be rectified, because educational failure will be an economic calamity to our society. ToT local frameworks of training design must also be effective in encompassing other workplaces or communities, such as the police, doctors and nurses, engineers, or social workers, to name a few, as trained and trainers themselves.

The effectiveness of ToT should be demonstrated in the evaluation of the teaching and learning process in relation to supervisory and mentoring skills as evidence-based practices, access to research facilities, and reinforcement of learning by teaching oneself to commit to rationalising education theories. Most importantly, one should feel confident that being a teacher is a grand profession, with its own charisma unmatched by any other. The student teachers themselves must self-monitor their own learning to lessen any deficit due to the

wide gap of learning transfer between teacher educators and student teachers. The strength of a student teacher in any mentoring and supervision audit process is his or her willingness to learn, but for teacher educators, on the other hand, their strengths should lie in their experience in motivating higher formal learning. If one wishes to become a professional teacher, one should learn about one's weaknesses and strengths first, during one's training, which is basically the pre-, during- and after-phases of ToT, a training design revolutionised by Baldwin & Ford during the 1980s (2017, p. 37).

It must be acknowledged that ToT is a Western model, and that it must be modified to suit our teaching and learning needs. This critical phase must perceive supervisory and mentoring processes as purposeful and as requiring ongoing monitoring. Finally, a follow-up study to this Samoan ToT study would distinguish it from the initial study, just as Blume, Ford, Baldwin & Huang reported (2010) on the progress of ToT as a frame of reference for teacher education development. ToT must be monitored and continually evaluated if it is to be an agency of educational and economic development rather than a model of education in crisis.

Conclusion

In summary, it is acknowledged that the current study is still inconclusive because of its exploratory nature. Further studies must be undertaken in order to evaluate ToT not only qualitatively but quantitatively. The goal is to further improve our understanding of how ToT could be an effective scaffold on which to build and effectively practice skills so as to mobilise learning. ToT should be an aid to learning and not a barrier to learning, especially in the Pacific with its environmental impact factors.

The risks identified in ToT by Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald mainly stemmed from lack of confidence and support of teacher educators, which stifles student teachers' learning. Planning therefore remains paramount in any teaching faculty. The NUS must act in order for our learning to become both contextually effective and internationally recognised. Furthermore, ToT must be responsive to particular social changes and situations and not remain fixed to a historical framework.

Tufue-Dolgoy and McDonald's study also reveals the importance of all parties being included in the education system. ToT policies and frameworks should allow us to feel that we are a part of the international educational community but with Pasifika cultural flavours. Finally, as stated earlier, this exploratory investigation is only one piece of many more perspectives and studies to be written about ToT's place in Samoa and the Pacific. Most importantly, this study has illustrated that ToT could be improved by taking into account cultural values that Samoans may perceive as a barrier to learning when, in fact, they can provide a moral framework for self-evaluation. That is, formal learning may limit learning to the classroom, but a Samoan education always continues outside the classroom. Insights about this cultural learning could be applied to any student learning, whether in science, the social sciences, trades, or other disciplines.

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Review of Peter Swain and Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi, *Palemia – A Memoir: Samoan Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi* (Victoria University Press, 2017)

Setope So'oa'emalelagi

This memoir is Samoan Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi's testament to a life of political leadership and patriotism. "When he chairs cabinet meetings, the portraits of five prime ministerial predecessors look on and he reflects. The weight of history bears down on all leaders. In Samoa the burden of history is personal, real and very close" (p. 23). The early chapters document his childhood and how he travelled 'beyond the reef' where intrigue, and ultimately a path to the highest office in the land, Prime Minister of Samoa, became his fate. In his youth he left a solid village upbringing in exchange for a gateway to higher education in Apia and New Zealand.

The middle chapters give a scintillating portrait of Samoan politics, personal challenges, and the complex relationships thereof. This is the most comprehensive personal account of Samoan politics by a sitting Samoan leader in history. His co-author is Dr Peter Swain, an expert in Pacific Development Studies, Professor at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, and husband of Luamanuvao Winnie Laban, who is of Samoan descent and an ex-New Zealand parliamentarian. Swain's task is challenging, as his subject is well known for his direct and curt demeanor. "From my first encounter with Tuilaepa I learnt that he was a man of action rather than words, a man who knew how to make things happen in Samoa" (p. 13). Swain nevertheless succeeds where countless interviewers have struggled. He earns the trust and candor of his subject. Readers are left with a fast-moving narrative between advocates of the *faa Samoa* (Samoan way) and the *faa palagi* (Western way).

The memoir is striking for two reasons. It is the first by a sitting Prime Minister of Samoa in real time. Secondly, it is an exposé of political life without fear of self-incrimination or public scrutiny. "I knew that the retelling of old events could open up old wounds. But history is history. Things must be told exactly as they occurred: otherwise the underlying lesson is hidden and buried" (p. 9).

From cover to cover, the literary style is articulate, humorous and uncomplicated. It avoids the audacious self-aggrandisement of Winston Churchill's memoirs or the highly filtered memoirs of contemporaries like Sir Robert Muldoon (New Zealand Prime Minister, 1975-1984). Swain has managed to weave historical facts, figures and innuendo into a mosaic of serious reflection. He also manages to unlock a sense of confidence in Tuilaepa to 'tell it like it is.' Together the two authors give people of all walks of life a gem to read.

In Chapter 1, we see the fragility of Samoan governance, and the ways in which a novice Prime Minister can be tested. At a ceremony to mark the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Human Rights Protectionist Party (HRPP) in 1999, Cabinet minister Luagalau Levaula Kamu was fatally shot. The assassination undermined Samoa's international reputation as a peaceful Christian nation and Tuilaepa's faith in Samoa's political future. This experience is a grim reminder that modern politics is as nefarious as it is exhilarating.

The book projects a style of leadership considered by some as enduring, controversial, or even radical. This is best illustrated by three pivotal events. First, the Samoan colonial name tag 'Western' is dropped in favor of a unified name, 'Samoa'. Second, a shift in the date line moves Samoa closer to world markets. And third, there is a switch in driver's lanes from right to left, triggering a flood of vehicles into Samoa, increasing mobility, congestion and living standards.

Critics will point to how the HRPP has maintained a vice-like grip on parliamentary seats and representation. In the 2016 general election, the HRPP won forty-seven seats to the opposition Tautua party's two. There is scant mention in the memoir of political adversaries, who brand Tuilaepa's tenure as corrupt, plagued by cronyism and the accumulation of power by one party (HRPP) at the expense of due diligence. Tuilaepa has held power since 23 November, 1998 and is currently in his fifth term as leader, with an opposition in disarray.

Yet he does not flinch when facing his critics. He refers to Samoa's robust economic growth and education reforms. In his 29 May, 2016 presentation on 'Political, Economic and Social Implications,' Tuilaepa stated, "HRPP dominance has been for the most part a success story and has achieved political stability, economic

development and social development through democratic means" (p. 240).

The middle chapters present a beginners' guide to Polynesian politics, where the goals of consensus and injecting *matai* (chiefly) values into a modern parliamentary system unfold. In addition, former leaders are well documented. The Honorable Tui Atua Tupuola Taisi Efi, ex-Head of State, is cast as a Machiavellian figure whose skills as an orator and strategist are polarising and only grudgingly tolerated. In contrast, the co-founder of the HRRP, Tofilau Alesana Eti, is painted as a master of decorum and a grand mentor.

This presentation of recent Samoan history raises questions: Is Samoa entering a new dawn in modern politics? Is a one-party dominated state sustainable? From Tuilaepa's catalogue of struggles, it would seem, looking back, that Samoan independence in 1962 was a mere lab experiment with an eccentric professor mixing a concoction of 'let's see if this works.' Into this mix strolls a leader whose maxim is simple: 'Rebrand Samoa as Samoa in the modern world' and protect Samoa's current status as a model of progress and stability in the Pacific region. It is perhaps at this juncture that Tuilaepa's vision of the future is best revealed in his memoirs. This is not a tale of rags to riches, as the script suggests otherwise. But no doubt sixteen years as Prime Minister and statesman reveals a man with a common touch and the resilience to lead – a man of the people.

[Note: A substantial part of this memoir is based on recordings of Tuilaepa's conversations with Dr Peter Swain. Copies of the transcripts are available at the Beaglehole Research Room, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand.]

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JAFNUS

Journal of the Arts Faculty of the National University of Samoa

JAFNUS **is published annually in December. Its purpose is to encourage scholarship in the arts, humanities and social sciences that has practical relevance for Samoan society. It publishes articles and reviews that speak to issues and concerns facing Samoa today, and which also have resonance for other Pacific Islands nations, Pacific communities in the diaspora, and other small island states.**

"This issue of *JAFNUS* is cause for celebration, as it signals a revival of the journal after a hiatus of some years. The rebirth of *JAFNUS* is a sign of renewal in more ways than one. First, there is a sharper focus on scholarly discourse on issues that are impacting Samoan society during this challenging era of globalisation and the climate change crisis. Scholars representing diverse disciplines in the arts, humanities and social sciences are bringing their areas of specialisation to bear on real issues and concerns that are impinging on Samoan life – and, by extension, on life in other Pacific Islands societies. Second, there is now a greater gender balance among contributors to *JAFNUS*, with the majority of contributors to this issue being women scholars. This is a sign of encouragement for young Samoan and Pasifika women in academia. *JAFNUS* is committed to showcasing the research not only of women but of early and mid-career academics across a variety of disciplines."

JAFNUS Editorial Board