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United States Deportation Policy and its effects on Samoan Deportees

Dr Timothy Fadgen, University of Auckland

Abstract

Deportation is increasingly used as a policy tool across many countries. The United States deports large numbers of people to many parts of the world, including Samoa. Previous studies have explored perceptions of human insecurity among returnees to Samoa. In addition, a growing body of literature considers the threats to regional security that such large movements of criminal deportees present. This article seeks to add to this literature by presenting returnee narratives to provide an in-depth exploration of the returnee journey and its possible implications for policy design. The article seeks to add to this growing body of literature by demonstrating policy gaps that prevent effective policy coordination between friendly nations. This article suggests that these gaps can be addressed through the use of more effective policy design to ensure more successful resettlement. Such an approach would bring together deportees and policy actors in the United States and Samoa to better address the complex needs deportees present and more broadly for improved bilateral and multilateral relations with small island states.

Keywords: deportation, crimmigration, Samoa, reintegration, public policy design

Introduction

International migrations take place within legally restrictive and often overtly hostile political environments in destination countries. Legal restrictions limit opportunities to formalise or extend immigration status. This, in turn, contributes to the rise in deportations by creating a perpetual underclass of individuals and families deprived of viable, sustainable economic opportunities (Anderson, Gibney & Paoletti, 2011; Coutin, 2015; and DeGenova & Peutz, 2010). For many, denial of access to the formal economy as visa overstayers results in unemployment, over-crowded housing, and exclusion from public welfare (Raphael, 2006). This deprivation often leads to poor socioeconomic and health outcomes and increased criminal offending (Vargas, Sanchez & Juarez 2017; Moran, Gill and Conlon, 2013; Peutz, 2006; and Walters, 2002). For those with impermanent immigration status, a criminal offence can lead to deportation—or the “forcible removal, upheaval and sometimes permanent exclusion from the polity” (Wong 2015, p. 65). The deportee is thus taken from family and community and sent to a country where they often share little in the way of language, culture, and connection with others.

Besides the many hardships such dislocation creates for deportees, the deportation also presents myriad policy challenges for resettlement nations. A growing body of scholarship has shown that deportations pose complex criminogenic policy challenges to resettlement states in terms of education, employment, drug abuse, mental health and family and peer relationships (DeBono, Ronnqvist & Magnusson, 2015; Torres, et al., 2019; Rojas, Flores, et al., 2017; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Weber & Powell, 2017). Deportees thus represent a complex, intersectional policy problem: they are politically weak, regarded as socially undesirable, disconnected from policy processes, and often have backgrounds defined by violence and mental illness. These factors are exacerbated in island states where experiences of dislocation occur within small communities.

As the number of criminal deportations from the United States has grown, alongside those from Australia and New Zealand, the current trajectory of policy responses in Samoa (and elsewhere) is one of increased surveillance and securitization (Sousa-Santos, 2022; McNeill, 2021). Policies have thus grown more punitive and arguably less focused on deportee reintegration as citizens. Examples of this trend include Samoa's adoption of a 2015 Aotearoa New Zealand law, the Returning Offenders (Management and Information) (ROMI) Act. The Act subjects those deported from Australia due to a criminal conviction carrying a sentence of 12 months or more to various forms of surveillance upon their return to New Zealand. In 2019, the Government of Samoa adopted similar legislation, the Returning Offender Act, which similarly mandates returnee surveillance (Feagaimaali'i-Luamanu, 2019). From the returnee perspective, deportation stigmatisation is exacerbated by such measures. This has the potential to further marginalise returnees and present challenges to their successful reintegration. This trend, however, is occurring as part of a broader movement towards the use of deportation as a policy response to immigration.

The "Deportation Turn"

By the start of the twenty-first century, many states began to use deportation as a policy tool within increasingly strict migration policies (Ward & Stewart, 2003). Some scholars refer to this period as the 'deportation turn' (DeGenova & Peutz, 2010). Yet, this policy shift also presents an apparent paradox. Although states have increasingly relied on this tool, it is widely regarded as "brutal, expensive and ineffective" (Majidi & Schuster, 2018). There is no indication that these punitive policy regimes are waning or are likely to become more humane.

These issues are emerging within a new policy domain, sometimes called 'crimmigration', through the convergence of two previously distinct bodies of law

and policy: immigration and criminal policy (Stumpf, 2006; Das, 2018; Billings, 2019; and Weber & Bowling 2004). As Menjivar, Gomez Cervantes and Alvord (2018, p. 2) have defined the concept, crimmigration constitutes the “convergence of immigration law with criminal law, through the expansion of policing enforcement inside the country and its borders. “This shift has coincided with constructions of immigrant populations in media and policy narratives becoming more “gendered, racialized and marginalized” (Menjivar, Gomez-Cervantes, & Alvord, 2018, p. 1). Such constructions have exacerbated racial animus, informed criminal convictions used as a pretext for deportations and diffused rapidly across many countries in recent decades (Das, 2018). Within the Pacific region, the United States, Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, for example, have fully embraced crimmigration (Carvalho, Chamberlen & Lewis, 2020). At the same time, deportations have risen, migration laws have tightened, and detention practices have become routinised. In the region, Aotearoa New Zealand has also expanded deportation for criminal convictions (Fadgen, 2021).

Responding to the rise in deportations, many states are forced to develop policies to address the needs of deported citizens. There are a range of returnee country policies to reintegrate deportees, from the merely unwelcoming to the more benign (Golash-Boza, 2015; Caldwell, 2019). Yet, these countries often lack the social safety nets or other progressive policies that might enable returnees to become re-established. These states often rely upon “binational agreements, collaboration with international organisations, interfaith coalitions, local educational institutions and civil society organisations and, in some cases, support from the deporting countries to fill these gaps” (Hagan & Wassink 2020, p. 542; Cassarino, 2004; and Boehm, 2016). Such governmental and civil society features of deportation infrastructures across the Pacific have yet to be explored.

Overall, much of the existing scholarship is framed as the ‘political sociology of return’ and aims to “understand the effects of mounting immigration control policies by examining the return experiences of those migrant groups” (Hagan & Wassink 2020, p. 540). Scholars then divide this literature between research that focuses on the “subjective reintegration experiences, interpretations and agentic responses” of deportees and those that examine the deportation and reintegration policies themselves as a unit of analysis (Hagan & Wassink 2020, p. 541). These studies have observed a continuum of settling-state responses that range from indifference to re-criminalization (Hagan & Wassink 2020). Some recent work has even delved into the deportation journeys, with a particular focus on reintegration experiences (see e.g. Turnbull 2018). Their search at the heart of this article seeks to add to the growing body of research on the subjective reintegration experiences and responses of a

small cohort of returnees to Samoa, a middle-income, small island state located in the southern Pacific region.

Pereira (2011) is often credited as having authored the first major report to draw attention to Pacific deportation in recent years. At the same time, several interesting studies had begun to emerge on this phenomenon in the years prior to her UNESCO-sponsored study.¹ Pereira's mixed-methods report focused on deportation experiences for Tongans and Samoans and amongst its key findings were the detrimental impacts of family separation as well as those challenges faced by deportees upon their arrival in Samoa and Tonga. That report was written at a time where the Samoa Returnees Charitable Trust, a homegrown, community-based not-for-profit dedicated to the resettlement of deportees, had not yet been established.

Other studies have explored various elements of the deportee experience in the decades since Pereira's report. Weber and Powell (2018), for example, focus on the proliferation of deportation as a policy tool in response to the "major preoccupation of contemporary governments" with "ongoing risks to community safety" (2018, p. 205). And importantly their contention that "it appears that little thought is given by governments to the impact of deportation within receiving countries." (2018, p. 206). The authors considered the impacts of deportation on individuals reintegrating in Samoa. In particular the authors argued that the experience of deportation constitutes a significant risk to the security of the deportees themselves. This is particularly so given the challenges of (re)establishing their lives in "unfamiliar or even hostile" communities whilst also labouring under the stigma of their identities as criminals (2018, p. 207). Weber and Powell's study was primarily concerned with the deportation experiences of those individuals returned from Australia with the bulk of the research coming from data collected in Australia and some additional research collected in Samoa.

Recent scholarship on deportees in the Pacific has tended to focus on the criminological aspects of return as well as a growing literature on the expansion of a criminal justice policy paradigm for the control and surveillance of deportees (see e.g. McNeill, 2021). In particular McNeill's recent work on "cimmigration creep" or the phenomenon of this increasing reliance on a criminological and security-based paradigm in the Pacific region is of particular interest. Yet, this work is primarily concerned with the inter-state relations within the southern Pacific region and not with those between the United States and Samoa.

These interstate relations, as well as the myriad domestic policy challenges created by deportations of this nature raise the centrality of public policy responses

¹Among these, a 2005 Master of Arts thesis titled *Narrative Survival in the Tongan Diaspora: The Case of the American Deportees* by Lea Lani Kinikini at the University of Hawai'i.

to ensure successful resettlement outcomes. To that end, this article also seeks to bring into the discussion of deportee resettlement discourse the emerging scholarship on public policy design (Dorst, 2010; Burkett, 2012; Howlett and Mukherjee, 2018; Peters, 2018; Howlett, 2018; 2019; Fernandez-Marin, Knill and Steinbach, 2021). As Peters (2018, p.3) has observed two of the core benefits of sound policy design is that it requires that policy architects think “systematically about what would constitute the policy” and that having such a clear design in mind will lead to better learning about policy and an ability to evaluate its effectiveness more thoroughly.

Policy design can be understood as an attempt “to integrate understandings of the problems being addressed with some ideas of the instruments used for intervention and the values that are being sought through the policy.” (Peters 2018, p.5) Howlett has further refined the definition of policy design as the “deliberate and conscious attempt to define policy goals and connect them to instruments or tools expected to realize those goals.” (2015, p. 292) The most important elements of the current scholarship on policy design is the emphasis on gaining a clear understanding of the policy problem from the population most affected by the policy problem or the intended intervention— placing people at the centre of the policy process.

Moreover, in addition to the primacy of people in a policy design orientation to policymaking, the designer must also be mindful of the particular context—or contexts—within which the policy is to be developed and implemented. Policy designers are thus wise to take into account those institutional and social contexts surrounding a policy space and to avoid ready-made solutions or approach problems in an “excessively technocratic” manner the policies are unlikely to succeed (Peters, 2018).

The increased focus on design thinking and principles in the formulation and study of public policy has given rise to competing views of the design space, including the drive to achieve co-design of public policy. As Blomkamp (2018) has observed, the application of co-design principles for public policy “is not entirely new—it draws on established traditions of participation, collaboration and empowerment in public policy and planning” (2018, p. 730). Central to this approach is the recognition of the “privileged position” of the lived-experiences of those for whom the policy is intended rather than the solely relying upon the technical expertise of policy advisors (See e.g. Blomkamp, 2018; Howlett and Migone, 2013).

Blomkamp (2018) has helpfully emphasised the importance of co-design within the policy space. Citing Bradwell and Marr (2008), she noted the importance of the approach to engendering connection to and ownership over the resulting policy. This connection is created not only amongst the target population but those working within the implicated policy space. The bringing together in dialogue of those

impacted by and those traditionally charged with the crafting of policy, is an approach most likely to generate empathy and better understanding across these groups. (See e.g. Hagen & Rowland, 2011). This process would be particularly appropriate for those policy spaces where misunderstandings are greatest; where there is the likelihood of misaligning policy to the needs of a particular moment.

In the sections that follow, this article contends that deportees constitute such a community and one that is novel in its transcendence of national boundaries, requiring a high degree of policy co-design to address needs throughout the deportation journey. Based on deportee experiences, this article proposes an organisation of the deportation process into three policy phases: first, the pre-deportation phase; second, the arrival in the country of national origin phase; and third, the long-term (re)integration phase. As will be seen below, these phases can, in turn, be further segmented to allow for policy dialogue and design to better address the unique needs of deportees, their families and countries of national origin.

Situating the Research

This article seeks to add to this literature by more centrally locating the lived experiences of deportees and in particular their journeys from the United States to Samoa and how these journeys are influenced by public policies in both the sending and receiving states. In the process, the emphasis here is on providing points for reflection on the improvement of policies and process that remove people from one context to bring them into another, foreign context. As argued below, the main deporting countries to the Pacific islands, which include Australia and New Zealand along with the United States, havenot effectively collaborated or coordinated with receiving states, let alone have practices which place the interests of deportees or their resettlement communities in mind.

To explore this phenomenon, this article adds to the growing literature on deportee experiences by considering experiences of deportees in the small island state of Samoa. In the process, the article considers how a small cohort of individuals navigated the process from incarceration in the deporting nation, to arrival in Samoa and their reintegration experiences in Samoa. The aim of this article is to explore how these deportees have found ways to reconnect with civic and policy-life within their countries of birth and imposed residence. The discussion concludes with suggestions for future research and suggestions for policy engagement opportunities for deportees to improve the likelihood of more successful resettlements in future.

As will be argued below, one of this study's key conceptual insights is in extending the concept of liminality (Van Gennep, 1960)—a state of disorientation that exists in

people transitioning from one life-phase to an undefined future state. Chakraborty (2016, p. 146) has described those experiencing liminality as “caught in between two stages of development, who do not hold clearly defined positions within their social system, feel marginal, excluded, without identity or influence. “Liminality has been considered in a range of social experiences (cancer survivors (Little, et al., 1998); asylum seekers (O’Reilly, 2018); deportees (using case files) (Blue, 2015) management studies (Soderland, 2018)). For the reasons set out below, this concept is particularly useful when exploring the experiences of deportees whose existence is a convergence of political, legal and social inflection points.

Methods

This is a phenomenological exploration of United States deportees to Samoa. To examine the end-to-end deportation experience of deportees, this study assembled narrative accounts of those deportees who had been through this process. The author conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a small group of male Samoan returnees, four (4) in total. Young and Casey (2018, p. 12) have found that a small sample size consisting of “rigorously collected qualitative data” can “substantially represent the full dimensionality of people’s experiences.” Indeed, such an approach has even been advanced in research employing a quantitative approach (see e.g., Tu’akoi, et al., 2018).

The semi-structured, in-depth interviews in this study focused on three dimensions of the deportation and reintegration process, including the pre-deportation process, initial arrival in Samoa and longer-term community re-integration. Interviews were conducted by the author and audio recorded. The author hand-coded and analyzed verbatim transcripts to identify themes using a modified van Kaam approach (Moustakas 1994). This approach is intended to preserve the centrality of the participants’ voices; a central concern particularly with this population, which is marginalized in both the departing nation as well as in the reintegration context. As the discussion that follows reveals, the areas of inquiry focused on the processes and practices impacting on deportees and their journey from their adopted country back to Samoa.

Discussion

This section identifies four themes identified from the in-depth, qualitative interviews. The central aim of the research was to explore the lived-experiences of the deportees in the events leading up to their deportation, their deportation experiences as well as their experiences upon arrival in Samoa and re-integration into the community. The first theme concerns experiences in early life and departure

from Samoa and their journey through the Pacific to the western United States where for the most part these deportees settled. The second theme relates to the deportees' criminal offending in the United States and experiences in prison leading up to their eventual release into Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) custody and their deportation from the United States. The third theme involved the returnees' deportation experiences from the United States. The final theme concerns their arrival in Samoa and subsequent re-integration into the community. The sections that follow are divided into these broad thematic categories.

Early Life Experiences

Each of the participants reported leaving Samoa at a young age some as young as just a few months old. And they tended to remain out of Samoa for many years until deportation brought them back, most living between 15 and 30 years in the United States and other countries. All returned to Samoa over the age of 30, well into adulthood. While some participants mentioned having familiarity with the Samoan language, lack of comfort with it was highlighted as a barrier upon return. Most of the participants reported being permanent residents in the United States and most followed a similar pattern of moving from Samoa to either American Samoa or Hawaii and then to the western United States. Two of the participants noted having spouses and children still living in the United States.

Each of the respondents reported very similar youth experiences. They reported lower levels of education, often leaving school by intermediate school age. They described economic challenges through either the loss of a parent or the migration of the family and some of the dislocation that this cost. For example, one participant noted:

My background when I grew up was, I didn't even have an education because, you know, the condition of my family at the time.... I had a good family; I had a father and a mother but my father passed away when I was very young.... He was the only one that provides for the family and we don't have any financial income so my mom was crying because she didn't know how she was going to manage and keep us as a family...That's when I came to the conclusion, I got to make a choice. Quit school from that time and I tried to find a job. I was trying to find anyway that I can you know make some money to support [my family]

Each of the participants mentioned hardships in their youth including loss of a parent or some upheaval caused by their family's migration. All had encounters with the criminal justice system with some beginning in the juvenile justice system and others not until adulthood. Their criminal acts would increase in frequency and severity over time with each of the participants included in this study eventually serving long sentences for felonies.

As a group, the participants reported low levels of formal schooling and family disruptions and dislocation for myriad reasons. They emphasised the need to find work to support family as well as to support their own existence. While many of the participants noted that they had achieved 'permanent' residency in the United States and decades spent living in the country, they were nonetheless vulnerable to deportation. Invariably, these experiences culminated in juvenile and later adult criminal offending and incarceration, ultimately with the imposition of very long prison sentences for a range of offences. While the interview discussion topics did not ask about prison experiences, these were often discussed at some length to provide context about the conditions under which these men had endured immediately prior to their ultimate deportation to Samoa. Their experiences moving from inmates to deportees provides further insights into their shared experiences as eventual returnees in Samoa and it is a consideration of this part of their journey to which we now turn.

Experiencing Deportation

Participants were asked to describe their experiences of being deported from the United States. Each reported a very confusing and convoluted process. These men explained that they had not been very clearly informed about how the prospects of their removal from the United States had even first emerged. Some, owing to anecdotal evidence from friends or associates who had already been deported, reported being vaguely familiar with the process. Most understood from these experiences that the route was long and difficult and that ultimate success in avoiding deportation was improbable. None fought their deportation despite the fact that most indicated that they were aware that they could have done so. As one participant noted about his decision-making process:

I decided not to fight it...I had about like a year to think about this. Either I fight it or I'm gonna sign [the documents] and get sent [to Samoa] ... I don't wanna get caught up again and go to prison for 10-15 years ... I was thinking what do I have here? If I stay here I'm gonna end up back in prison because I know myself too much. If I go to Samoa, I have my freedom, get my life back. And so that's why I sign the papers.

Another participant conveyed a confusing and astonishing story about his deportation when he explained:

When they it was 1 o'clock at night and these two guys asked me 'do you have a wish to go on with life?' I thought it was a joke so I told him I wanna go home. I tell them what do you expect me to do? I've been locked up this long, I don't even see my family or anybody that I know. If you asked me that question that's the only thing I want to go home and they ask me

what is home? I told them Samoa. When I was talking at the time, I had no idea it was gonna happen but then they tell me then they say your wish will be fulfilled today. We're gonna take you and they change me from shackles. I was used to being transported in another jumpsuit and that then they said we're going to find [me] some clothes that fit that was the only thing they gave me.

Others reported having been convicted and then only many years later being informed that they were going to be deported. As one participant observed:

Years later I found out that I was getting deported. Probably be about two months before I was actually supposed to parole from state prison. One of the counsellors called me into the office handing me a paper and told me "Hey" you know "sign this". I said "what is this?" he said that "you have an INS hold" I said "what for?" He said "oh you're being deported" so I was like: what? I mean, I wasn't familiar with immigration laws anyway so I never expected to get deported being that I was in the States and being a resident.... So, he gives me a colour copy and tells me that, you know, I got this hold. The prison I was at was already on lockdown so we weren't allowed any phone calls. I couldn't really check up on anything and he didn't give me much information.... After the day I paroled from the prison they sent me to another prison . . . then from there after I paroled. From there . . . to an immigration facility, El Centro ... that's in southern California not too far from the border. They processed me in and I didn't talk to a caseworker until maybe a few weeks after that. I was supposed to parole from the prison in December but I stayed in the immigration facilities after that until March.

Other participants reported similarly bewildering experiences. For example, one participant noted being successful on an appeal of a sentence only to then be told that they were being held awaiting an immigration officer to come and pick him up. This participant reported "then they come pick me up from there and take me to another prison to wait. I think further down south... At the time I was waiting for two months." And another:

I went to court and by that time, honestly, I had already been locked up almost 12 years straight. And my understanding from other people, the immigration process it can be long, especially if you're fighting it and it can be expensive. So, I didn't want to be locked up anymore. So, by the time I go to court they gave me the papers and said "hey you can sign and you'll be out of here as soon as possible and get your freedom." So, I signed. After I signed, it still took me a few months to leave.

Each of these participants reported that this period was quite chaotic. During this period of immigration detention there were frequent moves between facilities and

States across the western expanse of the United States. The services that they had been offered in prison, limited as they were, were now completely absent. There were no more counselling or educational opportunities. These final American months were ones spent in limbo, awaiting whatever might come. As one participant noted “I just read my Bible. I couldn’t even call my wife and my child.”

Then, it seemed, just as suddenly as the experience began, it would end. Each of the participants reported that they were simply approached by an officer that said some variety of: OK, you’re going now. These people would then be transported to the airport, freed from their incarceration but still shackled during the trip from lockup to airport under the watchful eye of a U.S. Marshal or other official employed to ensure these men boarded their flights before, at long last, cutting them loose. And it was only then, that the real hardship would begin.

Arrival in Samoa and Community (Re) Integration

Arrival

As the previous section presented, participants reported being in custody for many years and sometimes more than a decade prior to being sent back to Samoa. They described their return to Samoa as having occurred often under confusing circumstances with little (or no) communication or coordination with family, counselling or legal services. To make these matters even more strange, they were often sent abroad without a passport, carrying only a certificate of identity to establish who they were to receiving authorities. They explained a process that had them removed from this long term of custody, and then transported in chains until arrival at an airport, where these were removed and told, as one participant reported: “now you’re going as a free man.”

Whatever elation they might have felt from their new found freedom—from prison cell to the rear of the airplane—would be brief and fleeting. Upon arrival in Samoa, all participants reported a high degree of confusion and feelings best described as surreal. As one participant explained:

To be honest with you I didn’t even know it was real. I didn’t even, to be honest with you I had to pinch myself I had to make sure I touched You know when I get off the plane I had to get down on the ground and touch it to see it’s real because you know I was still thinking how can this have happened [in the prison] they kept me isolated So when I came I didn’t even look like a man, you know? I thought, like, I was from outer space. So when I got here I hadn’t had contact or seen anything outside. It was just half of this room [gestures to the small interview room] and this is where I spent 23 hours a day. seven days a week the whole time I was up there I didn’t see the outside. So you can imagine from this little area I was in a 6 x

4 [feet] room I spent all these years and then they just put me on a plane and take me to Samoa and I came to Samoa. I felt like I was just losing it.

And besides their freedom, participants reported arriving with little else. They weren't given any money upon their release; they carried no luggage and wore the second-hand clothes their jailers had provided. As one participant noted "the only thing they gave me was pants and a T-shirt and I had my shoes and that was it."

For many deportees, their first steps in Samoa are taken only as adults; after many other steps had been taken in distant lands. Now, with only the clothes on their backs and a single piece of paper in their hands to establish their national origin; a form of identity that to them was similar to that of so many other Americans, as merely a part of a story about where they were from—not really about who they had become. The place on this paper, "Samoa", indicated more about where their ancestors had lived than any of these men. Samoa, a once distant place, viewed fondly, but with reservations, and some distance. The place that had been their true home was now gone, and for most, gone forever. Here, in Samoa, where the heavy, humid tropical air makes a thick mist when first mixing with the cold, dry air of a just-opened airplane cabin door. It was on these airplane steps that these men would again make first steps. Each of the participants described an experience located somewhere between confusion and bewilderment as they emerged at Faleolo airport.

For those deportees fortunate enough to have family that could either afford to travel in advance to meet them in Samoa or who had extended family who are still close enough to their parents or siblings that they could coordinate at the last minute for someone to meet them, these are the exceptions. Stories told about other deportees roaming around the airport for days before someone noticing that they had nowhere to go, were once common. For others, even if they knew where to go, lacking the means to get there and without phone numbers to call. Some might arrive with only the name of a village heard mentioned by family long since gone. As one respondent suggested:

I was still kind of confused because now, I'm free. I think when I was in prison, you know, how they always tell you go, come, eat, so in years you're not using your own mind. Somebody's telling you: Come! Sit! You know? That kind of mentality that you're not used to control yourself with your own thinking. So, for about two months [post-arrival] I locked myself up in the house. And the family would say: come, eat. Ok, I go eat and come back because I'm confused. Now I'm free but I don't know what to do unless somebody says, aye, come let's go do this, do that. What do you call it [pauses] institutionalized?

Another participant reported:

Honestly, I didn't know what to expect. I know for me it was, it was scary. Because I left here when I was two months old and everything, I knew was basically the States. As far as I knew, I was American. And I didn't speak the language. I don't understand the customs or the traditions. So, my mom and dad gave me while I was inside, my mom gave me a contact list of family here but I didn't know how to contact anybody... So, I got here finally got to Apia, I mean Faleolo [airport] and my ICE agent brought me out, hand[ed] me over to the local authorities. And in my opinion, they're not as sensitive to returnees, especially at that time. The officers get me and tell me that if nobody's here to pick me up then I would have to stay with them or stay in custody. I told him 'Nah, I'm free'... To me it just rubs me the wrong way man, I've just done all this time, come over here and I got to deal with this.

This deportee had the benefit of a mother who was able to travel to Samoa and wait for him to arrive.

Ostensibly because of security concerns, the immigration system in America would not notify a deportee or their family members in advance of a deportee's arrival. As a result, this deportee explained how his mother had to travel on the day of the international flight. At that time, there was but a single flight a week that came from the U.S. mainland. His mother would, for weeks on end, journey to the airport, hoping that her son might be on that flight. This trip was no small undertaking. Each week she travelled by bus, then by ferry, and then by bus again to Faleolo. Standing for hours while hundreds of passengers, mostly tourists and Samoans returning home, alight from the airplane. This mother waited alone, with nervous anticipation of being reunited with a child not seen in years, a child about to take his first steps again. After the terminal had emptied and then, after waiting a little longer still, just in case he had been held back by over-zealous immigration officials. Waiting until long after tourists had departed in taxis and rental cars, after other families had joyful reunions and had also departed, only then could the mother leave, to begin the long journey home again until the next week and the hope that he might arrive then, until eventually he did. He explained the experience: "as I'm walking back, I hear somebody call my name I turn around it was my mom. That's when I told the officers: I'm gone..."

Community (Re)Integration

More challenging times awaited these returnees. The adjustment from being institutionalized, as they described it, to being free, always a difficult process for someone being released from long prison sentences, was compounded in Samoa by the lack of social services available to returnees, unfamiliar surroundings, and often

absence of close family network to help ease the transition. As one returnee described the experience:

I couldn't really take it to tell you the truth, I didn't wanna be outside. I mean I wasn't used to a lot of things and for one I still get paranoid around people coming from an isolated, structured environment there's too much for me to handle. People constantly moving by me and you know cars and everything else.... Basically, just kind of stayed in the room for a few months . . . I came out and interacted with my immediate family or whoever was there but I didn't feel comfortable just being out.

A similar experience was reported by another deportee who said

I look at the outside, look at people, you know, they start talking to me and I'm just daydreaming. A lot of people start talking to me and I'm just staring at them, you know? And ... when you get out, we have to . . . cut your hair [to] make you look decent like a human being. Because I just walked straight out of a cell and straight to the plane.... It took me like the whole month before I start talking.

And this is where for many returnees a difficult crossroads appears. Some, in order to help cope with the anxiety and stress they were feeling, turn to old vices, including alcohol and drugs. In addition, there was the feeling amongst the returnees that they needed to conceal who they were. They lived in fear of what people would think of them. Some deportees were able to reside with people who knew that they had been in prison and so for these immediate acquaintances and family members it was not a significant issue but for many others it was.

A small community has formed as the number of returnees has increased over the years. This can be both good and bad. For the returnee who is trying to start a new life, hopes of avoiding old and familiar habits and behaviours, this new community presents potential peril. A return to drinking, for some, might lead to human connections but can also lead to people engaged in questionable conduct. As one deportee noted,

You know once you meet one, they'll introduce you to everyone and everybody was usually caught up in the same thing still drinking hanging out getting in trouble. Me personally after about a month of hanging out with these guys for me it didn't feel right because I've already been through all that and I didn't wanna have to come back to Samoa and to go through the same... so I decided to break free and stop hanging out.

Others noticed that life was not so much different. As one noted "I still live like I'm living in the States. It's just the language that's different." But even for this one returnee noted that "all my brothers and sisters, they all live [overseas] I'm the

youngest out of 12 and I'm the only one here."Some members of his family are able to visit once or twice a year. This experience seemed atypical.

What do Deportees Consider Challenges and Strengths to their Effective Reintegration?

The participants in the study shared other commonalities. For one, the participants shared a desire to have a new life, to help others learn from their experiences and mistakes and to find love and fulfilment. It was also common to find a desire and indeed even an expectation that they would one day be able to return, if even for a visit, to what they perceived as their rightful home in the United States. A place where, for many, their spouses and children still live.

Given the tremendous stigma attached to deportees seeking to re-integrate in the community, deportees expressed that Samoan employer exhibited a general hesitancy if not outright hostility to employing deportees. The lack of employment opportunities and unavailability of resources or savings to draw on, meant that deportees often had to rely on immediate family to provide for their shelter, transportation and in meeting other basic needs. The participants, to various degrees, reported significant struggles in finding employment despite some of the returnees possessing trade skills and other technical abilities that one might reasonably expect to be marketable. As one returnee described his difficulties:

when I start going around to any organization that could help there was none. I even asked some people if there was a job, you know, I'm looking for a job. When I told them I'm from overseas they say 'sorry, we don't have any.' That wasn't very easy, you know, trying to explain to these people. I feel like I'm alien to this country nobody really wanna know you. Nobody wanna give you anything. Nobody wanna show you anything. It was just like the hardest part of my life. I mean in prison I can know how to get it. When I get back here, I was totally lost. I don't know when I can have food so I just survive.

Still, for others, for whom more spiritual or therapeutic paths were sought, opportunities existed through the presence of a special school for troubled youth where deportees were able to meaningfully contribute as a living cautionary tale--a sort of "scared straight" experience for youth sent into the country from overseas. Others continued with Bible training and other pursuits in order to fulfil a desire to give back to the community, and in some ways to make amends to it.

In terms of connections and the building of a social network there is of course the Samoa Returnees Charitable Trust, which offers returnees a community of people with similar lived-experiences. Most often, however, what was noted was the church or church organizations. As one respondent noted

I had to work myself into the church group Do you know being accepted in those churches and they gave me responsibility those responsibilities make me feel like I'm a part of it. I'm a convict I need to prove myself to allow the things that I'm doing and not just on only church and to the people into the ministry and all the people who look at me with that label. And now it's just like I feel like I work more harder. I think what I have to do this just to make sure I can be accepted Because the expectation of these people Because any little mistake Normal people make mistakes but for me, for people like me. one little mistake will become a big issue

Others reported learning how to plant and grow food, something with which they hadn't experienced before but confronted by a lack of income and food insecurity, now became dedicated. As one participant explained:

Land is a big thing here. So, I got one of my uncles to call my dad in the United States and asked if there was a piece of land I can use. Had my uncle border it, you know show me the borders. So, I just gather some boys and gave them a bottle of Russian vodka, chop down the area and then start planting... they didn't believe that I would actually stick with it because I was supposed to be a city boy but when they see me get up at five in the morning every morning and actually make my effort going to the plantation that kind of attract them to come and help.

The same respondent noted that his greatest resource was "self-motivation" he commented that:

When you're locked up your options are limited and even while I was growing up I understand that it was a bad choice that I made... I figured out now that as long as I have freedom, I have the option to either go back down the same path or not so I took advantage of my options and just put myself out there rather than being in the shadows and afraid to say that I'm actually deported. Because a lot of people are afraid to admit that they've been deported.

And his hope for the future was that through his work and of their few advocates, including the Samoa Returnees Charitable Trust, that the perception of deportees would become more positive to "help re-integrate and resettle the guys." This participant commented further that

one of the things that I believe, we already have the stigma of being deportees, which is bad. So, one of the first things to do is change the perception of a deportee. Everybody makes bad decisions but there's also the chance of having a second chance...

The deportation process itself the waiting period being in limbo not knowing where to go and probably in all hoping that those that do you have the opportunity to either get back to the United States or their families or hat have a chance of staying.

Another deportee, reflecting on the deportation process, noted that

one thing I learned from prison. if you're going to be released you should always have some money handed to you but. you know they just hand me to the door and push on my back and you go to your country. And even when I came here it's like nobody want to look at you when you come home here.you go just to ask for things that you need, it's like you don't exist. It's almost like you're not just only the label on your back, but on your forehead but also still when I came back, you know, when they let you go as a freeman to your country but now it seems like I'm still living under the same problem.The thing is hanging on my back from the States. I cannot even leave this country. My sister passed away last year and I could not even go see my sister. And my mom, she's growing old and when she's gone. That's the only thing right now that really heavy in my in my mind It's like I'm still locked up.

Another participant added to these sentiments that “maybe when they deport a person, they should have sent that person with some sort of money or something to help. Because that person has nothing to come back here to or else it's hopeless.”

As presented here, deportees clearly suffer more than most others offered release from prison in the United States. While services upon release for parolees and probationers in the United States is far from perfect, there are still some limited services offered to ease the transition to the community. Public welfare benefits and support offered by immediate family, friends and community are just some of the resources that could be accessed for those released from prison hoping for a fresh start. The experiences of these returnees' lays bare the compounding challenges awaiting those returnees yet to come back to Samoa. In the next section, I offer some brief closing reflections on possible future directions for a more holistic and collaborative policy approach to help address some of these concerns.

Conclusion

As introduced earlier in this article, the deportees' lived-experiences explored here implicate the concept of liminality. The experiences outlined here help bring into better focus the boundaries of this in-between state. What is clear about these blurred lines is that they pre-date the return to Samoa. The deportation process begins at the first moment of official recognition that they are lacking in one important element of their identity: the right to remain, to be a part of a community rather than labelled as apart from their true home. Thus, liminality might be said to

begin while the participant was imprisoned in the United States—and extending well beyond their arrival in Samoa.

This insight allows for, from a policy perspective, more comprehensive and effective mapping of the policy space. Seeing the dislocation and disaffiliation as something a departing nation bears responsibility for—as much even as the deportee-receiving nation, opens the possibility of cooperation and coordination across these policy spaces to create the potential for more effective outcomes. While one limitation of this study is in the small sample size, thus its generalizability, the participants' experiences very clearly identify a shared pattern of life journey and their existence between now and the yet to be. Future research might take up this issue, perhaps through a survey of deportees and their communities to better understand the perceptions of barriers and opportunities for more successful community reintegration.

Moreover, the foregoing discussion identifies at least two broad policy areas that should become the subject of greater cross-national cooperation and policy co-design. First is the pre-departure deportation process experience within the United States. It is clear from the shared experiences represented in these narratives, that significant confusion existed as to the process followed, the right that each had to fight the deportation decision and the lack of communication to the deportee and their family in order to better facilitate a smooth transition from prison in America to freedom in Samoa. A related issue concerns the variable length of time that the detainee remains in immigration custody awaiting deportation. The cessation of services and other counselling and support in the prison upon their transition to immigration custody is an area that could be ameliorated for deportees. In a sense, further isolation and dislocation within these months, likely exacerbates the difficulties in ultimately adjusting to life in Samoa. Moreover, the secrecy around which deportees are transitioned and transported from America to Samoa, ostensibly for security reasons, only furthers the sense of disconnection and immediate difficulties faced by these returnees.

A second area of policy concern, that of reintegration strategies and practice, arises wholly within Samoa. On first blush, this may seem to be solely within the scope of Samoa's policymaking capacity. However, given the significant social and political challenges that rising criminal deportation pose to small countries like Samoa, and given the otherwise positive relations between Samoa and the United States, not to mention those with Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, the experiences that the deportees presented in this study, give rise to questions about special responsibilities owed perhaps not to the deportees as individuals but by one nation-state to another. Enhanced coordination built on evidence-based practices of effective deportee reintegration that draw on those success stories, such as they

are, alongside instances of unsuccessful reintegration, could form the basis of future policy co-design, programmatic coordination and innovation. This would constitute a new direction in cross national relations but would nonetheless represent evidence of the otherwise positive relations that exist between these states.

It is apparent from both the growing frustration that nation-states experience with deportation, as evident in the domestic political discourses in countries like Samoa—but not only there as Aotearoa New Zealand has vented similar frustrations to Australia’s practice vis-à-vis New Zealand, decrying the practice of the deportation of long-term residents who have committed (or who have even been accused of committing) criminal offences. Whether or not a person believes that the deportation of long-term resident is right or just, the practice has succeeded in creating ill will between otherwise friendly nations. Therefore, even if we were to set aside the human rights interests of deportees, countries engaging in more collaborative, human-centred policy co-design initiatives aimed at more successful reintegration outcomes for criminal deportees would undoubtedly lead to improved resettlement but also improve cross national relationships.

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Servant Leadership and Indigenous Samoan Organic Leadership

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Abstract

Effective leadership is at the heart of institutions and organisations, and as Radcliffe (2010) pointed out “Powerful and effective leaders are guided by the future they want. Furthermore, the leader is strongest when that future is powerfully connected to what he or she cares about” (p. 10). In today’s society, dynamic and global change has reached monumental proportions (Bennis & Nanus, 2003; Covey, 2002; Senge, 2006; Wheeler, 2012). According to Covey (2002), the importance of institutions, organisations, and the workplace in this maelstrom of change calls for effective leadership. The servant leadership concept offered by Greenleaf (1970) provides an alternative leadership discourse in a global world plagued by changing attitudes, values, morals and ethics. This changing discourse facilitated the paradigm shift in the way leaders are perceived in organisations from the dominant perspective of the leader at the helm to the leader that serves. Servant leadership with its focus on a serving leader stands in contrast to early notions of leaders that predominately adhere to their role in the traditional hierarchical structure.

Defining Servant Leadership

Spears (1995) provided the foundational constructs for the servant leadership model comprising of ten attributes: listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualisation, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of people and building community. These are classified under two dimensions, the caring and the service continuum and presents the cornerstone of the servant leadership characteristics. The caring continuum includes listening, which is perceived as a critical element of the caring component that people regardless of age, want to be heard. Through receptive listening, being sensitive and responsive; leaders become empathetic and can mentally and emotionally relate to the needs of others (Ferch & Spears, 2011; Hesselbein, 2011). The healing aspect is triggered when listening, and empathy is intricately interwoven to make people feel whole. Awareness of what is happening in the local, national and the world arena can be meaningful when one is cognizant of the situation concerning themselves and others (Cashman, 2012; Lidow, 2014). Persuasion then becomes a collaborative effort of more profound and evocative sharing towards consensus-building (Evans & Foster, 2014; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Caring institutions, organisations and people, particularly caring leaders, exude verisimilitude that is perceived as a concomitant to the growth and wellbeing of members.

Practising the caring dimension activates conceptualisation as service hinges on leaders being visionary and thinking beyond the present (Kouzes & Posner, 2012;

Sergiovanni, 2007). Leadership with foresight draws from the past, are guardians of the present and designers of the future. Stewardship embraces responsibility and accountability of institutions for societal good (Chaleff, 2009; Fullan, 2005). Commitment to the growth of people invests in individuals to be contributing members of society (Hargreaves et al., 2014; Sendjaya, 2015) and building community embodies a service-oriented culture (Hunter, 2012).

Researchers have defined, redefined and provided variations of the constructs. Laub (1999) developed six clusters such as values people, develops people, builds community, displays authenticity, provides leadership, and shares leadership. Russell and Stone (2002) identified twenty characteristics, nine were considered functional, and the others as accompanying attributes. Patterson (2003) created a model with seven attributes related to virtues such as leader's *agapao*, translating humility, altruism, vision and trust into empowerment and service. Van Dierendonck (2011) synthesised a model from all known constructs into six essential characteristics. These included empowering and developing people, humility, authenticity, interpersonal acceptance, providing direction and stewardship.

Practice of Servant Leadership

The practice of servant leadership has its historical roots in eastern beliefs and Christianity. Although Greenleaf is coined the father of the servant leadership movement in academia, the concept is an ancient philosophy and can be traced to Lao-Tzu a Chinese philosopher in the sixth century B. C. The Bible also exemplifies in the persona of Jesus Christ, the embodiment of the servant leader.

Servant leadership is based on the desire to serve others (Anderson, 2008; Taleghani & Mehr, 2013), which is not equated to being servile. Service in Greenleaf's view is a moral dimension, "the actions and attitudes of service can transform relations among real human beings...things get done by people serving one another" (Greenleaf & Spears, 1998, p. xii). It is leadership that up-ends the traditional hierarchical structure of the leader in the dominant and most powerful position (Waterman, 2011). From this perspective, the leader is a servant first because they put the needs of those, they want to develop first. They initiate action, provide opportunities, create endless possibilities and take risks to promote and empower others. Through their efforts of serving others first, they provide a haven that instigates trust, confidence and teamwork (Tate, 2003) which can propel institutions, organisations and followers to become more and better entities for society.

Sendjaya and Pekerti (2010) conducted a study to explore servant leadership in Australia and Indonesia. Their findings revealed that servant leadership is commonly

practised in both countries. Although their research showed similarities concerning trust and respect, there were differences in aspects of independence, and in power distance on the social milieu of the specific culture. This provided the basis for comparison of servant leadership and indigenous organic Samoan leadership approaches.

A further study conducted in European and Asian cultures by Mittal and Dorfman (2012) on servant leadership across cultures indicated that there were variations of cultural degrees on the constructs used. While the five dimensions of servant leadership egalitarianism, moral integrity, empowering, empathy and humility were validated, there were differences in cultural emphasis. In Nordic European countries, egalitarianism and empowering were particularly favoured while in Asian countries, compassion and humility were emphasised.

A study undertaken to explore the presence of servant leadership attributes at nontraditional tertiary education institutions in Trinidad and Tobago (Joseph, 2006 cited in Rennaker, 2008) did not provide the expected findings. Results from the study demonstrated statistically predictive value in vision, service and humility but not empowerment, love and trust. Others have pointed to the importance of examining leadership behaviours that seek to constructively reconceptualise authority for the people and society (Purcell, 2011). Punnett's (2013) research suggests that people in the Caribbean generally do not favour power distance and hierarchies. Evidence of post-colonial leadership structure is still evident, discouraging trust and the empowerment of people. Punnett further argues "this lack of fit between leadership style and cultural values results in lower motivation, lower productivity, higher absenteeism and a range of negative outcomes" (p. 186). The study demonstrates that a mismatch between leadership approaches and what people perceive as worthwhile can have a detrimental effect on efficiency and effectiveness. The Caribbean experience can shed light on the application of servant leadership in Samoa.

Using Greenleaf's framework, the characteristics exemplified by researchers across cultural organisations are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Authors and Servant Leadership characteristics

Authors	Servant Leadership Characteristics
Spears (1995)	Listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualisation, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of others, building community
Laub (1999)	Values people, develop people, builds community, displays authenticity, provides leadership, shares leadership.
Russell & Stone (2002)	<p>Functional attributes: vision, honesty, integrity, trust, service, modelling, pioneering, appreciation of others, empowerment.</p> <p>Accompanying attributes: communication, credibility, competence, stewardship, visibility, influence, persuasion, listening, encouragement, teaching, delegation.</p>
Hale & Fields (2007)	Performance orientation, future orientation, gender egalitarianism, assertiveness, institutional collectivism, in-group collectivism, power distance, humane orientation, uncertainty avoidance.

Authors	Servant Leadership Characteristics
<p>Melchar & Bosco (2010)</p> <p>van Dierendonck (2011)</p> <p>Wheeler (2012)</p> <p>Mittal & Dorfman (2012)</p> <p>Sendjaya (2015)</p>	<p>Modelling behaviour, stewardship, honesty, trust integrity, credibility, appreciation of others, concern for the growth of people, community building, delegation, teaching,</p> <p>empowerment, encouragement, listening, communication.</p> <p>Empowering and developing people, humility, authenticity, interpersonal acceptance, providing direction, stewardship.</p> <p>Service to others, facilitate the needs of others, foster problem solving and taking responsibility, promote emotional healing, means are essential as ends, keep one eye on the present and one on the future, embrace paradoxes and dilemmas, leave a legacy to society, model servant leadership, develop more servant leaders.</p> <p>Egalitarianism: service, consultative, putting subordinates' first.</p> <p>Moral integrity: moral courage, ethical behaviour.</p> <p>Empowering: empowering and developing people.</p> <p>Empathy: interpersonal acceptance and emotional healing.</p> <p>Humility: humility and modesty.</p> <p>Voluntary subordination: being a servant, acts of service.</p> <p>Authentic self: humility, integrity, accountability, security, vulnerability.</p> <p>Covenantal relationship: acceptance, availability, equality, collaboration.</p> <p>Responsible morality: moral actions, moral reasoning</p> <p>Transcended spirituality: religiousness, interconnectedness, sense of mission,</p>

	wholeness. Transforming influence: vision, modelling, mentoring, trust, empowerment
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Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guides understanding of the concept of servant leadership and connects it to other theories such as the sociocultural theory, the constructivist theory and the interpretive paradigm, including indigenous organic Samoan leadership approaches.

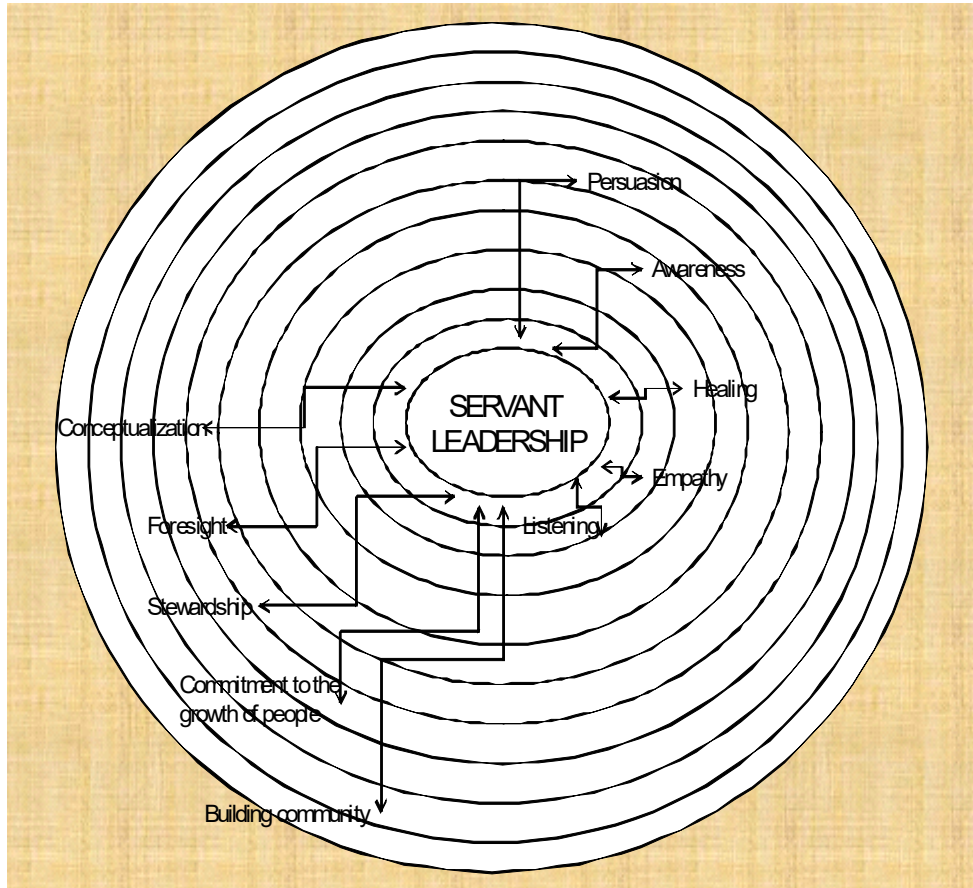
Greenleaf's servant leadership provides the theoretical framework where he proposes a leader that is focused on service, "an application of the philosophy of service to the practice of leadership" (Greenleaf & Spears, 1998 p. xi). Service is perceived as a good relationship, and the leadership moral imperative is supported (Baron, 2010; Northouse, 2013; Robson, 2011; Wallace, 2007) as a significant element of servanthood. Greenleaf and Spears (1998) further challenge leadership conceptions by postulating that a servant leader is not "What service can you render as a leader" but what leadership can you exercise as a servant?" (p. 12). Leaders entrust their followers to go beyond the present, and be empowered to contribute effectively to the system (Broom, 2015; Trompenaars & Voerman, 2009). Leadership is inherently collaborative and aims at empowerment of individuals to serve institutions and the community (Bolden et al., 2011; Hickman, 2010a, 2010b; Humphrey, 2014).

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework focuses on the characteristics of servant leadership based on the belief that good, effective leaders are first and foremost servants before leaders. The term servant leader is a paradox (Hunter, 2004; Spears & Lawrence, 2004), a contradiction, an enigma, but the impossibility opens probabilities that institutions and organisations could benefit from (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Leithwood & Seashore-Louis, 2012; Wheeler, 2012). The traditional views of leaders in trait theory focus on leaders being born not made. The behavioural approaches emphasise leaders' development and the contingency theories highlight leadership as situation-based. These are conceptually different from servant leadership. The ten characteristics of servant leadership are caring and

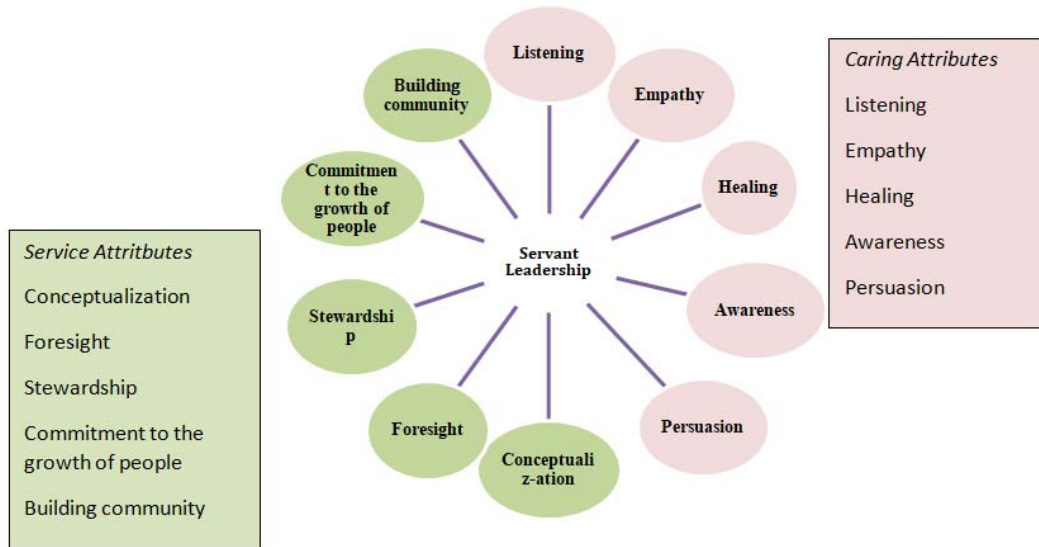
service-oriented, and servant leaders are committed to ensuring leaders serve their followers (Bjugstad et al., 2006; Blackshear, 2004; Daft, 2015, 2008).

Figure 1. Concentric representation of servant leadership. Its circular movements begin with listening and end with community building. All the elements converge on the servant as leader.



The concentric representation illustrates the intricate, inimitable and fiduciary nature of leadership. While listening may undergird all leadership attributes, there is flexibility and fluidity that intersects the caring and service boundaries.

Figure 2. Conceptual model of servant leadership. The characteristics are classified into two groups the caring and service dimensions.



Servant leadership attributes as exemplified in the model illustrates the dual purpose of servant leadership in its two dimensions the caring and service attributes. The caring dimension: listening, empathy, healing, awareness and persuasion are critical in teacher educators’ practice. Its application and implementation activate and advance the service dimension: conceptualisation, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of people and building community.

Leaders who care, imbue their members with dreams and visions that one fulfils through service (Anderson, 2008; Neill, Hayward & Peterson, 2007; Phipps, 2010). As Nohria and Khurana (2010) state effective leadership ensures “followers are convinced of a leader’s commitment to their success (not just their own), as well as how their success and the leaders’ are entwined” (p. 161). This view promotes active service through modelling (Loughran & Berry, 2005; Solomon, 1997), effective facilitation (Ponte, Ax, Beijaard & Wubbels, 2004; Wilson, 1996), mentoring, (Bullough, 2005, Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1993) and teamwork (Chaleff, 2009; Covey, 2004). All service attributes culminate in building a community which is

significant to the family, society and the global world (Arvey, Zhang, Avolio & Krueger, 2007; Lewis & Noble, 2008).

Foundation, Development and Criticisms of Servant Leadership

Greenleaf's early experiences influenced him as an undergraduate student at university, and later working in organisations and educational institutions.

Servant leadership has gained momentum because it meets a need in organisations and institutions. According to Russell (2000) "Servant leadership value human equality and seek to enhance the personal development and professional contributions of all organisational members" (p. 79). Sendjaya and Sarros (2002) add:

The servant leader's deliberate choice to serve and be a servant should not be associated with forms of low self-concept or self-image, in the same way as choosing to forgive should not be viewed as a sign of weakness. Instead, it would take a leader with an accurate understanding of his or her self-image, moral conviction and emotional stability to make such a choice. (p. 61)

Furthermore, Bjugstad et al., (2006) support the claim "that the effectiveness of a leader is to a great extent dependent on the willingness and consent of the followers" (p. 305). Current leadership studies focus more on the relationship between the leader and follower (Esera, 2002; van Dierendonck, 2011). Follett (1934) cited in Avolio (2011) voiced similar sentiments that "the exercise of power does not define leadership but by the capacity to increase the sense of power among those led" (p. 10); their actions and values reflecting those of the leaders (Senge, 2006; Grogan, 2013; Hays, 2008).

In the education arena Nichols (2010) argues a good leader has "a great passion for teaching, encouraging, and working with students and above all, the ability to stimulate student interest and enthusiasm" (p. 3). Steele (2010) describes servant leadership as a successful strategy in enhancing music teaching (Glickman, Gordon, and Ross-Gordon, 2005 cited in Crippen, 2005) enabling students to reflect, reason and become decision-makers.

Criticisms of the foundations of the theory are contested, and Greenleaf and Spears (2002) have acknowledged the lack of a well-designed conceptual framework. However, any germinating idea, would have flaws and lack precision but the movement should not take a back step because therein lies the danger, "to hear the analyst too much and the artist too little" (p. 25). Others have questioned servant leadership in terms of credence (Hunter, 2004); viability (Andersen, 2009); gender biased (Eicher-Catt, 2005); and association with slavery, oppression and discrimination (Johnson, 2009).

Northouse (2013) citing Russell and Stone (2002) also criticised the servant leadership model arguing that the conceptual framework lacked evidence from well-designed research and the theory is mostly anecdotal. In the last ten years, instruments have been devised to measure servant leadership. The multitudes of definitions, classifications and interpretations have rendered it difficult to measure servant leadership in its complexity and most instruments focused on people and not the leader (van Dierendonck & Nuijten, 2011). Other researchers endorse the servant leadership focus on leaders concerning followers' growth and development. Concerns have been reduced with the development of instruments to assess servant leadership: Laub (1999), Page and Wong (2000); Wong and Page (2003); Dennis and Bocarnea's (2005) Barbuto Jr. and Wheeler (2006); Sendjaya, Sarros, and Santora (2008), Dierendonck and Nuijten (2011) and Reed, Vidaver-Cohen and Colwell (2011).

Despite the criticisms, servant leadership has gained momentum in the last two decades (Spears & Lawrence, 2004; van Dierendonck & Patterson, 2010) and education systems have joined the bandwagon (Nichols, 2010; Ricard & Brown, 2008; Wheeler, 2012).

Theories and Approaches to Leadership

According to leadership theorists the last two centuries have gradually changed focus to accommodate the type of leadership that suits a more relevant, eclectic and dynamic world (Blanchard & Miller, 2012; Covey, 2002, 2008; Drucker, 1999, 2002; Miller 2013; van Dierendonck, 2011). McGregor's theory points to Theory X as fostering an environment of distrust while expectations for self-direction in Theory Y may not be the norm (Stewart, 2010). Greenleaf and Spears (2002) claim:

When people use their formal authority early on, their moral authority will be lessened. When we borrow strength, we build weaknesses in three places; in self, because we are not developing moral authority; in the other, because they become co-dependent with the use of moral authority; and in the quality of the relationship, because authentic openness and trust are never developed. (p. 12)

Servant leadership cuts across all levels of the contingency, situational approaches and the Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory. Greenleaf and Spears (2002) espouse, "The difference manifests itself in the care taken by the servant first to make sure that other's highest priority needs are being served" (p. 27). In this way the followers are positioned where they are most likely to grow and succeed.

Teacher educators can also utilise Jennings and Stahl-Wert's (2004), five principles. It involves a sense of great purpose in the vision of the future one pursues; the provision of opportunities for students to demonstrate their potential; being exemplary models in practice; focusing on a serving leader and upending the

leadership pyramid to converge on those being served. The model calls for the delivery of effective service for quality graduates and therefore, the importance of the role that teacher educators play. Likewise, Darling-Hammond (2013) advocates for visionary leaders that share pedagogical instruction.

Moreover, Fullan's (2001, 2008) change theory incorporates ideas of follower caring, the need for people to have a purpose, enhancing people capacity, continuous learning, openness, and systems as learning environments. Servant leadership encapsulates Fullan's agents of change concerning the caring of followers, understanding the need to listen and to be aware of the voice of the others, the growth of people, stewardship and community building.

Educational institutions serve people, and teacher educators should ensure students are holistically and effectively educated "a focus on acting in the interests of others, such as giving help, providing mentoring, sharing credit or making connections" (Grant, 2013, p. 5). Service is the humanising element that captures the inherent potential of people to work collaboratively for the betterment of society (Blanchard & Miller, 2012; Maxwell, 2007). By giving back to the community individuals do not lock themselves into the struggle for power and corruption. Greenleaf's concept of service is all-encompassing of acceptance, involvement in decision-making, willingness to take risks and collaborative partnership (Humphrey, 2014; Taylor et al., 2007).

Institutional culture can be an empowering aspect to support and enhance leadership on a lateral plane (Avolio et al., 2009) and this can be dealt with if the culture is positive and embracing (Kouzes & Posner, 2010, 2012; Lueneburger, 2014; Mahal, 2014; Miller, 2011; Radcliffe, 2010). Avolio (2011) identifies it as "members being willing to share in their leadership and followership responsibilities...for the good of the team" (p. 131) advancing teamwork and collaboration for institutional strengthening (Butler, Lauscher, Jarvis-Selinger & Beckingham, 2004; Fullan & Quinn, 2016).

Hays (2008) proposes that traditional education approaches tend to maintain the status quo of the teacher in power as opposed "to teacher who serves students and society: who gives them that voice, puts their welfare before self, and serves the interest of learning" (p. 114). Wheeler (2012) argues for "the importance of role models, it seemed to be an osmotic process as they observe and soak up all of the expectations, experiences, and behaviours of those exemplars" (p. 44). Hesselbein (2002) adds, "leaders need to be constant learners and effective teachers" (p. 61).

Indigenous Organic Samoan Leadership Approaches and Servant Leadership Characteristics

Leadership in the Samoan context is hierarchical, collaborative and empowering. It is a way of living associated with the concept of *tautua* (Anae, 2010a; Lilomaiva-

Doktor, 2009; Strachan, Akao, Kilavanwa, Warsal, 2010). *Matais* are chosen to serve not only the nuclear family but also the extended family and the village. In Samoan society, members have a particular place, culturally designated even before the arrival of the Europeans (Holmes, 1980). Children become part of the culture through the socialisation process, and this becomes deeply entrenched in the way they conduct themselves (Afamasaga, 2009; Ochs, 2014).

Service is ingrained in children from very early in life and they become prematurely aware of the responsibilities in the home, church and the community. Keesing and Keesing (1956) refer to subtle assimilation of children as “sitting on the fringes of household, family and village *fono* assemblies” (p. 48) where they “learn early to sit as quiet and respectful spectators if they want to be present, thus laying the groundwork for continuity” (p. 49). Mead (1928) conceives of children developing in *mafaufau* “an ability to exercise good judgment in personal and social matters” (p. 486) that starts at home. Children that take the initiative without being told what to do are considered leaders and others follow. The reward is the elders’ acknowledgement that children get great satisfaction from.

In traditional Samoan society, there is no formal training for future leaders. However, axioms for leadership are taken from activities and duties that denote relationships with people, and the nature and art of doing (Thaman, 2013). These aspects of leadership provide guidelines for the way people live, function and perform.

Samoa culture and oratory provide numerous evidence of the importance of leadership and the processes leading to its achievement. The indigenous organic Samoan approaches: *tofa manino*, *tofa mamao*, *tofa saili*, *tofa loloto*, *tofa fetala’i*, *tomanatu*, and *soalaupule* depict cultural leadership approaches being practised. These are aligned to the servant leadership attributes and analogies are drawn from the relationship between the approaches.

Tofa Manino

Tofa is thought, and *manino* is clarity or clarity of thought. This term is often referred to the pursuit of cultural and genealogical knowledge, the wisdom and art of knowing and theorising and practice of applied knowledge. Barbuto Jr. and Wheeler (2006) cited Barbuto and Gifford (2010) “it is the height of knowledge and utility” (p. 7). It is characterised by listening, awareness, foresight, conceptualisation and stewardship.

Listening is considered one of the most fundamental attributes of effective leadership. It is through critical listening that one can hear “diverse and respective messages” (Hays, 2008, p. 123). Awareness is also essential for a servant leader as it provides windows of opportunities for creative and fresh insights into dealing with a problem (Sinek, 2009; Taufe’ulungaki, 2004; Thaman, 2014). Greenleaf and Spears (2002) point to awareness as lending objectivity, critical to viewing events and experiences. Foresight utilises different lenses to hone one’s ability to move beyond possible threats and dangers. For Maxwell (2007), it is “seeing the possibilities in a situation while others are seeing the limitations” (p. 297). Conceptualisation is the ability to think beyond the day-to-day realities, to dream of possibilities and inspiring others to bring it to fruition (Ferch & Spears, 2011; Maxwell 2007). Stewardship and the commitment to the growth of others is more than achieving short-term goals. Thinking conceptually provides a clear, visionary approach to the future and stewardship ensures it is responsible and sustainable. Hays (2008) refers to the ability to “see the forest and the trees. They know the parts, and how they fit together to make the whole” (p. 127).

Tofa Mamao

Tofa is thought, and *mamao* is visionary, which implies seeing beyond the obvious an awareness that changes in society can change the order of things. Hesselbein and Johnston (2002) refer to changes as moving “beyond strategy to purpose” (p. 106), “beyond structure to process” (p. 107) and “beyond systems to people” (p. 109). Visionary leaders take the role of stewardship as a custodian function ensuring what is essential to retain is passed on for future generations. Listening, foresight, conceptualisation, stewardship and commitment to the growth of others are components of the *tofa mamao*.

Listening is an essential aspect of the *tofa mamao* as planning for war, a *malaga* [voyage], or ceremonial activities require “listening to the tone of the other, the body language of the other” (Grogan, 2013, p. 56). Sensitivity to others is a visionary approach that plans, protects and safeguards against the loss of what is valuable and unique in a society (Crossley, 1993; Luteru & Teasdale, 1993; Thaman, 1991).

Foresight is a servant-leadership characteristic that Lueneburger (2014) refers to as “building a culture of purpose. strategic thinking” (p. x). An understanding of the whole spectrum past, present and future events impact institutional strategies and decision-making (Greenleaf & Spears, 2002).

Conceptualisation to Ferch and Spears (2011) accede that “Behind every great achievement is a dreamer of great dreams” (p. xxx) and Senge (2006) believed commitment to the growth of people in “building shared visions fosters a commitment to the long term” (p. 12). Stewardship is a sense of ownership and responsibility (Block, 1996) and giving back to the community (Barbuto & Gifford, 2010). Hays (2008) agreed it is “acceptance of responsibility for protecting and acting with the best intentions” (p. 128).

Tofa Saii

Tofa is thought, and *saili* refers to the never-ending quest for truth, knowledge, patriotism, nationalism and self-rule. It is pertinent to ideas of What is life? What is freedom? What is essential? It is man’s search for the essence of life. It is tied to ideas of freedom, independence, human rights, ascertaining the truth, voices from the past and beyond, the supernatural and the discovery of the what, the why and our existence. *Tofa saili* encapsulates listening, persuasion, healing, awareness and building community.

Tofa saili encourages people sharing a collective identity and goal to listen and listen critically in the fight for a common cause. In Samoa *tofa sailimalo* is the quest to overcome obstacles, conquer and achieve victory to become politically independent, leading to emotional healing. It is also connected to beliefs that there are more than one truth and more than one reality. Attentive listening can distinguish the difference mainly in Samoan society where families and villages often contest genealogy, titles and land. Servant leadership characteristics of listening, persuasion, healing, awareness and building community are integrated into the *tofa saili*.

It is the nature of humanity to be heard (Graham, 1995; van Dierendonck & Patterson, 2010) acknowledging the vision, the pursuit of truth, autonomy and legitimacy are accessed when leaders listen. Hays (2008) advanced that “only through listening with an open mind and open heart can one come to understand people” (p. 123).

Persuasion focuses on initiating concurrence among members to support a system’s vision or mission. Barbuto and Gifford (2010) agreed that persuasion “offers compelling reasons to get followers to engage” (p. 7). This is based on people being listened to, understanding they have identified mutual goals and justification for specific courses of action. In servant leadership members are not coerced; the leader assists followers to unanimously make decisions and

compromises that will benefit the group. They are drawn, presented, requested and encouraged not manipulated (Hays, 2008).

The characteristic of healing has a recuperative effect on people who have been heard. Allowing members to participate in forums that influence their lives and wellbeing can contribute to emotional healing. Hays (2008) concurred “people cannot move forward when paralysed by excess stress, exhaustion and distrust” (p. 124). Evans and Foster (2014) echoed this sentiment “people simply do not grow in a fearful environment people working under conditions of fear or stress fall back on what is heuristic reasoning; relying solely on experience and failing to use their intellect to solve new problems” (p. 179). The art of persuasion plays an influential role in healing, as members are allowed to be guided and shown the pros and cons of an idea without undue pressure to conform to a leader’s expectations. Healing provides members with feelings of completeness that they can share meaningful and positive relationships with others (Culver, 2013; Hunter, 2012; Wallace, 2009). Through persuasion and healing, self-awareness is set in motion as people are more receptive to environmental cues and awareness is heightened through “a transformative process of aligning actions with intentions” (Ferch & Spears, 2011, p. 160).

Building a community is the culmination of the *tofa saili* whether it is nation-building, institutional or the family. This is manifested through building people capabilities that can be translated into improving society (Kirtman & Fullan, 2016; Lidow, 2014).

Tofa Loloto

Tofa is thought, and *loloto* refers to depth. The term implies there is more to ideas and beliefs than what lies on the surface. A cohesive society is underpinned by the accumulation of knowledge, history and culture. A Samoan saying *e malu luga ae vilivili lalo* refers to the waters that look calm and serene, yet below is a whirlpool. This captures the nature of Samoan discourses and interactions. It implies delving into the recesses of one’s consciousness to understand the dynamics embraced in the thought processes that are voiced during chiefly meetings and special occasions. Listening, empathy, awareness and building community are an integral component of the *tofa loloto*.

The leader that understands the essence of *tofa loloto* identifies and relates to people, accepts contributions, experiences, expertise and concerns that surpasses

the generation gap. Servant leadership characteristics of empathy, awareness and building community are features of the *tofa loloto*.

Listening is integral to the *tofa loloto*, as leaders listen to the inner voice, the voice of conscience that acknowledges the contribution of others in the search for answers (Prosser, 2007). It is centred on the mind reaching out during profound, reflective moments to deliberate decisions and a course of action (Cashman, 2008; Kirtman & Fullan, 2016). Farbman (2014) forewarned, “incredibly powerful message tends to skate right over the heads of people who aren’t really listening” (p. 103). Furthermore, the concept suggests deep listening, which sometimes takes place in solitude and silence.

Empathy is the ability to put oneself in someone else’s place whether they are thoughts, emotions or consciousness. According to Crippen (2005) “Teachers who reach out to students and extend a caring attitude may present an inviting and safe atmosphere for students” (p. 6). It profoundly reflects the concept of being in tune and being connected at a spiritual level with others. Empathetic servant leaders have a deeper connection with people that may not be visible at surface level. Hays (2008) described this as:

Coming to see the world around oneself and the people in it as more salient, and the self as just one aspect of a larger system...to increasing tolerance and breadth of view, while reducing ego-centric narrow mindedness and self-centeredness. (p. 124) Empathetic leaders can earn people’s trust because they can discern their needs, dreams and motivations, and they release others potentials, ideas and drive (Maxwell, 2007; Robson, 2011). People who feel safe become aware of what is happening around them and contribute to positive changes (Ferch & Spears, 2011).

Fostering awareness is critical for building community and is considered transformative (Cashman, 2008). It moves the leader from centring on self to others and the surrounding environment (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010). Grogan (2013) noted, “Awareness brings with it the responsibility to take constructive action for change” (p. 51). This involves an in-depth understanding of the interactions, discussions and relationships that affect motivation, practice and performance.

The ability to build a community is related to the *tofa loloto*. This focuses on the adequate knowledge of communities changing, but their history and culture embrace institutional cohesiveness, cooperation, collaboration and teamwork. Servant leaders recognise that institutions build their communities, as members attempt to discover in their places of work connections with the broader community

(Flint Jr., 2012). Hays (2008) argued, “It is how challenges are dealt with and the shared commitment to ownership for resolving them that mark a community’s effectiveness” (p. 129). Olatunji et al. (2012) supported the view that “leaders should see followers as partners in progress” (p. 127) emphasising leadership action that gives the power to empower others.

Tofa Fetala’i

Tofa is thought, and *fetala’i* is open-minded, liberal and progressive and refers to eloquent, persuasive speakers, who listen to others, are unbiased and undogmatic. *Tofa fetala’i* advances flexibility compromises to keep the peace and ensuring unity and harmony in the community. Orators are renowned for balancing listening, thoughts and action with astuteness to end debates. Cashman (2008) warned, “your purpose may be calling, but your lack of listening creates vagueness” (p. 75). The leadership is concerned with listening, commitment to the growth of people and building community.

Listening attentively plays an essential role in *tofa fetala’i* as Samoan oratory requires listening critically to the language of idioms, axioms, innuendoes and familial affiliations that can elude even the most experienced *matai*. Lidow (2014) highlighted “good listening because it leads to the most accurate and timely exchange of information” (73). Rosen (2014) posed that a leader “focuses on listening and understanding what motivates others and where their vulnerabilities and strengths lie” (p. 67). Hays (2008) referred to listening as “essential to informed and reasoned decisions and courses of actions” (p. 123), requiring leaders to keep their options open.

Tofa fetala’i is also related to the growth of others as servant leaders. It is awareness that the development of members is achieved through opportunities where they learn the art of listening and speaking. The Samoan proverb *ia seu le manu ae silasila i le galu* is apt, meaning catch the bird, but watch the breakers. This reflects the *tofa fetala’i* leadership that is obligated to personal growth despite obstacles.

Hays (2008) asserted that growth “exemplify the leader as a learner; someone committed to the continuing expansion of his or her conscience and efficacy, and to that of others” (p. 127). Practical application is enhanced through active participation in village meetings and functions that provide real-life opportunities for growth and development. Greenleaf and Spears (2002) espoused leadership that

supports teaching and mentoring to facilitate the entry of the so-called like-mind to service.

Capacity building refers to the development of service for progress to be made in the education, economic, social and political spheres. Global intrusions into communities that have survived outside onslaught for years face a new world order. The exogenic forces at work require human resources to juxtapose the old and new world to ensure the survival of the past in the present. Servant leadership characteristics of listening, commitment to the growth of people and building community are assimilated in the *tofa fetala'i*.

Tomanatu

It is a reflective practice that provides leaders, elders and chiefs to mull over an action. At critical times and especially during periods of conflicts, *tomanatu* is a handy tool. The *tomanatu* leader integrates active listening to critical decision-making, which includes the ability to listen to the inner voice and one's conscience. In acrimonious issues such as village conflicts, events that disrupt the social order or a change in protocol, leadership resort to a Samoan maxim, *se'i moe le toa* meaning the warrior needs to rest. It offers respite from making rash decisions that need careful thought, ample time and exhaustive discussion. Leadership utilises reflective practice and delays decisions that require more consultation, collaboration and reflection. Avolio (2005) articulated "If you do not step back to reflect on significant events, you will certainly never achieve your full potential as a leader" (p. xv). Servant leadership characteristics of listening, awareness and conceptualisation are incorporated in the *tomanatu*.

This space reclaims reasoning powers by listening to the inner voice and the objective balancing of actions and consequences. It is reflective practice "an increasing awareness of thoughts and feelings to see things in a new light and a complete light" (Ferch & Spears, 2011, p. 99). Critical issues leaders balance openness to feedback and information against reflective practice and self-awareness leading "to an attempt to clarify what is going on and what is at stake in the situation" (Grogan, 2013, p. 64).

Tomanatu also incorporates conceptualisation, the ability to think beyond the present as an integral part of the future (Buchen, 1999). Servant leaders are visionaries, and their reflective practice provides clarity for leading the way forward. Maxwell (2007) referred to leadership as having an open mind that allow many

possibilities during precarious times. Being reflective adds strength and positively impacts the effective leader (Rath & Conchie, 2008).

Soalaupule

The term *soa* means to distribute, *lau* is your and *pule* is power referring to the distribution of power. *Soalaupule* refers to the kind of decision-making that involves all. Culturally, *soalaupule* involves decision-making at the highest level, a form of democracy undertaken by the *matais* that make the decisions for the family. As Wander (2013) postulated “the individual is important but never the focus. It is about the production of many, not the few” (p. 130). This type of decision-making is deemed appropriate for listening, persuasion, commitment to the growth of people and building community.

Those in the *soalaupule* relationship understand what Cashman (2008) postulated “At the heart of service is the principle of interdependence” (p. 69). It highlights how effective relationships are formed when people are willing to share power in the decision-making process (Leithwood & Duke, 1998). According to Cashman (2008), it is listening “that speaks to you through feelings, inspirations, intuitions and possibilities” (p. xxxvi). The relationship is nurtured through people’s willingness to listen to others and is defined by covenantal relationships and transforming influences (Sendjaya, 2015).

The approach also involves persuasion, as Grogan (2013) claimed, “effective persuasion, then, is the capacity to listen to the perspectives of others” (p. 35). The process of *soalaupule* is an avenue to be heard, and one has the legitimacy to speak freely to convince others. Although the process may be lengthy, persuading and convincing people are integral to the consultation and collaboration process. As Grogan suggested, “Moral authority relies heavily on persuasion” (p. 387) and not coercion.

Soalaupule is viewed as a distributive form of leadership involving the delegation of authority that focuses on a commitment to the growth of people. Servant leaders encourage members to engage in decision-making as well as recognising that there are avenues for personal and professional development in the deliverance of service (Radcliffe, 2010; Cashman, 2012). Servant leadership characteristics of listening, persuasion, commitment to the growth of people and building community are integrated in the *soalaupule*.

Encouraging and creating opportunities for members to flourish also contributes to ensuring this enhances community building (Miller, 2011). *Soalaupule* imbues

members with a strong sense of responsibility and involvement in community decision-making. The approach is empowering, supports investment in the growth of people and caters for community needs. Members, who share and discuss similar experiences and goals, are not only professionally fulfilled, but they also become members that augment community building (Bennis & Nanus, 2003).

Conclusion

Servant leadership is advocated in the education sphere and its focus on care and service can benefit institutions and organisations. It adheres to the idea of serving as a vehicle for the empowerment of others and stands in direct opposition to the leader at the helm. As such the impetus to make a difference in institutions of learning through care and service could enrich the lives of teacher graduates and contribute to community enhancement. It recognises the humanising side of leadership for institutions and organisations to be effective and productive. People need to grow.

The ten attributes categorised under the care and service dimensions show significant similarities to the indigenous organic Samoan leadership approaches. Subsequently, the focus on faculty members' servant leadership approach, their conceptualisation of servant leadership in praxis and the influence of western leadership on Samoan leadership approaches has revealed linkages and connections.

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Corporal Punishment and *Fa'a*-Samoa: Road to Success

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Abstract

Samoa's corporal punishment, also known as hitting or spanking is perceived by many as unacceptable although it has been the key to educational success of many Samoans (Pereira, 2010 & Lipine, 2010). This new translation, although it is modern, it created a polarizing Samoa's society given its links to politics, humanitarian, philosophical religion influences (Gershoff, 2002; Philip Williamson, 2000). Many Samoans perceive Samoa's corporal punishment as unacceptable while the others perceive it as worthwhile and justified given the positive result they had (from it) in the past. Debates (amongst Samoans) are fuming over this issue and yet no resolution is reached. Approaches such as spanking, being yield at, scolding, being grounded, being isolated, removal of right, ear/hair pulling (etc.) are recognized (universally) as corporal punishment and unacceptable for discipline, but many Samoans believe that; Samoa's corporal punishment has moral codes and protocol, philosophy to abide by in order for it to be accepted as moral conduct, meaning it is an approach requiring steps and rules to follow.

However, Samoans have diverse view of corporal punishment—as stated above, they (Samoans) only recognize that (the form of corporal punishment) which is applicable to them. While the approach faces challenges Samoans have shown resilience sustaining its moral and spiritual integrity. This study reveals that variation (of Samoans views of corporal punishment) is determined by the changed circumstance of Samoans. It argues that Samoa's corporal punishment will always play an important role to success development of Samoans as long as it remains a significant force to success of Samoans. The approach has components (psychological, philosophical and spiritual) which are important aspects of faasamoa – thus, its acceptance is based upon these components, the feelings that only the Samoans understand. What's indicated is that Samoan corporal punishment is fully understood when it is applicable to Samoans. This research paper requires the students, parents and matai's views as they are directly involved in disciplining Samoan students. Data was collected through interviews. Thirty-six respondents from the various parts of New Zealand and 20 from Samoa were nominated for the interviews. There were groups and individual interviews. All the views were analyzed using the thematic analysis procedure.

Introduction

Corporal punishment is illegal but to many Samoans it is an important tool to develop good/proper behavior and moral thinking (Edwards, 2004; Fairbairn 1998; Lipine, 2010; Mageo 1991; Odden, 2008; Pereira, 2004 & Schoeffel and Meleisea 1996). Research (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Skinner, 1965; Fairbairn, 2002) however, indicate that change occurs as time evolves, meaning that we alter our traditions to

adapt. In the context of this study Samoans have carefully considered its traditional corporal punishment to fit in modern society. Evidences show that corporal punishment has been manifested through various forms to align with ecological, economic, cultural, political, educational and religious expectations of society (Creanza, Kolodny, Marcus, 2017). In this study, various forms of Samoa's corporal punishment produced the result benefiting many Samoans. These people adapt well to the approach they fully understand. Apparently, not one approach would benefit everyone, which raises the question; Why Samoans are divided in views regarding corporal punishment? This paper assumes that (through Samoa's corporal punishment) positive result will indeed occur for Samoans because they fully understand it. Misapplication of the approach however, can provide negative results when we do not understand what we are dealing with.

Meanwhile, corporal punishment (in faasamoa) has requirements (protocol & guidelines) to abide by. Those requirements include the following of specific protocols, rules, policy, mannerism, logic and reasoning – all those encompass love and respect, which are the key to acceptance. Negative results have also occurred as a result of misuse of corporal punishment (e.g. Observer 15 July, 2021) – such as lack of control, bad temperament, and bad intention. Successful application of corporal punishment therefore requires understanding and acceptance, as illustrated in Bronfenbrenner (1994), Bandura (1996) and Kant's (1788) concepts of perception and human development.

This research paper argues that Samoa's corporal punishment is very important to successful educational development of Samoans only if it is appropriately applied. Four areas (politics, education, religion, and culture) will be investigated to verify this claim.

Literature Review

Corporal punishment has been an acceptable approach throughout the 18th and the 19th centuries (Frazier, 2019; Lambert, 2021). But, various influences such as politics, socio-cultural, religion and many more saw the evolution of the approach. In some areas, Lambert (2021) pointed out that lighter punishments replace heavy punishments due to influence of the United Nation. There is no doubt that transformation of Samoa's corporal punishment is also determined stated by the same force but what is unique is that it still upholds its traditional values. This

literature review discusses the reason why many Samoans uphold corporal punishment. This study assumes that Samoa's corporal punishment has physical and spiritual significance to the mindset of Samoans.

Corporal punishment is defined as a form of physical discipline that inflicts pain causing remorse and repentance (Frazier, 2019). There are other forms of corporal punishment (e.g. birching, flogging, branding, mutilation, blinding, caning, stocking, pillory and many more) used by judicial systems, home and even schools throughout Europe, for disciplinary purpose (Frazier, 2019; Lambert 2018 & Skinner, 1948). Those approaches cause not only physical pain but also mental distress enabling a withdrawal reaction. As stated above, more lenient forms of physical punishment including yielding, telling-off, isolation, refusing pupils right occurred in the early 20th century (Lambert, 2021). Those approaches although they do not encroach physical-pain they cause emotional distress causing mental stress, withdrawal reaction, feeling isolated and low self-esteem (Hecker, Hermenau, Salmen, Teicher and Elbert, 2016; Skinner, 1948).

Philosophically corporal punishment intends to **punish and discipline** as illustrated by Erick Erickson (2023). These two forces although they are conjoined, they play different but significant roles. Punishment which is stimuli (external) arouses a stimulus or reaction (Pandura, 1969). For Samoa's corporal punishment, Samoans must understand that we are punished for unacceptable behavior/action and the expectation is that we must refrain from repeating the same mistakes. The Bible encourages an eye-for-an-eye approach in the Old Testament, such an approach reminds of it feels to hurt others. This approach substantiates the means for morality and fair-play. It is also understood that through such an experience people can sense what is right (Lipine, 2010).

Corporal Punishment in the Samoan context

In faasamoa, corporal punishment (before the church) was more severe and life threatening, but, that all changed when Samoans accepted and converted to Christianity Meleisea (1987) Many old traditional punishments were abandoned to be replaced by more lenient punishments such as *sasa*, *fue* or *fasi* (whipping or spanking) which Samoans regarded them as parallels to the Bible teaching. The Bible points out that spanking/hitting is justified only if it is done through love (Proverbs 13:24). That is, if you love your children punish them when they make mistake. That

Biblical ideology encouraged many Samoans to believe that spanking their children is God's will (Agafili, 2014). Many Samoans therefore perceive Punishment as justified and God given.

Political Influence

Politics is one of the forces that helped redefine corporal punishment in the Samoan context. Meanwhile, corporal punishment has always been part of life, it has been a standardized tradition throughout the 18th and 19th century during the Roman Empire (Frazier, 2019). The essence of the approach was to make the offender feel what it is like to be a victim (Geoffery, 2023). In faasamoa, corporal punishment is a recognized custom (in families, church, villages and schools) although it was not legislated (Turner, 1983). But reformation of this approach occurred as human right became part of Samoa's law. Individuality became apparent in Samoa as reflected upon the de-centralization of many Samoan traditions which included corporal punishment or *sasa*. Decision-making became the responsibility of parents only, contrary to the traditional setting where control is central to the ruling of chiefs or matai (Forsyth, 2004). The law on the other also forbids corporal punishment, although that power was partially neutralized by church ideology, which is the focal point of Samoans' mentality. That is, "punishment must reflect the love of God". Human right (influenced by religion) hence became an influential force shaping this new form of *sasa*/corporal punishment. This new form of corporal punishment/*sasa* has protocols and policies such as; only the right person/s must consent to *sasa*; must be given only within the right reason; must be consistent and fair, carried out by parents only and *sasa* must convey love (Lipine, 2010). The overarching principle of *sasa* is love which both the discipliner and victim must sense.

The villages however brand different forms of corporal punishment as a result of ineffectiveness of the law. As noted in the Samoan Observer, June 2023 some villages have reached out to traditional methods due to many Samoans taking the law for granted. Similar to Tamihere's proposal to the New Zealand government in the 1980's to reintroduce the Maori traditional punishments where the natives are more alerted to, than the white man's law (New Zealand Herald, 1987). So, when Samoans were punished, they are expected to understand the reasons and the causes for the punishment. Although there have been transformations to the approach however, the law has manifested on faasamoa (as reflected in Samoa

Prime Minister's speech in parliament, 2023) as the core for control and peace (OCIS, 2012). What that means is that corporal punishment that serves the values (love & respect) of faasamoa is legitimate and acceptable (Lipine, 2010). The other countries including the United States of America, the Middle Eastern countries, Asians and African countries also perceived cultural values as the key to proper behaviour.

Further change to corporal punishment in Samoa occurred as the state has established a law banning physical punishment in its schools. Apparently, the new law appeared too lenient which led to freedom of expression, fears competitions, violence and failure amongst many Samoa's secondary schools. Transformation of corporal punishment occurred whereby some traditions were assimilated. To modern Samoans many local schools in Samoa used *dotegia* (scold), and light spanking to discipline students. Still, the teachers pointed out that some students have taken the modern corporal punishment for granted and many have ended up failing school examination as a result. As indicated by Agafili (2014) there is a philosophical impact of traditional Samoans corporal punishment that no one understands but Samoans. He believes that many Samoans will benefit via the Samoan corporal punishment if it becomes part of school discipline. Those students who failed did not fully understand the approach meaning that the parents have lapsed in their roles.

Meanwhile, the United Nation Human Right policy [which encourages non-physical disciplinary approach became the backbone of modern education policies, deriving disappearance of the corporal punishment (Lanbert, 2021) in many countries but, in Samoa such a change became problematic to not only Samoans but many other Pacific Island nations – As noted above, ill-discipline problems were increasing not only in schools but also at home. Fortunately, Samoa's cultural setting (including *faamatai*, social control and Samoa's traditional disciplinary approaches) as recognized in the family, church and village communities were well catered for (Tuiatua, 2006). These units are well established and equipped to facilitate disciplinary needs. Such a model was successfully implemented by the Germans during the German administration (Victoria University of Wellington, 1879). The *matai* system worked hand in hand with the police which eased the workload and stress for both. Even the parliament of Samoa (through the ministers) they worked cooperatively with the village councils and parents to utilize affective use of traditional means for control. As stated above, even more recently, the former Prime Minister of Samoa (himself) was circumstantial about non-physical disciplinary

approach hinting the reintroduction of the traditional Samoan corporal punishment in the schools, although he is aware of the UN human right policies (Samoan Observer, 2020). Following that the government (Tuilaepa's) allowed spanking in school only to discipline and not injuring the students. Being closely associated with China, it is assumed that reactivation of the traditional Samoan *sasa* would lead to success, as perceived by the Chinese (Chu Zaohui, 2019).

Apparently, corporal punishment is illegal but many Samoans disputed that (Lipine 2010) as they have reaped positive outcomes from it (Lipine, 2010). This is the resilience of Samoans to revitalize this tradition which has reflected in a transformed *sasa*, a similar attitude reflecting their defiance of foreign rule during the New Zealand administration of Samoa (Meleisea, 1986; Tupuola, 2004; Tanuvasa, 2002). Having said all this, those approaches are only applicable given that they are part of the culture or customs. As I have stated earlier in this discussion Samoans have diverse perception of *faasamoa*, and their beliefs of corporal punishment will provide insight of how to discipline them.

Corporal punishment and social change

Henri Chambers, David, and McLellan (2023) in reviewing Carl Marx theory of social change they postulated that cultural traditions will always change as we continue to interact with other cultural forces. They summed up saying that interaction with environment provides an understanding of who we are as individual/group, and in reflection to that is the way corporal punishment develops. As indicated above corporal punishment (through the years) went through social change not only within Samoa's community but other cultures. Having taught in China for over twelve months (2001 – 2003) I found that (in many country schools) teachers are encouraged to use corporal punishment to discipline their children (Tavita, 2003). The students showed sympathy to how they have been treated believing that the teacher's know better what is right for them. Whereas in the rich schools the teachers do not physically spank their students, but they often give them additional homework as punishment. The Middle Eastern countries also recognize physical punishment (Skin, 2023), believing that it is God's will – all cultural traditions in the Middle Eastern countries are aligned to their religion teachings which means that everyone is expected to understand them. For example, Islam's and even Christian's doctrines encourage corporal punishment. In many European countries change have been made to corporal punishment (Skin, 2023) but the principle however, has

always been maintained. Such as those who immigrate to live in the other countries improvise by adopting their host countries cultural ideas to enhance their own cultures. For example, in New Zealand, many Middle Eastern immigrants have adopted the child-centered approach (as theorized by Piaget (1954) which they perceive as mentally stressed and worthwhile for their children.

With many Samoans, their views of corporal punishment are different, and their views are genuine and appropriate for their development. Cherry (2022) theorized that situation stating real meaning is that which is proposed by the actors (and not the observers). His theory emphasizes that the world has many different forces which our perceptions are influenced by, and only “We’ understand how to cope with those forces. For Samoans, Lipine (2010) found that many Samoans apply the forms of corporal punishment suitable to them, believing that they are important to their children’s upbringing. Samoans all believe in the Samoan proverb which says that; *“e aao le tama e tusa ai ma ona ala aua a matua e le toe te’a ese ai lava”* or “nurture the child according to his/her ways (faasamoa) for he/she will never forbid those ways in the future”, this and many more, the type of social influence Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara and Pastorelli’s (1996) conceptualized in their concepts of perception. The underpinning phenomenon from those findings is that understanding is the basis of practice, for educational context, corporal punishment is relevant only when students are familiar with it, which means that it needs to be part of the student’s social upbringing first to be applicable.

In New Zealand many Samoans transform corporal punishment to suit the New Zealand condition (Lipine, 2023 & Fairbairn, 2002). They sustained the meaning and value of this approach through punishment of emotion rather than literally hurting the skin. A Samoan proverbial expression that; *o tama a tagata e fafaga l upu ma tala a’o tama a manu e fafaga l fuga o laau* – human is reared via words while bird is reared with flowers” – this expression appeals to many Samoans as they are so proud of who they are. Samoa’s counseling or *otegia* becomes the preferences for many Samoans believing that it suits their circumstances.

While corporal punishment is perceived as a significant force to achieve success, it has also been used to achieve unacceptable goals. For example, social pressure (i.e. financial, political, personal, religion) has driven many Samoans to use corporal punishment to the extreme which has unacceptable consequence. Such as in some schools in Papua New Guinea, many students are spanked to torture and enslaved (Whiting, 2019). Whereas in Samoa, many young Samoans have become victims of

physical abuse due to family members' cruelty (Observer, 2023), although traditionally, corporal punishment has protocols to abide by (Agafili, 2014). What's indicated in this section is that Samoa's corporal punishment can be outlawed once people step outside the protocols to achieve different goals. Such as some Samoans are carried away and not following the real value of corporal punishment, due to anger, enviousness, hatred or vengeance.

Corporal Punishment and Faasamoa

As stated above, the traditional Samoa's corporal punishment involves hitting, strapping, telling-off, ear/hair pulling, pinching, scolding, counseling, isolation, disowning (Agafili, 2014; Pereire, 2010). The approach however, evolves through time. For example, *otegia* or telling off replaces hitting. This approach involves harsh and aggressive tone/manner aims to hurt the subject's emotion (Agafili, 2014). Samoans believe such an approach is more effective than literal hitting" (Agafili, 2014) as it has an everlasting effect on Samoans. This approach also has guidelines as it can also produce severe consequence if it is not done correctly. It can produce emotional scars that can be damaging.

Some Samoans however, prefer spanking as it has always been part of their upbringing. These people accept corporal punishment because it is not only traditional to them but it has provided positive result for them noted Pandura Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, Pastorelli (1996) concept of learning. In the rural areas many Samoans still apply the traditional Samoan corporal punishment (Lipine, 2010) as they perceive it as an act of love (noted Frazier's, 2019 & Campbell, 2016 & Greenspan (1975). Meanwhile mistakes can be made (especially when people breached the protocols of corporal punishment, as stated above, hence, an awareness that there is a fine line not to overstep (noted Greenspan, 1975) discussion of trust and acceptance.

An important factor for understanding is that Samoa's corporal punishment has been viewed as an acceptable approach to many Samoans because they understand it. A process called mediation in faasamoa entails discussion between parents and their children enabling understanding of one another as well as rules and Samoan customs/expectation. In my experience as a Samoan (having lived and brought up in Samoa during my childhood/youthful years) I found that "Mediation is a significant part of Samoa's corporal punishment, it makes me accept being punished. Traditionally, Samoans are taught to accept Samoa's corporal punishment believing

that it is the key to success and God's will (Agafili, 2014). Research (Lipine, 2010) found that mediation is often the responsibility of mother, grandparents and the elderly. Those people are more influential to many young Samoans noted Pandura's (Kendra, 2022) neuro-system's concept. In Lipine's (2010) research, he found that all participants support Samoa's corporal punishment, believing it is a symbol of love and care for them, which is similar to many Maori people's support for the Maori disciplinary traditions in New Zealand (Fred, Jeanne Biddulph and Chris Biddulph (2003). A similar approach can be attributed to educational success of many Aboriginals of Australia - A renovation of Torre Straight Island Education Strategy allowing the Aboriginals to revisit their educational traditions has led to successful achievement of many of their children (Department of Education South Australia, 2018). It is believed that through mediation students fully appreciated their corporal punishment traditions. An important consideration from this is that corporal punishment needs nurturing for understanding and awareness. Jesus himself demonstrated a form of corporal punishment which is different from that of the Old Testament which the Islamic believes in - He used verbal and body languages to discipline the people. He told them off and damaged their goods which hurt them emotionally. His actions showcased transformations of *sasa* in the new era (New Testament). Some (like the Muslims) include the old traditions in their cultures to abide by and their siblings also accept those changes. Even some Samoans, they still apply the traditional Samoa's corporal punishment and their children accept them. As I have stated above, some would rather follow their traditional *sasa* because it is relevant to their development and identities.

Methodology

A qualitative approach with an emphasis on phenomenology is crucial for this study. An ontological approach to gather information was implemented, as this is more genuine (Kant, 1788) particularly in research such as this. Hence, a wide range of views from the participants were collected which added more value to the existing literature (Wood, 2015). Sixty participants including 58 students, a retired senior police inspector and a well know matai and short story writer in Samoan were interviewed. These participants provided their own versions of how Samoa's corporal punishment contributed to their success in education. Their views are testimonial to how this approach survives through generations which is important to

the understanding of future educational development for Samoa and the other Pasifika students.

Thematic analysis procedure was required for the analysis of data as this is more appropriate for understanding the data of research of this nature (Barun & Clarke, 2006; King, 2004), especially in research concerning a large number of participants. The data were coded and then categorized into patterns and themes, which made them easier to understand.

Two themes identified; First, the passion to be successful. Second, the capacity to deal with inconsistencies. Each of these themes rests upon a strong cultural orientation.

Theory

A theoretical perspective describing continuity and evolution of thoughts and ideas is a significant part of this study as it provides an understanding of the claim. Skinner's (1965) theory of logic, perception and behavior forms the basis of understanding of continuity of Samoa's corporal punishment, let alone transitions that eventuate transformation of this approach. Famously known for his punishment and reward concept since the 17th to the 20th centuries, at the same time heavily criticized due to changed circumstances particularly the human right policy by the UN, Skinner claims that the root of logical thinking, reasoning and behaviors is culture. He supports cultural evolution but claims that we adjust to suit change, which in the context of this study, we make change or alter our traditions to suit modern change. His concept of "punishment" and "reward" is subject to interpretations given his support to evolution. The underpinning phenomenon for this study is that punishment redirects the minds to do the right things (Skinner, 1938 & Bandura, A. Barbaranelli, Caprara, Pastorelli, 1996).

Analysis and Discussion

The analysis of data unveils important information entailing the rationality of Samoa's corporal punishment (in the form of sasa). Grounded on political, cultural, educational and religious influences Samoa's corporal punishment is cemented in the mindset of many Samoans.

Political Influence

Corporal punishment although it was central to various Samoa's political altercations, it is still recognized as an important approach for development of Samoans (Lipine, 2022). Some Samoans do not accept corporal punishment, but others however, are more reserved and conservative given the positive educational result they received in the past. The difference between those Samoans can be linked to how they adapt to their political environments (noted Bandura, A. Barbaranelli, Caprara, Pastorelli's, 1996) theory of perception. Such as, some still used the traditional Samoans methods while the others weaved their way around using the alternatives (new methods). Both methods are reflections of how Samoans adapt to the circumstances. An important part of this transition is acceptance – as indicated earlier in this discussion, Samoa's corporal punishment requires mediation and practice. Those processes require deep understanding, precision, fairness, honesty, patience and tolerance. Modern political circumstances can easily mislead Samoans but these people value their culture hence, politics of recognizes faasamoa with regard to ruling and management. Varying circumstances (law, culture & religion) of Samoans are important aspects to be considered as they are determinants of those people's perception and desires. Consideration of the old and modern traditions is of high value as this would create a harmonizing Samoans. Such as the Samoan government's corporative ruling and discipline with the village counsels/churches. The fact that most political leaders are village leaders themselves - hence the possibility of Samoa's corporal punishment flourishing in the future for Samoans is very high. Many of those politicians are more lenient toward faasamoa, and as I have indicated above, those people would do whatever it takes to reserve faasamoa and more so, secure their political stances. One can argue that it is through such an understanding enabling the other forms of corporal punishment in the Samoan setting. Samoans also understand that there is a fine line between physical and mental damage and they make sure they do not overstep it.

Cultural Influence

One of the main reasons for continuity of corporal punishment today is the resilience of Samoans in maintaining faasamoa. In the Samoan setting, there is an expectation that all Samoans must abide by the values of faasamoa (Agafili, 2014) to be recognized as Samoans. Various Samoan traditional corporal punishments (as mentioned above) are still recognized as they impinge deep meaning to Samoans.

More change to faasamoa have occurred as a result of influence of Human right – control thence became the responsibility of parents, meaning that only parents have the right to spank or hit their children. The respondents stated that they accept being punished by their parents because they trust them. They added that no one loves them more than their parents – that is, they sense love the same time their parents hit/spank them. One may ask how can one senses love through punishment; One respondent stated that his parents often give him counselling when he makes mistakes, and he would be spanked if he repeats the same mistakes. He added that his parents always want him to do the right thing, but being stubborn forced him to disobey, and so he expects punishment in the end. An important pointer from this is that the Samoan culture has evolved which largely impacts on transformation of corporal punishment. The real meaning of Samoa's corporal punishment is love that imparts Samoa's' consciousness and resilience as reflected in the continuity of the Samoan corporal punishment today and the future. Fearful of the consequence of their wrongdoing is a natural instinct (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara & Pastorelli, 1996) but Samoans look beyond that for they are aware of the good result in the end.

The findings indicate that environment evolves and people must adapt to be successful. In this study, the students and their families adapted via assimilation, accommodation and adoption of modern ideas to enhance their Samoan values. Some Samoans were unsuccessful however, due to lack of understanding of how to adapt (noted Healy, Jane, 1994 analysis of adaptation). Thorough understanding of cultural values and circumstance involved leads to successful transitions' (Gassmann, Enkel, Chesbrough, 2010, the key to continuity of Samoa's corporal punishment. Success therefore is achieved and fully appreciated when are disciplined.

The findings support that interaction with environment influences perception (Pandura,.1996). Revolution of Samoa's corporal punishment was determined the will of Samoans to preserve their values. The transition had been successful (noted Lipine's, 2010 research) but only to those who fully understand faasamoa and the changing circumstances they were involved in. That is, they took courtesy to protocols and Samoan values. What this mean is that we must be fully alert of situations and make amends accordingly to adapt (Reeves, 2006).

Educational Influence

The problem is that, education theorists (e.g. Bruner, 1991; Fairbairn, 2002; Piaget, 1958) believe that all disciplinary approaches requiring physical contact are irrelevant for teaching and learning as they fail to provide positive but negative outcomes, the concept which is encouraged for all teachers (Lipine, 2010). In theory such an approach makes sense by practically Samoa's *sasa* /corporal punishment being proactive throughout the village and church communities (Agafili, 2014). During my observation of the schools in Apia and New Zealand, I noted various forms of corporal punishment being applied which attracted various students' reactions - some students accepted while other others objected. Those who supported corporal punishment or *sasa* were advised by their parents that their teachers are their second parents and that they have the right to discipline them through *sasa*. Many of those students had good passes in examinations, whereas the others who objected their teachers failed. Apparently, those who passed examinations have the passion to succeed while the others didn't. Accordingly, their passion to succeed aroused as a result of understanding their parents' advice. The others however, felt that it is their right to decide what to accept and what not to accept. The parents also allowed those students to decide for themselves which impacted negatively on their learning attitudes and other students. In school those students lack cooperative learning skills as (Piaget, 1954) indicated an important part of successful learning. They lack understanding of Samoan values which could have been a cause for encouragement and determination. Apparently, all those students were born in Samoa, exposed to *faasamoa* and corporal punishment; unfortunately, they decided to use a different learning style they never understand in their schools. Teachers on the other did not fully comprehend the student's situation and hence they could not resolve the problems. Some teachers apply the traditional spanking irrelevantly – they assumed that Samoan would understand it, not knowing that students are of various background and upbringing. It could be argued that the Ministry of Education of Samoa (MESC) was quick to implement a new approach (which lacked cohesion with *faasamoa*) that many Samoans are unfamiliar with. In realizing this set-back the National University of Samoa and MESC have worked cooperatively renovating theoretical and practical framework enabling positive outcomes (Pausisi, 2020). A few teachers stated that the change in approach enabled them to successfully relate to their students – the students respect and pay attention to their teachers because they are familiar with their teaching and

disciplinary approaches. They added that they accept corporal punishment because their teachers have started to work cooperative with the parents.

Samoa's corporal punishment becomes a requirement for many Samoans. Ninety (90%) of NUS participants for this study indicated that they prefer the alternatives (literature review) to corporal punishment (e.g. *otegia*, being scolded, right restriction etc.) believing that those alternatives impose even greater success result. They also pointed out that *otegia* and scolding (although they do not hurt the skin) they provide emotional pain and stress (Khosravani, Glani, 2007), the approach many Samoans are aware of. Those approaches however, have made a big difference in terms of result in school examination and study behaviours of the students in their schools.

The findings support that corporal punishment is undeniably an approach that will always play a significant role to success of Samoan students. Given the complex situation of modern Samoa, Samoans have learnt to adjust, which they have done through transformation of the traditional corporal punishment (refer to influence of *faasamoa* in the literature review). Those modern forms are recognized as important replacements of the former which is different from what other people understand. As I have stated above, being scolded, isolated or having restricted rights, are different in the Samoan context, they do not only hurt feelings and emotion, but create a strong will and compassion for future drive – it can be argued that only those who have deep value of *faasamoa* will have this impact. Many young teachers are utilizing modern alternatives to classroom learning believing that it has been a success so far. The students are coping with the approach, but only in odd cases mistake are made when protocols are not followed.

However (as noted above), the old version of corporal punishment is still active, particularly in the villages, and many students from those areas perceive it as the most important approach for them. Is it right to change what those students believe in or should we let them be? Lipine (2010) found that corporal punishment is successful when students accept it. In that regard not the same level of corporal punishment applies successfully to all Samoans students, as stated above, Samoa's corporal punishment will always guarantee success when it is fully understood. Education critics have been one dimensional in their views of this approach, and not being considerate of how other people perceive it. As noted by Meleisea (1987) and Tupuola, (2004) that Samoans have always blended modern ideas to enhance the values of *faasamoa*, and whilst that has resulted in transformation of many Samoan

customs, it secured continuity of faasamoa values in modern societies. As indicated in the literature, the essence of corporal punishment in faasamoa (as understood by all Samoans) is to express care and love, the keys to success (Mageo, 1988 & 1991). Those findings confirm that corporal punishment has been filtered down through generations, but Samoans had to choose what is more relevant to them, a move requiring awareness and understanding.

Church Influence

One of the forces that encourage continuity of corporal punishment is religion. Samoa is a Christian country and its policies are central to the Christian doctrine (Lipine, 2010). The Bible recommends corporal punishment as a preventative measure against immorality (e.g. ruthlessness, disobedience, dishonesty, etc.) and many Samoans take seriously. As stated in the review, the Bible is the word of God and Samoans (like many other Christians) they observe the word of God. So, ignorance of the Bible's recommendations is ignoring God which is a sin. All practices in the Bible (including corporal punishment) encompass love and those practices evolve as time went by. For example, in the Old Testament, physical punishment was more appropriate as that was the only disciplinary method Christians understood. In the New Testament counseling was recommended, only to an extent when parent can spank their children. Church pastors can no longer spank children as they have been used to in the past as such an authority has been inherited. Some participants stated that their parents use physical and emotional spanking to discipline them which are more meaningful to them because they are part of their Christian upbringing. Some on the other indicated that their parents only counsel them. These findings indicate that tradition [as recommended by church] plays a significant role on how these participants are disciplined - it appears that the forms the participants understand more are those that are part of their upbringing.

Conclusion

This study concludes that corporal punishment in Samoa continues to exist. It's significance to Samoa's spiritual, socio-economic and educational developments substantiates its place in the mindset and consciousness of many Samoans. An important indicator from the findings is that positive outcome encourages positive

behaviour. In this study, corporal punishment which has always been the key to successful achievement of many Samoans appears that such a force is potentially a force to be reckon with and will hold its place for the future of many Samoans. Generally speaking, corporal punishment is physical punishment to refrain from the mistakes. For Samoans, corporal punishment is a system conveying love, respect, honesty and diligence. Ecological influences however, diversify people's perception of culture (Darwein, 1959), but Samoans, being resilient, conservative of their values (refer to literature review) made sure Samoa's corporal punishment survives. And in reflection to that transformation of corporal punishment was made. It must be noted that Samoans didn't make changes to corporal punishment overnight, they needed to fully understand faapalagi first in order to assimilate, (a process by Piaget, 1954). Samoans merged the two cultures enabling the successful continuity of Samoan traditions to reflect Samoa's values (respect & love), like the Samoan proverbial expression which says that; *e eseese auala ae tutusa lava uiga* or *different methods but the same meaning*. The literature review and the findings indicate that politics, socio-economic, education and religion play a big role which could hinder decision making of many Samoans, but Samoans (as stated in the literature review), they have been able to adjust. What's being articulated is that Samoa's corporal punishment is preserved because it has a deep meaning to many Samoans, which means that it is wrong to point out that such an approach is unacceptable, let alone its positive significance to development of many Samoans today and the past. As discussed in the findings, corporal is more than just hitting or scolding (etc.), the approach has deep spiritual influence that only Samoans would understand (Agafili, 2014 & Lipine, 2010). No wonder why many Samoans are adamant with *sasa*.

Many educators dispute the importance of corporal punishment in classroom learning as they view it as hindering student's learning, but those views are merely bias because of the influence of faapalagi. Nicole, Stephens, Townsend & Hazel, Rose & Taylor, Sarah & Phillip (2012) asserted that not one theory thoroughly explains all cultures, which in the context of this research study; it means that it is not accurate to describe/explain corporal punishment in faasamoa via the faapalagi perspective. The fact is that Samoans have diverse views of faasamoa as they continue to expose to/and accept western cultures, the transition discussed and clarified by Bronfenbrenner's, 1994 ecological system theory. How they adjust faasamoa to modern cultures depended entirely on circumstance, a clear indication of continuity diversity of faasamoa, a process supporting Darwein's theory of evolution (1989).

What is more unique about Samoans is that they are conservative of their Samoan values (love & respect) and they would do whatever it takes to reflect those values. In the context of this study, various forms of corporal punishment verify meaning and values that are important to Samoans. This study indicates that corporal punishment is a Samoan tradition which has protocols and rules to abide by. Like any other culture, Samoa's corporal punishment will vary as time goes by (noted Darwin, 1985), but Samoans (as noted in this study) will always find a way to make sure of its continuity.

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Humans of Apia: Building a Chronology of Pre-Colonial Human Activity in the Nu'u Mavae of Apia

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Abstract

Apia has long been believed to be the initial area of settlement of visitors to Samoa from the early 19th century, between about 1820 and 1830. Scholars who have studied Apia rarely comment on Samoan history before European contact, citing a lack of written sources. It is widely accepted in academic circles that Apia was established as a village and a township at the onset of Samoa's colonial period. However, the archaeological record via Lapita pottery dates the earliest occupation of the Samoan archipelago over three thousand years before Europeans arrived. Additionally, the resident families comprising the nu'umavae of Apia also hold to oral traditions that date indigenous occupation well before the arrival of Europeans. Like many villages, Apia represents an academic hinterland, except that the development of a capital city around it has consumed no other village. In the face of current and ongoing redevelopment, Apia's few remaining tangible connections to its past are under threat, if not already destroyed. This article describes the first phase in efforts to generate a basic chronology of human activity in the village of Apia before European settlement. Using a mix of quantitative (soil analysis and radiocarbon dating) and qualitative methods (household dwelling surveys, oral history interviews), this project team sought to establish an archaeological baseline of human occupation of Apia, with the hypothesis that carbon dating would be indicative of human activity in Apia before European settlement. The project teams hope this and subsequent research will help inform national development efforts and encourage more holistic management of Samoa's cultural heritage, starting with her capital city.

Keywords: Village of Apia, Samoa Prehistory, Archaeology

Background of Project

On 6 December 2016, the Government of Samoa released the finalised Waterfront Plan (the "Plan"), a 98-page text containing details on the newly launched "Apia Waterfront Development Project, 2017-2026", a large-scale re-imagining of the entire span of both Beach Road and Mulinu'u Road, stretching from Vaiala Beach to Mulinu'u Peninsula. The Waterfront Plan was described as a "strategic document that will guide government planning and waterfront users on future development, and how we envisage the waterfront to be transformed in the next ten or so years" (Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment/Samoa Tourism Authority, 2016: 3), a linchpin moment in the ongoing development of Samoa, beginning with the redesign of Samoa's primary urban conduits. This development project covers about

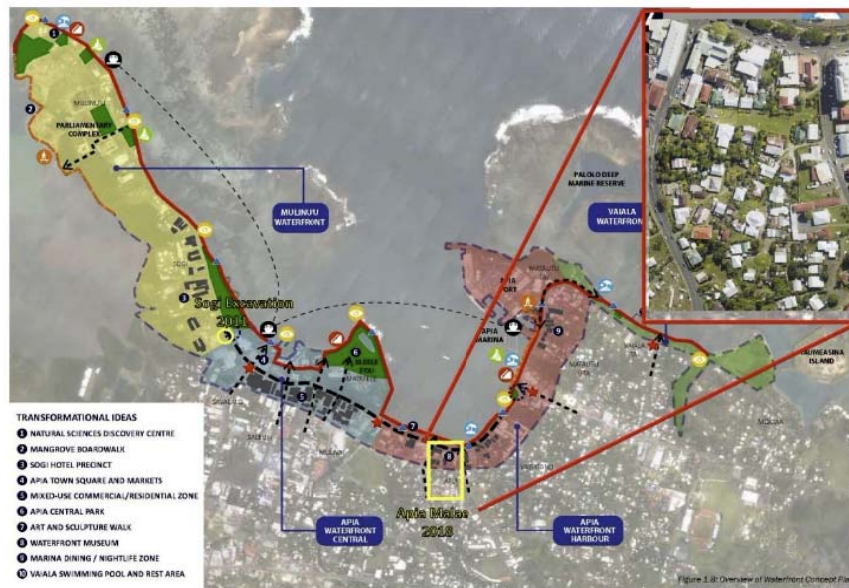
five kilometres along the coast and one city block inland of mixed commercial, residential and government lands.

The Apia Waterfront Development Project significantly impacts cultural heritage management in two significant ways. First, the Plan outlines five specific goals, the first of which, to “reflect a unique Samoan experience” (Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment/Samoa Tourism Authority, 2016: 8), is the objective most concerned with the preservation and showcasing of Samoan culture and heritage. The Plan features a list of preliminary initiatives designed to achieve this, such as public art and handicraft displays, a waterfront museum and the refurbishment of existing built heritage sites. While theoretically, these measures will help the Government successfully deliver a visitor-driven version of Samoan heritage, the issue underpinning this process is the large deficit of published knowledge on the history of Apia before the arrival of Europeans in the early 19th century; thus, the ‘Samoan experience’ being reflected for visitors to the waterfront is one that begins about 1820, and therefore heavily curated by European settlers. This contradicts the oral histories of Samoans themselves (Pratt 1890, Stair 1894, Fraser 1896, Kramer 1994, Buck 1930, Freeman 1944, Henry 1980, Meleisea and Schoeffel 1987, Tamasese 2007, Va’a 2010), and the archaeological record, which dates Samoan occupation of the archipelago to about 1000BC (Leach 1989, Dickinson 1998, Petchey 2001, Rieth 2008, Addison 2010). Second, the Plan divides the Apia beachfront into four thematically unique areas: Mulinu’u Waterfront, Apia Waterfront Central, Apia Waterfront Harbour and Vaiala Waterfront. The Apia Waterfront Harbour includes “Beach Road, Apia port and the marina area” (Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment/Samoa Tourism Authority, 2016: 12) and, by default, it also includes but does not mention, the *nu’umavae* or traditional village of Apia.

The capital of Samoa is named Apia because of its genesis from the village of the same name, a fact that is often lost in the literature, primarily because of the absence of writing on Apia, the village, before it played host to Apia, the capital (Pringle 1989, Burgoyne 2006, Neubert 2014). While the Apia Waterfront Development Project looks to accomplish the government’s goal to “showcase Samoa’s natural and built environment, history and heritage, sports, local cuisine, language and arts, encouraging our locals and visitors alike to gain a greater sense of appreciation for Samoan culture” (Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment/Samoa (Tourism Authority, 2016: 5), its major drawback is that it does not require any pre-development heritage assessments. This means that, potentially, any new development is enacted in complete ignorance of Apia’s archaeological

past. At best, it compromises our few existing physical remnants of heritage; at worst, it destroys them outright. Whatever the scale of development, Samoa's collective heritage, without the benefit of evaluation for archaeological or historical significance, is in danger.

Figure 1: Project field site (inset) within the Apia Waterfront Development Plan.



With this in mind, this project was established to generate a basic chronology of human habitation in the village of Apia before European settlement. The field site focuses on the Apia malae the standard epicentre of Samoan village life and should therefore provide the most evidence of human activity, particularly by Samoans (Van der Ryn 2016). The authors understand that, from an archaeological perspective, a malae is simply an empty space devoid of structures, however, this paper is written from a Samoan perspective that challenges this notion. The first malae was established by the highest of Samoan deities, Tagaloa, and hosted the first meeting “of chiefs and gods, where the first councils were held to create social and cosmological order” (van der Ryn 2016, 117). So integral are malae to village life in Samoa, that every village in Samoa has one, and all malae are named and recognised in the honorifics of each village. In his research on the significance of the malae to a village, Micah van der Ryn writes that, “

“ . . . spatially and temporally, the malae can be understood as a sacred central starting point of a village. The village’s founding chiefs built their houses on them, or next to them forming the first ring of structures as the descent group grew over the generations, the village physically grew outward from its sacred malae center” (117).

Malae, in ancient and recent times, are the literal and figurative center of any Samoan village.

We aim to develop a baseline for a deeper understanding of the precontact history of Apia, therefore requiring a mixed archaeological and ethnographic approach. We were hopeful that the data generated from this project could help inform national development efforts driven by our frequent partners at the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNRE), Planning and Urban Management Authority (PUMA), Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) and the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESCC).

History of Apia – *Nu'u Mavae* and Capital

The Prehistory of Apia

Lapita

Radiocarbon dates from Lapita pottery sites from the Bismarck Archipelago to Samoa have helped archaeologists track the chronology of human settlement or the "First Polynesian settlers" nearly 3,000 years ago (Kirch 2017:81). The first seafarers explored the Pacific Ocean, stretching 4,500 kilometres throughout "ten to fifteen successive human generations" (Kirch 2017:89). The first settlers adapted to their newly colonised islands. Eventually, they practised inter-island contact, trade, and exchange between neighbouring islands. Specifically, with the islands of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa, scholars have claimed that the interactions of these island groups created a dynamic "Ancestral Polynesian Culture" that evolved over 500 years (Kirch 1989: 1-2; Kaeppler 1978: 246).

Green and Davidson's (1969) thorough archaeological research revealed Samoa's prehistorical villages with house platforms, pigeon mounds, and traces of agricultural evidence of sustainable communities. A combination of archaeological and ethnohistoric materials announced the formation of Samoa's domestic landscapes over time and developed cultivation practices that helped sustain their villages. As did all Lapita populations in Remote Oceania, Samoans likely practiced agriculture almost immediately upon first settlement. Although there is no plant microfossil evidence for Samoa yet, most likely, the traditional formations of chiefly political structure eventually evolved to maintain crops. This chiefly structure also led to communal hierarchy and the chiefly systems that became *fa'a-Samoa* (Samoan culture, protocols, and practices) as we know it today.

Samoa's archaeological prehistory with legends and stories of "old Samoa" piece together a genealogy and timeline that traces the transitions of Samoa, specifically Apia, throughout the years. Samoa's social structure evolved around the *matai* or

"titleholder" (Milner 1993:136-137). With two classes of *matai*, the *ali'i* (high chief) and *tulāfale* (talking chief), they are responsible for the extended 'aiga (family), land, genealogies, and authority within the village and district. Each village is maintained through a political structure or constitution called the *fa'alupega* or honorifics that display the hierarchical systems of villages. Each *fa'alupegais* unique to each *nu'u* (village). According to Meleisea,

Origins of the rank and status of matai titles cannot be explained by simple generalisation: it seems contradictory, for example that certain tulāfaletitles outrank certain ali'ititles in some contexts. In fact the rank of each title can be understood only in the context of the nu'u and district of its genealogical origins (Meleisea 1992:15)

Nu'u Mavae of Apia:

Several existing oral traditions detail the original name, geography and inhabitants of the *nu'u mavae* of Apia (Malietoa 2017, Burgoyne 2006). Apia is part of the Tuamasaga political district and falls, more specifically, within the Vaimauga district, which stretches along Upolu's northern coast from Lauli'i in the east to Alamagoto in the west and inland to Alaoa (Kramer 1904, Henry 1980, Meleisea 1987, So'o 2008, Malietoa 2017). Apia is understood to have been part of a larger conglomerate of villages known, in some accounts, by the name Sagauga (Burgoyne 2006: 31, LMS Church 1958: 148). While the village today is centred on the coast around its *malae*, Sinave ma Ulumoto'otua (LMS Church 1958: 149), the precontact borders of what is now known as Apia were much more extensive, demarcated by Mata'utu on its northeast corner, Tanugamanono in the south-east, Alamagoto in the south-west, and Apia itself stretching across Upolu's northern coast (see Figure 2). Apia lore states that in precontact times the village was under the domain of three chiefs, Tuiletufuga, Pupuali'i and Leta'a, collectively known as the Faletolu, reflecting the power dynamics of the Vaimauga district (personal communication). While Tuiletufuga held sway in Apia proper, his brother chiefs governed other parts of the district, with Pupuali'i based in Mata'utu and Leta'a in Alamagoto. Together, the Faletolu helped manage a significant subsection of the district with legendary connections to many of the elder deities, including the Fe'e, Vaimauga's famous war god (Va'a 2007). According to Malietoa (2017), the name Tuiletufugawas bestowed on the chief builder of the famed Fale o le Fe'e, the house where the Fe'e lived and received tributes deep in the Alaoa Valley (6).

Figure 2: 1886 Map of Apia nu'umavae and capital. The blue rectangle indicates the modern city, the green rectangle indicates the current village, and the red line indicates the modern coastline.

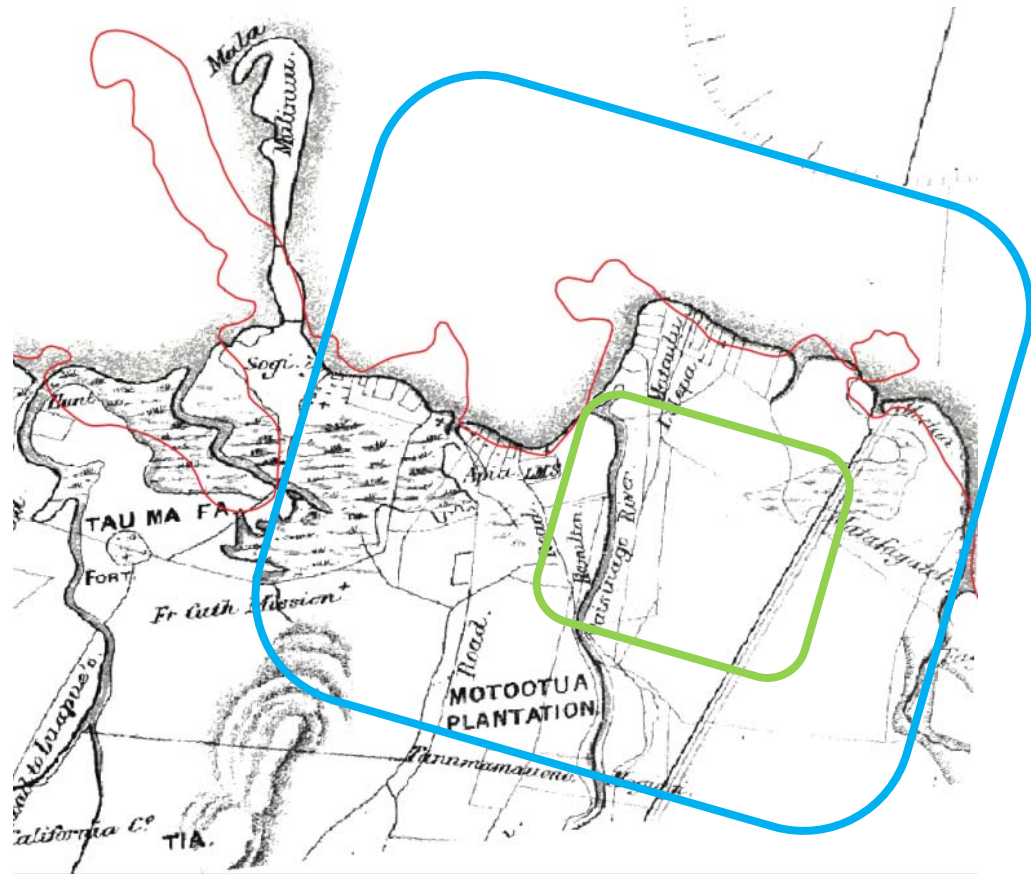


Figure 3: 2019 Building Footprint of the greater Apia area.



By the early 1800s, as more and more European beachcombers settled around Apia Harbour, key power shifts had taken place in the village. The *ali'isili* of Apia, and key interlocuter with foreign brokers, was Seumanutafa Moepogai. In the oral histories of Apia, Seumanutafa is identified as one of the Alo o Sina, along with his brother To'omalatai. According to legend, the two brothers originated in Savai'i. They were hunting pigeons and found their way to Apia one day, where they encountered the Faletolu. Upon inquiry, the Faletolu, seeing the advantage of an entrée into a new political network, invited Seumanutafa and To'omalatai to reside in their village and serve as paramount chiefs.

In contrast, the Faletolu took upon themselves *tu'afale* positions. The brothers agreed, and the Faletolu positioned them in central Apia and Mata'utu, respectively, where they remain. The shifting political landscape of Samoa, driven by powerful alliances and wars, also shifted power dynamics in Apia, making space for other families to reside in Apia, including Vaigalepa of Alaoa, and Tamaseu and Faualo,

who represent ancient ties to the Aiga Salevalasi. A good indication of the evolution of power in Apia is seen in the post-contact *fa'alupega*(1981), and Church records from before the colonial era (LMS records from 1892-1898), which reflect ties to both pre and post-contact eras. Today, the *nu'umavae* of Apia, located in the proverbial centre of the Capital, is governed collectively by ali'i chiefs Seumanutafa and Tamaseu and tulafale ali'i Tuiletufuga.

Figure 4: List of Apia chiefs in 1892, the year the LMS Apia church was erected.

NAMES OF APIA CHIEFS WHEN THE CHURCH WAS BUILT :

1.	Seumanutafa	-	Moepogai
2.	Tamaseu	-	Puputolo
3.	Tuiletufuga	-	Fa'ataui
4.	Leta'a	-	Sulu
5.	Fa'aolesa	-	Kakopau
6.	Amituana'i	-	Sitione
7.	Faualo	-	Tuvao
8.	Lealasola	-	Tifa'i
9.	Limu	-	Aitofele
10.	Lima	-	Pua'aefu
11.	Sauni	-	Futia
12.	Falasi'i	-	Fa'aletomu
13.	Nunu	-	Tuafale
14.	Aulia	-	Levita

The name Apia, from which the capital borrows its name, is a contraction of the village's original name, attributed to several pre-historic events. Turner (1884) records the name Apitia about the decimation of a fleet from Manono buried at Tanugamanono, which drove part of the community to settle near the bay. According to village lore, the name Apia is short for Apitiaolefaga, a designation reflecting the popularity of Apia harbour as a resting place for travelling parties as they boated around Upolu and to the neighbouring islands, often calling into Apia Harbor for rest and refuelling (Nelson 1925, Tiffany 1979, Pitt 1970). The name's origin story was detailed in a song composed for and performed by the village at Samoa's Independence celebrations in 2017 (Apia Village 2017).

*E talalasi Samoa i le mafuaaga o nisi o afioaga
Ona o tala o le vavau ma mea natutupui le soifuaga
E fa'apenasio'unu'ufa'aofogase'ioufa'amatala
Apia ualauiloa ae pemaifealonamafuaaga*

*Apitiaolefaganafomaiaia o lo'uigoa
Ona o a'usafai ma apitaga o e malagamaii Samoa
O motu o le Pasefikafa'apeaisiatunu'utetele
E mapumaiilo'ufaga ma apitiaailo'ueleele*

*Finagalo tama le suialoa le igoaia Apia
Fa'amanatuaolo'ueleelesafai ma apitaga
Lea uafilifilia e Samoa e fai ma onalaumua
Lo'umatupalapala lea ua to mai e o'oi le gataaga*

The Making of a Capital:

The interactions between Samoans and their neighbouring kin from Tonga and Fiji had been established centuries before the first Europeans arrived at their shores (Barnes and Hunt 2005). The first European navigator to describe in writing the islands of Samoa was Dutch navigator Joseph Roggeveen in 1721. The multiple waves of Europeans to the Pacific region included whalers, sailors, Christian missionaries, and colonialism that eventually led to islands being exposed to new ideologies, Western capitalism, Christianity, and more *papalagi* (cloud bursters or sky-breakers, white men) (Henry 1980:162; Meleisea 1987:42). Whalers and beachcombers were common throughout the Pacific, but it was not until after the arrival of John Williams of the London Missionary Society in 1830 at Sapapalii, Savaii in Samoa that "development" and modernisation started through Christian teachings and the spread of the Gospel throughout the Samoan Islands.

The village of Apia on the northeast coast of Upolu had a natural break in the outer reef that allowed access and convenience "for vessels seeking only a temporary anchorage and refreshment" (Burgoyne 2006: 32; Wilkes 1845:116). Burgoyne (2006) suggests that in pre-European contact Samoa, Apia's interactions with neighbouring villages and districts were extensive. John Williams describes Apia

harbour as "spacious and convenient and safe, easy of access and egress and will no doubt become a place much visited by whalers as soon as it is known and as soon as it is deemed safe to anchor among the Islanders" (Williams & Moyle 1984: 168). Williams writes that Apia chiefs had requested more foreign ships to anchor in Apia. Williams' responded to the request by chiefs by stating, "I was perfectly willing so to do, but English captains would ask me about the Chief whether he was of our religion [Christianity] or no and I should reply no he is Devolo [tevolo]" (Moyle 1984: 168). Christian missionaries, mainly the LMS, exposed the Samoan islands to explorers and traders through their reports and journal updates to their headquarters in London. Apia on Upolu and Pago Pago harbour in American Samoa would begin to receive more whaling ships by 1836. It was not until the mid-1840s that Apia would become more popular and develop into a commercial port and centre of European settlement (Gilson 1970: 144). With two prominent Protestant missionaries in Samoa at the time, namely the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Wesleyan Missionary, exposure of Samoa and mainly Apia as a "port town" would become the new normal. With the influx of foreigners into Samoa, the first port regulations were set in 1838-1839 to set rules for those coming to Samoa and for Samoans. The port codes would implement port fees, prohibit liquor trade and impose curfews to protect 'the poor Samoan people' from Western influence (Gilson 1970: 146-148). By the 1850s, the Apia harbour had become a major port in the South Pacific, similar to Papeete in Tahiti and Levuka in Fiji (Meleisea 1987:76).

Political reorganisation became a priority for Apia in the early 1850s because of the presence of European settlers, visiting sailors, and Samoans from various districts. The London Missionary Society too had a strong presence in Apia as well. According to Davidson, a 'mixed court' was organised in Apia between the British and American consuls and principal chiefs (Davidson 1967:42). The American and British interests had grown in the mid-1850s, and Apia was recognised in the region as an important supply and trade centre (Pringle 1989: 14). It was not long after, in 1857 that the German company JC Godeffroy & Sohn established their copra operations in Samoa and they expanded quickly throughout the islands. With large plantations also came laborers from neighbouring German colonies in Meleanesia. Meleisea (1987) writes that within Apia, Samoan chiefs of Apia "no longer had any control over the Apia municipal area" (77) with the rise of foreigners. Local business owners started shops, saloons and hotels to cater for the increase of foreign traders and business owners. Government buildings would eventually be centred along the beach.

With the rise of foreign settler interests in the Samoan islands, Apia became known as a 'little Cairo' and 'hell of the Pacific' because of the foreign community and their 'unruly, disreputable' actions (Gilson 1970: 179). Visiting naval commanders and missionaries were criticised and were ashamed for 'setting examples of immorality by gambling, drinking, and double-dealing in all shapes' (Gilson 1970:179). During this transitional period of Apia, Samoa continued to experience civil wars, with the highest titles pushing for power and using the foreign influence of the Germans, Americans and British in Samoa to help support their efforts.

In 1879 a Municipal Convention was signed to provide a legal framework for a consular-controlled Municipal Board that would exercise its jurisdiction over the foreign settlers and Samoan residents from east of Vaiala to Sogi on the west (Gilson 1970: 361; Burgoyne 2006: 70-71). Although Samoans had sovereignty over the islands, Apia became a self-governing enclave as a 'neutral territory.' Protecting Samoan lands and upholding settler economic and political interests in Apia became the ultimate priority of the convention. In 1889, the three powers nearly went to war with seven warships anchored in Apia harbour to provide military support to their respective nations. The night before the battle, a great hurricane capsized all but one ship, with 146 sailors recorded as having died. The people of Apia are credited for rescuing some of the men in the ocean at the time. High Chief Seumanutafa ordered Samoans to rig a rescue line and gradually brought to shore the men stranded at sea. One author writes, "it was only now that white men began to get an insight into the character of the people they were making war against and whose country they were despoiling" (McCarron 1907:20). A treaty was eventually signed in Berlin in 1889 that recognised Samoan monarchy and restricting Western power to the Apia area (Holmes 1974: 14).

Apia's Colonial History:

Western colonialism came to Samoa in multiple waves. Still, it was not until the signing of the 1899 Tripartite Convention that the three colonial powers (Germany, the United States, and Great Britain) agreed to divide the islands of Samoa. Germany mainly occupied the western islands of Upolu, Savaii, Apolima and Manono to use the flat lands to grow their copra, cocoa, cotton, and rubber plantations. The United States controlled the eastern island of Tutuila and later the Manu'a Islands, mainly for the highly desired Pago Pago harbour. The move by the US to occupy Tutuila was a strategic military move ideal for a coaling station (Faleomavaega 1994: 113). Great Britain relinquished its ties to Samoa for German-claimed lands in parts of the Pacific

and Africa. Dr. Wilhelm Solf became Governor of German Samoa. Solf was not new to Samoa as he served the Apia Municipality's executive officer. He controlled the Apia area and took advantage of any opportunity to reduce the royal power and any chiefly title in Samoa. Establishing the Lands and Titles Commission to oversee disputes related to lands and chiefly titles became one method used by Solf to reduce chiefly authority. Germans had a strong presence in the Apia area with plantation headquarters and offices in Sogi and a clinic and hospital. Fortunately for Samoa, there was no strong military presence. Pringle records Apia's physical landscape changing with the Apia Hospital's construction in 1902, the Apia Courthouse in 1903, the Native School in Malifa in 1907, Office of Native Affairs in Mulinu'u in 1909. Under the Germans, two religious landmarks were built in Apia, the Wesleyan Church in Matafele (1900) and the Catholic cathedral in 1905. Eustis' biography of Apia's favourite daughter, Aggie Grey, writes about how European bandstands were built along Apia Beach Road to welcome warships visiting Samoa (Eustis 1979: 42). In addition to the splendid architectural designs, the legacy of Germans was in multiple Samoan families that bore the last names of Germans who settled and lived in Samoa, mainly in Apia.

Powerful Samoan chiefs like Mataafa Iosefo had their titles reduced in the new administration under the new German Governor. As *AliiSili* (paramount Chief), Mataafa Iosefo took instructions from Solf. The *tupusili* (paramount king) was given to the Emperor in Germany. Mulinu'u peninsula is also part of Apia but was the seat of the Samoan Government before 1900 and remained the seat of the Government even today. A burial place for Samoan kings and high chiefs, Mulinu'u was flying a new flag of allegiance. The German Administration were eventually challenged by Samoan chiefs from Savaii and their kin at Mulinu'u. Specifically, famed orator Lauaki Namulauulu and his supporters started the *Mau a Pule*, the "opposition movement of Savaii" that challenged German laws and mainly the removal of Samoan authority. As a result, Lauaki and his supporters were exiled to the German Pacific colony in Saipan, Micronesia.

With the beginning of the First World War in Europe in 1914, Samoa would soon have a new colonial experience. Without any force, New Zealand, under the Expeditionary Force, occupied the western islands of Samoa under Colonel Logan. Samoa immediately became a military government under New Zealand. The British Flag was raised at the courthouse in Apia to officially indicate the relinquishing of German power in the islands to the world. Unlike the Germans, New Zealand had no profit motive in its administration (Meleisea 1987: 132). Before the office mandate system of 1919, the new administration occupied the former German colony on a

"caretaker basis" (Campbell 2005: 50). Apia remained a central hub for business, trading, education and education and urbanisation within the Samoan islands. Not long after the military took over, Samoa experienced a considerable population that died of the influenza epidemic of 1918 under the poor leadership of New Zealand administrators, resulting in the death of nearly twenty per cent of the Samoan population. The local community and Samoans had to adjust to the new laws and regulations administered by the New Zealand administration. In January 1920, the League of Nations officially administered Western Samoa as a mandate territory under the League of Nations. Around the same time, a 'Citizen's Community' in Apia was formed, comprising the European community and *afakias* a platform to present their grievances to the new Government.

The 1920s and 1930s became known as turbulent times in Samoa. Local Samoans began to voice their issues with the New Zealand administration. Not only were Samoan chiefs reduced in their authority, but Samoans remained voiceless in the changes within Samoa. One prime example was in 1923 when Major George Richardson established a model native village of Lepea on the outskirts of Apia. Apia experienced a substantial infrastructure transformation with seawalls, electric street lighting, new two-storey offices, bridges, market halls, and the change of Catholic and Methodist church buildings. The *Mau* movement, or "opposition" to New Zealand leadership, pushed for "Samoa mo Samoa" or Samoa for Samoans. Under the leadership of Ta'isi Nelson and TupuaTamasese, the *Mau* movement protested the limited authority given to Samoans through enacted laws, the thousands of deaths from the influenza of 1918, and the disregard of Samoan agency through *fa'ate'a* (exile) of paramount chiefs.

World War II became a transitional period for Samoa. After the formation of the United Nations, Samoa took advantage of the opportunity to push for self-determination. Apia became the centre of the discussion between New Zealand administrators and Samoa leaders as Samoa began to prepare for independence. The UNO (United National Organization) arrived in 1947 to a massive crowd of supporters. As a result of the meetings, the Samoan Amendment Act of 1947 was signed to begin the formation of the Government of Western Samoa, and in 1959, Samoa chose its first prime minister and prepared for independence in 1962. At the seat of Government in Apia, Mulinu'u, the Joint Head of State, Malietoa Tanumafili II, and TupuaTamaseseMea'ole raised the Samoan flag at Samoa's Independence ceremony.

Apia today:

Apia today is a bustling town with shops, grocery stores, markets, restaurants and coffeeshops that have become a popular destination for tourists worldwide. As the national centre of industry, commerce and transportation (Huffer and Soo 2000), Apia provides over 90 per cent of Samoa's paid employment. With development, Apia has seen the rise of new church denominations and problems associated with youth. Although the village of Apia continues to thrive as *anu'umavae*, the changes have resulted in village chiefs dealing with challenges that other villages do not face. Despite the changes, the *nu'usystem* remains at the centre of Apia's physical and cultural life (Huffer and Soo 2000: 87). Samoans flocked to Apia to expose themselves to Western things and to speak English, but also to get a 'good' education.

Figure 5: North facing aerial photograph of Apia town.



Figure 6: Close up aerial photograph of the Project field site.



ARCHAEOLOGY FIELD METHODS

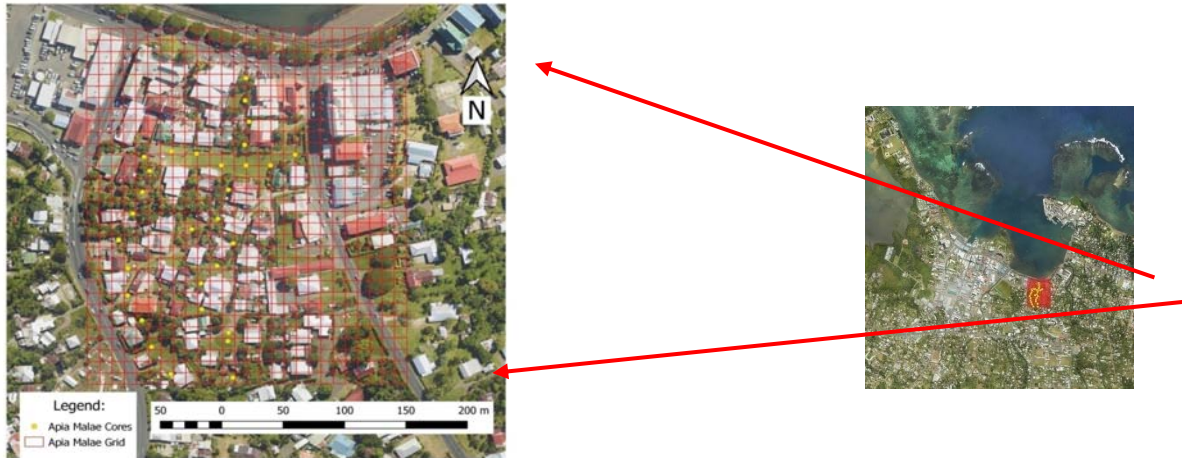
Between October 2018 and February 2019 the Centre for Samoan Studies (CSS) conducted archaeological coring to identify the temporal extent and possible stratigraphy of the village of Apia (see Figures 7&12). Cores were obtained using a hand-driven 10cm diameter circular auger. Cores were collected in arbitrary 10cm levels. Standard procedures were used to recover and describe the cores. The auger was inserted into the ground until a 10cm section of the bucket was filled with sediment and removed. Successive bucket-loads (10 cm sections) of sediment were bagged and labelled for examination at the CSS lab. Coring was continued until a depth of 3mbs [meters below the surface] (the working length of the auger) or until made impossible by impassable sediments and rock (see Figure 8).

Cores were generally placed in E-W and N-S transects (deviation of transit line was due to obstruction by buildings, roadways, etc.). The E-W transect was made across the village malae at the N end of the village (Figure 13). Two transits were made in an N-S direction, one on the west side of the village and the other through the centre of the village (Figure 13). A 10m² grid was laid over the village using QGIS to

track/label cores (Figure7). Core GPS locations were recorded with a Samsung S6 Smartphone, and the location and accuracy of the core locations were verified with MNRE 2015 aerial photos with an accuracy of approximately +-2m.

Lacking the expertise to properly analyse the 490 individual sections collected (Figure8), a small representative sample of each core section was later bagged, labelled and saved for future investigation during processing at CSS. Most of each 10cm core section was wet screened through a 1/8 inch mesh screen, with the resulting non-rock debris also bagged for later expert analysis.

Figure 7: Apia malae cores



HOUSEHOLD DWELLING SURVEY AND ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Household Dwelling Surveys (HDS) and Oral History Interviews(OHI) were the qualitative methods used to collect ethnographic data. Core samples were planned for extraction across a 200 x 300 meter section, including key elements of the Apia village community; the malae, the maota of Seumanutafa and the laoa of Tuiletufuga. As in most Samoan villages, residents have settled and spread out according to their affiliation with these critical structures and families (Van der Ryn 2016). By focusing on households and residents living within the designated central 'block' radiating from the malae, the HDS and OHI were devised to collect data on Apia's architectural and precontact ethnohistory, respectively.

- a. Household Dwelling Surveys –these were 1-page surveys designed to help establish a timeline of architectural development around the malae by specifically soliciting information on the construction of western-style houses as replacements for a fale Samoa, a typical trend in Samoan settlement. Other than the maota and laoa, which are of Samoan design, but made of modern materials, all other residential structures in the survey grid are western style houses. We hoped to date the construction of current homes and extrapolate that data to compare with archival images of the malae to track architectural history. We also created a consent form (Appendix A) and a survey form (Appendix B).

We initially planned to survey 60 Households selected for two reasons. Due to their proximity, first, to the Apia malae, which serves as the epicentre of village events and activities, and second, to the pre-selected core sampling sites. 60 Households were originally identified for the survey. However, our team could only successfully administer 48 HDS.

- b. Oral History Interviews – our team also conducted formal interviews with self-identified long-term residents of Apia who lived directly on the periphery of the malae. We did not set a maximum age for the interviews, but at a minimum, we sought out interlocutors who were at least 40. We hoped these interviews would contribute to a deeper understanding of precontact Apia history. Our questions prompted the interlocutor to any personal knowledge of Apia origin stories, their understanding of Apia's matai hierarchy, significant village auxiliaries and village-specific historical events and legends.

We interviewed 21 individuals ranging in age from 45 to 86. All but two interviewees had genealogical links to the village, while two individuals had married into families from Apia. By the time of the interviews, both individuals had lived in Apia for over 40 years.

RESULTS

RESULTS OF CORING:

Except for slight colour differences, gauged using a Munsell Colour Chart, all cores consisted of alluvial sediments of silty clay loam with only minor variation in composition (Yeo2001). There were two exceptions to the above: 1. the north end of the survey also contained a coastal “sand bar” (50-60m wide); 2. the upper layers across the malae (E-W transit) showed evidence of “landfill” from other locations (varying from 40-100cm deep in some areas close to the malae).

The water table (level) was recorded at approximately 0.8 to 1.5 mbs with an average depth of 1.25m. (see Figure 8). The subsurface water at approximately 1mbs made it challenging to determine if recovered sediments were brought up from penetration of the auger bucket or were coming in from the saturated sidewalls, but the heavy clay content in most samples seemed to indicate that little “cave-in from above” was occurring. These observations seemed to indicate a coastal “sand bar” (50-60m wide) on the north end of the survey and a river flood plain south of the “sand bar”. All core depths were recorded (Fig. 8) with an average depth of 1.9m. Only abbreviated descriptions of each core section were possible as the sediments were mixed due to the method of extraction and were not examined in situ due to a lack of expertise. No faunal, floral or plant microfossil identification has yet been undertaken on the materials recovered. Charcoal was recovered and dated from 3 of the 27 cores taken [7 out of 490 auger core sections of 10cm each contained carbon used for dating] (see Figures 8, 9&10). No recognisable prehistoric cultural artifacts were recovered from the extracted cores.

Figure 8: Core Depth & C-14 Samples (24 cores shown)

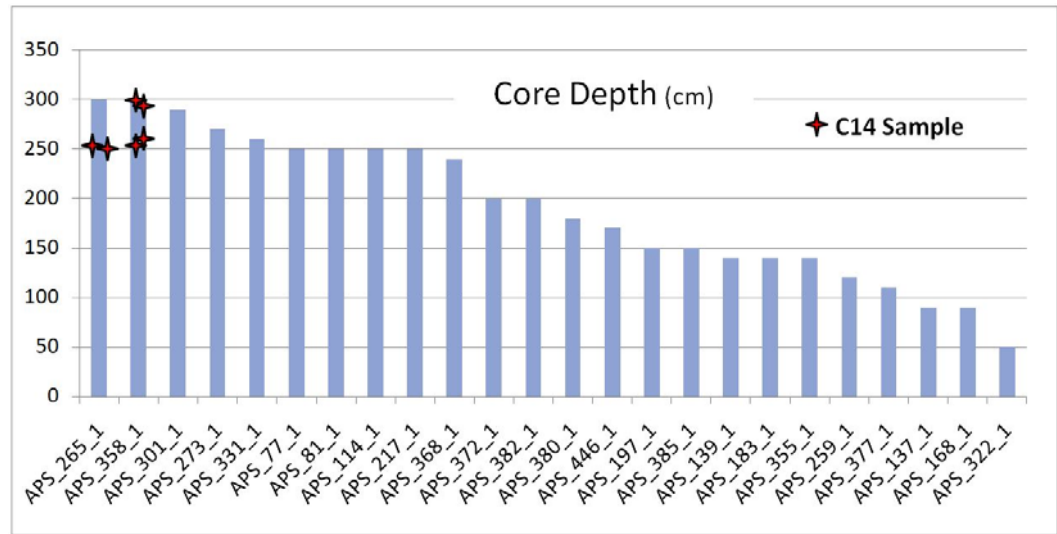


Figure 9: C14 Dates

Core-Layer	Sample #	dC13	F14C %	Radiocarbon determination BP (68.2% Probability)	Approx. AD date	Material
APS 358 Layer 25	Wk-50743	-26.8 0.8	80.1 0.4	1778±36	172 ±36	Wood
APS 265 Layer 23/24	Wk-50738	-27.8 0.8	80.5 0.4	1741±39	209 ±39	Wood
APS 358 Layer 30	Wk-50746	*	80.8 0.1	1713±13	237 ±13	Wood
APS 358 Layer 28	Wk-50745	*	81.3 0.1	1661±14	289 ±14	Wood
APS 265 Layer 23	Wk-50737	-27.5 0.8	81.6 0.4	1630±44	320 ±44	Wood
APS 358 Layer 24	Wk-50741	*	81.8 0.1	1613±13	337 ±13	Wood

Figure 10: C14 Dates

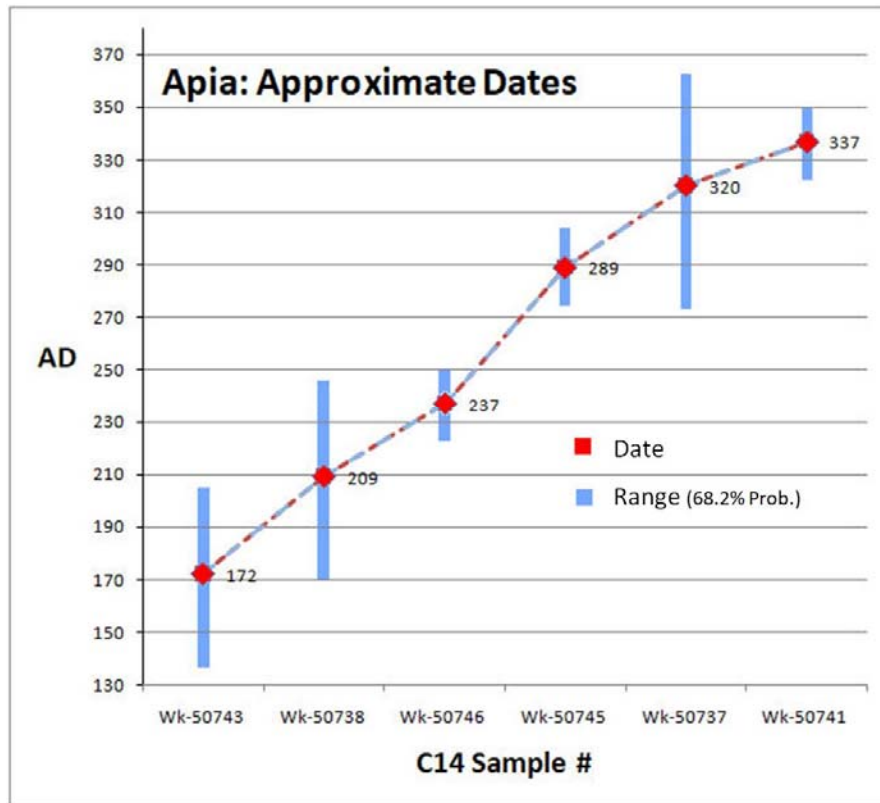


Figure 11: Apia Cores: Basic Data

Previous Designation	Core Depth	Water Depth	Longitude	Latitude	Date Recorded
APS_114_1	250		- 171.763632	- 13.83498278	Feb 2019
APS_137_1	90		- 171.7635413	- 13.83419835	Nov 2018
APS_139_1	140	120	- 171.7634952	- 13.83436514	Oct 2018
APS_168_1	90		- 171.7634609	- 13.83420095	Oct 2018
APS_183_1	140		- 171.763457	- 13.83561925	Feb 2019
APS_197_1	150		- 171.7633013	- 13.83404271	Oct 2018
APS_217_1	250		- 171.7633123	-13.8358402	Feb 2019
APS_259_1	120		- 171.7631124	- 13.83406323	Oct 2018
APS_265_1	300	80	- 171.7631577	- 13.83460259	Oct 2018
APS_273_1	270		- 171.7631227	- 13.83535223	Feb 2019
APS_301_1	290	110	- 171.7630378	- 13.83506475	Nov 2018
APS_304_1	nd		- 171.7630998	- 13.83535118	Nov 2018
APS_322_1	50		- 171.7629265	- 13.83415944	Oct 2018
APS_331_1	260	170	- 171.7629549	-13.8349521	Nov 2018
APS_355_1	140		- 171.7628535	- 13.83427656	Oct 2018
APS_358_1	300	130	- 171.7628371	- 13.83478568	Feb 2019
APS_368_1	240	150	- 171.7628735	- 13.83550816	Nov 2018
APS_369_1	310	220	- 171.7628888	- 13.83558799	Nov 2018
APS_372_1	200		- 171.7628461	- 13.83586954	Feb 2019

APS_377_1	110		- 171.7627869	- 13.83351031	Nov 2018
APS_380_1	180		- 171.7627715	-13.8337322	Nov 2018
APS_382_1	200		-171.76281	- 13.83391837	Nov 2018
APS_385_1	150	130	- 171.7627411	- 13.83420871	Oct 2018
APS_446_1	170		- 171.7625554	- 13.83415927	Oct 2018
APS_77_1	250		- 171.7637208	- 13.83440184	Nov 2018
APS_81_1	250	120	- 171.7637169	- 13.83476468	Feb 2019
APS_87_1	nd		- 171.7636669	-13.8352046	Feb 2019

DISCUSSION/CONCLUSIONS

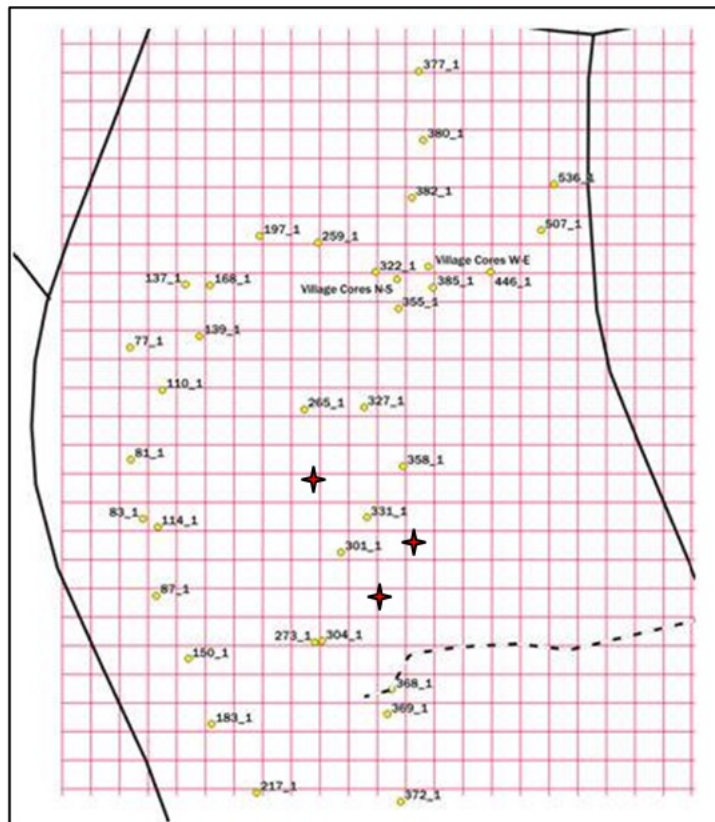
This project had four primary objectives:

1. To answer the question: how old is the Apia malae?

We took core samples across and in the vicinity of the Apia malae, hoping to come across carbon samples that we could date, assuming carbon samples are indicative of human occupation (Gosling2019). One of the most effective direct measures for tracking past human activity is the presence and abundance of ancient (fossil) charcoal found in soils or sediments (Whitlock & Larsen, 2001). The use of charcoal to track past human activity is particularly effective in tropical settings where a natural fire is limited due to either a lack of ignition source or flammability; that is, the appearance of fire is dependent on the arrival of humans (Argiriadis et al., 2018; Huebert& Allen, 2016). We have cores and carbon samples that tell us that at 3 meters deep, there is evidence of human occupation on Upolu, including the Apia area. Core samples at a depth of 2-3 meters have produced datable carbon samples showing the probable presence of human activity in the Apia area before 300 AD. We acknowledge that there is a possibility that carbon could have been washed “downstream” from people living anywhere above the Vailima/Vaisigano watershed, which would correlate with other studies that confirm more concentrated inland settlement before the arrival of Europeans (Davidson 1969, Golson 1957, Watters 1958). All of our samples were

extracted from a depth of 3 meters. Thus, we would need to go lower to determine the actual age of the malae and how long humans have lived there. For now, we have established that the Apia malae was likely used by humans after AD 300.

Figure 12: Apia Core Locations



- Legend:**
 - - - - - Mud Road
 ————— Sealed Road
 ● Core:
 ★ 14

Figure 13: Transits

East-West	
Transit 1 [Apia Malae]	
137 168 197 259 322 355 385 446	
North-South	
Transit 2	Transit 3
[Apia West]	[Apia Center]
137(1	377
68)	380
77(13	382
9)	322
110	385(446)
81	355
83	
114	265(327)
87	358
150	331
183	301
217	273(304)
	368
	369
	372

2. Create a chronology of human activity in the village of Apia before European settlement.

Human activity in the village of Apia before contact was confirmed through carbon samples. Although further research is needed, based on the deepest position of the datable carbon, we postulate that the ground level of Apia was 3 meters lower 1500 years ago and filled in over time. We have dated human activity in Apia to 300 AD, about 1400 years before Europeans arrived. The oral histories collected from Apia residents also confirm that humans, specifically Samoans, were active in and around the Apia malae, with significant transitions in power taking place well before contact. Wars could also have contributed to the changing human landscape of Apia as part of the development of the Vaimauga district and was mentioned by several residents as the origin story of different parts of Apia. The HDS data also indicates that settlement around the Apia malae predated European arrival, with all

respondents confirming that their modern day homes were built on repurposed fale Samoa house platforms, as is the trend in most Samoan villages.

3. Document the precontact history of Apia village and use this data to create a more holistic history of Apia township.

All we can say at this point is that the ground in Apia was lower and has been filled in over time. That area was different than it is now. So we need faunal and floral analysis to supplement, more research is needed, and we hope that others can build on this preliminary research on the occupation of the village of Apia.

4. This data will be provided by PUMA/MNRE, STA and MESC to assist in ongoing/future national heritage management efforts.

This is ongoing, but this data can be highlighted in the narrative supporting the redesign of the waterfront.

Conclusion

The Humans of Apia Project was an opportunity for the Archaeology and Cultural Heritage division at the National University of Samoa to use archaeological and ethnographic approaches to generate data to provide a basic chronology of human habitation in the village of Apia. This is also our first foray into urban archaeology in Independent Samoa. Our students had a hands-on experience in the field, working with the people of Apia to use the sacred space of the malae for dating human activity around the malae, create a chronology of human activity in Apia generally, document its precontact history, and provide data to the Government of Samoa ministries for their information and future urban and developmental planning. Although we expect further archaeological research will be done in the future, our data suggests that humans most likely used the malae as early as approximately AD 300.

This research provides the people of Apia, and Samoa at large, an approximate date of the earliest known period of human habitation of this area. Furthermore, it highlights the sacredness of the space that is interwoven with legends, genealogies, wars, and stories that span hundreds of years and was, and continues to be, integral to the functioning of a vibrant and active Samoan village and community. With many developments in the Apia area, this research will highlight the centuries of human contact that should be recognised in a developing and more 'modern

Samoa', even before the arrival of foreigners. This research is part of an ongoing objective of preserving and celebrating cultural heritage in Samoa. For Samoans, the malae remain these sacred spaces worth preserving and keeping as a nu'umavae.

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Appendix A

Oral History Consent Form

Project title: Humans of Apia: Building a chronology of human activity in the nu'u mavae of Apia

Interviewee: _____

Address: _____

Contact number(s): _____ Email: _____

Interviewer: _____

Thank you for your participation and your willingness to share your historical memories and/or knowledge. By signing the form below, you are giving your permission to the interviewer/interviewers named below to interview you by video and/or audio recording, and to use your interview as part of a research paper and/or project, which may be eventually incorporated into a public internet site or documentary film. The video and/or audio recording of your interview will be archived in digital form at the National University of Samoa's Centre for Samoan Studies for future viewing and may be displayed, in full or in part, on a public internet site and/or in a film. We ask that you sign this form to acknowledge that you transfer all rights, title, and interest to this interview to make it available for researchers for current and future use.

Additionally, by signing this form, you agree to allow your interview to be used in the event that the faculty member and/or student and/or research team conducting this interview may desire to produce a resulting research paper, research article, website, and/or film, and that any of these productions may be entered in a competition or film festival. You acknowledge and agree that this interview (or portions thereof) may be publicly shown on television or in a theater or other forum. The archived copy of the video and/or audio of this interview will or may also be available on a public internet site for use, with appropriate citation, in the research of future scholars and/or students.

The Centre for Samoan Studies greatly appreciates your participation in this oral history project.

I agree to the uses of my interview as described above.

Name of Interviewee (printed)

Name of Interviewee (signed)

Date

Appendix B

Household Dwelling Survey

Dwelling code #: _____

Recorder: _____ Date: _____

Type of dwelling:

- Falesamoa _____
- Western style house _____
- Government office building _____
- Church _____
- Other _____

What are the main materials used for the roof/wall/floor:

	ROOF	WALLS	FLOOR
Brick			
Cement blocks			
Corrugated iron			
Wood			
Plastic			
Mix of mud/cement			
Tile			
Carpet			
Linoleum			
Stone			
Thatching			
Leaves			
Asbestos			
Other			

How many rooms does the dwelling have? _____

How many walls does the dwelling have? _____

How many doors does the dwelling have? _____

Does the household own this dwelling? _____

What year was the dwelling built? _____

Did the existing dwelling replace another dwelling? _____

Who built the dwelling? _____

A Short Account of the Long History of Chiefly Female Leadership in Sāmoa

Penelope Schoeffel and Mālama Meleiseā, National University of Sāmoa

Abstract

There are many accounts of great female chiefs in Samoa's ancient narratives and genealogies, and 19th century ethnographies and memoirs by missionaries and other foreigners residing in Samoa. Why then have so few women stood for election or won seats in Samoa's parliament since Samoa's Independence in 1962? This account will examine this question in the three contexts. Firstly, we consider the pre-Christians status of Samoan women and how ancient cultural practices associated with marriage shaped missionary beliefs that forms of Christianity based on Victorian era cultural norms would rescue Samoan women from degradation; second we point to Samoan cultural notions of power and authority, their transformations under Christianity, and their influence on contemporary political attitudes to gender. Finally we review Samoa's response to the international agendas of 'gender and development' and 'the empowerment of women' that contributed to Sāmoa making legal provisions that women must hold at least ten percent of seats in parliament. In these contexts we consider Prime Minister Fiamē Naomi Matā'afa's leadership and the unusual circumstances that arose during the recent constitutional with regards to the 'ten percent' provision.

Keywords: Women, politics, parliament, Samoa

Women with Power

Among the many international media stories on Samoa's 2021 constitutional crisis, and about Samoa's new Prime Minister Fiamē Naomi Matā'afa, a CNN report (Hollingsworth, 2021) mentioned that when, as an unmarried woman at the age of 20, her title Fiamē was conferred upon her, it was "a highly unusual situation in Samoa, where women are expected to become wives, and the vast majority of matai titles are held by men." While this is generally true today, in ancient Sāmoa there were many prominent women leaders. What changed?

Fiamē is not only the daughter of Samoa's first prime Minister, Matā'afa Fiamē Faumuina Mulinu II and one of its first female member of parliament La'ulu Fetauimalemau Mataafa, but belongs to Samoa's highest ranking lineages which were founded by women in approximately the 16th century; Levālasi So'oaimalelagi, her niece Salamāsina, and Salamāsina's daughters Sina and Taufau. Other great women of ancient Sāmoa are remembered as supernatural beings, notably the

warrior goddess Nafanua who, in approximately the 17th century, decreed a new political order in Sāmoa that prevailed until the 1830s (Schoeffel, 1987). The recognition of great women chiefs continued well into the late 19th century; for example William Brown Churchward (who had been British Consul to Sāmoa in the 1880s) recalled, in his memoir meeting a woman who was deferred to by the male chiefs because, as they told Churchward (1887), she was "... the highest in the district by birth, being, as was said, descended from the ancient gods ...". However, by the 20th century new Christian religious values had eclipsed the old values that validated female chieftainship. The English missionaries who founded the Christian churches in the early nineteenth century taught that all persons were equal in God's eyes and disapproved of the loose marital ties and polygamous or polyandrous practices among those of chiefly rank. They believed that by adopting the Christian faith, the status of Samoan women would be elevated, as John Williams, the pioneer missionary to Sāmoa, wrote:

I prayed that by the blessing of God upon our labours, the day might speedily arrive when these interesting females should be elevated from this terrible degradation, and, by the benign influence of Christianity, be raised to dignity of companionship with their husbands (Williams 1845: 91)

The "Terrible Degradation"

There were three reasons why 19th century missionaries believed that Samoan women were degraded: the impermanence of the married state; the testing of a bride's virginity; and the practice of allowing sexual license to all but the highest ranking virgins at night dances (*poula*) when a village received a visiting party from another village.

The public testing of virginity has often been misunderstood as a verification of the bride's virtue but should instead be understood as a gift from the bride's lineage to that of the groom and his lineage. When a chief married, the virginity of his aristocratic bride was the most important of the treasures she brought with her as marriage gifts, which in chiefly virgin girls (*taupou*) chosen for their ancestry, was carefully guarded from their age of puberty until first marriage when they were about 15 years of age. The central rite of the chiefly marriage ceremony was her public defloration, which most missionary observers found too disgusting to record in detail, although the practice was fully described by several mid-19th century foreign observers. The chiefly groom or, in the case of the highest-ranking chiefs, his orator, ruptured the hymen of the bride, using the fingers. The onlookers from the bride's and the groom's districts sang songs and rejoiced that the way had been opened for the creation of a chiefly child combining the *mana* of its parents'

ancestral gods. The elliptical marks that are still drawn on the cheeks of Samoan girls dressed as *taupou* and young men dressed as *manaia*² are contemporary echoes of this ancient practice. Ritual defloration was not merely reserved for chiefly marriages, but was widely practiced for young women of all ranks: according to John Williams it was also:

“... common for young women to be publicly deprived of their virginity by a young respectable Chief in the same way as in the marriage ceremony. This is considered an honor & no person objects to marry a young woman who has been thus treated. The Chief who ruptures the Hymen will frequently give the young woman a great name which will gain her respectability but I suspect the reason why this singular custom prevails is the young females are tired of submitting to the restraints their virginity imposes on them & being thus honorably deprived of their virginity they have full liberty to gratify their wishes & also escape the disgrace of being looked upon as common prostitutes. (Moyle, 1984)

Williams, acute observer although he was, did not understand that the emulation of this chiefly practice by those of lower rank as an assertion of the girl's high status was more akin to middle class English Victorian era families aping what they took to be aristocratic behaviors, often wittily depicted in the novels of Anthony Trollope. In ancient Samoa those ranked as *ali'i* were held to be the earthly manifestations of the gods, an exalted class who maintained their status through endogamous marriage within a network of ancestrally connected aristocratic families spanning the Samoan archipelago. The objective of chiefly marriage was a mating to create a new chiefly lineage. The term *usu* used in the standard formula of Samoan genealogies indicates the primacy of the sexual union; for example '*sa usu Tui Manu' a ia Sina*'—'Tui Manu'a conquered/had sexual intercourse with Sina' (Milner, 1966: 304). Men and some women of the highest ranks were expected to enter into a series of unions, as many as possible, with the object of begetting a child to link their lineages and polities to others of importance. Williams instructed the Tahitian and Rarotongan missionaries he had brought to teach the Samoans that while they should not ban all traditional amusements, they must advise the chiefs to prohibit "...those dances that were manifestly obscene such as dancing naked, singing their filthy songs & such like. (Moyle, 1984: 125). The "filthy" practices Williams condemned were integral to the prevailing political and moral order. As Williams observed on several occasions in 1830 and 1832, dances were held when a party from one village visited another for courtship or marriage ceremonies. Williams found most Samoan dancing quite unobjectionable, including those performed at night. What shocked him were dances he said the Samoans called *sa'e*³ (Moyle, 1984:

² Manaia is the term for sons of highly ranked ali'i

³ In this context sa'e refers to the exposure of the thighs.

246-47) which were competitive erotic performances held at night between the young people of host and guest polities, typically in conjunction with the rites of chiefly courtship and marriage, and undoubtedly intended to encourage sexual encounters between ordinary young men and women from different and often distant polities. In Samoan morality, sexual encounters and marriage within a local polity (*nu'u*) was undesirable, even improper. Accordingly, spouses should be found outside, from other polities. Consistent with the Samoan principle of *feagaiga* young men and women from the same village were ideally as brothers and sisters to one another (Schoeffel 1985, Tcherkezoff, 1993). Marriage and sexual unions within the village were disruptive of its social hierarchy and moral order, and also defeated the purpose of marriage for the creation of wide-ranging alliances. Accordingly, when chiefs went travelling for courtship and marriage, so did their followers; the ensuing chiefly rites provided a venue for two or more polities to come together in an atmosphere of supernaturally charged sexual licence. Each young man went out hoping to sexually "conquer" a young women from a rival polity, perhaps to bring her home to serve his family and bear his children, at least for as long as he could hold her.

Christian Conjuality

The missionary ideal was of monogamous Christian conjuality and so the roles of women in Sāmoa were revised, so that they became their husband's helpmates instead of their brother's sacred sisters. This accorded with Victorian British ideals in the 19th century, at a time when married English women lacked rights to control property, or to vote in elections, let alone play a leading role in religious rites. Village pastors of the Congregational and Methodist churches, and Catholic priests soon took the place of sacred chiefs as the earthly representatives of God. In the new Christian order of the founding churches women were held to be secondary creations whose divinely ordained purpose was to be wives and mothers. As Meleisea (1995) and Tcherkezoff (2000) have explained, the matai system of Sāmoa today is a late 19th century patriarchal revision of the ancient system of chieftainship. Only recently have women been given matai titles⁴ in this system.

⁴A matai is a person holding a title, (often glossed as 'chief') usually the name of an ancestor, bestowed by his (or her) family. Matai are ranked hierarchically in the villages with which they are associated, based on the ancestral traditions of that village. There two order of matai; ali'i (chiefs) and tulāfale (orators)

Power and Authority in Ancient Samoa

In pre-Christian Sāmoa there was a distinction between *mana* (power) and *pule* (authority) in the Weberian sense of these terms, and a complementarity between them. As Meleiseā (1987) pointed out, the *ali'i* were once the earthly manifestations of ancestral gods and their powers were imbued with the supernatural. Many 19th century observers were mystified by the fact that all the political wheeling and dealing appeared to be done by orators (*tulafale* or *faleupolu*) instead of by the most highly ranked chiefs. This was because the orators exercised *pule* that was legitimized by the *mana* of their *ali'i*. Generally, like their male counterparts, chiefly women had *mana*, but more rarely *pule* (see Gunson 1987). In the 19th century conversion to Christianity *mana* was transferred to God (and nowadays the term refers exclusively to 'the grace of God'), and thereby to the churches and their ministers who are now as latter-day sacred chiefs, while the *ali'i* have become secularized. Therefore in Sāmoa it is asserted that political authority is God-given, God's *mana* legitimizes chiefly *pule*. This is expressed in the saying '*Ua tofia e le Atua Sāmoa ia pulea e matai*' (God appointed *matai* to rule over Samoa). When a *matai* title is bestowed, it is given with a blessing from a church minister. The idea that formal authority is sanctioned by God is exemplified by the name chosen by the new ruling political party *Fa'atuatua I Le Atua Sāmoa ua Tasi*- FAST (Sāmoa united in faith in God). The Samoan belief that authority is sanctioned by God's will may help to contextualize statements by the outgoing Prime Minister Tuilaepa of Sāmoa reported in the media (Otago Daily Times and New Zealand Herald, 14 May 2021) to the effect that he was appointed by God. It also explains why, since the time when Samoans became Christian, women have tended to be excluded from the political sphere; the ministers and churches have God's *mana*, while the *matai* and village councils have *pule*, the authority to make and enforce village by-laws and guard its customs, and parliament has the *pule* to make laws.

Contemporary Status of women

Today most Samoan women have dual status; as a wife they are subordinate to their husband and to his family if she lives with them (the common practice for most married women), A woman living with her husband's family (*nofo tane*) has no voice in his family matters or in his village, except in those responsibilities delegated to in-married women in the village woman's committee or church fellowship, such as keeping the village⁵ and the church clean and beautified, and raising funds for

⁵ In the period 1930-1980 women's committees were also responsible for public health promotion.

various activities. Sometimes, if a man resides in his wife's family (*faiavā*), his wife will ask for him to be given a family title to represent her and their children. A woman's status rises with that of her husband and she is entitled to a more important role among women when her husband is bestowed with a *matai* title, especially if the title is highly ranked. In most villages the leaders of village and church women's groups are the wives of its highest ranking *matai*.

In contrast, as sisters, Samoan women are supposed to be shown particular respect by their brothers and their brother's wives according to the *feagaiga* relationship (Schoeffel, 1995), which was imbued with supernatural power in pre-Christian Samoa. It is now the echoes of ancient concepts of *mana*, that a sister should be 'sacred' to her brother, in the sense that she should be protected and honored by him and her wishes obeyed on matters concerning her birth-family such as the bestowal of *matai* titles, family rights in the community and over land, and in ceremonial matters. The *feagaiga* is still honored in some villages such as Saoluafata and Leulumoega due to remembrance of their great chiefly women of the past; as the daughters of the village; the sisters of its *matai* enjoy special respect as the *aualuma* or *tama'ita'i*; the leaders in women's affairs. (These villages also have women's committees composed of in-married women who are responsible for public health and cleanliness). In old Samoa the daughters of the village had their own house, to which they were admitted at puberty. The daughter or the highest ranking *ali'i*, the *taupou*, resided there with her attendants and older women who had once themselves been the *taupou*.

Today the importance of women's associations in village governance has declined considerably since the 1980s when the village women's committees were de-linked from the public health nursing services in the Ministry of Health. This occurred due to policy changes under which nurses no longer went out to villages to oversee health education, maternal and child health, and public hygiene; instead people in villages sought advice and treatment from the nearest health center or district hospital, or if they had the means to do so, went to the outpatient clinics at the main hospitals on Upolu and Savaii. The institutional arrangements linking the women's committees to the central government have changed several times in response to the government's interest in obtaining funds for 'women and development', an aid donor priority which emphasized the inclusion of women in economic development programmes. In the 1980s women's committees were linked to the Prime Minister's Department and the Ministry of Agriculture for women in development projects, which emphasized income generation rather than public health, but responsibility was later transferred to the Women's Division of the Ministry of Women Social and Community Development (MWSCD) which was established in 1991. Since that time

the aid donor focus has been on ‘gender in development’ which has a focus on women’s legal equality and equal political representation (Schoeffel, 2016).

Women and Matai Titles

Only matai may stand for election to parliament and in 1960s there were few women matai, mostly women who has been among the first to hold university degrees or other professional qualifications. By the 1970s more families began to bestow matai titles on women, usually to honor their financial contributions to their families, made possible by their educational and career achievements or overseas earnings and remittances. One of the historical changes in relation to chiefly power and authority is that many matai, many of them women, as well as men and women who live in town or overseas, concern themselves only with their extended families and do not engage with the governance of the villages to which those titles belong. Research in 2014-15 investigated the reason why few women participate in village government, as well holding seats in the national parliament. It found that few women living in villages hold matai titles and of those, even fewer are member of the governing village councils. About nineteen villages in Sāmoa did not recognize a matai title if was held by a women, even though this is not a consensus view in those villages. As discussed above, the normal practice is for women to take the status of their husband in the community, and for men to represent their wives. Accordingly, bestowal of a *matai* title on a woman is not necessarily given in the expectation that she will concern herself with village government or politics. The system of traditional village government in Sāmoa limits women’s access to and participation in decision-making forums in local government councils, church leadership, school management and community-based organisations. The most common obstacle to women’s voice in local government is that of the very few female matai living in villages, even fewer sit in the village councils. Their absence reinforces public perceptions—even religious beliefs—that a married women should take her status from her husband and that decision-making in the public sphere is a male prerogative, not only in the village councils, but also in the church, in village school committees, and by extension, in national parliament. Without significant participation in leadership decision-making at the village level, it is difficult for women to become—or to be seen as—national leaders (Meleisea et. al. 2015).

Women and Parliamentary Elections

In a post-election study in 2016, Fiti-Sinclair interviewed 24 women who, out of a total of 164 candidates, stood for the 2016 elections. There has been no change to

the proportions of women elected to parliament since independence which has consistently remained low; the largest number being five women, elected in 1996, 2006 and 2021. The largest number of women who have ever stood for parliament was 24 in 2016 and 2006, in each case following a campaign urging women to stand. Since 1961 most of the women who won seats were unmarried or widowed and those who were married had husbands who were urban part-Samoans or non-Samoans.

Analysis of the characteristics of women who won seats in 2016 (Fiti-Sinclair and Schoeffel, 2017) showed that they had certain shared attributes. Strong family support and participation in their village council at the time of the election appears to have been important for electoral success, as was membership of one of the mainstream churches (Congregational, Catholic or Methodist) in the electorate. Most of those who won seats had attained post-secondary levels of education and had a career background in government or business. The majority held *ali'i* rather than *tulāfale* titles. All were of a 'mature' age (over 40).⁶

In 2013 the government of Sāmoa passed an amendment to the Electoral Act which guaranteed women ten percent of seats in parliament, which at that time was five seats. If fewer than five women are elected, the women candidates who did not win a seat, but who scored the highest number of votes will be appointed. In the 2016 elections 24 women out of a total of 164 candidates stood and four of them won seats including Fiamē, who was elected unopposed, as she was in 2021. The legislative change allowed an additional woman to be appointed to a seat in parliament, thus increasing the number of Parliamentarians from 49 to 50. The party parity model (see Baker, 2019) that places the onus on parties to preselect woman candidates was not considered when the Act was amended because until 2021 Samoa's political parties did not pre-select a single candidate for each electorate prior to elections; members of the same party stand against one another in the same electorates. Every matai title is associated with a particular village and each electorate comprises many villages, which tend to compete with one another to win the seat for one of their own. The system has thus always favored candidate from the most populous villages. In urban areas only those who are permanently resident there may vote in the two urban electorates. All others aged over 21 years must vote in an ancestral village that they nominate at registration. The fact that FAST preselected its candidates in most electorates in the 2021 election and HRPP did not is likely to have been a major factor in the FAST victory.

The main driver of the ten percent rule was not public sentiment but pressure on the government of Sāmoa by international agencies to honour its commitments to

⁶ An analysis of the characteristics of the five women who won seats in 2021 has not been done yet.

women's equality (Schoeffel, 2020). Sāmoa is a party to the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) without reservations, and committed to the 2000-2015 Millennium Development (MDG) Goal 3: 'to promote gender equality and women's empowerment', for which one of the indicators is the number of parliamentary seats held by women, as well as Goal 5 of the 2016-2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to: "Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life."

The women's seats became politically significant in 2021. In the elections that year the new FAST party won the majority of parliamentary seats (26 with the support of an Independent) but the previously long-dominant HRPP party claimed to hold an equal number of seats by invoking the ten percent provision. Five women won seats, but HRPP said that ten percent equates to six women as there were by then 51 seats in parliament, following a revision of electoral boundaries in the period 2016-2021. HRPP appointed Ali'imalemanu Alofa Tu'uau, who qualified under the Act and who had been an MP under the ten percent provision in the previous parliament. This gave HRPP 26 seats. At the time it was widely believed in Sāmoa that the HRPP leader Tuilaepa intended to use the 'hung parliament' situation that this could have created as a reason to re-run the elections. Had he succeeded, it would have allowed him to exclude losing HRPP candidates from standing again and to take advantage of the fact that, by numbers, HRPP had won the highest number of votes (albeit split between rival candidates). This might have made it possible to defeat FAST in a new election. However it was not to be, a re-run of the election was disallowed by the Court. The appointment of a sixth woman to parliament was contested by FAST and the matter went to the Court of Appeal in June 2021. The Court agreed with HRPP that ten percent did equate to six women but Ali'imalemanu's appointment was not legally upheld until after by-elections resulting from appeals upheld by the Court. These gave FAST a clear parliamentary majority and as no women gained a higher proportion of votes in the by-elections than Ali'imalemanu, she was appointed a seat.

The Future for Women in Samoa's Parliament

We have explained above that there are structural reasons why few women stand for parliamentary elections and why fewer win seats: according to Samoan custom, a woman takes her status from her husband. There is a customary role for the wife of a matai, but none for the husband of a matai. It is in this context that we question the view that has been expressed in most media reports of Samoa's 2021 elections and subsequent constitutional crises, that by becoming Prime Minister, Fiamē Naomi

offers a role model for Samoan women in the future. Fiamē is unique in she was raised by her parents to believe that a political career was her duty, one she has performed since the 1980s as a back bencher, as several times a Minister, then Deputy Prime Minister and now Prime Minister. She has faced many barriers, the first was when she was awarded the Fiamē title by the Land and Titles Court but her claim to succeed to her father's high titles Matā'afa and Faumuinā was refused. The Court ruled that her father's three titles could not be held by one person ever again, and making mention that Naomi was a young woman; only the expatriate judge commented that her ancestor Salamasina was also young when she became Samoa's first 'queen' (Meleisea 1987). By choosing to remain unmarried Fiamē has retained her high ancestral rank, which as a married woman, could have been eclipsed by her husband's rank and status -- whether high or low. She has not had to attend to a husband's family and village obligations, but has been able to devote herself to her own traditional obligations.

Overall, women in Sāmoa are doing approximately as well as women are in New Zealand or Australia in education, the public service and private businesses. Politics represents the biggest obstacle for women to dismantle because the Samoan political system is based on traditional electorates, gendered values and leadership norms as they were in the late 1950s. This may change; now only a little more than half of Samoans in Sāmoa live in traditional villages (Meleisea et. al. 2015) and those who live in the new suburban areas surrounding Apia are less bound by conservative norms than are those living in traditional villages. Yet village populations are probably over-represented in the national electorate and urbanization is increasing. Further, more than half of all Samoan people live overseas in New Zealand, Australia, United States and elsewhere, where political leadership by women is increasingly becoming a norm. Therefore it seems likely that factors of demography, urbanization and globalization will lead to increasing numbers of women succeeding in politics in the future.

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O Le Faamati'e, Faae'etia, o Atina'ega ma le Una'ia o Avanoa mo Tina ma Tama'ita'i Samoa atoa ai ma o latou Aia Tatau Faa-Le-Tulafono.

Namulau'ulu Dr. Nu'ualofa Masoe Toga Potoi

Fesola'i Aleni Sofara, National University of Samoa

Upu Tomua

O lenei Pepa o se tapenaga ua tuu faatasia ma tusia e Tusitala e pei ona faailoa atu i luga e tusa ona valaauina ai e le Mafutaga a le Sosaiete o Piula Tuai ia Ianuari 2015 i le autu e pei ona ta'ua. Ae maise o se fe'au faamalosi mo Faletua o le Auaigaluega i le mataupu e uiga i le Faamati'e, Faae'etia, o Atina'ega mo Avanoa mo Tina ma Tama'ita'i Samoa atoa ai ma o latou Aia Tatau faa-le-Tulafono. O Tusitala o lenei Pepa o tagata tapua'i o le Matagaluega Metotisi i Matafelefele. O le fofogaina ma le faasoaina o le Pepa nei i luma o le Mafutaga a le Sosaiete o Piula Tuai na fofogaina e le Tofa a Namulau'ulu Dr. Gaualofa Masoe Toga Potoi, o le auauna i le faiva faa-Foma'i tau le soifua malololoina, o ia foi o le Failautusi o le Va-i-Fafo (Connexional Secretary) o le Au-uso Fealofani o le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa. O le tuufatasa o le Pepa nei i suesuega tau le Tulafono faatasi ma le tapenaina mo le lolomiina na gafa lea ma Fesola'i Aleni Sofara, o le Faiaoga o le Tulafono, Tulafono Tau Pisinisi ma Tulafono faa-le-Aganuu i le Lunivesite Aoa o Samoa.

Faatomuaga

Faamatala Upu – Faaugaina O Le 'Faamati'e' ma le 'Faae'etia.'

Afai e tutusa le “fa'amati'eti'e” ma le “fa'ae'etia” po'o le “fa'a'oloātauina” ona manatu lea ma le agaga maualalo ua faigata tele ona faamatala e le Pepa nei uiga loloto o ia upu. Ae afai e fa'aaoga le uiga o le “fa'amati'etie” ua faaliluina o le “empowerment” ina ia aliali ma atagia ai le atina'eina o Tamaita'i (Development of Women) poo le una'ia o avanoa mo Tamaita'i (Advancement of Women) ona manatu lea ua faigofie lona faamatalaina.

O le fa'avae o le fesuia'iga o le gagana loloto lea i le tusiaina o lenei Pepa, ona e ma'ale'ale tele le fa'aaogaina o le upu “Empowerment” auā e tele ona faauigaga (connotations) ma e tau faamalosi (pe fosi foi i le maso.) Ae o le faaeteetega ina ne'i pa'ū, pe te'ite'i, pe sā'i ai foi ni finagalo. E talitonu e vave ona talia, ma e talia gofie lava le upu “advancement” poo le “development” auā e o gatasi lea ma le tulaga o Tamaita'i i le aganu'u, aemaise tu ma aga faa Kerisiano pe a faa-Samoa upu ia – o le atinaegao Tamaita'i (Development of Women) poo le una'ia o avanoamo Tamaita'i. (Advancement of Women)

Faamatala Upu – Tina ma Tamaita’i

O le mau a le Palemia o Samoa, le Afioga Tofilau Eti Alesana ina ua faavae le Matagaluega a Tina ma Tamaita’i i le 1991, na ia saunoa ai e faapea: “E TAMA’ITA’I UMA TAMA’ITA’I O SAMOA, AE LE TINA UMA TAMA’ITA’I.” O le eseesega o le faalagiina ma le faatauaina o Tama’ita’i ina ua avea ma Tina, e moomia ai lava le amanaia talafeagai ma le tatau ai, atoa ai ma le malamalama lelei i le fō’iaina poo le fofoina o fitā, o tīgā ma faafitauli e feagai ma Tina ma Tama’ita’i, aemaise lava i taimi o talavou o latou soifua i le tino, le mafaufau ma le agaga.

O le mafuaaga foi lea e finau ai Tina ma Tamaita’i o Samoa ina ia pule pea le Malo i le fesuiā’iga o le faaigoaina o le Matagaluega ina ua toe fetu’unai ma fesuiā’i tiute ma matafaioi (Public Sector Reforms) ae ia ‘aua lava nei tuueseeseina le faasinomaga o “Tina ma Tamaita’i.” Sa finau foi nisi Tamaita’i iloga o le atunuu ina ia fa’aaoga lava na o le upu Tamaita’i ae faatuatuanai le upu Tina, auā foi, fai mai a latou mau, o le mea lava e tasi.

- Ona toe fo’i mai lava lea o se manatu o le Pepa nei i le agaga o le mau a le Tootooalii ia Tofilau: “E Tamaita’i uma Tamaita’i o Samoa, ae lē Tinā uma Tamaita’i.” E manatu ua silafia lava e le toatele:
- nisi Tamaita’i o le atunuu e maliliu taupou lava ona o le tausisia o le mamalu o aiga ma tulaga fa’a-Augafaapae poo le Sa’o Tamaita’i.
- nisi foi Tamaita’i o le atunuu e maliliu taupou lava ona e le fia faia ni o latou aiga.
- Ae o nisi foi Tamaita’i o le atunuu, ona ua pau lava, ua siliga-tali-i-seu taumafaiga uma, ua misi lava le pasi o le vaa – ua le maua lava se to’alua.

Faamatalaina o le Tofa-Manino Faa-Samoa

O le tofa-loloto a Samoa (Samoan psychology) e fa’apea, “O tama a tagata e fafaga i upu ma tala, a’o tama a manu e fafaga i i’a ma fuga o la’au.” (The young of human is fed with words whereas the young of birds are fed with fish and blossoms.) O le loloto o lea vaogagana, e afua mai i le tofa alualu mamao, o le so’otaga o le tagata ma le “Upu,” o le sootaga foi lea o le tagata ma manu ma i’a, faapea ma le sootaga o le tagata ma fuga o la’au.

A tu’u fa’asolo le so’otaga, ona mautinoa ai lea o le “Foafoaga mamana a le Atua.” O le tagata ma le Upu, o manu ma i’a ma fuga o la’au. O lona uiga, na fafagaina e le Atua le tama a le tagata i le Upu, auā, o le Atua o le Upu, sa i le amataga Upu, a’o le Atua foi le Upu. O le Atua na la faaatoa le va-fealoaloai o le poto o le tagata na la aoaoina ma le faaogaina o mea o le foafoaga, e aofia ai meaola o le laueleele ma le sami, atoa ma le fuaga eseesee o le siosiomaga. O lona uiga, e feso’otai mea uma lava o le foafoaga e pei o le tagata ma le vao, sootaga foi o le tagata ma le sami. Mo se

faata'itā'iga: a fuga samasama ma pula manogi le mosooi ma le lagaali, ona mautinoa lea, ua momoga tuitui o le tai-tafola. A sa'o foi le faitauga o po talu ona mavae le atoa o le masina ia Oketopa ma Novema, faatasi ma le fuga o le mosooi ma le lagaali, o lona uiga o le a tetele le palolo.

O le Tofa-manino a Samoa e fia fa'atauaina i le Pepa nei – o le 'Feagaiga.' O le Feagaiga o le va tapuia po'o le feagaiga-sa (sacred covenant between the brother and sister.) O le va tapuia faa-tuafafine ma le tuagane i totonu o aiga. E tutusa lelei lea feagaiga-sa i tulaga fealoaloa'i o le tuafafine ma le tuagane. E i ai le potō e fa'atonu ai nafa fa'atino; e i ai le malosī e tau'ave ai, ma le tamaoaiga e tautua ai le feagaiga-sa. Auā foi, o Tamaita'i e taulasea, o le fai-ōa, o le tausala, e ositaulaga, o le pae ma le auli le tuafafine i le va-tapuia, ae tautua ma le mata'alia le tuagane i le tuafafine ma lona siosiomaga. E manatu o loo ua taoto i lagotonu le faamati'eti'eina o le Tamaitai e pei ona talatalaina ma faamauina mai lona afuaga ma tala faasolopito e pei:

- le Ulua'i Tupu Tafa'ifa o Samoa – o le Tamaitai.
- le valoaga E Tali i Lagi sou Malo – o le Tamaitai.
- ē na feausi mai i le vasa ma le 'Ato Āu - o Tamaitai.
- lē na ta'usalaina ma ola ai Tagaloa-a-lagi ma lana 'au - o le Tamaitai.
- ē na au le inailau - o Tamaitai.....atoa ai ma isi.

E faavae ia tofā manino i le agaga ma lagona atoa ai ma manatu e pei ona taua i luga. O le faamoemoe autu ma le manulauti maualuga o lenei Pepa ina ia toe faamanatu ma toe faasino i ai ni talanoaga ma faasoa mafauauga i nisi o tulaga o le atina'ega o Tina ma Tamaitai o Samoa. E manatu o loo 'ōpū pea ia tulaga, ma e moomia tele i ai le fesoasoani e le gata i le atunuu lautele, a'o Ekalesia Kerisiano uma i Samoa, e pei o le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa e ala atu i lenei Mafutaga Paia a Faifeau ma Faletua uma o le Ekalesia Metotisi ua faaigoaina o le Sosaiete a Piula Tuai.

Atina'eina O Tama'ita'i Faa-le-Aganuu: O Itu Lelei ma Lu'itau

Fai mai le toetele o toeaiina o le atunuu, e lē malamalama i le tapisa lea e finauina ai Aia Tatau a Tamaita'i, ae i Samoa lava ia, e ese le tu maualuga o le tulaga faa le aganu'u o Tamaita'i o le atunuu. E matua sa'o lele lava lea manatu mo Tamaita'i, ae maumau e, pe ana fa'apea e Tamaitai mai lava i le aso na fanau ai seia o'o i le aso e oti ai. Ae pau lona, afai e tumau le tulaga Tamaita'i o tama-fafine o Samoa, o lona uiga ua leai ni fafine. Ae afai ua le ave ma fafine ia Tamaita'i, o lona uiga ua leai ni ē e to'ala fanau e fananau, ma saga fanafanau, e fananau pea ina ia faatupuina gafa ma le faitau aofai o aiga, nuu ma le atunuu, ma Ekalesia foi. O lona uiga, o se atunuu motu tu pe sele motu ona gafa, toe muta gafa o lona fa'asinomaga, ona le mafai lea

ona fa'aaauuina ona talaaga ae e mafai ona faaaauu ona o Tamaitai, ma o le tulaga taua lea ma le maualuga o Tamaita'i i le aganu'u.

Ae pagā lea, e sa'o ai tala a tamaiti, 'e nenefu atoa le channel' ma suia ai loa le tulaga aloaia faa-Tamaita'i pe a fai sona to'alua. Ona tuua loa lea o lona aiga, ae alu loa nofo i le aiga o le tamaloga, aemaise lava ae alu atu o se fafine nofotane laititi, fafine fou i aiga, avea ma to'alua o le taule'ale'a lea o lo'o fa'atino le fatu aiga ma ositaulaga i Tamaita'i o le aiga. O i tonu lava o lo'o nunumi ma manunu ai le to'au i tulaga fa'a le aganu'u o Tina ma Tamaita'i o Samoa. Auā foi, e mamalu lava o le Tamaita'i i lona aiga, fai loa le toalua, avea loa ma maupaolo i lana nofo-ga-tane i le aiga o lona toalua.

E manatu, o i tonu lava lea ua sa'o ai lava le Tofa fetu'una'i a Taitai o Samoa na ioeina ma taliaina le Feagaiga e Fa'amuta ai le Fa'ailoga Tagata ma le Sauaina o Tina ma Tamaitai poo le CEDAW. (*Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women*) Ua ioeina ai e le tatou Malo lona avea ma sui o Malo Aufa'atasi latou te una'ia ma fa'atino le puipuiga o Tina ma Tamaita'i mai le fa'ailoga tagata ma le sauāina.

O le fesili: pe aisea lava, ae poo le a foi le fa'avae autu ua toe fesuia'i ai le aganuu a Samoa e faaeaea ma filemu ai ana tama fafine i lona aiga? Ae nofotane loa i le aiga o lana Tane, suia loa lona mamalu faa-Tama'ita'i i le avea ai ma tavini, tu'ipalai, pologa, mu mata i le umukuka, e muamua ala ae mulimuli foi moe, ma faaititia lona tamaliiaga faa-tamaitai? Faasoa ane lava lou finagalo.pe aisea?

O le isi Atinaega faa le aganuu tau Tamaita'i e fia faasoa i ai le Pepa nei ona e tatau ona amanaia, o le avanoa lea o Tamaitai e avea ai ma matai i o latou foi Aia Tatau faa-suli o suafa. O lo'o manino foi faa-taatiaga o tiute ma matafaioi fa'a le aganu'u lea ua faitioina foi le una'i a Tina ma Tamaitai mo so latou avanoa i fa'atofalaiga fa'a le saofaiga o Alii ma Faipule i totonu o pulega o nuu, ma ua manatu ai nisi, ua faoa e Tamaita'i le tofi faa tama tane o le Pule. E manatu le Pepa nei, e le sa'o lea mau, aua foi, o lea ua manino Tulafono o le Faamasinoga o Fanua ma Suafa, ua aia tutusa Suli Tama Tane ma Suli Tama Fafine i suafa o Aiga.

E le o aofia uma ai Samoa i lea atina'ega mo tamaitai. O lo'o iai lava nisi afioaga o lo'o tapu pea le avea ai o Tamaita'i o ni matai. Ma e lē natia lava i le mamalu o le Mafutaga le lē o mafai e le Malo o Samoa ona tali atoatoa le fesili lea mai le Malo Aufa'atasi i le tulaga lea. Auā o le mau a Malo Aufa'atasi, o le mafua'aga fa'avae lea o le lē toatele o ni Tamaita'i Faipule i le Maota Fono o le Palemene o Samoa, ona o le taotaomia o Tamaita'i mai le umia o suafa matai, atoa ai ma le lē auai i saofaiga a Pulega o nuu.

Tulaga o Tama'ita'i

O upu masani a le atunuu: e loloto le sami ae ua iloga ala o i'a. E tele foi fetū o le lagi ae ua iloga fetu fa'ailo ao ma fetū ta'i-matagi. Fai mai e filifili le vao ae ua iloga foi mauga, o vanu ma ala o manu

O ni fesili tāua e fia fa'atu e avea ma fa'atupu manatu faatatau i lenei faaso'a e fa'apea:

- E tau fa'ailo ea le tulaga o Tina ma Tamaita'i i totonu o Samoa ma le atunuu atoa?
- E tau faaea ea le tulaga o Tina ma Tamaita'i i le nonofo ma le fa'afeagai ai o Alii ma Tamaita'i, a'o le tulaga fa'afeagai o le Tama ma le Teine, fa'apea le fa'afeagai ai o le Tuagane ma le Tuafafine?
- E tau faamati'e ea tulaga o Tina ma Tamaita'i i totonu o le siosiomaga o Samoa ma ona aganuu taoto?

Ae le gata i lea, e tau faamati'e ea ni a, o lea ua ta'oto fa'avae papa o tu ma aganuu mamalu a Samoa, o le Tamaita'i.... o le Feagaiga i totonu o aiga, o Tamaita'i o Augafaapae. A nonofo le saofa'iga o aiga Samoa, e talaga-atoa le Sa'o o le Aiga ae agai mai i le isi tala o le maota e le Itupa o Tamaita'i o le Aiga. E tau faamati'e ea ni a, a'o saofa'iga i totonu o nuu ma afio'aga ua i ai le nu'u o Matai, o le nu'u o Faletua ma Tausi, ae maise o le nuu o Sa'oao po'o Tamaita'i, ua faaigoaina o le Nu'u Paia? Pe tau faamati'e ea ni a, o lea ua nofo suafa nisi o Tamaita'i i suafa matai iloga o aiga a'o nisi o Tamaita'i ua nofo suafa i suafa matai Tulafale....ua tu to'oto'o a latou faautautaga i le fa'afeagai ai ma aiga, nuu, atunuu ma Ekalesia.

E tau asa ea se tulaga ina ia maualuga tulaga o Tamaita'i Samoa, a'o Tala Faasolopito o Samoa na saili malo i le Tamaita'i le sailiga o se ao o le Malo o le Malietoa. E tau fa'aea ea tulaga o Tamaita'i Samoa, ae e le'i vāea lava le fala ooto ua o se Tamaita'i na avea ma Ulua'i Tupu Tafa'ifa o Samoa pau foi lea o le Tupu Tafa'ifa. A'o nei foi aso i Upu fai o Malo, ua atulasi ona pa'i tofi le itupa o Tamaita'i i Tofiga maualuluga o le Malo ma Upufai o Malo, e ui lava e to'agaogao. E aofa'i ia manatu uma i le tala'aga ma le mau malosi ua gagana ai le atunuu e au le Ina'ilau a Tamaita'i.

O lona uiga, o le manatu o le Pepa nei, e lē tau faamati'eina le itupa o Tamaita'i, auā foi, ua iloga lava tofi ma tiute o Tamaita'i....o tiute ma tofiga o Tamaita'i ua ta'oto lava a'o se ala o'o. E pei ona mua'i taua, ma e toe fia faatauaina atili, o le upu Tama'ita'i, o le Tama-sa e Ta'i i Aiga, o le Augafa'apae lea, o le Taupou lea, o le Feagaiga foi lea. Ae tāua foi le Tama'ita'i auā e faa'autama lona manava e ifo mai ai le ola fou i le lalolagi. O lona uiga, o le Tama'ita'i o le Ola. O Tama'ita'i o le ola i le li'o i totonu o aiga. O Tama'ita'i o le ola e fa'amalu nu'u ma Ekalesia, ua fa'apena foi i Upu fai o Malo, ae le gata i lea, o le tautua malo a le itupa o Tama'ita'i.

O le faasoa a le Pepa nei, o Samoa o le atunuu tofi, ua uma foi ona tu'umataga mea uma e feso'otai i tu ma aga a si o tatou atunu'u. O Matai o le Pule...Tama'ita'i o le fatu aiga...Ae a avea nisi Tama'ita'i ma Faletua o ni Tamalii poo Tausi o ni Faleupolu, o latou e faia le faiva o le fautua i o latou alii. Pe avea foi se Tamaitai ma avā a se taule'ale'a, o le tofi lava o le avā a le taule'ale'a o le mu mata i le afi. Ae a avea foi se Tama'ita'i ma Faletua o se Faife'au, o lona uiga, o le valaauina o le Faletua e fai ma soa o le Faifeau i le Galuega tele o le Tala Lelei.

Atina'ega Faa-Le-Olaga Lautele ma Upufai o Malo

Ua manino ma silafia le maualuga o le atinaega o Tamaitai Samoa mai le utiuti o avanoa tau- aoaoga i aso ua mavae ma lo latou saili malo, atoa ma le soifua finafinau mo avanoa mo Aoga Maualuluga ma galuega. Ua lava foi sailiiliga a le Malo e fa'ailo ai le alualu pea i luga o le fuainumera o Tamaitai ua fa'aaogaina i so'o se galuega i totonu o le Malo, Faalapotopotoga Tu-maoti ma Kamupani. Ua siitia foi ma agai i luma le atina'ega o le tele o tulaga o le soifuaga lelei lautele. Ua o'o lava Tamaitai i galuega faa-polofesa (profession) e pei o Fa'amasino, Fomai, Loia, Fomai Nifo, Tausi Soifua, Tausi Tusi, Su'e Tusi, Inisinia, Faaoga, Kapeteni o Vaa, Alii Va'a, Fa'auluuluga o Galuega ma le anoanoai o isi matata.

O avanoa uma ia e tupu a'e ai le loto faafetai ona o le sao taua o Tamaitai. Ae peita'i, tusa lava pe taliaina lautele ma talitonu i le siitia maualuga o le sao o Tamaitai, ae o loo lotolotoi ma miomiō ai lava i totonu o nei atina'ega le fa'ailoga tagata ma le tauemuina o Tamaitai. Tiga lava ona mausali se atina'ega ma i ai pine faamau o ni tulaga tausili o Fa'ailoga Taualoa ua ausia e Tamaitai ma le lelei o auaunaga, e lē o 'asa lava ma le avea ma mataupu o tausuga e taulamua ai lava le itupa malosi o Alii. A loto tele ma lē maluelueina i ni fa'atosina ia se Tamaitai Ofisa Sili (CEO) poo Tamaitai galulue fa'a Polofesa, ua fai foi i ai fa'amatalaga taufaifai: "Se o le tamaloa e ofu i laei o fafine le mea nei." Pe ula foi ma talasua foi fa'apea: "ua matua'i mana'omia sona toalua." (she needs a husband). Pe fai mai fo'i "ua vasti pe ma'i." A lolo foi i le itu ua aliali ai le itu tamaitai, ua lalau le vaivai.

O se ata faata'ita'i o le vaivai faa-Tama'ita'i: o le galuega fa'a Foma'i a le Tamaitai Tusitala o lenei Pepa i ana su'esu'ega faapitoa as a Forensic Pathologist. O suesuega faapitoa e saili ai mafua'aga o tagata malilii i fa'alavelave fa'afuase'i. O le mau a le Tamaitai Foma'i, e lelei lelei lava le faia o ana suesuega i e ua malilii, ae aumai loa se Poloaiga a le Faamasinoga (Coroner) e toe eli mai i luga se maliu ua 3 pe 4 vaiaso talu ona tanu, ona lē mafai loa lea ona ufiufi pe afifi lemu ifo lona itu vaivai fa'a Tama'ita'i; e atu lasi ona nanati i fafo mai le potu su'esu'e, e alu i fafo e au-pua'i ma faasuati ai. Ona ia taumafai lava lea e toe foi i le potu su'esu'e e faamaea lea galuega fita ma le faigata ma le lē manaia, ae ua aliali i luma o isi uso a faigaluega ona

vaivaiga faa-Tamaitai. E vevesi solo lava lona vaivai faa-Tamaita’i, ae toafilemu lava Alii Fomai ma isi o le afaigaluega e pei a e leai se mea o tupu. O nisi na o luitau o le atinaega o le tulaga lautele o le soifuaga i aafiaga o Tamaita’i.

A fa’atusatusa Samoa ma isi atunuu i Asia ma Aferika, po’o Papua Niu Kini foi ma Solomona ia e tau lalata mai, ona lagona ai lea o le lotomauualalo ma le agaga faafetai a’e ona o le tele o fa’amanuiaga a le Atua mo Tina ma Tamaitai Samoa i o latou fa’asinomaga fa’a le aganuu ma lo tatou tofi fa’a le atunu’u.

O nai ‘opū ma nai lave laiti ia o le atina’ega o Tina ma Tamaita’i e osofia ai le loto faafetai i le tofa ma le uta ua avea ai lenei mataupu o se vaega o le Faasoa a le Sosaiete a Piula Tuai i la outou Mafutaga i lenei tausaga. Auā e ui i nei mau atina’e, ae o lo’o i ai pea le sauaina o Tina ma Tamaitai. O loo i ai pea le lima-tētē o Alii faasaga i Tamaita’i, ma o le misitelio lilo, e le iloa lava itu-taimi o le fili e lamatia ai siosiomaga faa-Tamaita’i.

O mataupu tonu lava ia e mana’omia ai le talanoa ma saga talanoa pea i ai. E lē toe aogā ona fa’alilolilo ma tatou fa’afoliga tatou te le o iloaina a’o lea lava tatou te miomio faatasi ma le sauaina o Tamaita’i. E tatau foi i le Sosaiete a Piula Tuai ona iloilo toto’a lona siosiomaga po’o taulamua Faifeau i le fa’afaiileina o le atina’e lelei o Tina ma Tamaitai, poo fa’alilolilo pea ma lē aliali le sauaina e nisi Faifeau o nai o latou Faletua. E! talofa e, talosia e leai.

Tama’ita’i ma Upufai o Malo

O le atina’ega mo le avea o sui Faipule i le Palemene ma Upufai o Malo, o lea lava ua i ai pine faamau o le ausiaina e Tina ma Tamaitai. Amata mai i le 1974 ia Leaupepe Taulapapa Faimaala; Lauulu Fetauimalemau Mataafa; Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Ma’ia; Matatumua Maimoaga; Tavu’i Lene; Fuimaono Te’i; Safuneituuga Neri Pa’aga ma isi tamaitai faipule o loo iai nei e pei o Fiamē Naomi Mataafa; Gatoloaifaana Amataga Alesana-Gidlow ma Faimalotoa Kika Stowers. O lo’o avea foi nisi o nei tamaitai ma Minista o le Kapeneta. O lona uiga i le 40 tausaga talu ai – e na o le toasefulu Sui Faipule Tamaita’i ua ofi atu i le Palemene o Samoa. O loo taumafai pea le tatou Malo e fa’atupulaia avanoa mo Tina ma Tamaitai i totonu o le Maota o le Palemene e pei ona i ai nei le toe teuteuina o le Faavae o Samoa faapea ai ma le Tulafono o Faiga Palota ina ia ausia le 10% poo le le itiiti ifo ma la to’a lima (5) sui Tamaita’i o le Palemene o Samoa mo Tamaitai i soo se paeaiga. O tulaga tausili uma ia (achievements) mo Tamaita’i e ui ina tuai lona faagasologa ma le faatinoina, ae fai mai le upu “e sili le tuai nai lo le leai.” (Better late than never or nothing)

Mo lo outou silafia le mamalu e, o le Mafutaga a Faifeau o Piula Tuai, o le faiga lea ua faatulafonoina nei mo Avanoa o Tamaita’i i le Palemene, o le tali lea a Samoa i le una’i a Malo Afaatasi lea e lē o mafai ai e o tatou Taitai o le Malo ona tali ma

fa'amatala le Fa'avae faa Samoa fa'apea agaifanua o afioaga e lē agava'a ai nisi o Tamaita'i i suafa matai ina ia mafai ona tauva ai faiga palota. O le sailiga avanoa lena na maua mai i le tausisia o le feagaiga e pei ona taua i luga o le CEDAW.

Atina'ega o Tofiga a le Ekalesia ma le Tulafono

Ona o'o mai loa lea o se fa'amatalaga i tofiga ma atina'ega fa'a Ekalesia. E faasoa lava lenei Pepa ma le ava atoa ma le faaeteete ona o le mataupu nei e le soona faia i ai se manatu ona ua taoto lava Faavae, o Tulafono ma faiga-faavae (policies) a le Ekalesia e faatatau i Tofiga o Faifeau, ma e patino lava na o le itupa o Alii. E le faatagaina foi ni Tamaita'i e ulufale atu e a'otauina i le Kolisi Faafaifeau i Piula. O le feau lena o loo momoli mai i ia faiga-faavae, e le agavaa ai ni Tamaita'i e avea ma Faifeau o le Ekalesia. E faapea foi i isi Ekalesia i Samoa nei vagana ai le Lotu Anekelikana (Anglican Church) i Samoa ua faatagaina ai Tamaita'i e avea ma Faifeau. Vagana ai lava o isi Tofiga o le Ekalesia e pei o le Tiakono i le EFKS ma le Taitai o le Lafu Mamoe i le Ekalesia Metotisi o loo talia ai le faaogaina o Tamaita'i.

O le fesili le pa'ia e, o le Mafutaga, faamata e le o atagia ai i ia faiga-faavae a le Ekalesia le faailoga tagata? Ae maise lava, o le faailoga tagata faasaga i Tamaita'i? E mafua le fesili ona o le taamiloga o le lalolagi ma le suiga poo le matagi o suiga ua i ai le lalolagi i nei ona aso. Aua foi, ua i ai Tamaita'i o Samoa faapea fanau Tamaita'i o le Ekalesia Metotisi ua maua Faailoga Tualoa maualuluga o le Mataupu Silisili mo le galuega faa-Faifeau ae peita'i, e le o talia ona faaogaina ma galulue i le Ekalesia i Samoa nei ona o le Tulafono ma faiga-faavae a le Ekalesia. O le a lē sagolegole le Pepa nei ona e pule lava le Ekalesia. E le finau vale foi le Pepa nei, ae na ona faamanatu ma faataoto atu e le Pepa nei le Faavae o Samoa. E ao ina manatua, e aofia ai ma le Ekalesia Metotisi ma Ekalesia uma i totonu o si tatou atunuu i lalo o le Faavae, atoa ai ma le talitonuga faa-le-faavae: 'E faavae i le Atua Samoa.'

- le vaega 2 (1) o le Faavae o Samoa o loo faailoa ai le avea o le Faavae o Samoa ma Tulafono Sili poo le Supreme Law.⁷
- Vaega 2 (2) o loo faailoa mai ai soo se isi lava Tulafono e feteena'i pe faatautee ma le Faavae, e faaleaogaina lea Tulafono i le vaega tonu o feteena'i ai, ae aloa'ia pea le malosiga o le Faavae.⁸
- Vaega 11 o le Faavae o Samoa o loo faailoa ai le tuusa'oloto ai o mataupu tau Tapua'iga poo le Freedom of Religion.⁹

⁷ Article 2 of the Constitution of Samoa. **The Supreme Law - (1)** This Constitution shall be the supreme law of Samoa

⁸ Article 2 of the Constitution of Samoa. **(2)** Any existing law and any law passed after the date of coming into force of this Constitution which is inconsistent with this Constitution shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void.

- le vaega 15 (1) o le Faavae o Samoa o loo faailoa mai ai le saolotoga mai le faailoga tagata.¹⁰ O lona uiga, e tutusa tagata uma i lalo o le Tulafono ma e tutusa ona puipuia tagata uma i lalo o le Tulafono.

A fua la i aia tatau ma aia tutusa atoa ai ma saolotoga mo tagata uma o loo faataoto mai e le Faavae o Samoa, faamata o faapea ona faaoga e le Ekalesia Metotisi ma isi Ekalesia i Samoa nei le atina'ega, o agava'a ma tomai o ia Tamaitai o Samoa ua maua Faailoga Taualoa o le Mataupu Silisili, ua agava'a i le galuega faa-Faifeau i atunuu i fafo i Ekalesia e pei o le Perepereane (Presbyterian) le Ekalesia Metotisi i Niu Sila, o le Uniting Church o Ausetalia ma isi atunuu, ae lē talia ona faaogaina i Samoa nei? Faamata aisea? Ae pe o i ai foi se fa'amati'e a le Ekalesia i Samoa mo fanau Tamaita'i a le atunuu ua ausia Faailoga Taualoa e avea ai ma Faifeau? Ae faapefea le mataupu o le "Calling" poo le "Valaauina?" Ua ala ona ta'ua ia mea, auā o le vailiu tonu lava lea o le valaauina mo le tapenaina o lenei Pepa mo le Mafutaga a le Sosaiete a Piula Tuai i lenei foi tausaga.

O le manatu o le Pepa nei, o le vaega tonu lava lea e ono talafeagai ona fa'aaoga i ai le upu faamati'e poo le fa'amati'eti'e. E tumau le talitonuga, e le suia ai faavae ma faiga-faavae a le Ekalesia i le Pepa nei, ae o se tulaga o loo saili ai pea se avanoa tutusa o Tamaita'i ua a'oa'oina ma agava'a mo lea tofi. Ae taoto atu pea i Faifeau ma le Ekalesia, auā o le agaga tonu lena o le Pepa nei, ua na o se faamanatu ma se tuualalo i ni tulaga e moomia ai le fa'amati'e a le Ekalesia mo Tamaita'i aua foi, ua ia te outou le 'oa o le Mataupu Silisili, le Tofa ma le Faatuatuaga, o Talaaga o le Ekalesia ma le faiva o le saili agaga ma le faaola agaga.

Ae a silasila le Mafutaga ma outou su'esu'e loloto i le Faavae o Samoa fa'atasi ai ma Faiga-Faavae a le Malo o lo'o taialaina ai le atina'ega o ona tagata, ona outou talitonu ma mautinoa ai lea, e lē o lōtea e le Malo pe tagofia pe talanoaina le atina'ega o le soifua faa-le-agaga o ona tagatanuu. E le o 'apa'apa foi le Malo i aia tutusa e faamati'e ai Tamaita'i Samoa i le li'o o Ekalesia. Ua taatia lava i Ta'ita'i ma Pulega o Ekalesia lava ia.

E manatu le Pepa nei, e le faigofie, e faigata foi ona fai i ai se finagalo o le Malo ona o Taitai o le Malo, o i latou foi o isi tagata lotu i Ekalesia o loo latou o tapuai ai. Ae o le fesili la: a'o fea la le saga taulagi pea e Faavae i le Atua Samoa, a'o lea e gugu le Malo i le vala lea? E ao lava ina manatua, o le Faavae o le Malo Tutoatasi o Samoa e faamalumu mo Samoa ma ona tagata uma, e aofia ai ma Ekalesia.

⁹Article 11 of the Constitution of Samoa. **(1)** 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.

¹⁰**Freedom from discriminatory legislation - (1)** All persons are equal before the law and entitled to equal protection under the law.

Faamatalaga o le Faamati'eina (Empowerment) o Tama'ita'i

O le aotelega ua i ai nei le lalolagi atia'e ma talitonuga lautele....lea e faapea mai: O Tamaita'i o le fofo e fo'ia ai le mativa o le lalolagi. 'Women are the solution to poverty.'¹¹ O le mau o le faae'etia, atinaega ma le unaia o avanoa mo Tina ma Tamaitai lenei ua so'o ma opo atoa ai le lalolagi, auā o le talitonuga lautele, pau lea o le auala e mafai ona fo'ia ai le mativa o le lalolagi. Ua lē gata ina saga una'ia e Malo Afaatasi, ae ua faapea foi ona aumai ai le mau malosi a le Faletupe o le Lalolagi (World Bank) ma faapea mai: The World Bank states:

*"Empowerment of Women and gender equality are issues of development effectiveness, not just a matter of political correctness or kindness to women. New evidence demonstrates that when women and men are relatively equal, economies tend to grow faster, the poor will move more quickly out of poverty, and the well-being of men, women and children is enhanced."*¹²

Faaliliuina: O le faamati'e, atina'ega faapea ma tulaga o Tamaitai o aafiaga e ao ina silasila i ai tulaga tau Pulega o Malo ma faaleleia ia vaega mo Tamaitai. Aua ua mautinoa i suesuega a le Faletupe o le Lalolagi, afai e tulaga tutusa Alii ma Tamaitai, o lona uiga o le a vave faatupula'ia le tamaoaiga o le lalolagi, o le a vave ona faaitiitia le mativa, atoa ai ma soifua lelei o alii, tamaitai atoa ai ma fanau.

O lona uiga, o lea lava ua manino le mata o le vai ua avea nei le mataupu ua 'autasia ai le lalolagi, pau lea o le auala e fo'ia ai le mativa, lea e auala mai ai le mau lautele: "Women is now a global mechanism to resolve poverty."¹³ E le o se faaeaea poo se alofa faitino mo Tamaita'i, ae o le talitonuga lautele, o Tamaita'i e mafai ona fo'ia le mativa o le lalolagi.

E lagolagoina tele foi le mau nei e le United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) lea e faapea mai:

*"UNDP focuses on gender equality and women's empowerment not only as human rights, but also because they are a pathway to achieving the Millennium Development Goals and sustainable development."*¹⁴

Faaliliuina: E taula'i le vaai a le Polokalame o Atina'e o Malo Afaatasi (UNDP) i avanoa tutusa atoa ai ma le faamati'eina o Tamaitai, e le gata i o latou aia tatau, ae ona ua mautinoa foi, o le laasaga lea e mafai ai ona ausia le Manulauti o le Meleniuma ma faatumauiina atina'e.

O Millennium Development Goals e pei ona ta'ua e āfa e tasi lava i le manatu ina ia "Faamati'eina ia Tamaitai" o le auala lea e mafai ona faaitiitia ai le mativa, atoa ai ma

¹¹ www.pciglobal.org/empowering-women

¹² www.worldbank.org/

¹³ www.empowering.org/

¹⁴ www.undp.org/gender/

le fo'ia ai o le mativa. O le fesili: Pe faapefea ona faaitiitia le mativa pe fo'ia foi le mativa pe afai e mafai ona faatino le "Faamati'e o Tamaitai"? How can poverty be so resolved when women are empowered?

O le tali o le fesili leni e maua i le mau a Phumzile Miambo-Ngcuka na ia faapea ai:

"As the Executive Director of UN Women, I will push for women's economic empowerment alongside other priorities, because this is essential to ending poverty and advancing gender equality. Women have a right to equal opportunities and equal access to resources and training. This is why I am so proud of our new online partnership platform to advance the economic empowerment of women. When women are empowered, the benefits ripple outwards and bring benefits to many others. I encourage everyone to join us at www.empowerwomen.org and be part of this exciting initiative."¹⁵

Faaliliuina: I le avea ai o a'u ma Pule Faatonu a Malo Aafaatasi mo Tamaitai, o le a ou una'ia le faamati'eina o Tamaitai i mataupu tau le tamaoaiga faatasi ma isi laasaga tatau ai, e avea ma vaega taua e muta ai le mativa ma faataua atili ai avanoa tutusa. Ua faagaetia lava a'u nei i fesoota'iga faa-paaga i upega tafa'ilagi e una'ia atili ai le faamati'eti'eina o Tamaitai. A faamapu'e pe faamati'e Tamaitai, e fua mai faamanuiaga e manuia ai ma isi. Ou te faamalosi ai ma una'i ina ia tatou auai faatasi ma i matou i le www.empowerwomen.org i lea laasaga lelei ua faatinoina.

E faavae le mau a le Pule Faatonu o Malo Aafaatasi i mataupu tau Tamaitai i le alafua ua faataoto e le Ofisa Tutotonu o Malo Aafaatasi e faapea:

"The Women's Empowerment Principles are a set of Principles for business offering guidance on how to empower women in the workplace, marketplace and community. They are the result of a collaboration between the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and the United Nations Global Compact and are adapted from the Calvert Women's Principles. The development of the Women's Empowerment Principles included an international multi-stakeholder consultation process, which began in March 2009 and culminated in their launch on International Women's Day in March 2010."¹⁶

Faaliliuina: O Mataupu Autu poo le tuuafaatasia o mataupu autu e faatatau lea i le faamati'eina o Tamaitai e aofia ai le faailoa o mataupu tau pisinisi ina ia lautele le silafia i le faatinoina o galuega i fale-faigaluega, o nofoaga faitete faapei o maketi atoa ai ma auaunaga mo tagata lautele. O le taunuuga ia o sootaga ma le galulue faatasi o le United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and the United Nations Global Compact atoa ai ma isi paaga i faatalatalanoaga ma le faasoa o manatu na afua mai i le masina o Mati 2009 ma le faailoa aloa'ia nei autu i le aso ua ta'ua o le aso o Tamaitai o le Lalolagi i le masina o Mati 2010.

¹⁵ www.empowering.org

¹⁶ www.empowering.org

The Seven (7) Principles in Empowerment of Women.¹⁷

- Principle 1: Establish high-level corporate leadership for gender equality
- Principle 2: Treat all women and men fairly at work – respect and support human rights and nondiscrimination
- Principle 3: Ensure the health, safety and well-being of all women and men workers
- Principle 4: Promote education, training and professional development for women
- Principle 5: Implement enterprise development, supply chain and marketing practices that empower women
- Principle 6: Promote equality through community initiatives and advocacy
- Principle 7: Measure and publicly report on progress to achieve gender equality.

Mataupu Autu e Fitu (7) o le Faamati'eina o Tamaitai

- Autu 1: Ia faatatauina se tulaga maualuga o mataupu o le avea ma Ta'ita'i (leadership) e laugatasi ai Alii ma Tamaitai.
- Autu 2: Ia faia ma le lē faailoga tagata, ia faaaloalo ma lagolago aia tatau e laugatasia ai galuega a Alii ma Tamaitai.
- Autu 3: Ia mautinoa le ola maloloina, saogalemu ma le tulaga lelei o tagata faigaluega uma e aofia ai Alii ma Tamaitai.
- Autu 4: Una'ia le soifua aoaoina, faatino a'oa'oga faataitai i se tuaga maualuga tau atina'e mo Tamaitai.
- Autu 5: Faatino atina'e lautele ma aoaoga o fefaatauaiga ma maketiina o oloa e saga faamati'e ai Tamaitai.
- Autu 6: Faalauiloa i tulaga lautele le taua o le soifua tutusa mo tagata uma.
- Autu 7: Tuuina mai faamatalaga ma faailoa faalauaitale laasaga uma o taumafaiga e ausia le ola tutusa.

Mau a Le World Federation Of Methodist and The Uniting Church Women Faatatau i le Mataupu o le Faaee'etia, Atina'ega ma le Una'ia o Avanoa mo Tina ma Tama'ita'i Samoa.

O le tausaga 2014 na atoa ai le 75 tausaga o le faalapotopotoga o Tamaita'i Metotisi ma Ekalesia Soofaatasi o le Lalolagi. Ma o le Au-Usa Fealofani a le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa o se sui auai tuaoloa mai le Lunite (Unit) o le Pasefika i Saute. Ina ua faavaeina

¹⁷www.empowering.org

lenei faalapotopotoga i le 1939, sa saunoa le Peresetene faapea: “The affairs of the World are too important to be left to only men.”¹⁸ O aafiaga o le lalolagi e taua tele, e le tatau ai ona tuu tasi na o le itupa o alii.

Mo le silafia:

- Iana Tagavai - ‘Ia iloa Keriso ma faailoa atu o ia i nisi’ (To Know Christ and to make Him known).
- Iana Pine Tauave o le “Laau o le Ola (Tree of Life).

O faiga faavae ma polokalame uma a Tina ma Tamaitai Metotisi ma Ekalesia soso’o o le Lalolagi e lima ta’ita’iina i faiga fa’avae ma Polokalame e tu’uina mai e le WFMUCW. Na amata mai i le tausaga 2006 i lana fonotaga lona 11 i Korea i Saute- sa auai atu i ai sui o le Au Uso Fealofani mai Samoa nei. Sa fa’apea ona amatalia ai Polokalame a le WFMUCW e lagolagoina ai Mellinium Development Goals (MDGs) a Malo Aafaatasi mo le lalolagi atoa e aofia ai le Au Uso Fealofani a le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa.

I lana fonotaga lona 12 i Aferika i Saute i le 2011, sa fa’aauau ai i lenei Fonotaga le lagolagoina o Mellinium Development Goals.¹⁹ I le fonotaga a le Lunite a le Pasefika i Saute, sa usuia i Brisbane Ausetalia ia Iulai 2014 sa tuuina atu ai se Ripoti aloaia a le Au Uso Fealofani o le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa ma maitauina ai le alualu i luma ma le solosolo lelei o le tulaga faaetia ma le maualuga o loo i ai Tamaitai Samoa. O le fonotaga lona 13 a le WFMUCW e usuia i Houston/Texas i Amerika ia Setema 2016 e toe iloilo ai le tulaga ua oo i ai MDGs mai sui uma o lenei Faalapotopotoga a Tina ma Tamaitai Metotisi o le lalolagi.

Tama’itai Samoa ma le Tamaoaiga

A silasila la le Mafutaga a le Sosaiete a Piula Tuai, o alafua ia ua faataoto mai e uiga i le “faamati’e poo le faamati’eina o Tamaitai’i” e faasaga tonu lava i suiga ua tatau ma lenei vaitaimi, ae o ni suiga foi ua tatau ma talafeagai. O ia foi suiga o le a lē vaea ai le fala ooto i mamalu faa-Tamaitai’i Samoa ae maise le Itupa o Tina. O le “Faaetia – Atinaega ma le unaia o avanoa mo pulega o Tina ma Tamaitai” o ni suiga ua talafeagai ma lenei vaitau, aemaise o lona taunu’uga taua o le a mafai ona foia ai le mativa. Ae le gata i lea, e i ai le manatu o le Pepa nei, o le a leai se iota o mamalu

¹⁸Speech by President of the World Federation of Methodist and Uniting Women (WFMUW) 1939

¹⁹World Federation of Methodist and Uniting Church Women (WFMUCW) Action Plan For Millenium Development Goals. (South Africa 2011) <http://www.wfmucw.org> > about > action-plan.

faa-Tamaita'i Samoa o le a aveesea ai i le mataupu nei. Auā o le upu moni lava ma upu tautino e faatatau i nei ona aso, e āumā ea le faamaepaepa i le fale ona o le Auga Faapae ma saga tausī pea mamalu fa'a-Tamaitai, ae fia aai le aiga? Se a le uiga o le Tamaita'i Samoa na ona ala i le taeao ma teuteu foliga ma le tino ae leai se mea e tua i ai?

Ua faafofoga so'o foi le atunuu i le leitio i le Vii o Piula, le pese matanana toe limalala'u a le Kolisi, fai mai a alu atu se Tamaita'i i le laumua i le Kolisi i Piula, e leai se mea e fai, na o le ala mai fai le mea e tatau ai, ti'eti'e i le sofa, ma faamave'uve'u lou foga. Atonu e sa'o le matanana i aso lava la ua leva, ae o aso nei, o le fesili: Tamaitai e, na o le ti'eti'e i le sofa, ma faamave'uve'u solo ane lou foga.....ae maua ai se tausiga a le aiga? O le uiga moni o le Empowerment of Women, o le una'ia lea o le ola aoaoina poo a'oaoga mo Tamaitai. E le faapito manu ia tasi na o a'oaoga mo Faailoga Taualoa poo ni faailoga maoa'e o le poto salalau, ae o a'oaoga e mafai ona maua ai faamanuiaga poo tau i galuega faatino, e aofia ai pisinisi laiti eseese ma tomā faapitoa e faatino ai nisi faiga e mafai ai ona maua ai tau i faamanuiaga tau le tamaoaiga.

Fofoaga - Alii ma Tama'ita'i

E ao ina silafia, o le finauina i aoaga ma tomā faapitoa ina ia maualafia avanoa tutusa (equal opportunities) o le agaga lava ia tutupu faatasi ma ola faatasi Tama'ita'i ma le Itupa o Alii. Ae ao lava ina manatua, e lē o le faatusatusa ina ia tutusa Tamaita'i ma le Itupa o Alii i le tulaga o le malosī. Aua foi, ua tuumatamaga le fofoaga a le Atua, *masculine*²⁰ and *feminism*.²¹ Pau foi lea o le taimi e talitōnu ai le Pepa nei faatoa moni ai le ta'ua o Tina ma Tamaita'i - o le itupa vaivai, pe a oo i tulaga o le malosī. Aua foi, e mafai e alii poo tamaloloa ona amo o le ta'i tolu taga simā; ae toetoe a lē gafatia e Tamaita'i ona sii se afa taga simā. E mafai e alii poo tamaloloa ona sii o latou taitoalua pe afai ua lē mafai ona savavali ona ua mama'i, ae matua lē mafaia e Tina ona sii o latou taitoalua ona o le eseese o malosī, e mafua ona o fausaga faa-le-fofoaga na faia ai i tatou e le Atua.

E i ai foi ni eseese taua ua maua mai suesuega a fōmai i eseese o fai'ai (brains) o Alii ma Tamaita'i. Fai mai e tēlē atu le mamafa o le faiai o le tane pe tusa ma le 10% e mamafa ai nai lo fai'ai o tamaita'i. E ui i lena eseese, e lē faapea a tēlē pe mamafa le fai'ai o tane - ona popoto ai lea. E pei ona faailoa i suesuega, e mafai ona

²⁰Having qualities or an appearance traditionally associated with men or boys.

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/masculine>.

²¹Feminism works towards equality, not female superiority.

<https://www.dosomething.org/facts/11-facts-about-fem>.

lapopoa ma mamafa fai'ai o Alii. *'Brains can be heavier and can be brainier but can also be stupid.'*²² E mafua ona mamafa fai'ai o alii ona e fua faatatau i le mamafa tele o maso ma ponaivi o le tino o le tane. O tane e tele ina faaaoga le itu agavale o ō latou fai'ai ae o fafine e faaaoga uma itu e lua o le fai'ai. I suesuega a le au atamamai ua mautinoa ai o fai'ai o tane e atamamai i mataupu tau fuainumera ma le matematika e sili atu nai lo fafine, ae, e i ai faatasi ma le loto ita, ma tele ai pea le loto ita, atonu o mafuaaga ia o le soona sauā i nai Tamaitai,²³ e i ai faatasi ma le uiga o Alii o le fia tautala tasi. I suesuega lava ia a le au atamamai, ua mautinoa ai, o tamaitai e popoto lava i latou i vaogagana, ma e lelei tele latou i mataupu tau fesootaiga – excellent communicators.

E i ai itu o fai'ai o tamaitai e tetele atu nai lo tane ona o vaega ia o le fai'ai na te faatonutonuina lagona (control the emotions) ma lagona eseese, ma e talafeauga lea ma le natura o le Tamaitai'i na te faafailele ma tausī ia malu puipua lana fanau.²⁴ Peitai o le itupa o Alii e telē le itu o lona fai'ai e maualafia ai ona tali atu o ia i ni fili e ono lamatia le saogalemu o lona aiga. E manatu lea suesuega, o le malosī foi lea e faaosofia ai le itupa o alii e maualafia ai ona atamai e saili avā poo le su'e manamea tamaitai poo ni ana manamea tamaitai ma isi lava eseese ua molimauiina mai suesuega tuufaatasi a Harvard University ma Berkley University i Amerika.²⁵

O le fe'au taua mo le Pepa: "E manaomia le soifua tutusa o le Ali'i ma le Tama'ita'i, poo le tane ma le fafine mo se soifuaga fiafia ma le manuia o tagata soifua."

Ae o le autu o mafauauga lea e auga tonu i ai le fe'au o le Faamati'eina o Tamaitai'i; o le poto ma tomā faa-le-Atua. (Godly Wisdom) E mafai i le poto faa-le-Atua ona ta'itai'ina Tamaitai'i o Samoa i isi mea sili ona lelei e mafai ona faatinoina mo le manuia o le tamāoaiga e le gata i totonu o aiga, o le nuu, le atunuu ma le Ekalesia. E mafai foi ona avea Tina ma Tama'ita'i o se mea faigaluega e fofoina ma fo'ia le mativa o le lalolagi.

Lagolago a le Malo o Samoa

O le mataupu o le Faamati'eina o Tamaitai na autu foi i ai le Pepa a le Malo o Samoa na fofogaina e le Minisita o Tina ma Tamaitai, Lotoifale ma Aga Fesoota'i, le Afioga Hon. Tolofuaivalelei Falemoe Leiatua i le fono lona 57 a le Komisi i Tulaga o Tamaitai lea sa usuia i Niu loka i le aso 05 Mati 2013, lea na ia saunoa ai e faailoa ma faamautu le lagolago a le Malo o Samoa i le una'ia o le Faamati'eina o Tama'ita'i,

²²Joint Research by Harvard University and Berkley University www.brainfitnessforlife.com

²³ *Ibid*

²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ *Ibid*

atoa ai ma le una'ia o aia tutusa o Tamaita'i o Samoa ina ia o gatasi ma tulaga ua i ai le una'ia o le Faamati'eina o Tamaita'i e le gata i le Pasefika a'o le lalolagi.²⁶

Ua matauina i Samoa i nei ona aso ni suiga tetele i lenei vaitau ona o le faamatie, una'ia ma le faamalosi i Tamaitai, lea ua tulai mai se numera mauuluga o Tamaita'i ua faauluulu i ai Matagaluega faapea ma Faalapotopotoga Tumaoti a le Malo, ua siitia ma sili mamao atu nai lo le itupa o Alii.²⁷ I le ripoti o le Mellinium Development Goals Review o le Malo o Samoa i le 2012 - 2016 ua faailoa mai ai le faateleina o Inisinia Tamaitai i le Faalapotopotoga o Inisinia Faamauina o Samoa.²⁸ O loo faaalua ai foi i le ripoti lava lea le siitia maoa'e o fanau Tamaita'i o le atunuu ua i'u mai ma ausia Faailoga Taualoa faa-Foma'i ma ua fulisia i Tamaitai i le 55% faatusatusa lea i le 45% o Alii Fomai.²⁹ I le Sosaiete o Loia i Samoa nei, ua laasia nei le 68% le aofai o Loia Tamaitai faatusatusa i Alii Loia e na o le 32%.³⁰ O le Faalapotopotoga o Faiaoga i Samoa nei ua faamauina le 62% o Tamaitai faatusatusa i Alii na o le 38%.³¹ O le aufaifaailoga o le Tofa Manino o le Atamai (PhD) poo le Doctrate i tomai eseese i Samoa nei ua fulisia lava i Tamaitai.³² Lea foi la ua avea ma vaega o le Tulafono le tataua ona atoa le 10% o sui Tamaitai i totonu o Upufai o Malo i le Palemene o Samoa i soo se nofoaiga. E manatu ai le Pepa nei, o le ata manino lea o le la'ala'a i luma o le faamati'eina ma le faae'etia o Tamaita'i i totonu o Samoa.

I le aotelega o faamatalaga tuuina mai i le Faalapotopotoga o Pisinisi mo Tamaita'i (Women in Business)³³ o loo matauina ai le una'ia pea o Tamaita'i ina ia aoaoina i tulaga o tomai faa-faipisinisi laiti i totonu o le atunuu. O le agaga lava o le Malo ina ia mafai ona mau faitua aiga ona o taumafaiga a Tamaita'i. E o gatasi lava lea ma le uiga o le mau autu a Malo Afaatasi, o Tamaitai e mafai ona fo'ia ai le mativa o le lalolagi.³⁴

Fautuaga mo Faletua o le Mafutaga

Mo le Mafutaga o le Sosaiete a Piula Tuai, e faapito augafa se manatu o le Pepa nei mo Tamaitai Samoa ua avea ma Faletua o Faafeagaiga poo Faletua o le Faifeau. E le

²⁶FIFTY-SEVENTH SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NEW YORK 05 MARCH 2013 “At the outset, I wish to reaffirm that the Government of Samoa remains committed to the empowerment of women and girls and improving gender equality, in line with our global and regional gender equality commitments.”www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/generaldiscussion/memberstate

²⁷ Report: STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAMOA 2013
<https://www.mof.gov.ws/uploads/2019/08/>

²⁸Ibid

²⁹Ibid

³⁰Ibid

³¹Ibid

³²Ibid

³³ Samoa Women in Business Development Inc. <https://www.womeninbusiness.ws>

³⁴ www.empowering.org

itiiti lou tou sao taua i o outou faiva faa-teine, o outou faiva faa-Tamaita'i Samoa, o outou faiva faa-Faletua poo Tina foi....o tofi lava mai le Alii. E le tau faamati'eti'eina outou, o o outou lava tofi o le soaina o outou taitoalua ina ia manuia lou tou soifua galulue i le galuega a le Atua, ae le gata i lea o soo se faiva, ae aofia ai ma le tulaga lelei o le tamaoaiga.

O le fautuaga a le Pepa nei mo Faletua uma o le Mafutaga a le Sosaiete o Piula Tuai, muamua, ina ne'i taotaomia lou naunau i mea sili e faamati'e atili ma una'ia le lumanai lelei o aiga ma le Ekalesia ona e fia-tautala-tasi lou toalua Faifeau atoa ai ma le sauaina o oe e ala i upu taufaifai, upu malolosi pe masoā foi, pe fai faatonuga faigata si alii, pe faamaasiasi oe i luma o le lua aulotu, o le fautuaga a le Pepa nei, Faletua, 'aia le nofoa'i, ia e tautala, tautala e faailoa ma faaali. Speak up, speak out and make it known.

Lona lua o fautuaga, ia le seetia gofie outou Faletua, ae ao ina mataala ma māta'itu. Auā foi, afai e faaeaea mai ia te outou Tama'ita'i e, ona lē ese lea o outou ma le tala ia Tapusalaia lea na ia tofofi Asomua e fai lo la nuu. O tofiga, e talagā atoa oe Asomua, e talaga atoa a'u, ae Ali'ita'i ia te oe lo ta nuu. Na tali Asomua, o ai na manatu o le a sii le fale o Asomua i le mauga? Ia lē o le faaeaea mai i Tamaitai ma outou seetia ai, ae ia fai ma faamalosiua ia te outou Tamaita'i i o tatou faiva ma tiute aua se lelei o aiga nuu atunuu ma Ekalesia. Ia lē molia foi outou Tamaita'i e, i le malū o peau o le tai taeao, ae ia tumau lo outou soifua finau ma saili e ala i le FA'AE'ETIA - ATINAEGA MA LE UNAIA O AVANOA MO TINA MA TAMAITAI SAMOA aua se manuia lautele o le lalolagi, e pei ona i ai lea talitonuga, ma o le a mafai ai ona fo'ia ai le mativa o le lalolagi faapea foi le Pasefika ma Samoa nei. The famous saying: "Behind a successful gentleman is a dynamic woman."³⁵ Faletua e, ma Tama'ita'i e, ia outou olioli i le Alii e le aunoa, auā foi, ua lelei ma manuia tou taitoalua - ona o a outou galuega, ua manuia o outou aiga - ona o outou, because you...the women...are dynamic.

O Lu'itau – mo le Tofa Saili a le Sosaiete o Piula Tuai e Ono Saga Faa'e'etia, Atina'ega ma le Una'ia O Avanoa mo Tina ma Tamaita'i Samoa i le Lumanai

- le aoaoina o Tamaitai i le Kolisi Faa-Faifeau i Piula mo le tofi faifeau mo Tamaita'i a ++ua o loo taotaomia pea ma lē talia e le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa.

³⁵Women Leaders: Dynamic, Courageous and Successful.
<https://cciconsulting.com › women-leaders-dynamic-co...>

- le tofi Failauga o Tamaita’i ua faamutaina i se faaiuga a le Koneferenisi a le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa i le 2012.
- Poo le a se finagalo o le Sosaiete a Piula Tuai i le Mataupu taua i le lalolagi atoa e aofia ai ma le Pasefika i le faaititia ma tafieseina o le Sauaina o Tina ma Tamaita’i? (Stop the Violence Against Women)

Upu Faai’u

“O Le Fa’ae’etia - Atinaega Ma Le Unaia O Avanoa Mo Tina Ma Tamaitai Samoa”

E le a’oaia e Laupu’ā ia Tamafaigā; e le aiaina foi e le Matapia ia le Manaia. Ae o se lu’itau taua tele lea o lenei vaitau Tina e, ma Tamaita’i o Samoa. ‘Aua le nofo-a’i ona o faamanuiaga ua maua. Ae ao i Tina ma Tama’ita’i uma o Samoa ona mataala ma saga finau pea mo nisi fa’amanuiaga silisili e ala mai ai le alofa o le Atua mo Tina ma Tama’ita’i uma, o nai o outou taitoalua, fanau ma aiga. Ae le gata i lea o soo se auaunaga ma le tautuaina o le Atua ma lona finagalo e ala i soo se valaauina i le atinaega o si o tatou atunuu.

O le toe fautuaga a le Pepa nei mo le paia o Faletua o le Aufaigaluega. A e fia fa’ae’etia, ma e manatu ia fa’asolosolo atili faamanuiaga o le atina’ega ma le unaia o avanoa mo Tina ma Tamaita’i uma o Samoa, o le tu’ualalo: ia fa’amuumua lou alofa i le Atua, ona soso’o ai lea ma lou alofa i si ou to’alua ma lau fanau. Ia malu i lou alofa lou aiga, aua foi: “Charity begins at home.”³⁶ Afai ua lelei ma malu lou aiga, ona e alo loa lea e fai ‘i, a uma, liliu ane fai foi ma ‘o! Ae ‘aua ne’i pei o le fai-Fale-Aitu iloga o Aulavemai, fai mai e tā i ‘o ma ‘o ana faafiafiaga ae lē matamata Vaimoso. O le uiga o le tala, ia faamuamua le Atua, sosoo ai ma lou aiga, ae le o le alu o lou malosi i ‘o ma ‘o ma ‘o, ae mama i ōa toe mama i taloa lou aiga.

O le mau a le Perofeta o Mika 6:8 *“Se a foi se mea e finagalo ai leova ia te oe, pe a le o ia mea, ia fai le amiotonu, ia naunau i le alofa, ma ia feood’i ma lou Atua ma le loto faamaulalo.”* Ae o la le Aposetolo o Paulo: *“Aua o outou uma lava na papatisoina ia Keriso, ua outou oofu ia Keriso, e le o i ai se lutaia po o se Eleni, e le o i ai se pologa po o se sa’oloto, e le o i ai se tane po o se fafine; aua ua tasi lava outou uma ia Keriso Iesu.”*(Kalatia 3: 27-28).

Ina ne’i galo, o le mau tauave a le Au Uso Fealofani o le Ekalesia Metotisi i Samoa.

“Ia Fealofani ma Fealolofaa’i ma ia Iloa Keriso ma Faailoa Atu o Ia i Nisi”

³⁶CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME - Cambridge English Dictionary. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary>

A Culturally Appropriate Classroom Management Practice at the National University of Samoa

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Abstract

Classroom management is a broad and comprehensive topic which covers the entire learning atmosphere and setting in an orderly manner, from start to finish and offers valuable tools for educators to improve practicalities and maintain an effective learning environment. In the context of tertiary education in Samoa, a culturally appropriate classroom management approach offers students an ideal learning space which in turn increases meaningful academic learning and facilitates social and emotional growth. This paper highlights the importance of classroom management and the roles of the teacher in creating and maintaining an effective and efficient learning environment. It also reports on a culturally appropriate classroom management approach and practices applied by the author at the National University of Samoa within the Diploma in Tourism second year programme.

Key words: *Culturally appropriate Classroom Management, Teacher-Student Relationship, Positive Learning Environment, Role of Teacher in Classroom Management*

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to explore, evaluate and document my own professional practice and classroom management practice within the Diploma in Tourism programme at the National University of Samoa. Classroom management arguably plays a key role in the education system and is considered an essential part of every classroom where teacher effectiveness is paramount. The originality of the term 'Classroom Management' is not known but it is understood to have been around for quite some time now. Classroom Management was made known for the first time in a high-profile systematic study conducted by Kounin (1970) that coded the behaviour of students and teachers; and made Classroom Management known for the first time (Marzano, Marzano and Pickering 2003). Equally, Brophy and Everston (1976) echoed the same idea, highlighting teaching behaviour and effective classroom management in determining teaching success.

I had no formal teacher training in Samoa, but my postgraduate studies overseas saw me taking papers in education, psychology, curriculum, and assessment. I remember one local school principal once said, 'the work of teachers would have been very easy if all the students were well behaved'. With such sentiments, it is

safe to say that to be an effective teacher, apart from mastering one's subject matter, one must be able to deliver a lesson factoring in the learners' visual, auditory, or kinesthetic learning styles with some basic understanding of how to manage students' behaviour and attitudes in class.

This paper is divided into five parts. The first part defines classroom management and considers some key findings from the literature. The second part delves into the role of the teacher and the importance of student relationships. The third part will consider my own journey as a tertiary teacher and how I have used a culturally appropriate approach to manage my own classroom in the context of the Diploma in Tourism courses that I taught at the National University of Samoa. The fourth part is evaluating my own professional practice using De Lautour's (2009) Appreciative Inquiry Approach (API). And the last part will conclude with implications for future research and some worthwhile ideas to improve one's professional practice.

Methodology

Two methods were used to compose this paper. Firstly, a review of the literature on classroom management was firstly conducted to understand the core concepts and principles of classroom management. Secondly, I applied two phases of De Lautour's (2009) Appreciative Inquiry (AI) methodology, namely the Discovery and Design phases to evaluate my own teaching experiences and application of classroom management in the context of tertiary education in Samoa.

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is a positive approach based on the philosophy of focusing and improving what works by identifying good practice, design, processes, and implementation strategies (Cockell and McArthur-Blair 2020, Hammond 1996). Initially, this research methodology was utilised to investigate and empower social organisational structures, but its success has extended the methodology from it being used in organisations to applying it in the field of education (Bushe, 1999; De Lautour, 2009).

Appreciative Inquiry (AI), according to Cooperider and Whitney (2000), focuses on positive aspects to foster and drive organizational change. It outlines the following four phases: Discovery, Dream, Design and Destiny. The Discovery phase identifies strengths and positive aspects of current practices, and the Dream phase involves envisioning possibilities based on the discoveries. Next is the Design phase which involves developing attainable goals aligned with AI principles; while the Destiny phase focuses on realising and strengthening these goals positively.

This paper applies the phases of Discovery and Design to evaluate my application of classroom management in the context of teaching Tourism courses to Samoan students attending the National University of Samoa.

A Review of the Literature

What is Classroom Management?

The concept of “Classroom Management” is defined by several authors in the context of effective teaching and creating a positive learning environment (Brophy 2006; Evertson and Weinstein 2006; Wong, Wont, Rogers & Brooks 2012). This review has highlighted the following three distinct working definitions:

“Classroom Management are the actions teachers take to create an environment that supports and facilitates both academic and social emotional learning” (Evertson and Weinstein 2006:4)

“Classroom management refers to actions taken to create and maintain a learning environment conducive to successful instruction (arranging the physical environment, establishing rules and procedures, maintaining students' attention to lessons and engagement in activities)” (Brophy 2006:17).

“Classroom Management refers to all the things that a teacher does to organize students, space, time, and materials so that student learning can take place” (Wong, Wont, Rogers and Brooks 2012: 61).

The core ideas remain the same from the three definitions of Classroom Management above. For Classroom Management and effective teaching to take place, it requires a supportive and respectful learning environment with a proactive and developmental way to promote growth and cognitive learning (Hue and Li 2008).

The three (3) definitions above show similar understanding of Classroom Management, as a matter of fact, these are the most frequently used in many research publications in the context of producing a positive learning environment as well as meaningful learning space. Considering these working definitions, it seems both focuses more on the teacher in implementing strategies for the students learning. For instance, taking actions for preventive measures rather than reactive classroom management procedures (Lewis and Sugai, 1999 as stated in Korpershoek, Harms, de Boer, van Kuijk, and Doolaard 2014). It doesn't specify any roles that the students should be playing in Classroom Management, instead the bulk of the work is placed on the teachers.

The definitions, however, fall short of showing that both teachers and students play a part in the learning process considering the changes nowadays with the student-centered approach which is slowly making its way into the education system (Korpershoek et al. 2014). In addition, we are living in a world where modern technology greatly assists the learning process while the teacher focuses on his or her responsibilities as the classroom manager, which means the students have control over their learning. There is insufficient amount of research to prove that the

essence of these definitions will consider the many changes in the learning environment, better yet improves student's learning. In fact, no studies have been conducted to explicitly reveal the effectiveness of Classroom Management in a more traditional approach versus the modern classroom approach (Korpershoek et al. 2014). This is the gap in the literature that this paper aims to bridge.

Teacher's Role in Classroom Management

There have been numerous studies investigating classroom management, embedded in a behaviourist understanding, with a focus on student's behaviour and discipline rather than the classroom setting itself (Smith 2020, Parsonson 2012, Berliner 1988; Brophy and Good 1986; Moskowitz and Hayman 1996). As Doyle (1986) states, that Classroom Management are actions and strategies teachers use to solve the problem of order in classrooms. A study by Woolfolk-Hoy and Weinstein (2006) reiterates the same belief that adopts the "traditional" or "custodial" orientation which refers to the teacher as the authority in a strict manner. Wubbels, Brekelmans, denBrok, and van Tartwijk (2006) assert that these teachers have a closer relationship with their students than directive teachers.

Positive classroom management has enormous potential for increasing student's motivation, learning and self-esteem and more specifically, positive disciplinary practices can give students a sense of achievement and control over their classroom behaviour (Gillborn 1993). Therefore, classroom discipline should be embraced as an intrinsic element of the students' academic, personal, and social growth. Conversely, as identified by Bellon, Bellon and Blank (1992) classroom management and discipline can be used simultaneously but bear in mind they are totally two different topics, and it should not be blended as if they were synonymous as cited in Marzano, Marzano and Pickering (2003). According to Marshall (2003) it is important to note that discipline is the student's responsibility on how they behave in the classroom whereas, classroom management refers to the teacher's role with how things are done and organised in the learning environment. The numbers of scholars who have conducted research on classroom management are of the view that it is more about understanding the class as a social system. The process of ensuring that classroom lessons are run smoothly despite students' disruptive behaviour emphasise that effective instruction requires effective classroom management, and that strong management skills are the foundation of strong teaching (Everston & Weinstein 2011; Marshall 2003; Marzano, Marzano and Pickering, 2003).

Consequently, classroom management is clarified as a package of everything that includes planning, preparation, decoration, organisation, the formation and enforcement of rules and procedures, as well as establishing and maintaining good

teacher-student relationships (Jones, Bailey and Jacob2014; Tan, Parsons, Hinson and Sardo-Brown, 2003). Classroom management therefore involves the teacher, the classroom, and the learning but not behaviour alone. Brophy (1986) reiterates this by explaining classroom management as a teacher's efforts to establish and maintain the classroom as an effective environment for teaching and learning. In practice, the teachers use management to influence and direct it in a constructive manner to set the stage for instruction, but not to control student behaviour (McLeod, Fisher and Hoover2003).

The Importance of Classroom Management

Classroom Management is well-thought out as one of the critical ingredients of effective teaching. (Marzano, Marzano and Pickering 2003). Managing a classroom is not an easy task to do especially having to grasp the right management skills and having to deal with each student's unique challenges in various educational backgrounds. Evertson & Weinston (2006) stated that Classroom Management remains a topic of enduring concerns by educators, administrators, and the public, as a matter of fact, it is carefully measured as the major cause of teacher burn-out and job dissatisfaction, resulted in confusion as to where Classroom Managements fits in the teacher's planning and preparations. According to a recent study that was conducted by Dicke, Elling, Schmeck and Leutner (2015) one of the most controversy and of course challenging part of the process are that beginning teachers go through the progress of becoming a teacher and when the chance is given to teach in a real classroom they have been branded by many names, such as "*praxis shock*" (Veenman1984), "*reality shock*", "*the survival phase*" (Huberman 1989), "*transition shock*" (Corcoran 1981), and even "*shattered dreams*" (Friedman 2000).

However, despite the considerable challenges of Classroom Management, it does not take away the fact that (Marzano, Marzano and Pickering 2003) it is rated first in terms of impact on student's achievements. Similarly, Oliver and Reschly (2007) (Stough 2015) also echoes the same idea that Classroom Management has a great impact on student's learning outcomes. Akin and Yildirim (2016) states that, it is one of the main elements of effective teaching. Student's cooperation on the other hand, through Classroom Management assists the teacher in doing his/her job effectively and at the same time helps to shape the students into fine young citizens. Metzger (2000) suggests that Classroom Management serves as the foundation of better citizens in the future.

Effective teaching strategies are all parts and pieces of the puzzles which considered an important aspect of Classroom Management, current practices in student learning adopted a more student-oriented approach, which students get the

most out of the teaching and the learning process which achieves optimal learning through Classroom Management. The most effective ones were highlighted by Marzano and Marzano (2003); US Peace Corp, 2008; Jones et al. (2014). These include: (1) getting to know your students, (2) creating a learning environment, (3) establishing classroom rules (4) procedures, (5) getting students' cooperation, (6) effectively managing the classroom activities, (7) finding effective management style, (8) managing discipline, etc. In addition, Classroom Management is also regarded as a condition for student's learning, by allowing teachers to accomplish other important instructional goals (Emmer and Stough 2001) Therefore it is a significant skill that teachers should acquire (Stoughton, 2007) that gives students little room for misbehaving (Van Housen, 2013).

Role of a Teacher in Classroom Management

Confidently, one of the most significant roles of the teachers in classroom is a 'Classroom Manager' (Marzano, Marzano and Pickering 2003). Although teachers have numerous roles to fulfill, Marzano and Marzano (2003) emphasizes that effectively managing the classroom is regarded as the most crucial one. The demonstration of effective manager generally requires having an organized learning environment with fewer problems to solve (Evertson, 1985, 1989)

Marzano, Marzano and Pickering (2003) also stated clearly that the teacher is one single factor that improves students learning regardless of how different they are in terms of achievements. In other words, if the teacher is ineffective the student will suffer inadequately in their academic achievements. Although, the motive is clear the dynamics on how the teachers yields such effects is complicated to achieve all the learning outcomes by focusing on one major role to produce teacher effectiveness What makes a good teacher in carrying out his/her roles is the centre of this part of the review.

In addition, three important roles identified by Marzano, Marzano and Pickering (2003) that the teacher must apply in the classroom; (1) making wise choices about the most effective instructional strategies to employ, (2) designing classroom curriculum to facilitate student learning, and (3) making effective use of classroom management techniques.

The teacher should know and understand their students better, hence they should learn to identify kinds of learners their students are in order to make it easier for them to choose the most relevant instructional methods to use. It is important for the teachers to note that not all learners are the same (Brophy 1996; Brophy and McCaslin 1992). Although collaborative learning might be highly effective in other learners, a different approach might be better in others. Designing the curriculum to

fit the needs of the learners to stimulate learning is another way of being an effective manager of the classroom. In addition, catering for the needs of the students accordingly helps to facilitate classroom management techniques for teacher effectiveness in pursuing their roles as classroom managers.

Additionally, Elias and Schwab (2006) reveals that teachers also play an essential role in the cognitive and social-emotional development of children by giving them the opportunity to learn, the autonomy to have control over their learning. Effective classroom management sets the stage for learning to have a more organized classroom settings with a motivating and inspiring learning environment. Alas, it is also interesting and imperative to note that moral curriculum works with the traditional belief to "obey the teacher as the authority" the teachers not only impose the rules but discuss them with the students (Wubbels, Brekelmans, den Brok and van Tartwijk 2006)

Student-Teacher Relationship

Classroom Management is a crucial part of the learning process that is important to both the teacher and the student. Having a student-teacher relationship can be challenging yet it will create a sense of belonging (Deci 1992) and impacted the students' interest and express feelings of working collaboratively as a team to provide meaningful learning, in spite the fact the teacher is the main change agent for effective teaching and creating a positive learning environment. As a result, academic successes will be achieved substantially and an important aspect of classroom management will be met (Wubbels et al. 2006).

A study that was conducted in the Netherlands by Wubbels et al.(2006) reveals that, a majority of teachers described the importance of creating and maintaining a positive student-teacher and peer relationship where students feel appreciated and supported. Teachers need to develop caring, respectful relationships with their students by paying greater attention to their needs, managing routines, rules and regulations in an orderly manner to maintain trustful relationships between the teachers and the students. .

One of the teachers in the Netherlands study said that they don't regard the classes as multicultural groups but instead they are the children from the neighborhood. In other words, they see them all the same in a way to make them feel comfortable and to have a sense of belonging in a positive learning environment. The Dutch teachers present themselves as "colorblind" meaning, despite the diversity of their students, with different ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds as well as different emotional and cognitive characteristics, in their

eyes they are all the same, hence having that strong and positive relationship with their students was all that mattered.

Marzano and Marzano (2003) provides evidence in one of their studies which implies that the teachers who had good relationships with their students had 31 percent fewer discipline problems, rule violations and related problems over a years' time compared to those who didn't. Evidently, having a strong student-teacher bonding helps the teacher in dealing with problems and misbehaviour among the students.

Similarly in the Pacific, a culturally appropriate classroom management approach would include: the building of strong relationships with students, their families and the community which is paramount (Thaman 2000). It would also include elements of respect for cultural values, community involvement, and student-centred teaching methods. One approach is the 'Pacific Pedagogy Framework', which emphasizes the importance of cultural responsiveness and local knowledge in education (Tu'inukuafe 2018). This framework suggests incorporating Pacific cultural practices, such as storytelling, into teaching methods to enhance student engagement and learning (Gaviglio 2016). Additionally, fostering a sense of belonging and inclusion within the classroom through culturally relevant curriculum and collaborative learning activities can contribute to positive classroom management outcomes (Anae et al. 2001).

More closer to home, a culturally appropriate classroom management approach for Samoa would prioritise respect for Samoan cultural values, community involvement, and student-centred learning. One effective approach is the *Fa'a-Samoa* Framework, which emphasizes the importance of traditional Samoan cultural practices in education (Savai'i 2012). This framework advocates for the integration of Samoan cultural values, such as respect for elders and communal learning, into classroom management strategies (Shore et al. 2016). Additionally incorporating Samoan language and cultural references into the curriculum can enhance student engagement and academic success (Moore 2009). Hence, understanding of the cultural context such as *Fa'a-Samoa* (or Samoan culture), cultural norms, values and traditions with an emphasis on respect, communal living and family ties is important. Incorporating local stories, history and examples into the curriculum as a means of not just making learning more relevant but also validating the students' cultural identities. By embracing *Fa'a-Samoa* principles and fostering a culturally inclusive learning environment, educators can promote positive classroom management outcomes and support the academic achievement of Samoan students.

As highlighted above, relationship building between the teacher and students is very important in classroom management both in the Western and Pacific classroom

setting. In the next section, I will share some of my experiences from my Samoan classroom.

My Journey as a Tertiary Teacher

I never thought that I would end up taking up teaching as my career, let alone teaching at university level. As the second youngest daughter from a family of nine siblings, I am the only one following in my father's career path. He was a teacher of the Samoan language and culture. He graduated from the Primary Teachers College in 1962 and started his teaching career in several Savaii schools. He retired in 1994 from the Samoa Teacher's College as a teacher educator. I started teaching at the National University of Samoa in 2013 as a Tourism studies lecturer having graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Tourism and Management from the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. It was a daunting undertaking at first but with guidance from my father and senior more experienced colleagues, I was able to quickly establish a routine with some good classroom practices. In 2015, a fellow teaching colleague and I were the recipients of scholarships under the Erasmus Mundus Awards funded by the EU to undertake Masterate qualifications at the Vrije Universiteit Brussels in Belgium. It was here that I was exposed to relevant literature on education, psychology as well as curriculum and assessments. I returned in 2017 and re-joined my teaching team at the National University of Samoa. I was able to apply most of the classroom management techniques learnt overseas in my classes in the Diploma in Tourism programme. However, there are additional contextual elements or factors at play that renders most of the classroom management strategies ineffective. These will be articulated in the following sections.

CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT IN ACTION – A Samoan Perspective

In this section, I discuss my application of a culturally appropriate classroom management approach as a lecturer in the Diploma in Tourism Programme and identify central issues to highlight that classroom management is context specific. Hence, central to my culturally appropriate classroom management approach is *Fa'a-Samoa* (or the Samoan culture) which plays a major role in the creation, practice, and evaluation of classroom management. The core elements of *Fa'a-Samoa* (love, respect, faith in God, reciprocity, extended family) are founding principles that guide and influence Samoan student behaviour. *Fa'aaloalo* (respect) is a fundamental element of Samoan culture that plays a huge part in how one Samoan relates, behaves, creates, and maintains relationships with one another. In the classroom, respect as a cultural practice has had positive effects on my classroom management.

Deci (1992), Jones, Bailey and Jacob (2014), Marzano and Marzano (2003) all argued that quality teacher-student relationship is an important aspect of classroom management. This is also evident in the context of classroom management in Samoa with further emphasis that Samoan culture is central to the quality of the teacher-student relationship. In my experience, the teacher-student relationship is another key feature of a culturally appropriate classroom management approach which shares similar characteristics to that of a Samoan traditional parent-child relationship. In Samoa, children are taught right from childhood to show respect and to be respectful of others. In the home, a respectful child is perceived as obedient, accommodating, conforms or submits to household rules, is not rebellious and shows hospitality. These family values and norms were observed in the classroom setting. My students were always respectful, helpful, polite, and cooperative in their behaviour toward me. In effect, the facilitation of my lectures, and the implementation of class activities were trouble-free and easier to manage. Another element of Samoan culture that existed in the teacher-student relationship was that of *alofa* (love). As a mother, my aspirations for my children to succeed and exceed in their studies were transferred across to my students. I wanted all my students to do well in their studies and to help achieve this goal, I regularly adopted a pastoral care approach to further mentor and provide study guidance and motivation.

There are aspects of the teacher-student relationship that were hindered by elements of *fa'aaloalo* (respect). For instance, I experienced that my students seldom initiate class interactions between themselves and myself. It is when I ask questions that they reply, or it is when I propose activities and ideas that they respond. My students hardly ever make open suggestions on ways to improve activities, assessments, and class delivery. Pereira (2016) in her study of student-teacher interactions in primary classrooms in Samoa suggest, student and teacher learning are constructed in and through the *vā* (space relationship), where teachers represent a high status compared to the low status of students. I believe the existence of space relationship defining status between people (parents and their children, village chief and untitled men, church minister and church members) has conditioned behaviour and impacted the way conversations and interactions are initiated in the classroom. I value student feedback and I encourage students to express their opinions and ideas however, it is most likely out of respect for the *vā* that my students choose to remain silent.

Student silence in the classroom however poses limitations in the teacher-student relationship. Lee Hang (2011) contends that student silence is a cultural communication practice and a mark of respect practised in the home. In my experience, students were silent for various reasons. The most common was fear of

being humiliated or mocked for providing the wrong answer. The Lee Hang (2011) study proposed written formative assessment strategies as a culturally appropriate way to assess the learning of students who exhibited student silence in the classroom. While Wubbels, et al.(2006) emphasise the teacher's role as important in maintaining a positive student-teacher relationship, it should be noted, that silence is a cultural tradition mainly practised by children and young adults in different situations (in the presence of visiting guests, in family/village meetings). Student feedback and increased student-teacher interaction remains a challenging task. My experience discards the notion presented by Marzano and Marzano(2003) that teachers who have good relationships with their students have fewer discipline problems. This is not the case in Samoa as the level of discipline was very much driven by the element of *fa'aaloalo* (respect).

Everston(1985, 1989) stressed the importance of having an organised learning environment. Furthermore, the success of classroom management is reflective of a teacher that effectively organises space, materials and creates a positive learning environment (Wong, Wont, Rogers and Brooks2012). In spite of this, there are factors contributing to a positive learning environment that are beyond the teacher's control that should be explored in the wider literature. In my experience, the surrounding atmosphere outside of my classroom (with nearby noisy students) caused a lot of distractions. There were also issues with room availability and classroom sizes to accommodate my large class numbers. Supporting resources such as the quality of the whiteboards also affected the delivery of my presentations. These resources contribute to the overall classroom management experience and require the support and attention of the education provider. The practical nature of the courses I teach also means that my culturally appropriate classroom management approach also applies to outside of the classroom. Field trips and industry visits are also considered in one's classroom management practice. Even though field excursions take place outside of the classroom, they are all part of the students' learning, which makes it an essential part of classroom management as these elements or factors significantly impact classroom management in Samoa. As mentioned earlier, numerous studies have focused on the role of the teacher, primarily on establishing an effective learning environment for the students. However, in my experience, a culturally appropriate classroom management approach focusing on the *Faasamoa* (or Samoan culture) and the key aspects of respect, relationship building and maintaining the *vā* are attributes that ensures, knowing your students well and establishing rules and procedures that students must adhere to in order to avoid disturbances during class is essential for effective classroom management.

Evaluating my Professional Practice

At the end of every semester, our Academic Quality Unit sends out the Course Evaluation Survey forms for students in each course to complete. This is a standard university practice required for all courses offered. It provides the opportunity for students to evaluate the teacher's delivery of the course, preparation of materials and whether the course was generally ok. While the Course Evaluation is useful when preparing for the next time you re-offer the course being evaluated, it is not so useful in terms of informing any remedial actions for the current students as the timing of the evaluation is always at the last week of lectures. Hence, the feedback will be useful to improve the course for the next lot of enrolled students in my course.

As stated earlier in the Methodology Section, two phases of the Appreciative Inquiry method, namely the Discovery and the Design phases, were applied to the evaluation of my own application of classroom management as a Tourism lecturer at the National University of Samoa. Hence in the Discovery phase, I have learnt that by adopting a pastoral care approach with a genuine concern for my student's wellbeing and asking about their family situation and background. I have discovered more about my students and have come to appreciate them and understand their struggles in life. This helps me in directing appropriate learning activities and instructions tailor made to each student's learning needs. In a way, the fact that the teacher now knows the family of the student enhances the student-teacher relationship by establishing a closer cultural bond and understanding where the cultural roles of teachers are similar to that of the parents, and as a consequence the teacher's actions of showing interest and care for the students learning and wellbeing is reciprocated with respect for the teacher resulting in students respectful behaviour in class. Hence, a culturally appropriate classroom management environment is established where learning takes place. With regards to the Design phase, this approach has enabled me to tailor made my teaching by diversifying my lessons and the instructions and activities to cater for the three different learning styles of my students. Most of them are visual learners and so I tend to use PowerPoint presentations with animations and relevant TED talk clips. Others are kinesthetic learners and therefore I use practical hands-on activities as well as field trips to address these learners' learning style. And finally, I often ask our auditory learners to close their eyes while I read to them a passage from a book or handout while the rest of the class read quietly their handouts.

Conclusion

While classroom management is a salient part of the learning process, that contributes to effective teaching which produces a positive learning environment, it seemed to be primarily introduced to manage student's behaviour instead of focusing on the management of the classroom. As noted earlier, classroom management is more than just disciplining the students. Furthermore, this analysis has clearly pointed out the role of a teacher as the main actor in managing the classroom accordingly, by clearly stating the rules and expectations of the teachers especially on the first day of school. Maintaining a good student-teacher relationship with the student has also proven to have an immense impact on good Classroom Management.

In summary, classroom management is a crucial part of the process in which the teacher has a significant role to play, to create a positive learning environment and at the same time try to balance an encouraging student-teacher relationship with the student. The teacher has various roles and responsibilities but the most important one of all these roles is that of a "Classroom Manager". Whilst this analysis helps the teachers to understand their roles as classroom managers, the literature reviewed fell short to show that students also play an important role as an important element of the process yet this was not specified like the role of a teacher. Future research will be recommended specifically on the role of the students. However, it should be noted that my own classroom practice has shown that the students role is imperative and that a culturally appropriate classroom management approach should be adopted.

Implications

This paper has identified and discussed the values and benefits of classroom management. It has also highlighted the core responsibilities and roles of the teacher in classroom management and emphasised the significance of creating and maintaining positive teacher-student relationships. I note from my personal experiences as a Tourism lecturer in Samoa that *Fa'a Samoa* (Samoa culture) plays a huge part in the design and implementation of classroom management. The cultural elements *fa'aaloalo* (respect), *le tautala* (silence), *alofa* (love) has influenced not only my roles and responsibilities as a lecturer, but these same elements also affect teacher-student relationships.

The influence of culture in classroom management implies that the design, implementation, and evaluation of classroom management are context specific. Effective and efficient classroom management practices in the context of tertiary

education in Samoa were not a direct result of positive teacher-student relationships. Instead, their pre-existence in the classroom is largely attributed to the cultural values of *fa'aaloalo* (respect) as previously identified. This suggests, classroom management practices should be considered in light of the cultural contexts it is applied in.

This paper calls for future research to investigate the influence of culture on classroom management design, processes, implementation, and evaluation. An empirical investigation on how classroom management is implemented in different cultural environments and settings would offer a more general view of successful effective and efficient classroom management practices and contribute to the current literature. A good idea to delve more into this phenomenon via an empirical research

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Understanding the Curriculum Process: Business Studies in Samoa

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Abstract

Commercial Studies (Business Studies) was introduced to Samoa Secondary Schools in the mid-1980s as a vocational subject. Its' content was more theoretical in nature compared to vocational subjects like Design Technology, Food and Textile Technology, (Ministry of Education Curriculum Overview, 1998; Okoro, 2011). The publication of the Western Samoa Education Policies 1995-2005 clearly recognized the intention to make changes within the education system in Samoa (Western Samoa Curriculum Overview Document, July 1998). The dual-stream system was then changed to a single-stream system; and thus, harmonizing the curriculum outline for all schools in Samoa. This was also in line with the new structure of Junior High Schools to become Senior Secondary Schools. The Junior High Schools (Years 9-11) were renamed secondary schools (Years 9-12) and when Year 12 level was added all students became eligible to sit the Samoan School Certificate Examination. The Curriculum Materials and Assessment Division (CMAD) designed, developed and revised curriculum and support materials for all schools. Each subject area has a Curriculum Officer within the division and a subject committee comprising of selected teachers from government, mission and private schools (MESC Strategic Policies and Plan, 2006). The Business Studies Curriculum Statement applies to all secondary school students in Samoa (Years 9 to 13), irrespective of gender, ethnicity, belief, ability, social or cultural background (Western Samoa Curriculum Overview Document, 1998). This paper discusses the process of curriculum development in Business Studies from what was in the past (forty years ago) to the present. It describes the curriculum theory, curriculum development process, curriculum development models, curriculum documents and other related research on curriculum implementation pertinent to a full understanding of Business Studies as taught in schools in Samoa.

Key Words: *Business Studies; Curriculum development; Curriculum materials*

Introduction

Business Studies generally aims to equip teachers with best knowledge and relevant tools on how to encompass student participation in economic activities and to cope with the complexities of modern financial resource management. Thus, nurtures the teaching of accounting and economic topics in all Secondary School levels. However, as identified in the past an imbalance existed in both disciplines from Year 9 to Year 13, which resulted in an immediate revision of the curriculum. A Business Studies Committee was established to review the Strands thus, the four-year level plan was adopted by the Ministry of Education, Sports & Culture (MESC) which consists the following components: Accounting Applications; Financial Accounting; The

Accounting Process; Financial Studies; Production; Consumption and Market; (Business Studies Years 9 – 12 Samoa Secondary Curriculum, 2021).

Curriculum Theory

Many education authorities including Ministries of Education have realised that the old fact-based curricula needed to be replaced by one that emphasised the development of thinking skills, interpersonal skills and creativity rather than simply mastering pieces of past knowledge (Sahlberg, 2005). (Chaudhary, 2015) further points out various factors affecting implementation of curriculum for students need to be considered, with the “learner” being the central factor of the implementation process. These factors include culture, student upbringing and home environment. For example, students raised in a more traditional Samoan household can have different learning needs to students who are from *afakasi* (mixed marriage) households. On the contrary, students in rural areas (villages) and from low-income families will have substantially different learning needs or level of access to resources and materials compared to students who are from urban areas given their convenient access to better facilities and resources.

Morris (1995) stated that governments have stressed legal responsibility to ensure that all pupils have access to a curriculum which has some common elements and that all pupils achieve some minimum levels of competency.

The education system in Samoa was a dual system where the curriculum taught in college (Years 9-13) was different from the curriculum in the junior high schools (Years 9-11). Thus, government policies mandated the change to a single stream system where all secondary schools in Samoa would teach the same curriculum at all levels (Years 9-13). As such, the teaching of Business Studies in the schools was refurbished and established to meet the current changes nationally and globally (WS Curriculum Overview Document, July 1998).

This is also supported by (Haynes, 2000) in her minor thesis stating that the curriculum currently taught in New Zealand schools is the outcome of reforms to the education system that was instituted in the 1980s by the Labour Government and continued in the 1990s by the National Government.

In Africa, (Quan-Baffour, 2009) stated that to make education reflect the ideals and principles of a democratic country the new government that came into power in 1994 had to make drastic changes to both the curriculum and the school system as a whole to give every school child access to education and equal opportunity to work. The education transformation made it mandatory for all schools (rural or urban) to teach the same subjects.

Moreover, in 1986 India implemented the National Policy on Education that initiated a long-term series of programs to improve its education system and ensured all children through primary level have access to education of comparable quality irrespective of caste, creed, location, or sex. By 1995, all children up to age fourteen would have had free and compulsory education (Ministry of Education Report, 1986).

The law in England required all schools to offer pupils a balanced and broadly based curriculum encouraging them to learn and achieve; to promote students' spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development; and to prepare students for opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life (Machin and Vignoles, 2006).

In 1994, the Indonesian government introduced curriculum reform consisting of a national curriculum (80%) and flexibility given to the provinces in adjusting the curriculum to local needs. The Local Content Curriculum (LCC) aimed at the local situation and context while the national curriculum focused on national development (Minho, Clementina and Erry, 1990).

The Pakistan 1976 Act of Parliament authorized the Ministry of Education (MOE) to appoint competent authorities to perform the different curriculum-related functions (UNESCO, 1998). Certain educational functions such as curriculum planning, policy and designing educational standards were the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education.

The Curriculum Development Process

Most written curricula incorporate one of two forms: a written curriculum syllabus and a curriculum package. A curriculum syllabus includes a rationale for choice of content, goals, and details of expected learning outcomes. A curriculum package consists of textbooks, instructional aids, and tests for students for teacher self-evaluation. It usually includes a teacher's guide containing a comprehensive syllabus, the rationale for choices of content items, teaching goals, and teaching suggestions (Shkedi, 2009).

After extensive consultations between personnel in the ministry (Business Studies Coordinator), the Business Studies committee members and consultants from the development project, a decision was accepted to draft a curriculum document.

The Business Studies curriculum is similar to all other subject areas developed and based on the Samoa Secondary School Curriculum Overview Document with the help of New Zealand consultants in the development project. A national document called the '*Business Studies Curriculum Statement*' was pursued to identify the six Business

Studies strands: Production, Consumption, The Market, Accounting Applications, Financial Accounting and Accounting Process.

There were regular consultation meetings after which trainings of trainers (committee members) were conducted. The committee members trained by the consultants were familiar with the scope of the curriculum statement. The main focus was to understand the content in each of the six strands at different levels (Years 9-13).

The next step involved in-service training workshops for Business Studies teachers from different schools (government, mission, private). The workshops conducted by the trainers through the ministry to familiarize teacher with the curriculum documents (Curriculum Statement and Students' Books)

Further, teachers were given curriculum packages to assist through the development of the curriculum contents, goals, and ideas that transcended the writer's intentions and translated into practice in the local context. Hence begs a question whether teachers as curriculum 'users' consistently follow the thread of the curriculum writer's objectives from the syllabus to the 'package' and finally to classroom teaching (Shkedi, 2009)

Different Curriculum Development Models

The most common curriculum model below is Tyler's (1949) model, cited by Brady (1995) and commonly known as the objectives model (Figure 1) suits the development of the Business Studies curriculum. Tyler's model outlined how to design the curriculum. (Grundy, 1987 and Eisner, 1979) cited by (Marsh, 1992) continues to be widely used in many countries because of its clarity.

Figure 1: The Objectives Model

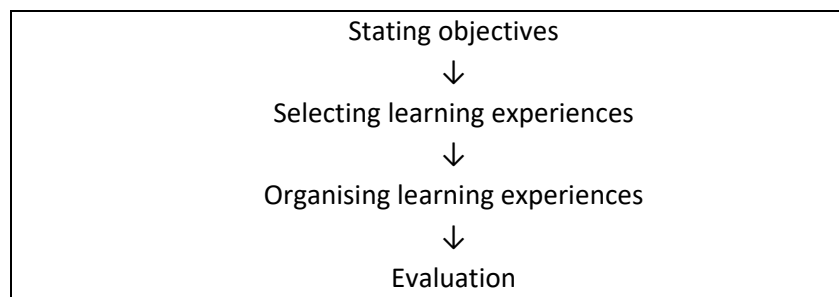


Figure 1 describes the steps in developing a curriculum by making objectives the essential first step before determination of content and methods to achieve those objectives. The learning experiences selected and organized vis., before the

evaluation process. Brady (1995) stated that the process of evaluation determined the extent in which objectives achieved through the selected content and method.

(Prideaux n.d.,) mentioned that prescriptive models like the “objectives model,” which arose from the initial work of Tyler distinguished the specification of verbs acceptable when writing the so called “behavioural objectives.” Once defined, the objectives were then used to determine the other elements of the curriculum (content, teaching and learning strategies, assessment and evaluation).

This is supported by the behavioural approach coined by Frederick Taylor, which is based on blueprints where goals and objectives are specified, content and activities are also arranged to match the learning objectives set at the beginning aimed to achieve efficiency (Alonsabe, n.d.,). Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) emphasized the importance of planning in curriculum design. They also noted that although many curriculum models existed, most were classified as Technical or Non-Technical approaches. In the Technical–Scientific approach, curriculum development is a useful blueprint for structuring the learning environment. The approach has been described as logical, efficient and effective in delivering education.

(Maclean, 2006) stated that nursing education accepted the Tylerian approach to demonstrate acceptable levels of competence for nursing practice because of the technical view of curriculum epitomized by the Tylerian objectives-based model that focused on measurable, quantifiable outcomes partly for nursing as a profession. However, in her study she examined the appropriateness of the behavioural measurement of outcomes for nursing educational practices. She stated that nursing education must shift its focus from the technical curriculum to encompass humanistic principles and critical reflection, compatible with currently accepted nursing values.

Similarly, development of the Business Studies curriculum followed this model. The first step specified the aim and objectives of Business Studies followed by the strands (content). In terms of the strands, the decision made for three economics and three accounting strands from Years 9-13 indicating a balance for both economics and accounting topics. Each strand has specific aims developed from the general aim. In this case, specific aim for the strand with the achievement objectives designed to focus the teacher on the learning experiences students would take part. The specific aims of each strand established a clear and structured progression of achievement objectives that span Years 9-11 for Business Studies, Years 12 and 13 for economics and accounting as illustrated by Figure 2 below.

(Hawes, 1979) cited by (Pasha, 2012) proposed student-centered models in which the teacher acted as facilitator rather than content authority. The model focused on

the importance of aspects of physical situation, teacher behavior, and pupil behavior, which added to the four main existing components.

Tyler's model has attracted some criticism—for example, it is difficult and time consuming to construct behavioural objectives. A more serious criticism is that the model restricted the curriculum to a narrow range of student skills and knowledge that can be readily expressed in behavioural terms. Higher order thinking, problem solving, and processes for acquiring values may be excluded because they could not be simply stated in behavioural terms. As a consequent of such criticism, the objectives model has waned in popularity. The importance of being clear about the purpose of the curriculum is well accepted. Clearly stated objectives provided a good starting point, but behavioural objectives are no longer accepted as the “gold standard” for curriculum design.

Similarly, criticism in higher education that these models are over-burdening curriculum and showed lack of coherence and inadequate skills of graduates. Hence, new higher education curriculum models have been developed to accommodate new means of delivery, access and storage of information and to incorporate more flexibility into the existing curriculum to provide better access for a wider range of students (Moran, 1995; Tinkler, Lepani and Mitchell, 1996; Mitchell and Bluer, 1997) cited by (Pasha, 2012).

On the other hand, in the non-technical, non-scientific approach there are many different curriculum models (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). The key focus in this approach is not on the content, or learning outcomes, but on the learner. The two examples of non-technical are deliberative models addressed to complete freedom for students to choose what they would like to learn; and the post-positivist, a non-prescriptive approach that allowed for unexpected and creative learning to occur (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). In contrast, Alsubaie (2016) explores a different approach that is more teacher focused. Thus underscores the essential role the teacher has in implementing a curriculum model and states that it is the last important stage in curriculum development.

Further (Handler, 2010) believes the teacher should be an integral part in the development of any curriculum, and therefore their involvement in the process is mandatory.

Figure 2: Structure of the Business Studies Curriculum

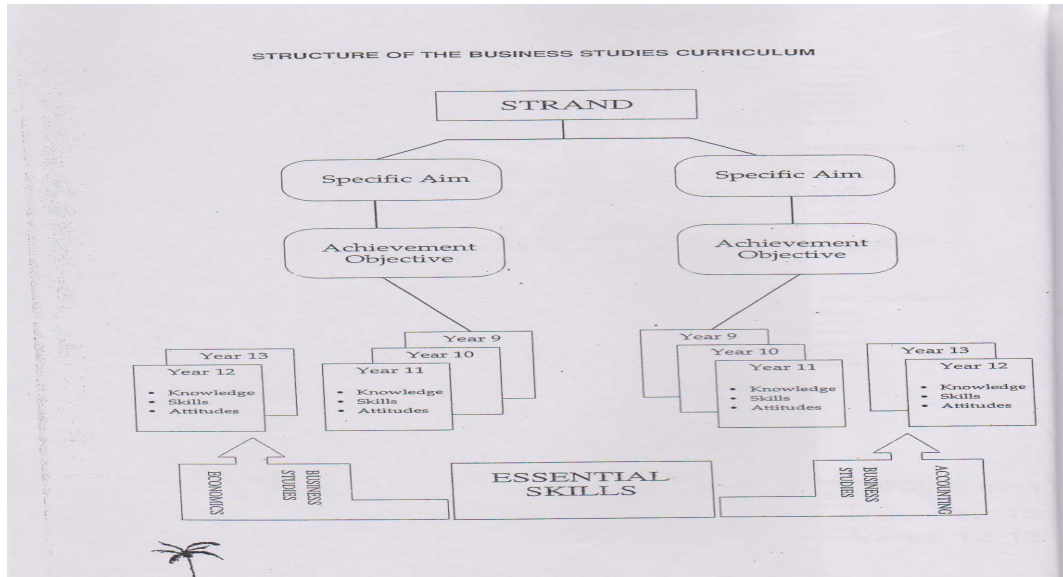


Figure 2 describes the structure of Business Studies curriculum at all levels (Years 9-13) and what is taught at each level. Years 9 to 11 are taught Business Studies while at Years 12 and 13 economics and accounting are taught as two separate subjects (Ministry of Education – Business Studies Curriculum Statement, 1998). Essential skills such as communication and language are also emphasised with teachers attending to communication (speaking, writing) and language (listening, reading, and viewing) as requirements of Business Studies. These skills are taught together with the appropriate content (Ministry of Education Samoa Secondary School Curriculum Overview Document, 1998).

Curriculum Documents – Official Guide for Teachers

Teachers enjoy teaching others if they are taught well and know what and how to teach. A case study by (Treagust and Rennie 1993) involving six Australian secondary schools in implementing technology in the school curriculum confirmed the need for complete documentation about intended and implementation so that new faculty members are kept informed about direction and progress.

(McGee 1997) attested that curriculum statements are part of the total curriculum. These form the basis on which curriculum decisions in contexts made and work alongside class programmes. While there are many different factors that shape what happens in teaching and learning, curriculum documents remain the key factor (Luke et al., 2016). Hence, map out the level of knowledge, skill, and content

taught by teachers in their relevant subject areas, like Business Studies. Curriculum materials for the secondary level included curriculum statements for subject areas, students' books, teacher guides, off the shelf texts and in-service modules supplied by the ministry every five years (Ministry of Education Strategic Policies and Plan, 2006-2015). Hence, the Business Studies curriculum statement for Years 9-12 adhered to all secondary schools in Samoa, irrespective of gender, ethnicity, belief, and ability, social or cultural background.

The Business Studies curriculum in Samoa delineated the progression of skills and knowledge for students in secondary schools. Its framework based on the ten principles that linked the national curriculum to the day-to-day school curriculum, scope of the curriculum statement, general aims, specific aims, approaches to teaching and learning, including language and communication skills, curriculum strands and achievement objectives.

Students' textbooks (Book 1 Economics, book 2 Accounting) were developed and distributed to all the schools (government, mission and private). Teachers use students' books (Books 1 and 2) as guide to the yearly programmes and plan to prepare units of economics and accounting for classroom teaching.

The Importance of Professional Development in Teacher Quality

McGee (1997) argued teachers placed in a central role as curriculum decision makers should have a high degree of professional autonomy. (Alsubaie, 2016) strongly supported this and more recently reiterated the same thing - that there should be major advances in teacher development in order for teachers to actively reflect on society's needs in each stage of the curriculum development process. To enable teachers to carry out their curriculum implementation task effectively, they need to be given ample opportunities to familiarize themselves with the curriculum and curriculum related issues. Higher-quality teachers can engage in higher-quality teaching practices in their classrooms may lead to improved student learning outcomes. This is the main expectation of all stakeholders of education – parents, students, government and the community. The high expectations of education stakeholders could be met when teachers' content knowledge is improved. In the process of upskilling and participating in curriculum development, teachers are empowered along the way which ultimately lead to increased performance and higher learning achievements (Carl, 2009).

Content knowledge according to (Shulman 1996) is the knowledge, understanding, skill and disposition that learned by schoolchildren. This content knowledge relies on the teacher having a good source of literature and a basic understanding of the

subject taught and a wider knowledge base to be able to impart alternative explanations of similar ideas or philosophies (Shulman, 1996).

(Shulman, 1996) in his early studies of teacher learning, emphasised pedagogical content knowledge as one aspect of conception that fits well with the centrality of subject matter. Furthermore, (Shulman 2002, 2003) paid more attention on how teachers transform their individual experiences into more generalized experiences. (Price, 2009) supported the need for teachers to have opportunities to be engaged in successful elements of in-depth professional learning such as in-class modelling, observation and feedback, and co-construction of teaching and planning where they would be able to demonstrate improved pedagogical content knowledge. Shulman and Shulman (2004) described an accomplished teacher as a member of a professional community who is ready, willing and able to teach and to learn from his or her experiences.

Boe and Gilford (1992) stated that the quality and competency of a teacher has a direct relationship to teacher qualifications, tested ability and teacher professionalism, the degree to which teachers are given responsibility and authority over their work and classroom practice. Saunders' (2000) viewed effective teachers at a mature stage of development are well versed in their subject matter. They practice pedagogy (i.e. teaching strategies) appropriate for content; create and sustain an effective learning environment; reflect on their teaching and children's responses; and make changes to the learning environment where necessary; have a strong sense of ethics, are committed to teaching and care about their students.

Professional development experiences enable teachers to continue to grow and inquire about their practices even after formal professional development has ended (Franke, Carpenter, Levi, & Fennema, 2001).

Positive Impacts of On-going Professional Development

A fundamental goal for teacher professional development is for teachers to learn how to continue learning from their practice. However, professional development often designed to help teachers learn to implement particular teaching techniques in single sessions (Hawley & Valli, 1999; Hill, 2004). The purpose of getting teachers committed to an innovation is to enhance their knowledge of the programmes. This means teachers need to be trained and workshops have to be organised from time to time so that there is support from within and outside the school in receiving on-going curriculum professional development (Science Curriculum Implementation Questionnaire) cited by (Minho, Clementina and Erry, 1990). This is further supported by Tournaki et al., (2011) in which they highlighted that one of their key

research findings was the need for professional development opportunities to be ongoing and highly focused on improving inquiry-based instruction.

In most developing countries, including South Africa, changes do take place in the curriculum from time to time according to society's current national needs. Teachers therefore need some in-service training to enable them to implement new changes in the curriculum (Quan-Baffour & Arko-Achemfour, 2009)

In-service training is part of the general professional growth of teachers and continuous professional development of teachers support student learning and achievement. It may involve activities that develop individual teacher's skills, knowledge, expertise and other desired teacher characteristics. Moreover, as a structural training activity it also develops the skills and capabilities of teachers in defined areas with the purpose of enhancing student learning (Kriek, 2005). In-service training regarded as professional development relating to life-long development programmes that focus on a wide range of knowledge, skills and attitudes designed to promote personal and professional growth and to teach students more effectively.

Findings that emerged from research on a '*Review of 10 Mathematics Inservice Project*' (MIP, 1989) verified that regular and ongoing fortnightly workshop sessions enabled participants to try ideas in their classrooms and reflect on their experiences at subsequent sessions. These sessions allowed participants to mix regularly with their peers as well as discuss and explore various issues relating to mathematics education.

Professional development continues at different levels to update teachers and to build up a relationship with ministry personnel, a relationship with other teachers in their region (districts) and a relationship in their own schools. McGee (1997) corroborated that teacher development occurs at various levels; national level, regional level and school- based level. Thus, this collaboration among teachers is a goal that has received wide attention towards school improvement and individual teacher development.

Effective Development and Processes

Effective professional learning challenged teachers' prevailing beliefs (Timperley et al., 2007). It was identified the majority of teachers were not comfortable in both economics and accounting, which was a concern in the teaching of the subjects as those that preferred accounting would concentrate on that and likewise if the teacher was more comfortable with economics. Bell and Gilbert (1996) stated that professional development as a part of teacher development involved not only the use of different teaching activities but also the development of the beliefs and

conceptions underlying the activities. Little (1984) supported this view that leaders who themselves model effective professional learning, learn more by examining their own practice and working alongside staff as they puzzle their way through improvement efforts together.

McArdle and Coutts (2003) identified two of the personal qualities of teachers considered good at their job. First, the sense of strength (an ability indeed a desire to make things happen and to act effectively), and second, the confidence to be comfortable with responsibility and to continue to act. McArdle and Coutts believed that the presence of these qualities assisted teachers to become better teachers and to contribute to activities that would develop them even more.

A shortage of appropriately trained economics and accounting teachers capable of providing the necessary teaching had been identified in earlier years and still continued to be an issue. A subject inspection report (Department of Education, 2002) provided by an overseas consultant conducting the trainers' training workshop, was still relevant to accounting and economics lecturers. Teaching and fostering interests amongst accounting and economics students require improved content knowledge by using a variety of textbooks and easy access to internet as sources of information apart from the curriculum materials provided.

Forms of Teacher Collaboration

In order to master the processes of teaching, teachers are also being encouraged to acquire attributes such as commitment to continuous formal and informal professional learning to respond to the rapid changing world of their students and the demands of policy for improving standards (Cochran-Smith and Little, 1992; Day, 1999). (Hargreaves 1992) pointed out that social development could facilitate to a certain extent when teachers' beliefs and values strengthened their own development and those of others. Staff retreat and departmental meetings open up avenues for teachers to discuss and update the curriculum. Professional development activities like unit planning, resource making, and compilation of lesson presentations need to be shared amongst teachers.

(Nelson and Slavit, 2009) reiterated that support should be given to teachers to grow professionally. (Smith et al., 2003) in their paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education and New Zealand Association for Research in Education in Auckland reported ways in which professional groups (school-wide improvement, staff development and classroom development) in schools could contribute to creating professional learning and teaching in the classrooms, with staff members as well as the schools. Teachers should share impressive pedagogical practices with colleagues to benefit all.

The Ministry of Education started Business Studies in-service of secondary teachers in 1991 with an Australian funded project. The focus was mainly on the content where the overseas consultant and facilitators discussed the syllabus with the participants. However, not all teachers had a chance to attend. This was due to limited funds so only a few invited to participate. Thus, teacher that attended these benefited from the training and these participants tasked to share their experiences and knowledge with teachers of their own districts or their own schools.

(McGee, 1997) articulated that teacher development occurred at various levels; national level, regional level and school- based level. Therefore, collaboration among teachers is a goal that has received more attention towards school improvement and individual teacher development. Furthermore, the principals arranged regional meetings between schools in their own districts and school based workshops discussing what had already covered in the national level training. This has not been the case for years as people tended to focus only on the training conducted by the ministry as (Fine, 1993) pointed out that school-based resources and decision-making had been narrowed vis., expansion. Exchange of teaching between teachers of the same district contributed to positive relationship with each other and assisted in improving curriculum needs. As (Hargreaves, 1994), (Talbert and MacLaughlin, 1994) pointed out teachers must have the desire to know how to learn from and collaborate effectively with others around them – colleagues, leaders, students and themselves.

(Ronfeldt et al., 2015) expanded more on this teacher collaboration concept by acknowledging there is a wide variation between teacher collaborations across different schools. Some teachers were frequently meeting to learn from each other, while others rarely had meetings or any collaborative opportunities. The positive correlation between higher teacher collaboration and higher learner achievements remains a challenge where schools and countries are different.

Certified Teachers vs Trained Teachers

Some teachers have no business trainings were assigned to teach Business Studies whilst trained Business Studies teachers do not teach the subject. Given the contemporary dilemma, teachers with just alternative teaching certificates are teaching in classes against teachers who undertook a full teacher education programme. This has resulted the school-based programme was not implemented by the principal and staff. Trainings delivered by the ministry were conducted occasionally in schools for teachers to plan their own program in alignment with the ministry's program. (Linek et al, 2012) goes into detail regarding the current issue with a teacher getting an alternative certification but with knowledge and relevant

practical experience to the subject area which we will refer to as “certified teacher”, and a teacher who has undertaken a full teaching program majoring in the subject area, in this case, “trained teacher”. There is a lot of discontent around the current issue. Lately, certified teachers have become increasingly common, although, its’ effectiveness over the traditional counter-option remains undefined.

A case study by Quan-Baffour and Achemfour (2009) on ‘*An Agenda to Improve Business Studies Teaching in South African Countryside Schools*’ expressed that teachers should be more qualified and knowledgeable in particular subjects and very conversant with delivery methods. These two authors observed many accounting, economics and management teachers have insufficient content knowledge of the subjects they teach. The reason being that most countryside teachers were trained in under-resourced training colleges with little emphasis on content knowledge of Business Studies subjects.

The South African Department of Education (2003) affirmed that the kind of teacher envisaged to contribute to the transformation of education through effective teaching should be well qualified. (Saunders, 2000) viewed effective teachers as using pedagogy appropriate for content to create and sustain an effective learning environment; it supported one of the goals of the Samoa education system (Western Samoa Education Policies, 1995-2005) as;

“Formation of active, interactive and creative pedagogies to develop the ability to analyse knowledge critically in a learning environment which encourages inquiry, debate and independent thought and stimulate imagination and allow for individual expression” (Western Samoa Curriculum Overview Document, 1998, p. 3)

Australian Schools Council (1990) stated that teachers needed to have a thorough grasp of the content of what they are teaching. Their knowledge should be sufficient to have an understanding of the underlying structure of their subject matter, and its relationship to other areas of knowledge. They should be able to convey its complexity and richness thus sound teachers as labeled by (Arko-Achemfour and Quan-Baffour, 2009) would positively affect decisions on curriculum implementation. There is a need to be flexible with what we plan, how we organize, what we teach, how we teach to be able to move along with our work.

(McArdle and Coutts, 2003) paper reported that experiences of designing, leading and teaching programs drawn on continuing professional development of teachers in primary, secondary, tertiary schools, had in common a focus on post-qualifying studies. The participants were already qualified and had experience of working in their chosen profession undertaking further studies in the same profession. The programs emphasised improvement and extension of professional practice through academic studies at either undergraduate or postgraduate levels.

Like any other new educational programme, successful implementation of the Business Studies curriculum at the junior secondary school is dependent on the availability of the necessary equipment and materials as well as competent teachers (Iyeke and Okoro 2004) and (Amaewhule and Okwuanaso 2004) cited by (Okoro 2011). The importance of qualified teachers in an educational programme cannot be overemphasised. (Osu, 1988) and (Anadi, 1992) cited by (Okoro, 2011) noted that the strength of an educational system is largely dependent on the quality of its teachers.

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Reflection-In-Action as a model for Reflection: A tertiary teacher's account from Samoa

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Abstract

Whether formally or informally, reflection is a natural process that we all experience in life. Reflection is central in education and the process of it allows educators to identify areas that require improvement in their personal development and teaching practice. This paper highlights the author's application of Stage Two of Schön's (1991), Reflective Model, namely the Reflection-in-Action Stage in teaching management degree courses offered in the Bachelor of Commerce at the National University of Samoa. The author contends that Reflection-in-Action is an effective way to encourage the pursuit of excellence in teaching and promote a student-centred learning environment.

Keywords: reflection, reflect-in-action, tertiary education, Samoa,

Introduction

Reflection is part of life. As a people, be it at the workplace, village setting, church community or even in the comfort of our homes, we experience positive encounters alongside the unexpected twists and turns of life. Regardless of our role, identities and designations, reflection is an important tool for personal growth and development. In our personal lives, reflection often occurs in less formal ways where we reflect on our day's work while driving home, cooking, or even during television commercials. More formally, troubling experiences may be reflected in the presence of friends, spouses, support groups or counsellors (Daudelin 1996). In the field of teaching, reflection is considered crucial (Clara 2015). Through reflection, we as educators are able to pause, think about, reminisce, evaluate and appreciate the beauty of life while at the same time helping us to recover, learn from the blunders of our actions and find ways to strengthen and improve our character and personal development.

The concept of reflection is not new. Reflection and its importance were pointed out as far back as the times of the Ancient Greek Philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle emphasised it was possible to gain practical insight into the world and experience of it by paying attention to our emotions and our reflections in the 'real world' (Bulman 2008). The idea of considering reflection as a way to improve teacher practices can

be traced back to the work of John Dewey in 1933. An educationalist and philosopher by profession, Dewey (1933:9) defined reflection as

“Active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends”

In the context of teacher development, a significant number of studies have highlighted the benefits of reflection in influencing teachers’ thinking and practices (Glazer and Abbot 2004; Hatton and Smith 1995; Sweeney 2003; Zeichner and Liston 1996). Other common benefits emphasise on how reflection has been able to help teachers become more efficient and effective teachers through the process of evaluating strengths and weaknesses (Loughran 1995; Melville, Fazio, Bartley, and Jones 2008). Reflection has also enabled teachers to recognise their own mistakes and failures and identify student needs to better facilitate teaching practices, and assessment development and find ways to track student growth and process more effectively. Many authors contend that the process of critical reflection leads to more teachers becoming more confident in their classroom management skills and teaching delivery strategies (Korthagen 2010, Melville, Fazio, Bartley & Jones 2008, Slade, Burnham, Catalana, and Waters 2019). A fair number of teachers have also credited the process of reflection on their ability to improve and enhance their critical thinking and problem-solving skills, becoming more culturally inclusive while encouraging a positive learning environment (e.g. Brookfield 1995; Butville, Hanrhan and Wolkenhauer 2021; Calderhead 1989; Carrington and Selva 2010).

Dewey (1933) highlights, that effective educators are reflective educators and educators and need to engage regularly in a process of self-reflection to improve their professional practices. Although not all educators carry out reflective teaching (Shandomo 2010), Dewey (1933, 1938) maintains, that reflective teaching is a critical component of learning from experience as it is directly linked to an action or experience, and emotions and feelings are part of reflective thinking. Another philosopher who has played a critical role in the development of reflection in professional education is Donald Schön (1983, 1987, 1996). Schön (1983, 1987) based his work on that of Dewey (1933) and considered that practice is fundamental to development in education.

While Aristotle’s view of reflection is based on a reflection-on-action (where individuals think back after an experience on what they have done), (Schön 1987), concentrates more on reflection-in-action where people are able to think about their actions and practices during their experience of it. Jarvis 1992, notes that reflection is a lot more than thinking, and educators need to appreciate the potential of reflection to improve their performance by learning from their experiences.

Brockbank and McGill (1998) share the same sentiment that reflection is more than thinking as the process of reflection is intermingled with people's emotions and feelings and the goal is to learn from experience and practice ways to do better (Bulman, Lathlean and Gobbi 2012).

While reflection is crucial for teacher development in education, there is a degree of uncertainty as to the meaning of reflection due to the vast number of approaches to the concept (Clara 2015). For instance, Davis (2006) looks at reflection from a perspective of productive reflection which requires the teacher to integrate into their teaching different ideas to improve their teaching. Boud (2010) is another advocate of this type of reflection who has been widely referenced, but as organisational rather than an individual pursuit.

Postholm (2008) on the other hand views reflection as a forceful reflection while Korthagen (2001, 2010), argues that reflection is a transition between different types of knowledge. The ambiguity in the notion of reflection has been identified by various researchers (eg: Akbari 2007; Mena, Sanchez and Tillema 2011), posing challenges for teaching and education practice (Clara 2015; Rodgers 2002). Alden and Durham (2012) and Edwards (2013) talk about reflection-before-action and Edwards (2013, 2014) proposes reflection-beyond-action.

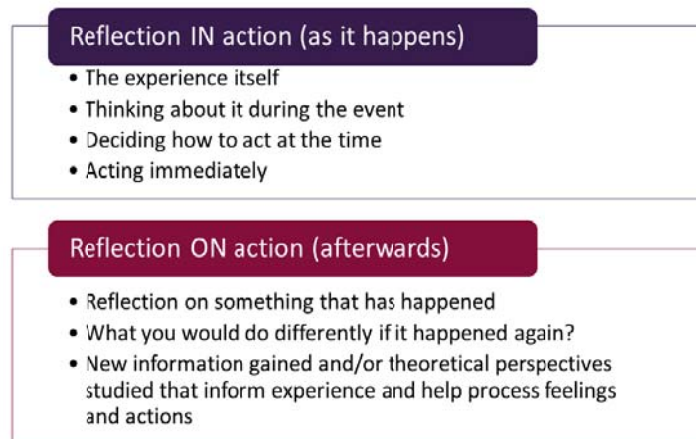
Despite the various notions of reflection in education, teaching and learning, reflection is an imperative component of a teacher's professional development. As a tool, it has been applied in many parts of education (Crowe and O'Malley 2006; Markkanen, Välimäki, Anttila and Kuuskorpi2020). Personal reflection associated with one's own performance provides critical insight into one's self-awareness, analysis, critique and evaluation of events (Boyd and Fales 1983; Wong, Kember, Chung, and Yan 1995). The most common reflective methods used by educators and practitioners of different disciplines are reflective journals and reflective writings, that document personal experiences and lessons learned (Crowe and O'Malley 2006; Schon 1991). In education, reflective teachers offer an opportunity to fulfil student needs more effectively, adapt teaching strategies to encourage student-centred learning techniques (Boyd and Fales 1983; Wong et al. 1995). Since reflection relies on the recollection of events and the methods used for pondering, assessing and evaluating an event or experience, Beavers, Orange and Kirkwood (2017) contend that reflection is effective when educators are provided with the right guidance and appropriate tools for reflection.

Searching for a Reflection Model

The vision of the National University of Samoa states: 'A university of excellence in research, Samoan studies, quality education and training in response to national and regional development needs' (NUS, 2023:36). The university promotes eight core values of which one emphasises the pursuit of excellence and seeks to apply the highest standards to benefit our communities. At the university, it is encouraged and expected that teachers engage in some form of reflection as a tool to improve teacher development and maintain quality training and education. However, that task is the individual responsibility of the lecturer and like Shandomo (2010), not all educators carry out reflective teaching. At our faculty level, much of the dialogue is around teacher reflection or any form of 'reflection on action' where lecturers after a semester would think back about what they have done (e.g. reflection on delivery and assessment methods, intervention techniques used for at-risk students to name a few). Informal reflection discussions take place in department meetings or between colleagues but staff have yet to engage in formal faculty or departmental-facilitated teacher reflection method. The only formal statistic that captures a lecturer's teaching performance is via student evaluations conducted at the end of the year.

The pursuit of excellence in teaching provides the motivation to search for established models of reflection as a way to help improve my teaching and development as a university lecturer. I came across Schön's (1991), Reflective Model in Semester 2 of 2021.

The SCHÖN (1991) Reflective Model



Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991), work has attracted much attention from teacher educators. Schön (1991), offered a model of reflection based on three concepts. The first is knowing-in-action, the second is reflection-in-action and the third is reflection-on-action. This above model is largely applied in health and medical care where nurses and caregivers are encouraged to use reflection-in-action as an approach to high alert responses to critical situations as they arise. It has also been widely applied across an extensive range of disciplines such as business, education, and social work (Clara 2015; Daudelin 1996; Munby 1989).

In stage one, knowing-in-action suggests that the educator is equipped with the right skills, qualifications and expertise to perform certain tasks. At this stage, an educator would be expected to be well aware of the course objectives, expected outcomes and delivery modes of the courses they are assigned to teach. They would have already organised lesson plans, activities and supplementary resources to ensure students have access to the learning materials and necessary equipment to achieve the learning outcomes of a course before the start of a course or programme.

In stage two, reflection-in-action represents the active evaluation of thoughts, actions, and practices during action and is also referred to as 'thinking on feet' during the process of teaching (Schön 1983, 1987, 1991). For educators, this means reflecting on actions that can be done to deal with situations happening in real-time in-class lectures, tutorials or student consultations. Furthermore, it also requires the educator to reflect on their emotions and feelings as the time of the experience as well as other factors that may have contributed to the occurrence of the experience.

In Stage Three, Reflection-on-action, includes a full account of the event or experience after it has happened. In this case, educators are required to reflect on the experience in terms of what happened, how it happened, why it happened, lessons learned and how educators can go about dealing with similar experiences in the future.

After reading various applications of the model, I was interested in Stage Two: reflection-in-action for many reasons. As a management and marketing lecturer, reflecting in action matters across organisational contexts (Weick 2002). The conceptual management skills I teach to my students in class considers the challenges of environmental uncertainty whereby the problem-solving skills of a manager are largely dependent on their ability to think on their feet. Given the disciplines I teach, I saw a relationship between Schön's(1983, 1987, 1991) reflection-in-action and the managerial skills that professionals practise. The response that practitioners apply in business and entrepreneurship also aligns with

Schön's (1987:26-9), reflection-in-action components: "routinized action, encounter of surprise, reflection and new action".

Yanow 2001 explains Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991) Reflection in Action takes place 'in the moment' such that the reflection takes place in the midst of action. In management and organisational studies, Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991) Reflection in Action influential work has been the focus of reflection and action in management practice. In fact, in business and entrepreneurship, Reflection in Action is considered the kind of thinking professionals are highly encouraged to engage in as it guides the way they think and perform their work (e.g. Yanow & Tsoukas 2009). Crossam and Sorrenti (2002:29) also promote this line of thought and stress that "spontaneous actions feature prominently in organisations". Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991) Reflection in Action work has been largely influential on professional work and experiences in various organisational settings such as teaching, planning, management, business, and nursing (Burgoyne and Reynolds 1997; Liedka and Rosenblum 1996; Vince 2002).

Application of Reflection in Action

In this section of the paper, it is important to firstly highlight that way one would go about applying Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991), Reflection in Action can be guided by the reflection questions identified by Ryan & Cooper (2006). I offer scenarios to demonstrate how I used the reflection questions by Ryan and Cooper (2006), to guide my application of Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991), Stage Two (Reflection in Action).

1. *What am I doing and why?*
2. *How can I better meet my students' needs?*
3. *What options are available?*
4. *How can I encourage more involvement or learning on the part of the students?*
5. *Have I considered my own values as a professional and my comfort level in acting on those values?*
6. *What conscious choice can I make to make a difference?*

Scenario 1: Changing individual problem-solving case scenarios to group interactive problem-solving discussions

One of the courses I teach is Business Strategic Management. This course is designed to enable the learner to demonstrate critical and strategic thinking, decision-making, analytical skills, and management and leadership skills through planning, managing and operating a business. I incorporated into my fourteen-week (14) semester lesson plan case study scenarios as activities to stimulate the student's critical thinking. Initially, I planned that at the start of each lesson, I would introduce as an

ice-breaker, a short (one-page) international case study relevant to the allocated management topic for the week. Each case study had up to four questions that students were expected to answer individually. In week two, the first case study titled: *'Bridgestone – Becoming the first tyre brand to synergise promoted answers and business profiles: Drive consideration through thought leadership'* was distributed at the beginning of the class.

Students were given five minutes to read the case study and another five minutes to complete the questions to be discussed. At the end of this activity, there was barely a discussion of the questions. From the student's feedback, more than half of them had not heard of Bridgestone as a company or a competitive tyre brand. Student answers were more descriptive and summative and lacked evidence of clear and rational thinking to justify their thoughts and answers. I realised from that moment forward, that I needed to rethink the types of case study scenarios if I were to continue using such activities to stimulate critical thinking.

In preparing for the week three ice-breaker activity, I applied the reflection questions approach by Ryan and Cooper (2006), to guide my application of Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991), Stage Two (Reflection in Action).

Table 1.1 Application of Ryan and Cooper's (2006) Reflection Questions

Ryan & Cooper (2006) Reflection Questions	Reflection Responses
1. What am I doing and why?	I am changing my approach to how I facilitate application-based case scenarios because my approach in Week 2 did not encourage or stimulate the critical and strategic thinking skills I wanted students to practise
2. How can I better meet my students' needs?	I need to find ways to better understand the different types of student learners (visual, auditory, read/write, kinaesthetic) I have in my classroom and attempt to customise activities to stimulate different learning styles
3. What options are available?	Explore local or regional business case studies whereby students are familiar with the companies I choose, or aim to distribute the case studies a week before they are discussed in class
4. How can I encourage more involvement or learning on the part of the students?	I may need to explain with examples or demonstrate how to critique and apply strategic thinking. I would have to find creative ways to foster an ethos of participation
5. Have I considered my own values as a professional and my comfort level in acting on those values?	The importance of providing quality teaching encourages me to explore new techniques to stimulate critical thinking and foster a positive learning environment
6. What conscious choice can I make to make a difference?	I am willing to change my usual way of teaching and class delivery for the benefit of my students.

I began to utilise Ryan and Cooper's (2006) Reflection Questions more often during the semester to help structure how I should reflect during the 'doing' stage (that is, reflecting on the incident while it can still benefit the learning). As an outcome of my application of Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991), Stage Two (Reflection in Action), instead of waiting for the class or the semester to end or waiting for the Student Evaluation results, I tweaked the facilitation of class activities to encourage student participation created a more student-oriented environment that promoted hands on

learning. For instance, during the week four lecture, I talked about a local example of Mena as a Fashion brand to contextualise management theoretical concepts. I observed a lot more response and discussion from the students.

In preparing for week four, I decided to contextualise the concepts covered for each week from this point forward to more local examples. There was a lack of local business case studies on any business or management concept. Instead of relying on international case studies to explain and elaborate on core concepts, I used a localisation approach and referred to local and Pacific business examples.

Throughout the semester, as I incorporated local and regional business examples to explain management theories, I noted a lot more student participation in the application of concepts to critical and strategic thinking. This was largely because the companies included in our discussions were local and familiar companies. I noticed an immediate change in student attitude toward management problem-solving. The level of interactive participation increased and I observed a positive display of student confidence and interest. My classroom experiences from weeks two and three completely changed how I facilitated class discussions, group activities and icebreakers right throughout the semester. From week five onwards, I included short video clips to help highlight key theoretical concepts relevant to various business problem-solving techniques and to help pinpoint effective risk management strategies in different business situations. These short video clips helped the students in the application stages of a theoretical concept.

This scenario demonstrates my attempt as a lecturer to improve my teaching. In weeks two and three, I reflected on my icebreaker techniques and took action based on 'real-time' classroom student responses and feedback. By applying a 'thinking on feet' approach advocated by Schön (1983, 1987, 1991), I felt that the students were provided with a more student-centred learning environment (Boyd and Fales 1983; Wong et al, 1995). The Student Evaluation results from this course indicated a 97% positive response to questions that related to student satisfaction with class delivery, level of student interest stimulated as a result of the course and students stating that the course sessions were interesting and engaging (See Student Evaluation - Table 1.2)

Table 1.2 illustrates the official results of the student evaluations conducted by the Quality Programs and Services Unit, at the National University of Samoa for Students-Evaluation for HMG390 (Business Strategic Management) Semester 2, 2022

Course: HMG390				
Class List: 38				
Respondents: 31 (82%)				
Academic Value				
	Positi ve (%)	Neut ral (%)	Negati ve (%)	Non Response (%)
1) I have achieved the course objective(s)	94	6	0	0
2) I think this course satisfies my expectations	100	0	0	0
3) I understand the course content	100	0	0	0
4) Class sessions are interesting and engaging	97	3	0	0
5) Class sessions are well organized	97	3	0	0
6) Student participation is encouraged	97	3	0	0
7) Students are aware what is expected of them	97	3	0	0
8) This course makes me more interested in this field of study	100	0	0	0
Course Work				
	Positi ve (%)	Neut ral (%)	Negati ve (%)	Non Response (%)
9) Assessment of this course was well spaced out	100	0	0	0
10) Feedback on assessment is useful to my learning	100	0	0	0
11) Feedback on assessment is timely	94	6	0	0
12) Assessment results are fair	87	13	0	0
13) Course readings are valuable to my learning	97	3	0	0
14) Course textbooks help me learn what I need to know	90	10	0	0
15) Course hand-outs and PowerPoint presentations are easy to understand	100	0	0	0
16) There are enough resources and equipment for all class sessions	94	6	0	0
Teaching Staff				

	Positive (%)	Neutral (%)	Negative (%)	Non Response (%)
17)The lecturer communicates clearly at all times	100	0	0	0
18) The lecturer is punctual and always present in classes	97	3	0	0
19)The lecturer provides help when I seek help	100	0	0	0
20)The lecturer is an effective teacher	97	3	0	0
21) Tutorials expand my understanding of the Course	100	0	0	0
22) The tutor communicates clearly at all times	100	0	0	0

Scenario Two: Progressive assignment checks

To further illustrate the usefulness of reflection-in-action to my teaching, I demonstrate a scenario in the Business Strategic Management (HMG390) course I teach. This course is a full course work paper. One of these assessments is the Group Business Management Plan worth 30 percent of the total course marks. This assessment covered all the learning outcomes of the course. Initially, I had planned to distribute the assignment instructions in week five. The students during the week three class suggested the option of receiving the final group report instructions in week four rather than the scheduled week five plan. In class, I assessed the type of students enrolled and realised that many of the students were part-time students and full-time working parents with many competing family, work, and community priorities.

From my assessment of the situation, I changed the approach to completing the final group report. Instead of providing students the opportunity to ask questions relating to the business management plan starting at week nine, I encouraged students to ask questions starting from week four. To ensure that students worked on their assignments early, I encouraged an assessment culture that promoted incremental work and introduced to the students the concept of living assignment document. The essence of this approach is based on the practice of starting any of the assignments and on a weekly basis, either in class, during tutorials or individual student consultations, students had the opportunity to show me their progress for comments and feedback. Their assignments therefore become living documents in the sense that amendments are not left to the due date of an assignment, but done much earlier in the process of completing an assignment.

My constant checking, revising, and providing feedback on students' living assignment documents provided better guidance and mentoring assistance that I could have if I had stuck to my initial planned schedule. My efforts to break down assignment tasks into clear, manageable and well monitored tasks is reflected in the Student Evaluation (see Table 1.2) indicated by a 100% positive result in students' feedback related to timing of course assessments and the timely feedback provided.

Discussion and Conclusion

Schön's Reflection in Action model (1983, 1987, 1991), helped me to improve my teaching. With the assistance of the questions provided by Ryan & Cooper (2006), the six questions were helpful in my application of Schön's (1983, 1987, 1991), Stage Two (Reflection in Action). The benefits of reflection on my own development echoes that of the current reflection literature. Firstly, having a structured set of questions to base my Reflection in Action on helped me to think about my class activities and assignment designs in a logical, easy-to-manage step-by-step process (Sweeney 2003; Zeichener and Liston 1996). I was able to identify areas of weakness that needed to be improved on (Melville, Fazio, Bartley, and Jones 2008).

The core reason for deciding to adapt and change throughout the semester teaching weeks was that I wanted to better cater for the needs of my students. By changing the way I facilitated application activities, I became more confident in my teaching and delivery strategies, a benefit also indicated in previous reflection studies (Slade, Burnham, Catalana, and Waters 2019). For instance, I noted that students were more responsive to local case studies than international case studies. By localising business management examples, I encouraged more participation and student involvement in their learning by contextualising theoretical concepts in local scenarios. Throughout Semester 2, 2022 I also pondered on my own values as a lecturer and although the common comfort level action would be to ignore and avoid constant change, I felt in my heart that I was not being true to my educator role if I was not willing to adapt to better teaching practices. The constant change in my teaching practices consumed a lot of energy and required a high degree of flexibility and active listening to my student's feedback. However making the conscious choice to improve and make a difference in teaching and learning was my ultimate drive in the pursuit of excellence in teaching.

Reflection was not an activity I actively invested time in until I started using it as a self-development tool last year. I discovered that the Reflection in Action technique was an effective way to overcome Reflection On Action, which is a reflection that is done at the end of a semester. The Reflection in Action allowed me to improve on

my teaching practice throughout the semester and I was able to address and find solutions to student concerns pertaining to my teaching styles (Waters 2019).

While it is true that not all educators engage in reflection, the process of effective reflection is necessary to the development of education at all levels (Schön 1987, 1991). I have realised the value of reflection on my own personal development and performance as a university lecturer. I feel that the Reflection in Action encouraged a positive student-centred learning environment, as I was able to change various teaching practices to meet the learning needs of local students. The subtle and sometimes radical changes made to my teaching techniques paid off. HMG390 students achieved above average marks and their level of satisfaction in various aspects of my teaching performance and delivery was indicated in the 97%-100% positive satisfaction rates. Student-centred learning techniques foster effective breeding grounds for effective teaching and learning (Boyd and Fales 1983; Wong et al 1995). Going forward, I am convinced that incorporating Ryan and Cooper's (2006) Reflection Questions helped to structure my approach to reflection. I envision that sharing my experiences in this paper will encourage more local lecturers to explore Reflection in Action as a way to improve their teaching practices and teacher development.

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Sāmoan Elders' Understanding of Age, Ageing and Wellness

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Abstract

Globally, the health and wellness of ageing populations are topical as people live longer. The Pacific population in New Zealand is similarly ageing. However, little is known about their health, meaning research on their wellness is sparse. Equally, there is a dearth of knowledge about Pacific people's ageing experiences as migrants in New Zealand. This study explored Sāmoan elders' understanding of age, ageing and wellness. It employed a qualitative approach through a Sāmoan lens using talanoa with four focus groups and eight individual interviews with participants aged between 63 and 84 years. Thematic analysis of the data revealed that Sāmoan elders had their own words and terms to describe age, ageing and wellness that related to fa'aSāmoa (Sāmoan way of living). These words were spiritually inspired and respectful, signalling different age stages (matua, sinasina, tofa) and wellness references (soifua manuia/maua/lelei). The qualitative approach through talanoa was effective in capturing elders' understandings, an important consideration for future ageing and wellness research with older Pacific groups. Aligning these uniquely Sāmoan understandings with local policy and service provision for older Pacific people, will facilitate New Zealand health authorities' obligation to ensure all New Zealanders receive culturally appropriate services. These findings provide the foundation for an older Pacific people's wellness model to be utilised in policy and planning for older Pacific people living in New Zealand.

Keywords: Gerontology, Sāmoan elders and wellness, Pacific elders.

Introduction

Worldwide, people are living longer (World Health Organization [WHO] 2012). New Zealand's ageing population has rapidly increased over the last 20 years (Ministry of Health [MOH] 2011). Like their international counterparts, New Zealand health authorities and social services recognise an ageing population's social and economic benefits (Harvey and Thurnwald 2009). Older people bring years of lived experience,

life lessons, wisdom, and the passing down of family traditions, culture, and knowledge; a view shared and held by Pacific and non-western cultures who cherish and value their older loved ones and family members (Durie 1999; Kukutai 2006; Levy 1996; Levy et al. 2002; Nguyen and Seal 2014). Sāmoans have a long, rich history of respect (*fa'aaloalo*) for senior members of their church, family and community (Shore 1998; Tui Atua 2003 2005) that transcends generations and geographical locations (Ihara and Vakalahi 2011, 2012; Lilomaiava Silulu 2021). However, little attention has been given to the growing ageing Sāmoan population's experiences in New Zealand. Their understanding of ageing and wellness can offer valuable insights into a differing experience from dominant views. Sāmoans 65 years and over comprise three per cent, compared to 12 per cent of all New Zealanders (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Given that 4.7 per cent of the Pacific population is 65 years and over (MOH 2014), Sāmoans account for the largest Pacific group for this age bracket and primarily reflect the Pacific ageing population living in New Zealand. A qualitative thematic approach and *talanoa* were employed to explore elders' understanding of age, ageing and wellness.

The Concept of Wellness

The concept of wellness promotes positive good health. It is a shift from the medical model of health that focuses on disease and moves towards a more positive and holistic understanding of health and wellbeing. The WHO states, "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity" (WHO 1948: 100). The definition acknowledges the whole person's physical, mental and social wellbeing. Furthermore, the focus on disease and its treatment, typical of traditional medical models, is secondary to a more holistic approach to health. Smith et al. (2006) defines wellness as "the optimal state of health of individuals and groups" (p. 5) based on two principles: individuals reaching their full physical, psychological, social, spiritual and economic potential and individuals fulfilling their duties within the family, community and other settings.

New Zealand health strategies recognise the need to view older people more positively rather than from the deficit approaches often applied to them. In 2013, the New Zealand government launched the Ageing Well National Science Challenge (AWNSC) – *Kia eke kairangi ki te taikaiamātuatanga* to enhance the country's capacity to address the growing ageing population (Baxter 2016; Doolan-Noble et al. 2019) and their future needs (Parr-Brownlie et al. 2020). Now in its second tranche (funding round) for 2019 to 2024, it is focussed on promoting a more holistic

approach to ageing populations, their family/whānau and community, including the coordination of effective and meaningful services and activities (AWNSC 2018, 2020)

New Zealand Ageing Well Studies

From New Zealand ageing well studies (Doolan-Noble et al. 2019; Parr-Brownlie et al. 2020; Tautolo et al. 2017), the health and wellbeing inequities experienced by older Pacific people have been made more apparent, and the need to address these disparities is immediate, especially with numbers of older Pacific people expected to more than double from 21,300 in 2018 to 46,700 by 2034 (Neville et al. 2022). The New Zealand government's launch of the AWNSC in 2013 increased research capacity on ageing populations as a means to achieving positive and healthy ageing. Nevertheless, the results translating into ageing well studies remain scarce (Parr-Brownlie et al. 2020).

Pacific Ageing Well Studies

Pacific elders' wellness experiences are slowly gaining momentum, with a small growing body of research exploring Pacific elders' views and experiences of wellbeing through a Pacific worldview (Neville et al. 2022; Tamasese et al. 2014; Tautolo et al. 2017). These studies highlight the widespread issues encountered by ageing Pacific people living in New Zealand. There are commonalities between older Māori and older Pacific people. However, older Pacific people's experiences of age, ageing and wellness are more akin and reflective of migrant populations living in New Zealand (Fairbairn-Dunlop and Makisi 2003; Statistics New Zealand 2018; Tamasese et al. 2014). Ageing Pacific people are still considered a migrant group (Parr-Brownlie et al. 2020; Tamasese et al. 2014) with strong cultural ties to the homeland (Statistics New Zealand 2018; Tamasese et al. 2014). While these studies provide baseline information on Pacific people's views and experiences of ageing, little is known about older Sāmoan people's meaningful experiences of ageing well. Given the global interest in ageing populations and wellness interventions to improve their ageing experiences, an exploration of age, ageing and wellness in an ageing Sāmoan population living in New Zealand is warranted.

Ageing Sāmoan Population in New Zealand

Older Sāmoans comprise almost 50 per cent of New Zealand's ageing Pacific population (Statistics New Zealand 2018). This group is still considered a migrant population within New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2018), and they are likely to maintain strong cultural ties and responsibilities (e.g., chiefly titles and customary

land ownership) to their homelands. It is important to explore whether and how these 'customary' fa'aSāmoa responsibilities and other factors shape this group's notions of age, ageing and wellness.

Aim

This study explored Sāmoan elders' understanding of age, ageing and wellness.

Research Design and Methods

A qualitative thematic approach explored older Sāmoans' understandings of age, ageing and wellness. Two overarching questions guided this study: 1. What are Sāmoan elders' understanding of age and ageing? 2. What are Sāmoan elders' understanding of wellness

Research Method

The Pacific method *talanoa* was used to collect the Sāmoan elders' perspectives and experiences. *Talanoa* is an oral tradition important to some Polynesian vernaculars, such as Sāmoan and Tongan, involving face-to-face formal and informal conversations. It enables and encourages the sharing of knowledge (Otsuka 2006; Vaioleti 2006) and is used within Sāmoan homes by parents and children, *matai* (chiefs) and families, villages, and churches (Suaalii-Sauni and Fulu-Aiolupotea 2014). Its use as the data collection method with Sāmoan elders was deemed the most culturally appropriate approach for this study. Two data collection methods, *talanoa lautele* (group meetings) and *talanoa taitoatasi* (individual interviews), were used to obtain a mix of knowledge as shared in group and individual *talanoa* (Creswell, 2012, p. 218). The group *talanoa* was to establish a broad spectrum of views to form a baseline of understandings to be more deeply explored in the individual *talanoa* (Creswell, 2012)

Study Population and Recruitment

The study population focus was elders living within their family's ambit (with adult children and extended living arrangements) or living independently.

Inclusion Criteria

The age group focus was sixty years and above. Pacific people have a lower life expectancy (males 74.5 years and females 78.7 years) compared to the general New Zealand population (males 79.5 years and females 83.2 years) (Statistics New Zealand 2016). Sāmoans account for almost half of Pacific people aged 65 years and

above (Statistics New Zealand 2016; Pasifika Futures 2017), and significant growth is projected in this age group over the next 15 years. Participants had to have lived in New Zealand for at least five years, which was considered a reasonable length of time to give an account of their understanding of ageing and wellness as migrants living in New Zealand.

Exclusion Criteria

Elders residing in rest homes and care facilities were excluded as the focus was on Samoan elders who lived in the family ambit (with adult children and extended living arrangements) or lived independently

Recruitment

Church and community groups providing activities for Sāmoan elders were approached to discuss the aim and rationale of the research. Co-ordinators of these groups distributed the study's information sheets written in English and Sāmoan to their membership. Interested group members were invited to contact the researcher directly if they had any queries or wished to participate in the study. Alternatively, they informed their co-ordinator, who contacted the researcher on their behalf. Following an informed consent process, the researcher arranged the most appropriate date, time, and location for the group *talanoa* with the group's co-ordinator. In this study, *talanoa* took place with four focus groups. Following each of the four group *talanoa*, an invitation was extended to two participants from each focus group to discuss the topics in more depth via an individual *talanoa*. Individual interviews were then undertaken with two people from the four focus groups (n=8). In total, 20 older adults participated, and these people were aged 63 to 82 years. *Talanoa* focused on gathering accounts of older Sāmoans' everyday encounters that contributed to their understanding and experiences of being well, including their reflections on age and ageing. Table 1 and Table 2 shows group and individual participants profiles

Table 1. Group talanoa participant profiles

Group number	Group code	Gender	Age	Marital status	Length of time in NZ (years)
Group 1 Mixed	G1M1	Male	79	Married	20
	G1F1	Female	76	Widow	4
	G1F2	Female	69	Married	**
	G1F3	Female	79	Married	**
	G1M2	Male	75	Married	45
	G1M3	Male	76	**	**
	G1F4	Female	63	Married	**
Group 2 Mixed	G2M1	Male	67	Married	40
	G2M2	Male	69	Married	49
	G2F1	Female	63	Married	40
	G2F2	Female	72	Married	49
	G2F3	Female	66	Married	**
Group 3 Male	G3M1	Male	64	Married	48
	G3M2	Male	76	Married	**
	G3M3	Male	72	Married	8
	G3M4	Male	82	Married	44
Group 4 Female	G4F1	Female	61	Married	48
	G4F2	Female	73	Married	44
	G4F3	Female	68	Married	**
	G4F4	Female	69	Married	8
Key: ** Information missing and/or not specified					

Table 2. Individual talanoa participant profiles

Individual code	Gender	Age	Marital status	Length of time in NZ (years)
Marina (GP)	Female	71	Married	13
Timoteo (GP)	Male	74	Married	13
Sieni (GP)	Female	63	Married	45
Aleka (GP)	Male	64	Married	47
*Talalelei	Female	67	Widow	19
*Paulo	Male	76	Widower	60

*Alofa	Female	82	Single	54
Iakopo (GP)	Male	77	Married	45
Key: (GP) = Group participant, * = New participant				

Data Collection

The *talanoa* were conducted in the participants' preferred language of Sāmoa and were audio recorded. All *talanoa* was transcribed and translated into English by the researcher. Group *talanoa* lasted two to three and a half hours, reflecting participants' interest in the topic. Individual *talanoa* ranged between one hour and a quarter to two hours. Confidentiality was maintained throughout the research process, protecting participants' privacy.

Data Analysis

Data were analysed using Braun and Clark's (2013) thematic analysis (TA). TA allowed a systematic process to generate codes and themes from participants' *talanoa* (Clarke 2016). Following the translation of *talanoa* transcriptions from Sāmoa to English, the participants' *talanoa* was read and re-read before coding and identifying tentative themes. Once themes were identified and named, relevant extracts were selected to support the themes in the study findings below.

AUTEC Ethics Approval

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) granted ethics approval.

Findings: Sāmoan Understandings of Age, Ageing and Wellness

This qualitative study exploring older Sāmoans' understandings of age, ageing and wellness while living in New Zealand answered two overarching questions: 1. What are Sāmoan elders' understandings of age and ageing? 2. What are Sāmoan elders' understandings of wellness? Key findings were that older Sāmoans had their own concepts and understandings of age, ageing and wellness that were directly related to *fa'aSāmoa* and reflected a Sāmoan worldview.

Age and Ageing

The most used words by participants to describe age and ageing were: *matua* (older), *sinasina* (silvery or white [hair]), *tōfā* (wisdom), *Toea'ina* (old man) and *Lo'omatua* (old woman) or *'Olomatua*. *Matua*, *sinasina* and *tōfā* were often combined with other terms to extend the meaning; for example, *tausi* (take care of or look after), when used in conjunction with *matua*, forms the phrase '*matua tausi*', which means an older person who is being cared for or looked after.

Toea'ina and *Lo'omatua* or *'Olomatua*, loosely translated as the old man and old woman, were common terms participants used to describe more senior people and

distinguish between male and female. *Toea'ina* consists of two words. 'Toe' means nearly, and 'ina' means you have reached or arrived. When you put them together, it means the old man. 'Olomatua is used interchangeably with *Lo'omatua* as they both mean old woman. The term 'Olomatua, can be used to refer to an older woman, as Paulo, a widower, 76 years old at the time, shared:

'Olomatua or Lo'omatua, there is not much difference. 'Olomatua has two words, 'olo' means tower or fort, and 'matua' the longer you stay, the elder [sic] you are. That means old, aye? When you put these two words together, it means something that has long been built up. In the Holy Bible, the Tower of Babel. 'Olomatua is likened to someone who is old. Loomatua means you have not reached it; you have not become old. 'Loo' is like a proverb to a noun that helps explain the last word 'matua'. So 'loo' means they have not reached 'matua' old age.

The gender-specific words' *toea'ina* and 'olomatua relate to elders' place and role as they have reached a particular stage of staying at home, the status of old age, or being older.

Matua

Matua is a mature person, an elder, or an older person was used in combination with other words to signify different ageing stages, for example, *tagata matua* (mature and/or older person) and *matua tausī* (older person who is cared for). *Matua* was not age-bound but related more to a person's behaviour or way of acting. A macron 'ā' added the word *mātua* changes to mean parent. *Tua'ā* is the polite term for parent and was used in conjunction with *mātutua* to describe older/elderly parents as *tua'ā mātutua*. A seventy-two-year-old G3M2 was married and father to 13 adult children at the time of *talanoa* shared:

From an older person comes good advice for the family. A person is mature physically, mentally and spiritually, and that is where wisdom or farsightedness comes from. Old people are the same word if you fa'aSāmoa the word 'years'. It is the same as the old person; similar terms are used to refer to a person who is advanced in years.

Seventy-nine-year-old G1M1 at the time of *talanoa* had three adult children and several grandchildren living with him and his wife added:

Mātua is the word for parent: The formal respectful word for a parent is tua'ā. Tua'ā is what a person who has children is called. Tagata matua also describes a mature (matua) person, a coming of age in the fa'aSāmoa.

The 72 years old father further share that:

The pathway to leadership is to serve. It means a person/young male who serves well and has matured; he is bestowed a chiefly title (G3M2).

Tagata matua translates as a person (*tagata*)old/mature (*matua*). A term with multiple meanings in different contexts can refer to different stages of age and ageing. Participants described the rite of passage to becoming a *matai* as someone becoming an adult, a person of maturity through their service [to *'āiga, nu'ū*]. *Tagata matua* also references people's position within their immediate and wider family. A 63 years old female participant G2F1 at the time of *talanoa* shared her experience as a *tagata matua*:

Because I am a woman and I have nephews that are matai's, they still look at me as the older person in the family even though they have matai titles. Because I am older [than my titled nephews], I am respected as the older person in the family.

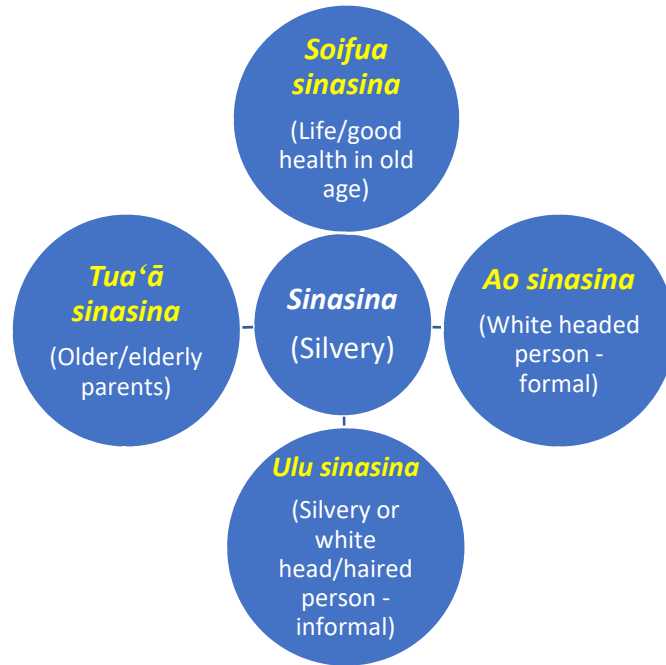
Tagata matua places significance on the eldest siblings, who hold authoritative roles regardless of their gender or being a *matai* or not. Seventy-five-year-old G1M2 shared the term *Matua tausī* to describe another ageing stage. It translates as taking care of the older person. *Matua* means old, and *tausī* means to care for or look after.

It's a person who is cared for, often assisted when fed, can no longer walk, has three or four generations, and receives home care. Because of that word, many people often use it but do not understand its meaning.

Sinasina

Sinasina refers to the whitening or silvering of hair. Sāmoan elders used the term with *tua'ā, soifua,ao* (head – formal word), and *ulu* (head/hair – informal word). Figure 1 shows *sinasina* as the root word and the word combinations Sāmoan elders used to describe age and ageing. Elders' views indicated that silvery or white hair reflected a lifetime of *fa'aSāmoa* knowledge and cultural capital learnt, practised, and passed on.

Figure 1. *Sinasina* and the word combinations Sāmoan elders used to describe age and ageing



Tua'ā sināsina formally describes older parents. Its meaning is more symbolic, depicting older Sāmoans as wise individuals holding a wealth of knowledge. A 79 years old male participant G1M1 shared:

[tua'ā] is the respectful term for parents. Older parents (tua'ā sināsina) are older people who have lived many years, and their hair is white.

Sixty-four-year-old Aleka described *soifua sināsina* as a stage he admired:

O le soifua sināsina, it seems we always look up to, we revere people who are getting older and wise.

Soifua sināsina describes the life and good health of an older person. The oldest participant at the time, 84-year-old G3M4, shared the term *Ao sināsina* is a respected and admired stage of life. *Ao*, the formal word for head, and *sināsina* – white formally references the older person.

A white-headed person is a person who is old in life and who is honoured in Sāmoa, especially in Sāmoa. Respect is due to the person whose hair is white and advanced in years, in all circumstances, for the years that have passed and the years to come.

Timoteo, 74 years old at the time, was married with 13 adult children and shared the term *Ulu sinasina*: *ulu* translates as head or hair, a colloquial term.

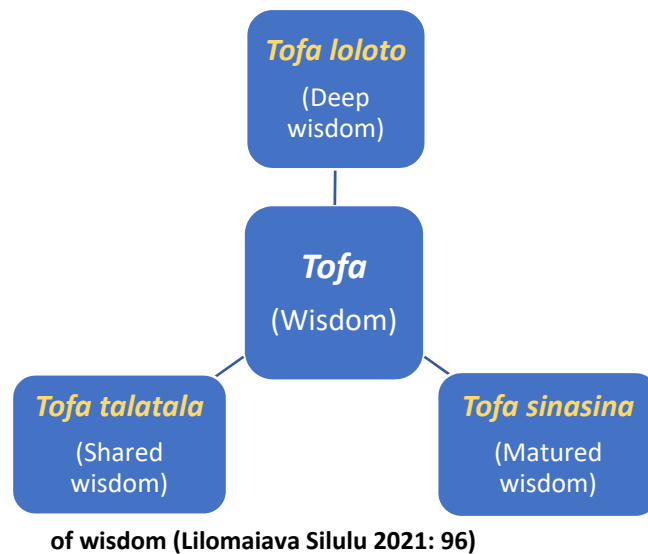
White head/hair (*Ulu sinasina*) is a very old person (*tagata mātutua*) who knows the entire village's history and honorifics.

Sinasina was a feature most associated with ageing and older people. However, participants highlighted a point of difference in its strong link to knowledge, a profound cultural and genealogical wisdom that came with age and experience.

Tofa

Tofa participants used to describe the wisdom and foresight associated with ageing. *Tofa* means sleep. *Moe* is its informal equivalent, and it also means goodbye. *Tofa* is also used to refer to the views and perspectives of the paramount chief, while *moe* references the opinions of the orator (see Tui Atua, 2005, p. 13). Participants used *tofa* to refer to the wisdom of the elders and guardians of Sāmoan knowledge. Elders combined it with *sinasina* and *loloto* to signal the depth and breadth of elders' wisdom. Figure 2 shows *tofa* and how the Sāmoan elders used it to describe wisdom.

Figure 2. *Tofa* and the word combinations Sāmoa elders used to describe different types



A seventy-six-year-old G2M1 at the time of the focus group shared this view about *Tofa loloto*:

There is deep wisdom. Those who are older have deep wisdom and white-headed wisdom (tofa sinasina).

On the other hand, Paulo, a 76 years old male with 60 years living in New Zealand, shared and extended the meaning of *tofa loloto*:

[Tofa loloto] is like a matai who adequately understands the culture. You can hear the beautiful introduction coming through when they utter an oration

Tofa loloto translates as deep wisdom. *Loloto* means deep, having a depth of wisdom.

Paulo also shared the term *Tofa tatala*, explaining that it is similar but also distinct from the terms *tofa sinasina* and *tofa loloto*:

Tofa sinasina is similar to tofa loloto and tofa tatala. Tofa tatala means one holds much knowledge, but they close it off and cannot open it (tatala). It is similar to the popular phrase, "Open up your basket of knowledge". 'Open up your basket of treasures' for there is much that you know. Another person wants you to share your treasures.

Paulo describes *tofa* as treasures some Samoan elders possess but cannot share. Perhaps Paulo indicated the difference between the commonly held and the sacred knowledge that could not be shared in public forums, as Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2001) suggest that

Tofa was often used by participants in combination with sinasina, loloto and mamao to describe an older person with a head full of white hair. It signified great wisdom and foresight due to the many years they have lived and the experience and knowledge they have acquired. Tofa tatala is a less common term to describe some older people as possessing tofa (treasures) but cannot convey or tatala. Tamasese (2002) references elders' knowledge as sacred and only available and passed down to direct descendants.

Formal Expressions of Age and Ageing

Few participants used three terms or phrases to reference elders who are very advanced in age: *Toe ulutaia*, *pegapega* – elders needing assistance and care with everyday living and *Ua afu le soifua* and *Ua pulapula lagoto le la* – elders nearing the end of their lives.

Toe Ulutaia

Toe ulutaia elders shared to describe someone who is very advanced in age. G4F2 shared her view of the term:

Toe ulutaia is the oldest person in the entire village. Usually, they are over 80. These people are very important in the village.

Timoteo added his understanding of *toe ulutaia* using the analogy of a ripening *ulu* (breadfruit):

It is like a breadfruit tree. When the breadfruit is old and becomes large, its skin becomes mature. When the breadfruit matures, it becomes hard enough to be used as timber to build houses - *toe ulutaia*. It is what they compare older people to because they know everything there is to know about the village. They understand how the village functions—*Toe ulutaia*).

Toe ulutaia pointed to an even greater respect for these elders due to their long lives and status as knowledge carriers.

Pegapega

G1M2 was the only one to share the term *pegapega*. The term signals the age and stage of being very old and needing to be bathed.

Pegapega is the Sāmoan term that applies to bathing a very old person. It is a Sāmoan term that many people in New Zealand do not understand, but *pegapega* is the bathing of an older person separate from the rest of the family household. These more senior members are bathed in the privacy of their house/residence in Sāmoa. The bathing water is prepared, along with a board for them to sit on and brought to their bedside to bath them because they can no longer bath themselves. This care is called *pegapega*.

Ua afu le soifua and Ua pulapula lagoto le soifua

Iakopo shared these phrases, describing them as the last stage of ageing and before death: *Ua afu le soifua* and *Ua pulapula lagoto le soifua*. These phrases liken the lives of elders nearing death to the resplendence of the sun setting and speak of the beauty, love, honour, and great respect Samoans have for ageing and older people.

The phrase '*Ua afu le soifua*' refers to an elder who is advanced in years and has served his family for a long time. It is a phrase to describe the very old whose lives resemble a sunset. They are still alive but are very old. These are Sāmoan words used to refer to such people as their life is like the glow of the setting sun.

The Sāmoan proverbs *Ua afu le soifua* and *Ua pulapula lagoto o le soifua* are all terms and phrases that are culturally specific and respectful Sāmoan descriptions associated with being very advanced in age. Participants indicated that the Sāmoan terms served as markers or divisions related to ageing.

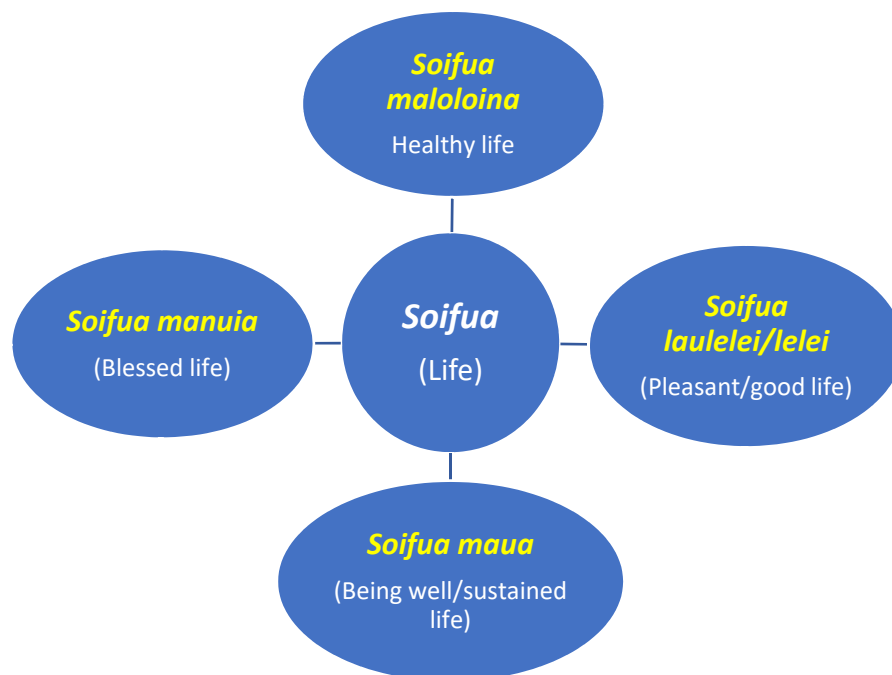
These terms encapsulate the deep cultural respect and meanings ascribed to terms such as *Tua’ā sinasina*, *Tofa loloto* and *Toe ulutaia*.

Soifua – Wellness

Soifua means to live, have good health and wellbeing, and always precedes the other words to describe different degrees of wellness. Elders used five common words and phrases to describe wellness: *soifua* (life, health), *mālōlōina* (being healthy, wellness), *manuia* (happy, blessed, prosperous), *laulelei* (smooth, even) and *maua* (get, obtain). Figure 3 shows the relationship between *soifua* and the word pairings elders used to describe wellness.

Figure 3. *Soifua* and the word pairings Sāmoan elders used to describe wellness

(Lilomaiva Silulu 2021: 109)



Soifua mālōlōina translates as health. Sixty-six-year-old G2F3 expressed her view on *soifua mālōlōina*:

If you live a healthy life, you will be happy. However, if you don’t know how to live well and healthy, you will not be happy; if the body is healthy, you are happy.

Another important term spoke about is *soifua laulelei*, meaning living a smooth, even and satisfying life, according to participant G2M1. Moreover, *Soifua lelei* and *soifua manuia* translate to live well, to be good and happy. G3M3, 72 years old at the time, shared his view of the terms:

As I see M3 and M1 [group members], M3 [72 years old at the time] is living well. Because of our lives now, we take a lot of medication; however, if a person is wise in looking after their health now, those days are gone but right now, if people are wise in taking care of their health, they will live a good life.

Malo le soifua and *lagi e mama* are Sāmoan salutations that illustrate a culture entrenched in wellness ideals. For example, *Malo le soifua* translates as congratulations on living or life; *lagi e mama* is synonymous with *soifua* and translates as clear and cloudless skies used to congratulate someone on having a life free of troubles. These greetings offer those they meet 'good health and life'. The words and language themselves are empowering words that speak life. The youngest participant, 64-year-old G3M1, shared his experience and knowledge of the Sāmoan greeting:

Greeting each other with a wish of good health is very important. When you wish good health, you first congratulate them for being well, which is very important to us. Even from the first greeting, it's expressing gratitude for your strength or good health and life (*soifua lelei*) and clear skies (*lagi e mama*); these are words Sāmoans use to greet another Sāmoan. It is a praise of good health. Congratulations on your smooth life, your clean life. The meaning of those phrases is that life is good. Pure life, obtained life, is life received from the Lord.

As noted, *soifua* is the Sāmoan word for live and good health. Sāmoan elders used the word *soifua* with *mālōlōina* (health and wellbeing), *manuia* (blessed and well), *laulelei* (smooth and satisfying) and *maua* (received and sustained) to describe wellness. G3M1 explained *Malo le soifua ma le lagi e mama* as a greeting of good health to another Sāmoan when you meet. He further shared the salutations *Malo le soifua laulelei*, *Malo le soifua maua* and *Malo le lagi e mama*, described as all having the same premise of living a good life. Sāmoan concepts hold multiple meanings depending on their context. Furthermore, these concepts can be used informally and formally in different settings despite ageing.

Discussion

The Sāmoan elders in this study have adapted to the New Zealand way of life, yet their understandings of age, ageing and wellness remained firmly grounded in the *fa'aSāmoa* worldview.

Age and Ageing

The terms and the language participants used to capture and describe ageing concepts, the Sāmoan values of *fa'aaloalo* (respect) and honour were embedded in the terms and the language. The words elders shared pointed to levels of respect

and behavioural qualities, which reflect the overall revered place of older people in the *fa'aSāmoa*. The formal language used further displayed the distinction of elder roles and responsibilities, signalling their roles as knowledge bearers – custodians of cultural knowledge – coupled with their lived experience as migrants, their place and position in the immediate, extended family, community, and people, as in the *fa'aSāmoa*.

The elders' words signalled a set of values, ideals, relationships and behaviours of respect and status, as in the *fa'aSāmoa*. These terms align with the categories Tamasese et al. (2014) outlined. For example, *mātua* is used when talking about one's parents, while *tua'ā* is the respectful and formal word referring to another's parents. Another example, *Lo'omatua*, was commonly used for older women, whereas *'Olomatua* were accorded special status and recognition.

Elders' role was to safeguard, share and pass on the family *gafa* (heritage, identity, and lineage knowledge) to the next generations. Commonly used terms such as *tofa loloto* (deep wisdom), *sinasina* (silvery haired) and *toe ulutaia* (breadfruit metaphor) reinforced elders' roles as the custodians of cultural knowledge and family history and cemented their place as community leaders. Shore (1998) proposed different terms to distinguish those elders who could not care for themselves from those who were independent. Participants also shared words that made similar distinctions: *pegapega*, *ua afu le soifua*, and *ua pulapula lagoto le soifua* were phrases referencing a group of significantly older Sāmoans nearing the end of their lives, though they were highly respected, loved and looked after by *'āiga* (family) in respect and recognition of their *tautua* (service). Shore also found that people were sometimes classified as 'old' when they became dependent on their children, irrespective of their actual age or appearance. At the time of the study, the elders were not reliant or dependent on their children for their everyday needs, nor did they require assistance with self-care. Most of the older participants were physically active, except for two males, one legally blind and always accompanied by his wife, and another male who needed support when walking. Despite these participants' impairments, it did not hinder their everyday activities.

The terms identified above were deeply respectful, despite extensive global research on older adults' self-perceptions of ageing being influenced by their negative experiences as older people (Isaacs and Bearison 1986 cited in Levy 1996). These participants' understandings of age and ageing were not affected by youth. Shore's (1998) older study participants reinforce this view as they were "accorded respect by juniors by virtue of their age, their experiences and their wisdom" (p. 111). Further research is warranted into Sāmoan youths' understanding of Sāmoan

elders and whether these contribute to negative self-perceptions and influence future negative and ageist behaviours.

The Sāmoan elders' words and terms for age and ageing build and add depth to Tamasese et al.'s (2014) study on Pacific perspectives on ageing in New Zealand. It further highlights the importance of allowing minority and migrant populations on the periphery to determine their own definitions of health and wellbeing to optimise their wellness experience (Durie 1999; Kukutai 2006). Future ageing policies should include the age and ageing references identified by participants in this study when undertaking any planning or practice initiatives involving older Pacific peoples in New Zealand. An ethnic-specific response to government and health agencies calls for more ethnic-specific research to facilitate providing culturally appropriate health and social services (MOH 2007, 2008) for older populations (Kukutai 2006; Parr-Brownlie et al. 2020; Tamasese et al. 2014; Wiles et al. 2011).

Soifua

The Essence of Wellness

Sāmoan participants also used a variety of terms to describe health and wellness. *Soifua* described participants' understanding of wellness. It captured the holistic relationship between the elements of spirituality and mental, physical, and social resources, which fits the Pacific worldview. *Fa'aSāmoa* ideals, behaviours and practices culturally informed elders' views and experiences of wellness. Their holistic view of wellness was evident in their everyday language, such as "*Malo le soifua ma le lagi e mama*", a phrase commonly used in daily greetings to offer praise and a prayer for good health to those one encounters.

While much of the global research on getting older focuses on a medical model of ageing (Bassuk et al. 1999; Bishop et al. 2010; Gates and Walker 2014; Stranks 2007), participants' feelings of wellness were not 'purely medical' but all-encompassing of their spiritual, mental, physical and social environments. Sāmoan elders' wellness was achieved when there was harmony in their lives between spiritual, mental, physical and social elements (Fairbairn-Dunlop et al. 2014; Lui 2007; Pulotu-Endemann 2001; Tui Atua 2007, 2009, 2014; Tu'itahi 2005).

In sum, elders' understandings of wellness were holistic and culturally informed. The central importance of this holistic view of wellness was also evident in the everyday language used. As noted, these elders coupled *soifua* and other words to describe various wellness stages. For example, *soifua mālōlōina* was living a healthy life; *soifua manuia* was living a happy and blessed life; *soifua lelei* and *laulelei* were

living a smooth and steady life, and *soifua maua* was a praise of living a long life and many years.

Limitations and Strengths

Limitations

This research did not include older Pacific people living in rest homes and care facilities, which warrants further investigation. The Auckland region provided the primary research site; therefore, the findings cannot be generalised to represent the understanding of all older Sāmoans living in New Zealand. Furthermore, the perspectives are limited to those older people living within the family's ambit.

Strengths

Talanoa Research Methodology

Applying a qualitative approach was a pivotal and important factor in capturing the views and experiences of Sāmoan elders. The *talanoa* methodology allowed participants to tell their stories and express their thoughts and experiences freely and in a culturally appropriate way. Furthermore, all participants were given the opportunity to share their perspectives. This holistic approach, incorporating spirituality and family, effectively engaged participants and consequently benefits future research, planning and policy in older Pacific peoples.

Conclusion

This study advances local and global knowledge on ageing and wellness studies by highlighting a Pacific way to conceptualise age, ageing and wellness. In contributing to the local research on ageing and wellness, these Sāmoan elders' views give a different experience and level of understanding of age, ageing and wellness whilst living in New Zealand. Their understanding, deeply imbued with spirituality and culture, challenges mainstream notions of age, ageing, and wellness while highlighting Sāmoan elders' significant roles within their church, family, and community.

In challenging the dominant health models and cultures, which do not fit the needs of migrant Pacific people living in New Zealand, these findings can help inform health and social service provision for older Pacific. Further, aligning these understandings with local policy and service provision for older Pacific people, will facilitate New Zealand health authorities' obligation to ensure all New Zealanders

receive culturally appropriate services. Finally, the findings provide the foundation for an older Pacific people's wellness model to be utilised in policy and planning for older Pacific people living in New Zealand.

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RESEARCH REPORTS

Results of a Qualitative Survey of Samoan Workers in Australia's Pacific Labor Mobility Programme (Palm)

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Introduction

This article presents the findings of interviews done by seven staff members, three men and four women, from the Centre for Samoan Studies at the National University of Samoa. It is a follow-up study to complement an initial study by the Centre for Samoan Studies with workers who had done seasonal work in New Zealand (see Fatupaito et.al. 2021) They used their own contacts to each identify and interview three persons from their own family or from their community networks, a total of 24 interviews. The researchers had a set of general questions intended to lead a conversation (*talanoa*) with the workers about their work, their reasons for going and their experiences. The 24 interviews were conducted in the Samoan language and then each interviewer translated the recorded interview into English. The interview summaries do not use the real names of those interviewed, according to ethical considerations

Our report has two parts, the first present results of interviews with seasonal workers, the second on workers employed under the terms of the Pacific

1. The Australian Seasonal Worker Programme

Of nine first-time workers in the SWP, eight were employed in horticultural industries and one in the cattle industry. Almost all the same issues were described by our 2021 survey of participants who worked under the New Zealand RSE but some more troubling experiences were described in relation to their employment with labour hire firms that had not come up in relation to the New Zealand RSE. These are referred to in the conclusion of this section of the article.

Participant's experiences of seasonal work in horticulture and aviculture

Fala, a woman aged 30 was a hotel waitress in Samoa. She had initially applied to MCIL when the RSE scheme commenced in 2007 and persisted by following up regularly until she was finally called for training in July 2021. She wants to continue doing seasonal work but hopes to work on the longer term on PLS with the hopes of getting a residence visa to Australia. Her employer was Tasmania berry growing company that used seasonal workers for their operations, as well as supplying labour to other growers. She longed to go because:

I've seen many people who came back from seasonal works very successful and have helped a lot with family developments and have contributed much in village and church activities. I want to be successful just like them and that's my reason of applying.

Her contract was for 12 months. Her first job was picking strawberries, starting work at 6 am and she picked 40 boxes a day or more. She became team leader of 13 Samoa women. After the picking season for that fruit, they worked pruning vines. When that work was done, they were sent out on shorter jobs to vegetable growers to harvest potatoes and pumpkins, and then to a vineyard to label and pack bottles of wine, then returning to picking and pruning. The work was physically demanding, sometimes in bad weather with bending and lifting heavy items. At the end of the contract, she returned to Samoa and plans to go back after three months to the same company.

She received fortnightly pay-slips itemizing her pay and deductions.

I observed people who were given the contract to sign, they just signed without reading or they just scanned through without reading properly to understand. As a team leader, whenever there's a problem within the workforce, I always asked my teammates how they understand the contract they signed, most have a vague knowledge of it and said they just looked at the page where it mentioned the amount of money paid to them.

Deductions were frequently an issue with the employer:

Sometimes, our working hours have been deducted and this is a constant issue between the company and us. We constantly approached the office to give us a valid reason of why some hours we worked have not been paid but they came up with a vague

explanation that they will look into it. I sometimes got a back pay but not often. The payroll officer is never around to answer our queries. It's really hard for some workers who speak limited English to fight back for a good reason of why they did not receive their full pay according to the hours they worked and the reason for such deductions.

She was paid on a piece work basis; for example, with fruit picking the more boxes she packed the more money she received on pay day. She said although she calculated her picking and how much she would receive on pay day, she was baffled to be told that some of her boxes were no good and would not be counted, so she gets less than she expected.

Money is deducted for food [but] the food we get from the canteen is not good. Some whole weeks we are only fed pork meat and rice. Sometimes we don't go to the canteen to get food to be fed with the same menu; we went to the shop to get some snacks for our nightly feed.

She was also critical of the health insurance deduction, when she had paid for her own treatment:

What I don't understand, they deducted our health insurance, but every time I go to the hospital for checkup [for Covid test, or treatment for flu], I always paid for consultation. I ask the palagi woman why I get to pay for my checkup instead of the company and she said they will reimburse my money but they never did. Something is absolutely not right about this process. I thought they will reimburse our health insurance once we finished our contract like what I heard from my friends working as RSE in NZ, that if our insurance was not used but nothing.

She added that her superannuation payment was not made and she was suspicious that the labour hire company was defrauding Pacific Island workers:

We still are waiting for it. The lady filling this entitlement said the only company that hasn't filed any super is this company. I smell fraud here.

She said she sent money to her family every two weeks, and had a saving account so she had a lump sum to bring home when her contract finished. Her family comprises her father, her stepmother, her sister, brother in law, and their children. She paid for an extension to their house and for home appliances, and will save to build a chain link fence around their ¼ acre block of land when she returns to work.

She thought the one of most negative aspects of seasonal work were to do with workplace relations

Supervisors show favoritism towards some of the workers, especially to the Tongans [who had been on the job longer and were well known to the managers] and officers of the company don't attend to the workers queries and problems whenever we approached them.

She commented that some Samoan seasonal workers treat their work as though it was casual labour and that those in her team who were absentees have not been offered another contract.

They only get paid only when they work, and some work only two or three days a week. Some go visits their families for a week or few days, if their families pay for their fares. There is always an excuse for them to stay away from work. The company never cares if they don't go to work, but always keeps a record of people who usually don't work or constantly absent from work.

Fele, a man aged 24, reported an even less happy experience with a labour hire company. He is a former graduate of the Maritime School of the National University of Samoa, and worked on Samoa's inter-island ferries. An Australian company recruited him through MCIL, after a fitness test, which supplies workers through the seasonal worker programme and offers job training and placement. He was still in Australia when interviewed via Zoom:

My contract is for nine months [but] it was extended for another five months in a different location. I left Samoa to start my contract in September 2021 and I will be returning home in November 2022. I went to Australia as a strawberry picker, when first get there I did not work for two months as the fruit was not ready and we did not get paid for that period of time, and it was written in the contract we signed if we don't work, we won't get paid. The company lent us money for our needs but we needed to pay them once we earn our salary. When we started working and had our income that is when we started paying for our airfares, our houses and so forth. Towards the end of my contract, my boss asked me if I want to extend my contract but I have to work in a different place to pick oranges, so then I signed for another five months. Where I am working now I had to pick the oranges, but our working day depends on the weather therefore I usually work for only 3 or 4 days as the weather changes from time to time. The work is so hard but we don't earn much since we do not work for a whole week. We had to deal with different weathers every day.

He said he applied to be a seasonal worker because he had observed many men from his village returning home from seasonal work:

They were able to develop their families by building new houses, bought a new car that encourages me to come as a seasonal worker and be able to help develop my family.

He said he was given an oral translation of his contract, which was in English, when he signed it. He was puzzled about having to pay a double deduction to repay his recruitment costs:

They deducted from my pay the money they spent on my Visa, airfare, hotels and food before I got paid. I paid off my debt within the first three months of my contract as the company doubled my deduction. I asked for the reason why and they said it is a must to pay the debt within the first three months of our contract so that I can have my full pay quickly. I have to pay for my house, water bills, and electricity and they also deducted an amount for my savings and I will have that money back when I have to return home.

Overall, he had experienced many disappointments, but he said: the experience enabled him to help his family:

I am assisting my family financially for their church donations, fa'alavelave contribution and for their shopping fortnightly or whenever they call. I help my parents, my siblings and their children. I have to send them money every two weeks and I have a saving apart from the money deducted by the company as my saving. I have a goal since my parent's house is old, when I come back, I will make an extension and have buy some furniture depending on the money I have now that is something I need to do from the money I am earning here in Australia I would like to migrate to Australia as a worker but in a different field as I want to experience other works too, they offer many job opportunities with high pay.

Like most of those interviewed Fele commented Samoans wanting seasonal work overseas should deny themselves and save for their families:

The work is hard and the money earned is good so if they plan to work on contracts in Australia, they better stop drinking alcohol. It is one of many Samoans' weaknesses, they spend more money on alcohol and end up sent back home but the contract is not finished. Make wise decisions and be able to save money and do not waste the opportunity.

The extent to which low-income households wanted to send their young people overseas to work was explained by Tana, she was 26 when she went, and had not had paid worker before she worked for a labour hire company in Victoria for 12 months. Her family learned of the opportunities for seasonal work from their local member of parliament, who visited household in her urban neighborhood offering to help those who wanted to go. The MP did this to win political support in the forthcoming elections. He had contacts in MCIL and helped them to register and be chosen:

I am the eldest child of my parents, who did not finish [secondary] school because my parents could not afford. So, I ended up caring for my parents and my siblings. At that time, I started working at planting beans, cucumber and tomato to sell at [a stall] in front of our house ... for paying my little brother's school fees. This encouraged me to ... become a seasonal worker to help and develop my poor family. I usually sent money to my parents weekly and saved money as there should be something greater to come out of this opportunity. So, the purpose of the saving was to build our new house [that] we live in nowadays.

She said she had no issues with the terms of her employment and is going again to the same job:

I felt so happy because without that job, I did not have the experience of picking different fruits and handling them with care. It is different from picking fruits in Samoa, here in Samoa we just grab it from the tree or use the stone to throw at it, in order for us to have it. I have learned a lot of experience from working together as a team. Even

though how hard and how many plantations we were planned to work on, it is nothing if we work together as a team. The only disadvantage of the job was the cold weather.

It will be great if we can migrate and stay permanently in Australia and if it is possible my parents and my siblings can apply too [laughing]

Some in our sample were well educated; for example, Neta a married woman aged 27 was formerly employed in Samoa as a teacher and librarian in a secondary college. She worked in Tasmania, mainly picking berries. She said she applied for seasonal work because her wages were not covering her obligations for her family, church and villages. She said she understood her contract in English, which she signed in Australia. She had no issues with the terms of her employment and was proud of the help she gave her family:

Every fortnight I sent money home of SAT \$1,000.00 in total to my parents and children for their school needs. When I returned, I brought with me SAT\$20,000, part of this money was used for our car maintenance to transport my children to school and use most for family development. I also helped out [to make] a small vegetables garden, to earn extra cash.

Her concerns were mainly about workplace issues and like many others interviewed, she saw drinking alcohol as a major problem:

They [the workers] were not working together. One would try to pull to other down instead of encouraging. This was a norm for Samoans and I'm lucky enough that the group I was assigned to work well together. Some of the issues that did come up were consuming alcohol at the wrong time. Some would drink the night before work and would call in sick. Some fights will break out due to alcohol consumption. The cheap costs of alcohol were an excuse to buy and consume.

Other issues that came up were between Samoans. Relationships were formed knowing that they are married. There were conflicts between supervisors and workers. Some supervisors treated elderly workers as if they were children. These positions were used with disrespect towards workers and discrimination and unfairness was observed.

Similarly, Sila, a 37-year-old married man, had been a self-employed farmer growing taro and raising cattle. He worked for a labor hire company specializing in supplying horticulture workers throughout Australia. He was employed in Tasmania for 12 months harvesting vegetables. He could not read his contract but said it was well explained to him by MCIL, and he thought the work and the pay was good. He is thinking of applying to go again, and is the only person interviewed who said they had no interest wish to migrating to Australia. He said he was satisfied with being able to live with and care for his family in Samoa and do seasonal work in Australia:

I kept looking at my family with so much love as we struggled financially with no one working and the only finance we managed to receive was through the sea and the land. I grew tired of walking in the sun to the plantation, so I desired to buy a car for my family

and then I wanted to go work overseas. There was no one working in our family [for payment] and my parents were getting old.

I sent money home fortnightly to provide for their needs and [provided] food for them to eat [beside] koko Samoa and fa'alifu. From the money I sent home fortnightly, I also had a savings, I saved up for something good for my family. On the very day I landed in Samoa, it was the day I also bought a car for my parents, and I saw how happy they were it was a pleasure for me to realize my hard work has been paid off.

Nu, a 23-year-old man previously worked as a taxi driver and on his family farm, in Australia he worked for a farm labour supplier on cattle farms, doing tasks such as fencing and loading cattle transports. Like others he wanted to raise the living standards of his family:

First and foremost, I needed money for the development of my family. My family is poor, and we get by via the plantation. ... Sadly, the money I earn from my taxi driving job is not enough for us to build a house fitting for all of us. Many times, we struggle to get by and I believe that this work, which I am applying for, will help me and my family in many ways.

He said found it hard to understand the term of his employment with the labour hire company:

I still needed help when I arrived in Australia; needing someone to explain to me things, which I was not familiar with. One such thing was reading and understanding the pay-slips. (I had) a written contract. It was explained to us, but due to my education being limited, I found it hard to understand some things. For example, trying to understand what the deductions are for and for how long. I know we have sick days and how much we get paid, but I am very much concerned about the amount of money that is taken out of my pay.

Overall, he liked the work and said:

I have learned how to drive several machines like the tractor and plow. Also, I have learnt how to fix fences. Moreover, I have learned how to skin cattle and prepare them for transport. Furthermore, I have learnt how to manage different tasks and led a team of [Samoan] workers by the end of my contract.

I would gladly sign up again because my family desperately needs the money. The experience was good and new for me but it was hard work though. This does not matter to me because I must do what I can to provide for my family and children.

I would like to take my kids to Australia for a good education and a better future. I hope this can be achieved. I want nothing but the best for my family and my children. They motivate me to work hard and try my best to provide and care for them. That is why I am applying for this job. I need the money so I can take good care of my family and children. Nothing else matters.

Feleti, a single man aged 25, was previously employed by an oil company for 5 years. In NSW Australia he harvested blueberries for nine months to support his family. He spoke of the cost of living in Samoa

Things have changed rapidly since I left; now ohhhhh, the prices of basic things like soap and flour have gone up. I have made the right choice to apply to the scheme. I would also like to thank the previous government for these great opportunities for our people. I miss working in Australia. I am willing to continue as long as I can. It was all worth it, the heavy work and tiredness were all worth it for my family. Mind you that this is my first time overseas and leaving my family was hard. I got paid approximately AUD 600.00 per week which is a lot of money compared to what I was earning in Samoa; our wages [there] are only SAT \$120 to \$130 a week.

My dream is to build a falepalagi (European house) for my parents and my extended family. In my family, there are more than fifteen people, because we all live together with my aunties, my cousins, and their wives and children, so it's very not healthy to live together under one roof, right? This is why I was motivated to go; I want to build a house for my parents

He said the negative experiences in Australia were the amounts of tax he had to pay, and the extreme changes in the weather, going from summer to winter when he said he got sick from the cold. He also said having no access to church was hard for him when he felt he needed spiritual support of the mind. He joked about applying his experience from his work in Australia to Samoa

The skills that I have gained and knowledge regarding picking blueberries will benefit when applied to picking blueberries in Samoa because this knowledge and skills, not everyone knows how to pick this fruit. We only know how to get taro but blueberries, oh no, it's way different. You have to be careful in picking them and know when the berry has turned blue then you can pick them. I believe, if we have blueberries in Samoa, I can do training to teach people how to pick this fruit.

Mala, a man aged 44, formally employed as a storeman, had recently returned from his 4th overseas contract with a labour hire company, and is planning to go again in 2023. His wages were based on piecework per bin harvesting oranges, lemons and avocado; the payment varied with different types of fruit. Like many others the need to send money home on payday meant he could not save to build a house or buy a car. His marriage broke up in his absence and he was bitter about it:

My wife has moved out with another man, only me and my kids. I returned and my then-wife has already stayed with another man in the neighboring village. This was so hard and heartbreaking. Because I have been sending money every week and now, I know where it goes, to her new family. I was so stupid then. I was able to save a smaller portion of my wage, because I keep sending money to support my children and wife without knowing the truth about my wife. [I have five children] 4 boys and 1 girl. My ex-wife is now taking my daughter with her and I am with all of the boys.

if you are single, go ahead and apply to the scheme, and if you are not single but you trust your wife so much, please join the scheme. But if you think that you can also handle what I went thru, go ahead and join the scheme, things happened and life goes on with us being able to cope and survived every turbulence we faced. Be prepared for the consequences you may face especially moving away from your wife and kids.

Like others he was critical of some of his fellow Samoan workers

There were a few incidents and issues that have occurred. Some of the issues were poor management, alcohol abuse, the use of vulgar language on Sundays, infidelity, fighting, and unable to adhere to rules provided by the company to name a few. One major incident I recalled was when a Samoan team leader physically assaulted one of our team members, which resulted in his death. The team leader was later charged by Australian Police with murder and is now in prison.

Many women we interviewed said they did 'men's work' in Australia. In Samoa it can be seen as demeaning to a family if their female members do heavy work outside the house. Ioana, a woman aged 29 had previously been working as a hotel cleaner. She said that the work she did in Queensland for nine months packing bananas would not be done by women in Samoa.

I never thought I would do this kind of work. When I'm in Samoa, I thought this kind of work is for taulelea [untitled men] only, we ladies only do house chores but now I get to take the offer and work for whatever is given to us. We can't be choosers, right? [Laughing] And plus the money is much better than what I earned in Samoa and I do this for the sake of my family.

With only SAT\$200 a week, what can I do with it? This amount won't last us for a week to wait for the next pay day given the high cost of living. This money only helps with basic needs but cannot do much and that's why I apply. I've witnessed a lot of RSE worker returning to Samoa and helped developed their families from poverty and buying things to make life easier. I want to help my family just like them.

Her earnings are very important for her family in Samoa and she remitted money fortnightly instead of saving. The money had helped her father:

To renovate our broken house and extend our house. I trust my father with the money I send and I've seen the result of his work. I am thankful to know that he make very good use of the money I sent to him. He doesn't spend on other unnecessary things. I'm thankful for my parents who I know love and support me while I'm away. My working in Australia benefited my family a lot. I don't have abig savings account because I send most to Samoa. I only put aside a small amount to last me throughout the week until the next pay that I can buy necessity and basic needs for myself.

Ioana joked about her contact saying like most workers, she did not read the terms of employment, just the wages and time of travel and date, but she had no problems with the terms; her only concern was having sore legs from standing all day and the stress of keeping up with the conveyor belt. She also said that she thought the housing was in poor condition and crowded. Male and female quarters were in separate parts of the same building. She plans to go back however, and would like to have a longer-term contact:

if the new Labour party in Australia offer permanent visas for [seasonal] workers from the Pacific, yeah, I would love to get a permanent visa to live in Australia and work to

help develop my family and get them out of poverty. But I would always like to come back to Samoa when my contract ends because I missed my family a lot. Living in Australia for these past few months I learned that you have to grow independently, know how to budget and know how to survive, not like in Samoa I depended on my parents for decision making.

Lofi, an unmarried woman aged 27-year-old, also did 'men's work' in the field in vineyards in Queensland for 14 months. She had previously been a student in a tourism and hospitality course at the National University of Samoa.

I didn't finish the course because I needed extra income to help my elderly parents, especially my sick father. I bought a secondhand car costing WST\$30,000 for my family. I also sent WST\$700 to my mom every week to help take care of my sick father. My father died while I was in Australia, and worst, I could not attend my father's funeral due to COVID 19 restriction and the lockdown. I also sent my monetary contribution for my father's funeral. Like everyone else, I want to help and support my family financially. They are dependent on me as the main income earner of the family.

Lofi believed that all seasonal workers should put their families first, and avoid bad behavior:

The attitude of Samoan workers [there was] too much backstabbing and jealousy, which ended up in a dispute among the workers. If someone had been promoted to be a supervisor, co-workers always said negative comments towards that person and tension erupted in the workplace, some tend to break the rules to get back [at the] supervisor. It is a very unhealthy working environment there amongst our people. Some of my coworkers, once they got to Australia; they forgot their promises to their families.

She had no issues with her terms of employment, her experience was generally positive and she learned new skills.

I hope I will be selected again to go to the next harvest season so I can continue supporting my family financially. I heard there is a quota open for Australia and New Zealand to process permanent residency for seasonal workers from the Pacific, which I pray will apply to us also. I don't know how this works but I really like to try my luck on this so I can get a permanent visa.

Findings on Seasonal Work in Australia

These are not enough data to conclusively state that the New Zealand RSA scheme (see Fatupaitu et.al. 2021) is superior to Australia's SWP but they suggest it is so, even though the pay in Australia is higher than that offered in New Zealand. There are many reasons why seasonal work in New Zealand might work better for Samoans than in Australia; one being that New Zealanders are familiar with Samoans as a significant component of the population and therefore may be more welcoming than Australians. Another is that the horticulture industry is concentrated in a few regions and so support services can more efficiently be provided.

Our sample of seasonal workers were employed by Australian Labour hire companies, (licensed service providers) operating in several states of Australia. Many workers are shuttled between jobs for varying periods reducing their ability to become more highly skilled and thus more attractive to future employers. Their accounts suggest that the practices of Labour hire companies are a concern. They provide skilled and unskilled temporary workers on contracts, under which the company is responsible for paying and accommodating workers and ensuring that their sub-contractors comply with labour laws. However, there are down-times when the company has no work available, so the workers are not paid, although they still have to pay for their rent and food.

Another issue is that seasonal work programs are supposed to benefit unemployed Samoan, yet many of the workers in our sample had previously had jobs, only one having been self-employed and one a tertiary level student. As with the New Zealand RSE scheme, MCIL is responsible for pre-selection of workers into a 'work-ready' pool. In some cases, company representatives come to Samoa to check the workers approved by the Ministry of Commerce, Labour and Industry (MCIL). None were recruited by Samoan labour recruiting organizations, but were all registered with MCIL

2. Workers in the Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS)

The PLS allows a quota of workers to work in Australia for three years or longer and in industries that needed labor such as care of the aged and meat-packing. The scheme was envisaged as a 'win-win' because it may offer some workers higher wages and possibly a migration pathway to Australia, while reducing the recruitments costs to employers. In this section we present the perspectives of twelve people. Eight of them work for meat packing companies and four of them in aged care homes. Most of them left jobs in Samoa when they signed on to work in Australia

Workers in the Meat Packing Industry

Mele is a 32-year-old single woman from a rural village who works as a meat packer in NSW. She had previously worked as a cashier in a hotel. She was recruited through MCIL on a three-year contract, and had been working for seven months when interviewed. She said the occupation was not the sort of work she would have chosen, but it was offered and she accepted. She first applied in 2016 but did not get an offer until late 2021. She wanted to go because:

I want to help develop my family with the things that I long for us to get, like furniture, home appliances and buy a second hand car for us. With the pay I get at [the hotel], nothing can be done with a \$230.00 fortnightly.

She through the standard fitness test and training offered by MCIL was not very useful, but fitness is needed for the work:

The hardest part of doing this type of work was to stand all day. I have to stand all throughout the process while packing and to be watchful when the meat comes out to be packed in case I miss one out. At the end of the day, I feel back pain and the only thing I want to do after work is to lie down to relieve the pain. We start at 8am and finish at 5pm. With a 10mins break at 10:30am, then 30mins lunch break and another 10 mins break at 2:30pm. I don't like when we have breaks because many workers crowded in the resting area and if I get there late, I won't have a space to stretch my aching muscles from standing all day. we hardly have a day off to recharge for next day's work and it tired us easily.

She was given a written contract to sign which explained pay rates per house and company policies and regulations. Her week pay slips itemize her earning and deduction for rent, transport and health insurance. Workers provide their own food. She has mixed feelings about her experience:

I never thought I would do this kind of work [laughing]. I'm used to do office work and I thought this type of work is only for men. It's a good experience though and I get to learn something new I hope with this experience I get I could work in a higher quality independent butcher shop as a manager or supervisor [laughing]. I'm thinking of working to get a permanent visa to live and work in Australia but I prefer staying in Samoa with my parents and siblings. I know that working in Australia is hard because everything is money and if I don't work I won't have enough to send to Samoa.

Her goal is to help her family:

I get to help with our home renovation. I get to contribute to family faalavelave when my family calls and help out with my siblings tuition. I also have a saving account that I invest half of my pay into for me to bring home when I come back to Samoa. I might give it all to my parents to do want they want but we prioritize the buying of a family car and what's left of it is to buy some home furniture.

Mata is a 34 year old woman from an urban area. She previously worked as a rent collector in Apria. She now works as a meat packer in New South Wales, and has a three-year contract, having applied through MCIL.

I am now working where the seal machines are in sealing the papers after the meat has been packed. What I do is I scan the packed meat with the computer, label it with the stickers and send them to another team for orders.

She applied for the work because she said what she earned in Samoa was not enough to meet their needs. She has no issues with her contract (which is in English) and receives pay slips and understands her entitlements.

Working in this company has enabled me to receive more knowledge, skills, and the ability to do the work and [I am happy] to work each day. I have learned to be cautious every time and to make sure there are no misdeeds on the computer during busy times. I have learned to improve my communication skills with supervisors and managers when there are issues regarding work. For me, everything is okay at work, there are no defects, and there are safety provisions. I send money to my families in Samoa to help, not just for fa'alavalave. I have saving put aside for a good project for my family when I return home.

Pamela is a fa'afafine aged 29 and works for on a three-year contract in Queensland and has been there for a year. She was previously employed in Samoa as a sales person. She described her meat packing work:

Where I was first positioned is the steak lineup where all sorts of steaks such as the scotch steak, porterhouse steak, rump steak, round steak and more are catered. There's a room where they run two lines, the first one is where one steak per packet is packed and in this same line, it can also change from one steak per one packet to two steaks per packet. However, orders cannot be mixed. For instance, if a company placed an order for 200 Scotch, we can make 200 Scotch until they are done before we can change to another packing. Line two is where the steaks are packed into trays instead of packets. We receive different orders from different companies ... and this is the side where the sausages, burgers and mince are also made. I started in another area but I have been shifted to another capacity, which for me, it has helped me gained more knowledge. Before I came here, I did not know that the cow's intestine was used to produce meat, there's fabric made out of the cow's skin and much more, but thanks to this job, I now know a lot of things which are good to work and experience new knowledge and gain new skills.

She thought the fitness test and training provided at Joe's gym by MCIL was useful.

In this job, we are required to stand the whole day, say for example we start at 5am, the break is not until 9:30am but we are on our feet throughout the whole four and a half hours. There's a 7'oclock 5 minutes break but this is to go to the bathroom hence it is just 5 minutes and we are not allowed to sit down plus, there are no chairs. Besides standing all the time, we are also required to carry heavy things as we often rotate from one section/team to another to make sure we are familiar and know how to operate in the different areas of the factory.

Her motivation to apply for the work was because:

I have been observing most of the families in our neighborhood who did not have a lot of money but whose families were well developed with new houses and vehicles because their relatives came under the seasonal workers' scheme abroad, so I wanted to join to try for myself and for my family.

Her contact was in English:

One of the officers at MCIL translated each section to us from English to the Samoan language. When I had my interview, the interviewer asked questions regarding my educational background and how well I was in English as everything in this job is in English.

Her experience has been positive and she would like to stay in Australia, but has plans to help her family:

I am considering migrating here and staying (working) here for good. The company has also offered an extension of our working years after they review our performance after our first 3 years contract at present so I am to be on my best to secure another spot for me to stay longer and earn the company's favor to help when I decide that I want to migrate.

I am assisting my family in providing for them especially with their needs at home for food and such essential. I send money home every week except for the Covid-19 timeframe where I sent money twice a week to assist with their needs. I also send money for faalavelave aside from the weekly remittance I send.

Besides the money I send to Samoa, I have my own saving, which I plan to use to build a house for my younger siblings. The house they live in currently is my grandmother's (my mother has passed on), we never know what will happen once she's gone and who's going to own the house after her. I already have land so I aim to build a house for my siblings to live freely without having to worry about who owns the house. Knowing that I am a transgender and I won't have children, I know this house will be very useful for my siblings.

She offers this advice for other Samoans who want to come on the PLS:

a palagi never wastes time, they are always on time, and when they fire you, they do not give second chances unlike how things are in Samoa. Over here, even if you're just by one minute late, you will still be warned or get told off. Be wise, save money and always remember it is very humiliating to farewell in tears yet say hello to your Samoan family again when you get sent back.

Tia is a 30-year-old woman from a rural village; she previously worked at a waitress in a restaurant in Apia, and now works for a company in Victoria on a four year contract,

Every year I have to return to Samoa as per written in my contract. It's been 3 months now. The company exports high-quality beef, Veal, mutton, and Goat meats to over 50 countries. On my first day at McPhee Bros, I started packing boxes for two weeks. After that, they moved me to the next level of removing the goat, lamp and sheep hoof. After a week, I was moved to a different station, using knives. It took me a day to learn how to use a knife. The next day I started in the cutting area by cutting off bone in sheep and lamb. One week that I was in the cutting room they moved me to pack sheep and lamb cuts in boxes using a machine. After two weeks they moved me to offal. This is where you will pack things such as goat head, sheep and lamb head in boxes. Right now I am in the labeling area, using a computer to type labels for boxes that are already packed and ready to export to different countries.

She thinks the fitness test and training provided by MCIL was useful, as the work requires long hours standing, starting at 5 am and finishing at 2.30 or later.

She applied to go because she wanted to:

help provide my family with things they needed because I'm the only one who works to provide for my mum, grandparents and my 3 siblings. My salary from my waitress job was not enough for my family needs. I'm very excited when I get this opportunity.

Her contract was in English and translation was explained verbally but MCIL staff.

when I received my first pay slips, there are a lot of things deducted from my salary for example visa fee, airfares, utilities, health insurance, they provide our mobile phone so they have to deduct from our salary, transportation and accommodation after these deductions I have only got half of my salary. Lucky that I got one hour of overtime for every day. [I asked how long with will take to pay off] my visa and airfares. They say one year.

She is happy with her job, saying:

I gained a lot of experiences and skills in this company the faster you learn the more opportunities that they give to you to move around and learn new things. To me there is nothing bad or negative about the job. I enjoy the job, because it is easy and simple, because of using technology these days. The people I'm working with are so friendly and helpful when I need help.

I want to sign up again but I don't want to migrate to Australia because I'm the oldest. I have to take care of my family. I want to come and work after my contract, then go back and develop something for my family financially, which is my parents, my three siblings, and grandparents.

My first pay I send to my mother to buy a small freezer because my family uses our neighbor's freezer if we have a box of chicken from a family funeral or our Sunday shopping. My second pay I send to buy TV. I send money for my siblings' school fees, family faalavelave, and my grandparent's expenses. I have sent money every fortnightly and I have a savings account. My goal is to buy a new car for my family, especially for my grandparents when they go to the hospital for their checkup, church and also I want to take them around Savaii

Alosio a 32-year-old man from a rural village He previously worked for supermarket and now works for a company in Victoria, doing similar work to Itele, and has a two year contract through MCIL.

I heard of the PLS program from one of my friend who works at MCIL, that they were looking for people who are interest to work in this kind of work. That was in 2009. I went and filled out my form to the MCIL for a 2 years contract. In 2020, I got a phone call from MCIL, asking about my name and asking if I remember my form that I filled out in MCIL for seasonal work. I say yes, but I don't remember the year, but they say that my name is registered on their system in 2009; it's been 12 years on that time. So they tell me to come with my passport in their office the next day.

I'm crying when I got that phone call from the MCIL office and thank God that I got this opportunity to work overseas. I have been aiming for so long, I have been fighting for an opportunity to work as a seasonal worker to help my family develop financially. I was so happy when I got the chance to be in it with my intentions that I will provide my family with things they needed.

His contract in English was explained by MCIL but did not really understand the terms until he started working.

I thought the company would provide for us for free like our medical fee if we go to the hospital, transportation, airfares and visa even our mobile phone that they provide, but they deduct the cost from our salary. Everything you are using in company they deduct from your salary. If you feel ill and want to see the doctor and your health insurance is not enough to cover your bill you have to pay from your pocket.

On my first day at work for McPhee, everything is hard and difficult for me to use. The usage of different machines is new to me. It gives me one or two days to do training on how to use it. The faster you learn to use a machine, the quicker you move to the next different type machine for this job. But the slower you learn, the slower you move to the next round.

In the company there are supervisors and managers in different sections who are monitoring the operation of the company and the workers. I know the work is very hard, especially for first time workers like me. The company was very satisfied with the Samoan workers performance because they're hardworking people, not only that, but they are kindhearted and willing to help others.

He said he had experienced some problems understanding his supervisor, who is from PNG and speaks fast, but otherwise he feels positive. He has been offered a four-year contract that required him to return to Samoa every year, and well go in January 2023. He would like to migrate to Australia.

He is helping his family:

I have to send money every two weeks of my pay day to my wife for our 4 children's needs like food, cash power, alofa to our pastor, school fees, and family faalavelave. I also sent money to my mother. I have a savings account; my goal is to build a new house for my children because at the moment we stay at my mother's house with my siblings.

Lei is a man age 25 from a rural village, he previously worked on the family farm and helped to take care of his grandmother. He now works for a company in Queensland and was recruited through MCIL on a three-year contract and has been there for a year. When he was recruited he said:

we had several meetings to discuss what is expected from us and warn us about the rules of being a seasonal worker which includes we are not allowed to have alcohol during working hours. My mother signed my consent, which allowed me to come and work in Australia. We had training for one day this work needs people who are fit, I learned from there that I need to stay fit as this work I had to stand for the first 5 hours before a break and then back to work again.

He wanted to go because:

I need to help my family financially, as I have seen many people whose families' standard of living has improved since they go and work as seasonal workers. Since I don't work [for payment] I need to work and earn my own money not only to help my family but myself.

He said he understands his contract, entitlements and deductions and described his experience:

My experience working in this company is to know how to pack the meet probably so that it can be well reserved. Also how the cattle are divided into different parts and how to pack them differently. The more boxes I packed a day, the more income earn, I experienced from there that if I do not work hard I will not have anything to eat.

I usually offer to work on weekends as the pay for those days is doubled, and more money is earned for me. I learned how important it is to work and earn your own money now I learn how to budget my money without overspending it.

The only negative is that my teammates usually drink alcohol every weekend and they will ask me for money when they run out of money, if I do not give it to them they will talk about me behind my back. It is not healthy to work with those kinds of people in the workplace. Also, my grandmother passed away and I was not able to come to her funeral.

I am considering coming back and working here but, going back to Samoa as I need to help develop my family back home.

I send money home to my family every two weeks to buy their food and whatever they need back home. I even sent money to my mother to pay my siblings' school fees at the National University of Samoa. I sent money to help my family when my grandmother passed; I sent my contribution to my mother. I have a saving in fact I am thinking of buying a Taxi when I come back to Samoa.

Beti is a 29-year-old divorced woman with two children; she previously stayed home to care for family. She is employed by a company in Queensland.

I was unemployed, a stayed home mom and taking care of the kids and taking them to school. My husband had an opportunity to join the apple scheme in New Zealand and he was providing for our family. However due to our differences, we end up getting divorced, now the kids are staying with my mother in Samoa, I am the sole provider for them nowadays me and my brother in Australia as well. I will be here for the next three years I know it's hard for me and my kids as I miss them so much but yeah this is for them

I have nothing to provide for my kids as I have two sons. My only option was to look for an opportunity to come to Australia to work and provide for my sons and my mother and my family. And that is my motivation. The scheme has helped me a lot, if I am still in Samoa, it's very hard for me to get a job as I didn't finish school. I drop out of secondary school. I am happy with the sacrifices I made now for my sons.

I saw the advertisement on TV one evening and I went to get a form from the MCIL. It takes two to three weeks to wait for them to reply. Before being offered the opportunity, before being selected by MCIL we must go thru physical training and examinations which helped prepare us physically for the scheme. Fitness is very important in this job and this helped me a lot to expect heavy work and set a mindset to get ready for the job.

She says the work is hard by she has learned to do it:

I have been able to gain experience in how to process meat from the raw to the packaging stage. The different processes to clean meat before consumption are quite an advantage for me in this scheme. In Samoa preparing a pig to cook in an umu is easy with minimal concerns about cleanliness. However, here everything should be perfect and clean within the meat industry, I believe this also teaches us to process and make sure all the things like tools used and cooking meat should be clean at all times for better hygiene.

She would like to continue in this work:

Well, it's money and support for the family; this is the most important thing.

I would gladly come back to work again as long as I am alive and fit for the job. If becoming a permanent resident assists my family and its development, I would gladly do it. I know the work is not easy, but I have to be strong for my boys and I would love and wish to have gained a permanent residency in Australia.

This has helped me become a better mom to my boys, I have been able to send them money weekly for their lunches and food. I am also helping my grandmother with some money for her church offerings and family faalavelave like funerals and weddings.

She supports her family in Samoa:

Every week and if they had money left from the previous week, my mom will tell me to save money that I intended to send to them for the next time. Approximately WST 500, about \$280AUD every week. That is a lot of money right? If I stayed in Samoa, I cannot get that type of money for a week. Fortnightly, if I miss a week, I usually send them money around \$700 to WST 800 around \$400AUD to make up that week, I don't want my boys to starve, you know, mothers' love will do anything for their children.

I can save up to \$300AUD per week. That's a lot of money to me. I never spend money on anything that I want. It is just food and personal things.

I am aiming to build a medium concrete house with better bathrooms/ restrooms for my mother and sons, as currently, we lived in a small hut, me my mother my two sons, and two brothers. So, if in God's favor and hopefully at the end of our contracts I will come back and make this come true.

A Worker in the Banana Industry

Manu is a man aged 41 years from a rural village, previously a farmer who did casual paid work when it was available. He now works for a banana growing, packing and distribution company in Queensland.

The job was at first hard and demanding, and it took some time for me to adapt and adjust. One challenging factor was the heat. Working in the hot sun was quite difficult. Then the strength for the hard labour in cutting and carrying the many banana bundles and so forth. it was not easy to understand when we arrived in Australia. There was little

contact with a Samoan person that could help me understand what the boss was asking of me.

I was given pay slips, but I could not understand the deductions. We were paid weekly. I was aware there was some money taken from my pay, but I was not sure what some of them were. I blame my limited knowledge of English and education. Yet due to these weaknesses, I feel blessed and am grateful to GOD for giving me this opportunity.

He said he likes the job:

It has been a great experience for me. Back in Samoa I was always ill and weak. This was due to the constant many faalavelave but not enough cash. But now I work hard as we have to do so that we get good money to send to our family back home. Another additional great experience for me is team work; our team motto was we always support each other. Our team leader said we can only have a rest once we feel ill and if we are not feeling good,. He encouraged us to always prioritize our health. There are 10 of us from Samoa (men) who work together with people from different countries. Every country they have their own team leader.

What I earned from my farm is not enough to support my family, especially I have 8 kids, so it is my responsibility to work hard to give them a good life. Taking care of my family and my children is my top priority. Also, I have church and village matters to tend to. With so little money I earn from my plantation. The result is obvious, I need this work.

I am sending them part of my pay weekly so that my kids won't feel hungry, and I am saving up for a good house to build, since my wife and my kids are staying in a faleo'o (small open-walled Samoan house). My first thing to do when I come back is to build a large European house for my kids. My family is quite poor and they all look up to me to provide for them. This job will allow me to provide all the good things for my family and children.

I am considering migrating here and working here for good. I am going to be at my best and work hard to secure another spot for me.

Workers in Age Care Services

Sene is a woman aged 47 years from a rural village. She previously worked for a charity taking care of people with mental and other disabilities. Her former boss nominated her to apply but she was recruited through MCIL for work for Australian Regional Remote Community Services (ARRCS) in a Northern Territory town

I work as a Nurse taking care of the old people. My work duties and responsibilities mainly focused in taking good care for the elderly. Such duties to note were giving them baths, serving and feeding them their meals, as well as monitoring their medicine to take day by day consistently. I would be on foot all the time and be alert in taking care of the elderly. Some were not as strong and able as the others. For example, other patients required special care such as helping them onto the wheelchair and onto the bed. Others would require tender care for their bodies were too frail and weak. At times, I would work the day shift and other times I would work the night shift. I would also work overtime in the weekends now and then.

She says she now has enough money to help her family financially, especially her children, because her pay from her previous job was not enough. She says she has a fair command of English and anything she wanted to know about the term of employment was explained by MCIL.

I am now sending them money fortnightly. I am also saving up for their future. My kid's education comes first to me and I will do anything to take good care of them. They are the reason why I chose this line of work. To earn, provide and care for them. My eldest daughter is in her Foundation year at NUS and the fees are expensive. My eldest son is in College. Both fees together amount up to a great price. That is why I strive for my work to provide for my children . (Her parents and husband take care of them)

I really enjoy what I am doing because I have experienced a lot about this job and my co-workers have supported me in every way. I will gladly sign up on a contract again. I will always choose Australia for work.

Nola is a 27-year-old woman, formerly a secondary school teacher in Samoa and part time cashier in a shop. She is now also working for a service provider in the Northern Territory, in an age care facility.

My contract is an open contract we came here for 3 years and it is up to us if we want to extend our contract or not. I work 7 days a week; we have 2 days off, but if I need to cover for someone who does not come's shift then I can. I work 12 hours on weekdays and 8 hours at weekends. I enjoy what I do every day, I care for the elders and I have a bond with those people since I cared for them every day. Moreover, I went and work at this company's other branch in Brisbane and work there as a caregiver for a month. For the first week all I did was paper work so I can be familiar with the elderly people staying there after one week then I was able to assist them and cater for their need as a caregiver for the next three weeks. I learned a lot from working as a caregiver in different environments. I started my contract in August 2021 hopefully by 2024 I will sign another contract so that I can go visit my family and then come back here to work.

I would love to sign and go again when my contract is finished but since our contract is an open contract. We received a multiple Visa which last for 5 year and we are allowed to come back and go back and work in Australia again. I will also want to migrate to Australia and stay here for good as they offer the best jobs and their rate for salary is fair based on the type of job you are doing.

She was recruited by a private training company, which places its graduates:

We were not recruited by the MCIL but by the Bradford Institute, which is located in Brisbane. Some members of their team came and held a training course it in Samoa at Nu'u in the year 2019. The course was basically on community service and social work and I had to pay \$4000.00 (WST) for this course, which lasted for 3 months, and we received our Certificate 3 Community Service. The director of the school offered us this opportunity, and we just submitted our certificates and other documents needed to the Australian High Commission and they let us know when we will be leaving. We are now taking another course, Certificate 4 in Individual Support under FOX Education and Consultant. This fee for this course is \$2000.00 (AUD), which is sponsored by the FOX Education Consultants, and it will be finished in November. At the same time, we are

taking a diploma offered by Bradford Institute of Advance for 2 years. I am paying for this course which cost me \$6649.00 (AUD) and \$200 (AUD) is deducted from my salary every fortnight. These courses are very useful in doing the work that I am doing now.

She cares for her family in Samoa:

every week I pay for their shopping at a Wholesale outlet and my sister will pick it up. I send my dad money every time he calls when they have a family falavelave, and for his church donations or when he wants to go see a doctor. I even sent money to my sister who is caring for my father when she needs money for her children's school stuff. I do have savings since I started working; I save money in hopes that I can do something for my family when I go back. This year I gifted my father a car for Father's Day and his birthday. Since now my other goal has been achieved, my saving is still ongoing in hopes that by the time I go back I can buy a piece of land for myself since the land that we are staying on is customary land.

Fua is a 24-year-old woman from an urban neighborhood. She formerly worked for her family's small businesses, a shop, brick-making business, and fishing boats. She has a four-year contract with a regional authority in Alice Springs, Northern Territory, Australia.

This age care home is where we are responsible for looking after the health of elders in terms of their medication, and generating the list for their food (which patients and which food they can and cannot eat). We are also responsible for measuring their blood level and diabetes similar to the work done at the hospital by nurses however; ARRCs is only for the sick elders. Once a new client is admitted, we are the ones responsible for examining them to see what level their health is on (the company offered to pay for our additional nursing papers when we came)

Like Nola, Bradford recruited her after she had paid them for training

MCIL's involvement [in recruiting age care workers] is to help identify the individuals and their qualifications. When we graduated in 2019 from the Bradford Institute and Technology in Samoa with a Certificate III in Community Services (they were based in Nuu at the EFKS church in 2018/2019) where I studied skills essential for maintaining personal safety while helping others, how to manage personal stress, and communicate with clients from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds which offers us the opportunity to choose electives to pursue career interests such as working with the elderly, working with children and young people, drugs and alcohol and mental health, the head of the school told us that we were supposed to depart Samoa for Australia by the end of 2019. However, Covid-19 struck so we were not able to come hence the principal contacted us in 2021 from Australia that all our paper-work was ready and the only thing left for us to do were our interviews with our employer. We departed Samoa on the first week of October 2021

She is generally happy with the work:

There are a lot of things I have learned from this job, never mind the money but the experiences and knowledge I gained because even though we studied health care but we did not have practical and we are not nurses but when we came, the company offered for us to take extra nursing papers to extend our knowledge. It was not easy in the

beginning but we did our best to adapt to the environment. One of our positive experiences is the ability to expand my knowledge about something such as communicating with people from different ethnicity.

The biggest negative experience we are facing is the complications caused by the multicultural environment we work in unlike in Samoa where there's only a little number of foreigners, which causes the language barrier. However, here, only ten percent of the staff are Samoans and everyone else are foreigners such as Africans, Indians, etc. and the access to shops is limited. The hardest challenge about it is trying to get the clients to understand us when we attend to them. We have a translator but we have to book her or him to come to translate and they are not available all the time. So what we do when we attend to them is we try to use signs and gestures to try and enlighten them about what we want and what we are about to do. We also have disabled clients who are the hardest to look after as clients with disabilities should be monitored 24/7.

Under this job, the company can also assist in processing paperwork for migration and living in Australia permanently. The company has also offered to extend the four years contract to six years so it can help with paperwork and I plan to also apply as Australia can offer opportunities in so many areas much more than in Samoa and I hope I will be successful in this.

It is always my mother I send money to weekly. Though I am paid fortnightly I receive a net pay that is more than enough for my saving and to send money back home each week. The purpose of the saving I am putting aside is to buy land and build a house in Samoa.

Lina is a 35-year-old woman from a rural village. She previously worked as an enrolled nurse in a district hospital. She's married with 2 children. Her husband was working on seasonal work in New Zealand. She has left her children in her mother and sisters care. Her eldest son is 7 years old and her youngest son is 4 years old. She says it was hard for her to leave her children but she had no choice because she wants her children to have a good education and a better future and provide for her poor family.

Like the other age case workers, she was recruited through MCIL for the same regional service provider, like the other Samoan workers in age care on five year contracts, as a caregiver in aged care home in Northern Territory and has been there for over a year.

I am confident that I got the job because I have an Australia Pacific Training Consortium (APTC) certificate III in individual support (Ageing, Home and Community). MCIL called to confirm that I was one of the candidates in July 2021, and then departed Samoa to Australia in August 2021. We were told about the working life in Australia, it's not easy, and of how to adjust to it.

I work full time Monday to Saturday on a roster from 7am to 2:30pm. There are three Samoan women here and we work together with other people from different countries.

When I first started the work was not easy. We have training when we first started and the same time that starts our online course. My job is to help the client with

personal care activities, including bathing, skin care, and back rub, dressing and undressing, feeding, and shaving. I help clients take prescribed medication and measure blood pressure. Sometimes I will help a doctor if they need assistance. I have to arise early in the morning at 4am to get ready for work because I have to be at the workplace at 7am and the workplace is far from where we are staying.

I signed a written contract in Samoan language. I received my pay slips every fortnightly of payday through my phone. There's a lot of things that I deduct from my salary for my transportation, airfares, visa, health insurance, accommodation, SUPA, medical if I'm feeling ill and want to go see the doctor, so I don't know why I deduct health insurance. I email our payroll asking why they deduct my salary for my medical check-up, but they say that my health insurance doesn't cover the amount of my bill. Everything you are using in the company you have to pay nothing is free.

She sends money home for her family:

I send money every two weeks on my payday to my mum for my children needs and also family faalavelave, church taulaga and so on. I am saving to take money home for the purpose of buying a car for my parents and children.

Overall she likes the work:

The only negative experience I came across with during our job every day, it is so hard to communicate with some of the elderly people. However it is a beautiful work environment, good supervisor, and some elders people that we looking after are so friendly. Good money.

Many benefit from [this kind of employment] like a pay rise every 6months (Jan to July). We have access many training and development courses through their learning platform, 6 weeks annual leave + 17% leave loading for example, money is paid on top of our normal pay to compensate for expenses during annual leave.

I want to sign up to go again and work there for good.

Findings on Workers in the PLS

Most of the workers had jobs in Samoa before they left, but said they had financial difficulties making ends meet. The meat workers said they were learning new skills but the claim that the PLS leads to 'brain gain' rather than 'brain drain' is doubtful as there is no organized meat industry in Samoa to employ them back home. Similarly for the aged care workers in Samoa; there are no state provided aged care services in Samoa to employ them. Several of the aged care workers had paid for their own training, and in two cases they were continuing to pay for training. Thus, Samoan people could be said to be subsidizing social services in Australia by paying the training institutions who recruited them to work in aged care institutions.

Further analysis of the data from this survey will be included in a forthcoming book on Samoan labour mobility

Reference

Angela Anya Fatupaito et. al. 2021. Samoa's New Labour Trade. *The Journal of Samoan Studies* Volume 11, No. 1.

Gender Equity, Equality and Empowerment for Samoan Women

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Abstract

Samoan women make up half of the population and contribute much to the national economy, community and family unit of the country. The women have shown their value in decision-making processes to contribute to government ministries and business industries. However, the question still looms over them of their full fledged right to gender equity, equality and empowerment in the society. The social and cultural norms in leadership roles and responsibilities, community status and recognition of women in workplace and community is not well recognized by the society under the matai system as compared to men. Therefore, this research is to investigate and assesses how fairly and justly the women are being treated in the workplace and the community. The research findings indicate a great shift taking place where men are respecting, treating and giving opportunities to women to participate in leadership roles and responsibilities, decision making and express their views and opinions in workplace and community affairs.

Introduction

The research discussed the opportunity and treatment of Samoan women with the lens of equity, equality and empowerment in workplace and community obligations, participation and responsibility. The paper looked at the treatment, relationship and opportunity given by male workers to females in the workplace and community.

The cultural practices and traditional norms on the role of women emphasize that they are supporters not copartners to men. These social and cultural norms have spillover effects into the workplace, community and family unit placing women at the disadvantage and disbenefit compare to men. The paper discussed the good deeds and treatments provided by men to women in community and workplace like offering promotion, providing leadership opportunity and involving women in decision making. It also identifies the barriers still exist hindering women to access and participate fully in the workplace and community activities like running for elective office or take part in decision making and planning. The gender equity, equality and empowerment are chosen to be part of this study because Samoan women represent half of the country's population and they have the fundamental human rights to fairness and justice like men. Besides, they are the main driving force for social and economic developments of the country.

The 36 female research participants who are workers employed in the small, medium and large public and private sectors within Apia participated in the Likert scale study survey. The information obtained for the research are from the

questionnaire survey that disseminated to the 36 female workers in Apia. The questionnaires were collected, tabulated and analyzed using the simple arithmetic mean (Average).

The authors with the knowledge and experience in Samoa provide substantial insights to help fill the gaps in information on the gender equity, equality and empowerment on Samoan women. The study experienced several issues in the conduction of the survey. The greatest challenge is to persuade and convince the female workers to participate and answer the questionnaires. Also, therepresentation, relevancy and validity of data are of great concern as survey does not cover the entire country. However, every effort has been made to validate and substantiate the data and information collected from the 36 research female workers in Apia.

Literature Review

The gender equity and gender equality are related but they are not the same. Sami, (2022) explained that gender equity refers to fair treatment of women and men according to their respective needs, while gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men. The gender empowerment is empowering gender to accept their viewpoints, participation in decision making, hold leadership roles, raise their status and recognition in workplace and give them freedom to pursue their desired values and goals (Jackson, 2014; Crichton, 2015)

Gender Equity

Gender equity ensures social and economic treatments and opportunities are given to everyone impartially and fairly (Schiavo, 2023). UN Women Institute of Development Studies. (2024) stressed to create equal outcomes for community members and fairly distribute the benefits and responsibilities between women and men. The females are deemed as weak or less important compared to males so gender equity to be enforced and practiced in workplaces and communities (Rose-Clarke, 2023).

Today, gender equity has shaped and changed the roles and expectations of men and women at work and home (Schiavo, 2023). The society expects everyone to accept each othertalents, skills, and abilities, regardless of their gender (UN Women Institute of Development Studies, 2024). To respect all people and provide them opportunities to achieve better health, education and economic without gender discrimination (Rose-Clarke, 2023). Schiavo (2023) said gender equity allows women

to improve and pursue their health care benefits, workplace benefits and social benefits.

UN Women Institute of Development Studies (2024) further stated to empower intelligent and powerful women who have broken discrimination barriers and changed the future for women everywhere in the social and economic spheres of life. Promote and share with neighbors, communities and coworkers what women have accomplished to improve the world and join the efforts to focus on gender equity at workplace (Rose-Clarke, 2023).

Gender Equality

Gender equality adopted to become international human rights law by the Universal Declaration at the UN General Assembly in 1948 (UN Women, 2021). UN Women (2021) said this law recognized that all humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms without discrimination in race, color, sex, language, religion, birth or other status. There is a long way yet to achieve full equality of rights and opportunities between men and women (Belingheri, Chiarello, et al, 2021). However, it is important to reduce and eliminate gender violences, unfairness treatments and abuses against women (Guthridge, Kirkman, et al, 2022). Therefore, women to access quality education, health care economic benefits, employment accessibility and leadership, opportunity to political life and decision-making. (Kurzman, Dong, et al, 2019). To harness the female equality of rights, responsibilities and opportunities to be fair to meet their respective needs (UNESDOC, 2022). The UN Secretary-General, António Guterres (UNESDOC, 2022) said to achieve unfinished business of our time is to give and empower gender equality to our women and girls in the world today.

In 1993 UN General Assembly adopted a declaration on the elimination of violence against women with a comprehensive definition of violence against women and a clear statement of the rights to ensure elimination of violence against women in all forms (United Nations, 1993). The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) is the principal global intergovernmental body dedicated to the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women. CSW promotes women's rights, documents the reality of women's lives throughout the world, and shape global standards on gender equality and the empowerment of women (Commission on the Status of Women, 2022).

In 2010, the United Nations General Assembly created a single UN body tasked with accelerating progress in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment (UN Women, 2010). UN Women (2010) said a new UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women was formed to accelerate the progress to achieving

gender equality and empowerment of women. It merges four agencies: the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues, and the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Gender Empowerment

The Millennium Development Goal Three (3) is to promote gender equality and empower women (Beloskar, Haldar & Gupta, 2024). The goal aims to eliminate females' disparity in health, education, employment and get into parliament (UN Women, 2023). The existence of a separate goal strengthens global women movements to advocate and empower females to participate in leadership and decision-making in the national and international levels (Narayanaswamy, Schöneberg, et al, 2023).

Empowering women is to allow them to know and understand gender relations and how these relations changed. Developing the sense of selves-worth, the belief in women's ability to secure desire changes and the right to control their lives. (UN Women, 2023). Gaining the ability to generate choices and exercise bargaining power and gaining the ability to organize and influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order for women nationally and internationally (World Economic Forum, 2023).

Empowering women today, is giving power and freedom to women to empower them is the process of making them become the agents of change to hold corporative positions and political leadership (UN Women, 2023). According to World Economic Forum (2023) women have been empowered in social, educational, economic, political and legal areas through participation and decision-making process but more females to participate in these areas of developments. To strengthen and engage them in development, human rights, humanitarian action, peace and security for economic growth, political stability and social transformation in society (Ghosh, Mahapatra, Tandon & Tandon, 2023).

Women empowerment is for enterprise to take into account and recognize the income levels and power relations within the households, markets, communities, national and international economies where women contribute in (Beloskar, Haldar & Gupta, 2024). It is crucial to empower and allow women to have access to information, education and skills training, income and develop strategies, address their concerns and support other women (World Economic Forum, 2023). The global society needs to work to achieve the gender equity, gender equality and gender empowerment for women (Njuki, Melesseb, et al, 2022; UN Women, 2010).

Samoa Gender Challenges and Concerns

The women have different special needs compared to men and such needs must be recognized and understood by men so the equality, equity and empowerment must be harnessed to improve women (UNESCO, 2022). Samoan women make up half of the population and contribute much to the national economy, community and family unit progress and development (Crichton, 2015; Samoa News, 2021). Samoan women have shown their value in decision-making processes and continued to be the important stakeholders within the government and business industries (Schoeffel, 2010). Their needs and aspirations in the political, social and economic development process and their participation in decision-making and raising issues in workplaces need to be impartially and fairly recognized by male counterparts (Schoeffel, 2016; Schoeffel, 2010)

Samoa gender project developments have widened the scope to ensure social inclusion of women into all areas of developments. Crichton (2015) said Samoa policy objectives have moved steadily from women progression to gender equality, equity and empowerment. The women's concerns and issues are incorporated into the policy and have shown positive progress in the community and workplace environment (UN Women Asia and Pacific, 2021; PACWIP 2021). Samoa also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms (Crichton, 2015). It incorporated the principle of equality of men and women into the legal system and adopted appropriate laws to prohibit discrimination against females (Crichton, 2015; PACWIP 2021; UN Women Asia and Pacific, 2021).

The legal provisions provide women with equal access and opportunities into political life, the right to vote and stand for election, education, health and employment (UN Women 2021; PACWIP 2021). In education, women are well represented and performing well than their male counterparts. In health there are concerns on access to contraceptives, maternal mortality, pre and post-natal care (Schoeffel, 2016). Schoeffel (2016) pointed out that structural shifts in health sector are underway to ensure policy direction, health care delivery and universal access to facilities and treatment are accessible and fairly obtained by women.

Samoa government also established tribunals and other public bodies to protect women to ensure no persons, organizations or enterprises to discriminate against women (Jackson, 2014; Schoeffel, 2010). The government agrees to take all appropriate actions including legislation and special measures for women to enjoy their human rights and freedom. Samoa currently has a woman Prime Minister and five other females in parliament (Schmidt, 2016; Schoeffel, 2010). A parliamentary bill ensures 10 percent of women representatives to be in the national Legislative

Assembly (PACWIP 2021) to contribute to development of the country. The Samoan constitution makes reference to equality but has limited scope for anti-discrimination coverage beyond public institutions. Candidates contesting for political leadership must have a Matai, or chiefly title (Jackson, 2014; Schoeffel, 2010). The female Matais title is of less value compared to male Matai titles (Jackson, 2014). Despite such cultural norms, women are becoming more important stakeholders in the employment sector, and the number of women are increasing in holding onto high positions in the public and private sector in Samoa (Schoeffel, 2016).

Despite the advancement of women in the political and professional level, there continued discrimination at the cultural level that hindered progress of women in the villages (Schmidt, 2016; Schoeffel, 1987). The discriminatory practices, includes the segregation of women based on their marital status or the status of their husband continued to reinforce the value of women as a supporter of husband in the village (Jackson, 2014). This historical practice is enshrined in the traditional village structure within the village (Schoeffel, 1987). Therefore, women do not have a large representation in the village fono or the council of chiefs but contribute significantly to the development of a village (Jackson, 2014; Schoeffel, 2010).

The practices and evidences showed that women continue to be marginalized in social and economic development (Schoeffel, 2016). They faced challenges in areas of health, education, disability, economic, discrimination and domestic violence (Jackson, 2014; Samoa News, 2021). More than half of Samoan women are victims of domestic abuse subject to abuse by either their husbands, parents or other women. (UN Women, 2022; Samoa News, 2021). Women need to be looked after, treated well and take more active role in the development as per the National Policy for Women (UN Women Asia and Pacific, 2021).

Research Methodology

The study uses Likert scale questionnaire survey to collect data and information from female workers working in small, medium and big public and private employment sectors in Apia. The questionnaire focused primarily on gender equity, equality and empowerment of Samoan women. The survey learned more towards a rating scale to measure and weigh the thoughts, opinions, attitudes and behaviors of female workers on how they felt they are treated at the workplace and community setting.

The questionnaire survey subdivided into three sections (gender equity, gender equality and gender empowerment) consist of statements on the equity, equality and empowerment with a series of four answer statements of strongly agree, agree,

disagree and strongly disagree. The female respondents chose the best answer option that corresponds to how they feel and think about the statement of their rights to equity, equality and empowerment. As described by Ho (2017) that respondents are presented with a range of possible answers with the Likert scale questionnaire. It is great to capture the level of agreement, feeling and thinking in regard to the topic in a more nuanced way. However, Joshi, Kale, Chandel and Pal (2015) and Chakrabartty (2014) argued that Likert scales are prone to bias responses as respondents either agree or disagree with all the statements due to fatigue or have social desirability and tendency toward extreme responding or other demand characteristics.

The total population of 36 female workers between the age of 21 and 48 were used as the sample size for the research work. They were randomly selected from small, medium and large organizations in the public and private sector in Apia town area. The questionnaire containing 21 statements adapted from the 4-point Likert scale on strongly agree (SA), agree (A), disagree (D) and strongly disagree (SD). The survey questionnaires collected from all the respondents were analyzed using the simple arithmetic mean (Average). To analyze and interpret the data to produce the outcomes which were tabled as findings.

Findings

The 36 female workers research participants between the age of 21 and 48 answers are tallied and analyzed in the table. The table below is divided into three sections of gender equity with eight statements, gender equality with seven statements and gender empowerment with six statements. The analysis is done with number of respondents and percentages as shown in the table.

Table 1: Gender Equity

Gender Equity Questions	S A	%	A	%	D	%	S D	%	To tal	Tot al%
Aggressive attitude and manner express by Samoan males towards you	5	14	15	41	12	33	44	12	36	100
Family male members behave towards you with politeness	21	58	12	33	33	9	0	0	36	100
Generally Samoan males behave towards you with politeness	7	20	21	58	8	22	0	0	36	100
Samoan males speak politely with you	7	20	23	63	6	17	0	0	36	100
Samoan males speak harshly to	3	9	14	38	15	41	4	12	36	100

	you										
	Samoan males use body or sign language to speak with you	3	9	15	41	12	36	6	17	36	100
	Samoan males do argument with you often	2	6	8	22	16	44	10	28	36	100
	Samoan males greet you well with calmness and gentleness	8	22	22	61	66	177	0	0	36	100

Table 2: Gender Equality

Gender Equality Questions		S	%	A	%	D	%	S	%	T	Total
		A						D		otal	al%
9	Male colleagues at workplace valued your work performance	13	37	19	53	25	55	25	55	36	100
10	Male colleagues at workplace admire your work attitude	10	28	20	56	53	13	13	33	36	100
11	Male colleagues at workplace distribute resources and things fairly with you	13	36	14	38	96	22	0	0	36	100
12	Male colleagues at workplace provide resources that you ask for to you	82	22	18	50	96	22	16	22	36	100
13	Male boss at your workplace provide	10	28	13	36	22	34	16	22	36	100

	opportunit y to you for promotion										
1 4	Male colleagues at workplace share their work, knowledge and skills with you	1 4	3 9	1 7	4 7	3	9	2	5	3 6	100
1 5	Male colleagues at workplace share their gifts, rewards and benefits with you	6	1 6	1 3	3 6	1 3	3 6	4	1 2	3 6	100

Table 3: Gender Empowerment

Gender Empowerment Questions	S A	%	A	%	D	%	S D	%	To tal	Tot al%	
1 6	You given opportunit y to make decisions in your family and workplace	1 5	4 1	1 8	5 0	3	9	0	0	36	100
1 7	You given opportunit y to express	1 5	4 2	1 6	4 4	5	1 4	0	0	36	100

	your views in your workplace and community meetings											
18	You given authority and power to plan and direct the male dominated group at your workplace	8	23	14	38	12	34	2	5	36	100	
19	You authorized to express your negative feelings about unfairness at your workplace or in community meetings	8	23	15	41	12	34	1	2	36	100	
20	You given the autonomy to lead the team of male and female at your workplace at times	9	25	20	55	7	20	0	0	36	100	
21	You given the	8	23	18	50	8	22	2	5	36	100	

	chance to do changes to certain policies and laws at your workplace or even in the communit y										
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Gender Equity

Fifteen respondents agreed that Samoan males expressed their aggressive attitude and manner towards them at home and at workplace which was strongly supported by the other five respondents. While 12 other respondents disagreed and another four strongly disagreed about such aggressiveness expressed towards them at workplace or at home. A total of 56 percent participants said Samoan males have aggressive attitudes, while 44 percent disagree illustrating 10 percent more were witnessing the aggressiveness behavior of Samoan males.

The 91 percent respondents said male family members behave towards them with politeness, whereas 9 percent said they do not. The 33 respondents said Samoan males behave towards them with politeness and good attitude, while three others said they do not receive politeness and kindness from males. Thus, indicating that majority of Samoa males show gratitude, respect and kindness to their sisters.

The 78 percent participants agreed that generally Samoan males show respect and politeness towards them in different areas and circumstances. The other 22 percent said the Samoan males do not show respect and politeness to them. This indicates males have more respect and kindness towards females in Samoa

Twenty-three respondents said Samoan males speak to them politely and another seven strongly agreed with. While the other six participants said Samoan males speak to them impolitely. It shows that 83 percent respondents agreed and happy with how Samoa males speak to them while the other 17 percent disagreed and were unhappy with the males' approach in speaking to them. Generally, more Samoa males showed good mannerism and respect in speaking to females.

Seventeen participants agreed that Samoa males speak harshly to them, while the other 19 percent disagreed with them. The 47 percent believed males are polite with good character towards females, while 53 percent do not think so, indicating more females receive rudeness and bad mouth from males.

Twenty-eight percent participants agreed that Samoan males argued with them while 72 percent of respondents disagreed saying they do not receive argument from males. The 10 participants said Samoan males argued with them and the other 27 respondents said Samoa males are respectful and do not argue with them.

Eighty-three percent of respondents said Samoan males greet them well with calmness and gentleness approach, whereas 17 percent participants disagreed. The six participants said they do not receive calmness and gentle mannerism from males, while the 30 respondents usually receive calmness, comfort and gentle greet from Samoan males.

Gender Equality

Ninety (90) percent of respondents agreed that their male colleagues at workplace valued their performances, while the other 10 percent participants said their male counterparts at workplace do not value their performances. The 32 respondents are happy with their male colleagues recognizing their value and performance, while the other four participants said their male counterparts do not appreciate and acknowledge their value and performance at workplaces. Majority of working male individuals acknowledge and appreciate their female colleagues value and performance in workplaces.

Thirty participants agreed that male colleagues admire their work attitude in offices, while the other six respondents said their male counterparts do not appreciate and admire their work attitude at their workplaces. Eighty-four (84) percent respondents believe and like the male colleagues who admire and acknowledge their work attitude at workplaces, whereas the other 16 percent participants do not. This shows most Samoan males respect and admire their female counterparts work attitude and love to work with them.

Seventy-four (74) percent of respondents agreed that male colleagues love to distribute resources and share their experiences and other things with them in the offices. While the other 26 percent participants disagreed saying their male counterparts do not share their experiences, knowledge and distribute resources with them. The 27 participants love to work with male colleagues as they share their knowledge, experiences and resources with them, while the other nine respondents see male counterparts as greedy by not sharing their personal qualities, skills and resources with them. This demonstrates that most male workers participate, share and work well with female workers at the workplaces.

The 26 respondents agreed and were happy with their male coworkers in giving things to them when they ask them. On the other hand, the 10 participants disagreed saying their coworkers are uncomfortable and unwilling to give them things when they ask them. Seventy-two (72) percent of participants are happy and comfortable to work with male coworkers as they exchange and use things together, while the other 18 percent respondents disagreed and disliked to work with their male coworkers at the workplaces. The higher percentage of male coworkers like to give things to their female counterparts when requested or asked by their female workers.

Twenty-three respondents agreed saying their bosses at workplaces provide opportunities to them to be promoted, while the other 13 participants said their bosses do not provide opportunities to them for promotion. Sixty-four (64) percent respondents are likely to be promoted at their employment while the other 36

percent would hardly get any promotion in their job. Female workers promotion opportunities at workplaces are high compared to females' un-promotion opportunities.

Thirty-one respondents experienced their male workers share their knowledge and skills with them at the workplaces, while five female participants do not experience such at their workplaces. The 86 percent of female respondents love and appreciate their male counterparts sharing their knowledge, skills and experiences with them, while 14 percent respondents said male colleagues dislike to share their skills and knowledge with them. Most Samoa males love to share their personal skills and knowledge with their female colleagues to harness and improve the female work experiences and performances.

The 18 respondents agreed that male coworkers share their gifts, rewards and benefits with them at the workplaces. The other 18 participants disagreed saying the male counterparts do not share their gifts, rewards and benefits with them. Fifty percent respondents agreed and fifty percent participants disagreed with Samoa males' good heart and kindness in giving personal things to female workers at workplaces. This illustrates the equal splits between the kindness and unkindness in Samoa males to share gifts, rewards and benefits with female workers at workplaces.

Gender Empowerment

Thirty-three respondents agreed that they participate in decision making in workplaces and in their family units. While the other three participants partake in their family unit decision making but are rarely involved in the workplaces decision making processes. Ninety-one (91) percent participants enjoy engagement with other family members and work colleagues especially males to discuss, talk and make decisions on workplace and family matters and issues. Whereas nine percent respondents effectively engage in their family units talks and discussions but do not participate in workplaces decision making. This is an indication showing that many women are now empowered to participate in decisions making in jobs and families as active partners to their male counterparts.

Eighty-six (86) percent of participants agreed saying they openly express their views and opinions in workplaces and communal meetings, while the other 14 respondents do not express their views and suggestions in community meetings and workplaces. The 31 participants freely exercise their rights to express their thoughts and opinions on matters and issues in community and workplace. However, the other five respondents do not freely exercise their freedom of speech to express their views in public meetings and workplaces. Most Samoan women are

empowered to express their views on communal and industrial matters and issues to harness the social and economic situations of community and organizations.

Twenty-two respondents agreed saying they were given the power and authority to plan, direct and lead male coworkers at the workplace. The other 14 participants were not given the power and authority to plan and lead the male coworkers at the workplace. The 61 percent respondents were lucky to lead the male workers at the workplace, while 39 percent participants were not so fortunate to take such responsibility.

The employment sector in Samoa is now empowering more women to take leadership role and responsibility at workplaces. Sixty-four (64) percent of participants agreed saying they were encouraged to express their negative feelings about unfair treatment at workplace. Whereas, the other 36 percent of respondents disagreed about been given such opportunities to express their ill feelings about unfairness situations at workplace. The 23 respondents were given the power and authority to participate in discussions and express their feelings about unfair treatment against them, while the other 13 respondents were not allowed and authorized to express their negative feelings about the unjust and unfair treatment against them at workplace. The women have been given more power to actively share and express their negative feelings about unjust and unfairness treatment towards them at workplace.

The 29 respondents agreed that they were given the autonomy to lead the team of male workers at workplace, while the other seven participants were not given such power to lead the male coworkers. Eighty (80) percent of respondents were given the power and autonomy to take leadership roles at workplace. The other 20 percent of the participants were not empowered to gain the autonomy to lead the male counterparts at work. More Samoan women are encouraged and empowered to take lead at workplace which were once dominated by men.

The 26 participants agreed that they were given the chance to do changes to certain policies and laws at workplace and community. While, the other 10 respondents were not given such chances to participate in the development of laws and policies at workplace or community. The 73 percent of participants were happy to be involved in creating laws and policies at workplace and community. Whereas, the other 27 respondents were unfortunate not to have the chance to engage in the development of laws and policies for community or workplace. Majority of Samoan women are empowered to engage and contribute in the development of laws and policies in the employment sector and community.

Discussion

A big shift in gender equity towards women in Samoa workplace and at home where male workers provide opportunities, respect and fair treatment to female workers with very less discrimination. In the survey more women expressed satisfaction and appreciation to their male counterparts' attitude and behavior towards them. Thirty-three women said Samoan males behave towards them with politeness and good attitude, while other three women said they do not receive such politeness and kindness from males. Fifty-four percent of women expressed their concern that males expressed their aggressiveness attitude and manner towards women at home and workplace, while the other sixteen percent of the women in the survey disagreed.

The male colleagues give recognition to fairness and equality towards women at workplace. Thirty-two women in the survey are happy with their male colleagues recognizing their value, performance and ability at work, while the other four women said their male counterparts do not appreciate and acknowledge their value and performance at workplace. 86 percent women appreciate their male counterparts sharing their knowledge, skills and experiences with them, while fourteen (14) percent of women said their male colleagues dislike sharing their skills and knowledge with them.

The male workers provided opportunities and encouragement to female workers to participate in decision making by sharing their knowledge, skills and experiences in the senior and middle management levels. Thirty-three women in the survey participated in decision making at workplace and in family unit matters. While the other three women heavily involved in family unit decision making but rarely engaged in workplace decision making processes. Eighty-six (86) percent women said females openly expressed their views and opinions in workplace and communal meetings, while the other 14 women disagreed saying they do not express their views and suggestions in community meeting or workplace.

It is demonstrated here in the survey that Samoa society has made a big leap whereby men at workplace and home are giving more opportunities and powers to women to engage and participate as their copartners in gender equity, gender equality and gender empowerment in the multipolar communal society today. The once Samoan workplace and community dominated by men in the leadership role and decision-making power are disintegrating rapidly as women are taking the administrative leadership roles and responsibilities and making decisions. The Samoan women are empowered with dignity and right to have equity, equality and empowerment as their male counterparts in the modern working industry and community.

Conclusion

The Article 15 of Samoa's constitution stipulated that all persons are equal and entitled to equal protection under the law, and no law or executive or administrative action shall discriminate either directly or indirectly on the basis of descent, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, social origin, place of birth, or family status. The constitution explicitly states that provisions for the protection of advancement of women and other vulnerable groups are not prohibited under this Article. Whereby the Samoa government is developing policies, laws and having statutory bodies responsible to enforce the gender equity, gender equality and gender empowerment in public and private sectors and community. As indicated in the research findings discrimination and violence against Samoan women still exist but at the minimum level and are being controlled and dissuaded from regular happenings.

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SHORTER COMMUNICATION

When the Land and Titles Court of Samoa Exceeds its Jurisdictions: A Critical Review of LTC Unlawful Decision Involving Samoan Customary Land Lease

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Abstract

The paper discusses the implicit contentions and ambiguities involving authority, jurisdictions and the decision-making processes, and the subsequent conclusions as reflected in one particular case relative to customary land becoming public land generally and specifically when customary land are being leased. It touches on the prescriptive terms 'alienation' of customary land to become public land as represented in the given case. It also looks at the indemnity powers of the Minister of Lands empowered by law as the sole authority to grant the lease of any customary land in Samoa. It has however been problematic when the Land & Titles Court (LTC) in particular decided to revoke and void the lease granted by the Minister as stipulated by law, when it is apparent that LTC does not have the authority to do so.

Introduction

The two main questions of law in regards to the lease of Samoan customary land are firstly, whether the Supreme Court has the authority and jurisdiction to review the decisions of the Land and Titles Court (LTC). Secondly is whether the Land and Titles Court has the authority and jurisdiction to void a lease of customary land granted by the Minister of Lands under the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965.

The one phenomenon that has been problematic in the Samoan courts legal system is the fact that the Land and Titles Court promulgating the re-litigating of customary land lease cases, and its decisions to revoke leases of customary land when in fact, the leases have been granted by the Minister. With due respect, the learned court failed to determine its limits, its legal boundaries and its jurisdiction by law and that the learned court is not in any way required under any law or empowered under any authority to determine any such cases given the fact the lease had been approved and granted by the Minister of Lands. For purposes of clarity, and to highlight the Land and Titles Court misdirection on law, this paper sets out some of the more germane legal issues that call for the learned court to consider the fact that exceeding its jurisdictions on such matters is the failure of the court to respect and honour and to uphold the rule of law.

The Land and Titles Court

The Land and Titles Court of Samoa is established by law under Article 103 of the Constitution³⁷ whereby it states that its jurisdiction is specifically in relation only to *Matai* titles and Customary land as may be provided by the Act. The Land and Titles Act 1981³⁸ materially provides the jurisdictions of the Land and Titles Court under Section 34 (2)³⁹, that the LTC shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all matters relating to Samoan names and titles; and in all claims and disputes between Samoans relating to customary land, and the right of succession to property held in accordance with the customs and usages of the Samoan race.

It is therefore relevant that Article 103 of the Constitution be read together with Section 34 (2) of the Land and Titles Act 1981 because the Constitution defines the role of the Land and Titles Court by reference to the Act, and the Act as intended and passed by Parliament defines the jurisdiction of LTC in S34 (2). It clearly indicates its exclusive jurisdiction involving claims and disputes between Samoans relating to customary land, and the right of succession to property held in accordance with the customs and usages of the Samoan race. Further, it is also important to note that Section 37 of the Land and Titles Act 1981 clearly stipulate that the laws to be applied on all matters before the LTC shall be the laws relating to customs and usages.⁴⁰ It is a matter of importance to note that the laws so far do not qualify the Land and Titles Court to determine any other matter or matters other than issues pertaining to Samoan matai titles and Samoan customary land, and definitely not customary land leases.

³⁷ The Constitution of Samoa 1960: Article 103 Land and Titles Court. There shall be a Land and Titles Court with such composition and with such jurisdiction in relation to Matai titles and customary land as maybe provided by Act.

³⁸ The Land and Titles Act 1981. It must be noted that the Act 1981 was repealed 2020 when the Land and Titles Act 2020 was passed by Parliament.

³⁹ 34. Jurisdiction of the Court – (1) The Court shall continue to have all the jurisdictions it exercised prior to this Act coming into force.

(2) In particular the Court shall have exclusive jurisdiction:

(a) in all matters relating to Samoan names and titles;

(b) to make orders or declarations in respect of Samoan names and titles as may be necessary to preserve or define the same, or the rights or obligations attaching to those names and titles in accordance with the customs and usages of the Samoan race and all laws in force in Samoa with reference to customs and usages;

(c) in all claims and disputes between Samoans relating to customary land, and the right of succession to property held in accordance with the customs and usages of the Samoan race.

(3) The Court also has the jurisdiction conferred by this Act.

⁴⁰ 37. Laws to be applied – (1) In all matters before it, the Court shall apply: custom and usage the law relating to custom and usage this Act and any other enactment expressed to apply to the Court.

(2) Subject to subsection (1) the Court shall decide all matters in accordance with what it considers to be fair and just between the parties.

The Laws that Govern Lease of Customary Land

An important decision of the Supreme Court in 2000 declared that any lease granted by the Minister of Lands under the provision of the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965⁴¹ is, and considered by the Supreme Court, as a phenomenon that is alien and unknown to customary law.⁴² This Declaratory Judgment by Former Chief Justice the late Patu Tiavasu'e Falefatu Sapolu resolved to declare that for the purpose of the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965, 'any lease over customary land granted under the Act is treated as a lease of public land, and not a lease of customary land.'⁴³ It was explained by Sapolu, whilst referring to section 37 of the Land and Titles Act 1981 that the laws to be applied by the Land and Titles Court in its' decisions is merely customs and usages and the laws relating to customs and usage only.⁴⁴

'A creation that is alien and unknown to customary law'⁴⁵ was discussed by Sapolu, in his decision that there were in the past, and to date, there are no principles of customary law that are applicable to such lease. It is possible that Parliament must have therefore decided under section 11 of the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965⁴⁶ to treat a lease of customary land as if it was a lease of public land so that the principles of law can be applied to a lease of customary land granted under the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965. The Declaratory Order further clarified that by treating such lease of customary land as if it is a lease of public land, Parliament must have therefore intended not to allow the Land and Titles Courts jurisdictions to handle such leases of public land. It thus gives clear indication that the Land and Titles Court to apply the laws extending only to customary land and definitely not public land.

It is therefore safe to say that any customary land that is leased under the Alienation of Land Act 1965 is public land lease according to law. For clarity, the Land and Titles Court of Samoa does not have the jurisdictions and lacks the authority to

⁴¹ Above n1.

⁴² Application for Declaratory Judgment by the Supreme Court by Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 'Sa'ala Land'Uafato, Fagaloa. CJ Patu Tiavasu'e F. Sapolu decision 22 November 2000.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ **11. Payment of rent or other consideration** - (1) Every such lease or license shall operate as if it was a lease or license as the case may be of public land, but the rent or other consideration derived therefrom shall be received by the Director in trust for the beneficial owners of the land or interest therein as the case may be.

(2) It shall be unlawful for any lessee or licensee under any lease or license granted under this Part of this Act to pay any such rent or other consideration directly to any such beneficial owner.

touch, decide upon, or even void any lease that is approved and granted by the Minister of Lands under the Alienation of Land Act 1965.

**Application for Declaratory Judgment by the Supreme Court by
Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints ‘Sa’ala
Land’ Uafato, Fagaloa, 2000. (Brief Facts of the Case)**

A matai of Uafato/Fagaloa by the name of Togia’i Aipolo on 11th November 1985 applied to the Director of Lands under section 5 of the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965⁴⁷ to lease the customary land “Sa’ala” at Uafato to the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The lease was for a period of 20 years with rights of renewal for another 20 years. A Land and Titles Court decision exists on the issue of pule⁴⁸ of the land “Sa’ala” on 12th December 1977 pertaining to the title Togia’i whereby Togia’i Aipolo was confirmed the ‘Pule’ of “Sa’ala” land.⁴⁹ Section 8 of the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965⁵⁰ requires the Director of Lands to publish every lease application in the Savali newspaper in order to find out whether there were any objections to the application. It was legally determined by the Ministry of Lands that it was not a necessity to publish the lease given the fact the ‘Pule’ of “Sa’ala” land now lies with the applicant Togia’i Aipolo.⁵¹ The application was approved by the Minister of Lands and a Deed of Lease was executed between the Ministry of Lands as Lessor acting as trustee on behalf of Togia’i Aipolo the beneficial owner, and the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints as lessee for a term of 20 years. The deed of lease was registered on 5 February 1987.

Subsequently, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints desired to build a church on the leased land with the apparent support of Togia’i Aipolo who was also a member of the church. However, some heirs of the title Togia’i objected and

⁴⁷ Section 5 Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965. Application to grant lease or licence— Wherever any Samoan claiming to be a beneficial owner of any customary land or of any interest therein desires that the Minister shall grant a lease or licence of such land or of any interest therein under the powers conferred by section 4, such Samoan shall make written application in that behalf to the Chief Executive Officer.

⁴⁸ Pule is the Authority.

⁴⁹ Faaiuga a le Faamasinoga ‘Pule o le Fanua o Sa’alaiUafato/Fagaloa’ LC 5789 12 Setema 1977.

⁵⁰ Section 8 Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965: **Publishing of application—(1)** Except as provided in subsection

(3), the Chief Executive Officer shall publish in the Savali the main particulars of each application received by him or her under section 5, including the names of the proposed agent or agents.

(2) With each such publication of particulars of an application, the Chief Executive Officer shall publish in the Savali a notice fixing a date or period, not being less than 3 months from the date of the publication, not later than or within which, and a place at which, written objections to the proposed leasing or licensing or to the proposed agent or agents may be lodged with the Registrar by any Samoan who claims that he or she would be affected thereby.

⁵¹ Faaiuga a le Faamasinoga ‘Pule o le Fanua o Sa’alaiUafato/Fagaloa’ LC 5789 12 Setema 1977.

lodged a petition with the Land and Titles Court. The petition objecting to the building of the church on Sa'ala land was heard before the Land and Titles Court and, amazingly, the Land and Titles Court in its decision decided 31 August 1990 to cancel and void the lease.⁵²

This raised alarming questions of law at this point of time when the Land and Titles Court decided to cancel and void the lease as follows:

1. Is it within the jurisdictions of the Land and Titles Court to cancel and void a lease that was granted by the Minister of Lands under the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965?
2. Was the Panel of Judges presiding over this matter aware that they are barred by law to cancel and void a lease granted by the Minister of Lands under the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965?

The Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was not a party to this case when heard before the Land and Titles Court that resulted in the cancelling of the lease. The Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was not aware of the proceedings and was not qualified to a right of appeal, according to the LTC decision.⁵³ The Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints therefore applied to the Supreme Court through a motion of Declaratory Judgment by way of Judicial Review under Article 4 of the Constitution and at common law.⁵⁴

Determination of the Legal Issues by Chief Justice Sapolu

The first legal issue raised by the Applicant who happens to be the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints whether the Supreme Court under Article 4 of the Constitution had the jurisdiction to intervene and review the decision of the Land and Titles Court by way of Declaratory Judgment.⁵⁵ As Lessee to the Deed of Lease, the Applicant further claimed and alleged the failure of the Land and Titles Court to accord the Applicant any hearing before they cancelled the lease. The

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Article 4 Constitution provides: (1) Any person may apply to the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings to enforce the rights conferred under the provision of this Part. (2) The Supreme Court shall have power to make all such orders as may be necessary and appropriate to secure to the applicant the enjoyment of any of the rights conferred under the provisions of this Part.

⁵⁵ A declaratory judgment is a court-issued judgment that defines and outlines the rights and obligations of each party in a contract. Declaratory judgments have the same effect and force as final judgments and are legally binding. These judgments are also called a declaration or declaratory relief.

<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/d/declaratory-judgment.asp> (Accessed 12/01/2023)

Court explained that Section 37 of the Land and Titles Act 1981⁵⁶ purports to provide exclusive jurisdiction over matters pertaining to matai titles and customary land, whereas Section 71 provides: “Subject to this Act, no decision or order of the court shall be reviewed or questioned in any other Court by way of appeal, prerogative writ or otherwise howsoever.”⁵⁷

One can say that it is possible that the Panel of Judges of the Land and Titles Court erroneously relied on Section 37 of the Act whereby they have exclusive jurisdiction over matters pertaining to matai titles and customary land. It is possible the Court further relied on Section 71 of the Act which provides that any decision of the Land and Titles Court cannot be questioned in any other Court. There is also the possibility that the Panel of Judges in their inquisitional investigation of the lease issue was under the impression that they can decide to the extent of cancelling leases already signed by the Minister of Lands under the said provisions. However, Sapolu expressly and clearly pointed out his view that both Sections 37 and 71 of the Land and Titles Act 1981 cannot negate the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court given under Article 4 of the Constitution to review the decisions of the Land and Titles Court. The Honourable Court further clarified that Article 4 of the Constitution empowers the Supreme Court to review decisions of the Land and Titles Court for the purpose of securing to an individual the pleasure of any of the fundamental rights conferred under Part II and (Article 2) of the Constitution.⁵⁸

Sapolu confirmed that the apparent inconsistency of Article 4 of the Constitution and Sections 37 and 71 of the Land and Titles Act 1981 concluded that Article 4 of the Constitution must and will always prevail over any law or piece of legislation by reason of the provision of Article 2 of the Constitution. According to Sapolu, the Supreme Court has the jurisdiction to review the decision of the Land and Titles Court notwithstanding the provisions of Sections 37 and 71 of the Land and Titles Act 1981.

The second legal issue alleged by the Applicant is that the Land and Titles Court has no jurisdiction under the provisions of the Land and Titles Act 1981 to cancel the Applicant’s lease. Sapolu explained the contest by the Applicant that under Section 37 of the Act, the Land and Titles Court’s jurisdiction in respect of customary land relates only to claims and disputes between Samoans in relation to customary land.

⁵⁶ Above N4.

⁵⁷ Section 71 Land and Titles Act 1981 **Decisions and orders not reviewable by other Courts** – Subject to this Act, no decision or order of the Court shall be reviewed or questioned in any other Court by way of appeal, prerogative writ or otherwise howsoever.

⁵⁸ Article 2 provides: The Constitution shall be the Supreme Law of Samoa. Any existing law and any law passed after the date of coming into force of this Constitution which is inconsistent with this Constitution shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void

The decision further clarified the argument by the Applicant that the Lessee under the Deed of Lease was entitled to be united as a party to any dispute affecting the lease, particularly if such dispute also affected any of the Applicant's interest under the lease.⁵⁹ According to the Court, the applicant is not a person nor a Samoan. It is a Corporation solely created and existing under the laws of the State of Utah in the United States of America and therefore, the Land and Titles Court would have no jurisdiction to deal with such dispute as its jurisdictions is limited only to claims and disputes between Samoans relating to customary land.⁶⁰

Another significant ground of argument submitted by the Applicant before the Court was that a lease of customary land under the Alienation of Customary Land Act 1965 is only an interest in land that the Act has treated as a lease of public land and definitely not within the jurisdictions of the Land and Titles Court.⁶¹

Violation of Rights

The decision by the Land and Titles Court to void the lease signed by the Minister is worrisome as it is expected that the learned court would have fostered the hope that recourse to understand, apply and interpret the laws correctly will produce some foreseeable reconsideration of its justice. However, the LTC judgment to void the lease agreement signed by the Minister makes it worrisome for the future of human rights adjudication in Samoa particularly in relation to lease of customary land since the Land and Titles Court's unlawful decision poses implications that may influence the judicial process in Samoa.

According to Sapolu, it is a clear violation of the rights of the lessee which is The Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints when the LTC voided the Lease Agreement signed by the Minister. The Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was not a party to this case when heard before the Land and Titles Court that resulted in the cancelling of the lease. The Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was not aware of the proceedings and was not qualified to a right of appeal, according to the LTC decision. The Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints therefore applied to the Supreme Court through a motion of Declaratory Judgment by way of Judicial Review under Article 4 of the Constitution and at common law.

⁵⁹ Application for Declaratory Judgment by the Supreme Court by Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 'Sa'ala Land' Uafato, Fagaloa. CJ PatuTiavasu'e F. Sapolu decision 22 November 2000.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Conclusion

It is required if not imperative of any court of law including the Land and Titles Court to act and promote within its jurisdictions. Further, it is also required of the Land and Titles Court to be well versed of its' boundaries and its limitations whereby they shall not exceed according to law. The process and decision-making by the Courts must follow the law and they are obligated to uphold the rule of law. One final important thought about the rule of law, it is not just about the laws which tells us what to do and what not to do – it is more about protecting the rights and freedoms of every citizen, and protecting what the court is allowed by law to do.