

Folauga mo A'oa'oga:
Migration for education and its impact on
Sāmoa's development as a 'nation'

*The stories of 18 Samoan research participants who migrated for education,
and the impact their journeys have made on the development of Sāmoa.*

BY

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Abstract

The first recorded scholarship programme in Sāmoa began in the 1920s under the New Zealand Administration. Since that time, more and more students have travelled abroad for education both through sponsored and privately-funded programmes. This thesis examines the stories of 18 Sāmoan research participants who emigrated from their homes for western education. It examines how their experiences have contributed to the development of Sāmoa as a 'nation'

"Folauga" is a common Sāmoan term for a "journey" and can be used in different contexts. The most common context for *folauga* is the literal journey where people travel from and arrive at a particular destination. There are many and diverse motivations leading to the decision of the 18 research participants to migrate. However, no decision was made independently. With the support and assistance of their respective *āiga* (family), they were never alone. From birth they were taught the value of the *āiga* and *fa'a Sāmoa* (the Sāmoan way) and when they studied abroad their *āiga* were at the forefront of their minds, but so too was *fa'a Sāmoa*. These 18 research participants excelled in both the western and Sāmoan worlds. They gained qualifications and experience that supported their *āiga*, and ultimately benefited Sāmoa as a 'nation'.

The 18 participants did not all return to Sāmoa to live permanently. Some moved to Fiji and others to New Zealand. This should not be viewed negatively because through transnationalism, Sāmoan migrants are very much connected to their homelands through money, goods of many different kinds, artefacts, ideas and symbols. Their migration often involves individuals, families, groups and institutions. It is important however to define 'Sāmoa' in the context of this argument. Sāmoa has two constructions of place and of people: the first is Sāmoa as a land-mass and geo-political-legal jurisdiction that is centred on the land and sea and is vital in acknowledging roots and a place of identity. The second construct acknowledges, due to globalisation and migration facilitated by technology, Sāmoan people are no longer confined to the geographical location of Sāmoa.

This research employed *talanoa* as a method to explore the experiences, attitudes, and reflections of the participants. The interview process involved not only long and wide-ranging conversations, but also a process of relationship building. Records of the discussions were written, checked and negotiated so that the 18 participants and the researcher produced a series of scripts – ‘mini biographies’ – that provided a rich body of data for analysis.

The contribution of the stories of the 18 research participants to development as a discourse is significant. The participants have navigated their *folauga* confidently in a western setting as well as within *fa’a Sāmoa*. Many other Sāmoans have done the same. I therefore argue that not all earlier conventions of development such as modernisation were wasted on Sāmoa. While there is a place for newer development theories such as post development and indigenous epistemologies, for the 18 research participants, they were able to excel in a world of development much of which was externally defined but some of which could be shaped and adapted. The participants saw the good in modernisation and, coupling it with *fa’a Sāmoa*, they found a recipe to survive and thrive in both worlds.

Glossary

<i>afakasi</i>	half caste
<i>āiga</i>	family
<i>alofa</i>	love
<i>a'oa'oga</i>	education
<i>a'oga amata</i>	pre-school
<i>a'oga o le faife'au</i>	church minister's school
<i>aualuma</i>	The association of women who are specifically daughters of the village. It excludes women who are married into the village.
<i>'aumaga</i>	Untitled men – both single and married, and both men of the village and those married into the village.
<i>fa'aaloalo</i>	respect
<i>fa'alavelave</i>	Events within the <i>āiga</i> such as weddings, funerals, church openings, bestowal of titles.
<i>fa'alupega</i>	Constitution of chiefly titles and honorific addresses.
<i>fa'amaoni</i>	honesty
<i>fa'a Sāmoa</i>	Sāmoan way
<i>fa'atele</i>	multiplication tables
<i>fāgogo</i>	stories
<i>faife'au</i>	church minister
<i>pi tautau</i>	Sāmoan alphabet
<i>fale</i>	house
<i>fale 'apa</i>	Tin house, reference to a western style home with corrugated roofing
<i>faleo'o</i>	traditional Sāmoan house
<i>feagaiga</i>	covenant
<i>fe'au</i>	chores
<i>folauga</i>	journey
<i>fono</i>	meeting
<i>gagana</i>	language
<i>galulue fa'atasi</i>	work together
<i>'ie lavalava</i>	sarong
<i>itumālō</i>	district

<i>koko alaisa</i>	cocoa rice
<i>kua</i>	Reference to the villages further away from town
<i>lo'omatua</i>	old ladies
<i>manaakitanga</i>	hospitality, kindness, generosity
<i>matai</i>	Chief
<i>niu</i>	drinking coconut
<i>nu'u</i>	Village
<i>nofo tāne</i>	Reference to a woman married to a man. However, the connotation behind this term can sometimes be derogatory. Traditionally when a Sāmoan girls marries her future husband, she leaves her father's home and moves in with her husband's family. Historically the newly wedded couple would move in with the husband's parents and live communally. The reason why it can be interpreted as derogatory is because these women often did most of the chores around the house and were never made to feel comfortable as it was not their home. This is a generalisation, and not all <i>nofo tane</i> had these experiences. Things have shifted considerably but the phrase is still thrown around in jest today.
<i>palagi</i>	white person
<i>Palemia</i>	Prime Minister
<i>pige</i>	Badge
<i>sao</i>	Contribution
<i>suafa</i>	Formal word for name.
<i>tafao</i>	muck around
<i>talanoa</i>	Talk
<i>taonga</i>	Gift
<i>tamā</i>	Father
<i>tapua'i</i>	Support
<i>taule'ale'a</i>	untitled man
<i>tauivi</i>	never give up
<i>tautua</i>	Service
<i>tinā</i>	Mother
<i>tulou</i>	excuse me
<i>va fealoa'i</i>	respectful relations
<i>valea</i>	stupid/ dumb
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy

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Chapter 1: Introduction

To be Sāmoan

Educate yourself enough so you may understand the ways of other people

But not too much that you may lose your understanding of our own.

Try things pālagi not so you may become pālagi

But so you may see the value of things Sāmoan

Learn to speak Sāmoan not so you may sound Sāmoan

But so you may feel the essence of being Sāmoan

Above all be aware and proud of what you are

So you may spare yourself the agony of those who are asking 'what am I?'

(Simi, 1991)

“*Folauga*” is a common Sāmoan term for a “journey” (travel by sea) and can be used in different contexts. The most common context for *folauga* is the literal journey where people travel from and arrive at a particular destination. Historically people in Sāmoa travelled by boat or by foot. When they arrived at another village, it was seen as an effort and ordeal that was appreciated by the hosts.¹

Folauga mo a’oa’oga - the journey of migration for education - acknowledges the difficult journey that has been taken by individuals to attain their goals. Certainly, the *folauga* of those who migrated for education has been fraught with challenges, but the motivation for leaving their homeland was to strengthen not only their *āiga* (family) but also Sāmoa in its broadest sense.

Albert Wendt’s novel from 1973 encapsulates some of the issues that surround and, help us investigate *folauga*. ‘Sons for the Return Home’ (Wendt, 1996) is a story about a Sāmoan couple who migrate to New Zealand from Sāmoa with their two sons in search of economic prosperity. The move was temporary as it was always their intention to return to Sāmoa. The two sons were to work hard on gaining educational qualifications which could be utilised once they returned to Sāmoa. While living in New Zealand the parents attempted to retain as much of their Sāmoan heritage as possible. However, right from their journey on the boat to when

one of the sons falls in love with the daughter of a rich *pālagi* family while studying at university, the tensions and, dichotomy of life as a Sāmoan family living and, surviving in a western setting became apparent.

The *folauga* of this research is set in ‘Sāmoa’. For clarification, Sāmoa has two constructions of place, and of people: the first is Sāmoa as a land-mass and, geo-politico-legal jurisdiction that is centred on the land, and sea and is vital as a tangible and physical space for acknowledging roots and a place of identity. The second acknowledges that, due to globalisation and migration facilitated by technology, Sāmoan people are no longer confined to the geographical territory of Sāmoa. Sāmoa is connected by sea (Hau’ofa, 1993) and a growing Sāmoan transnationalism has emerged that strengthens this construct that Sāmoa exists beyond its national borders. Therefore Sāmoa, in the context of this research, acknowledges those that live outside of the various islands. Thus, the idea of Sāmoa as a multi-territorial ‘nation’ is adopted.

The aim of this research is to discover how migration for education has contributed to the development of Sāmoa as a ‘nation’. In doing so the following questions were considered:

- What theories of development, migration and education illuminate this topic?
- How has *fa’a Sāmoa* (the Sāmoan way) been seen as a resource or constraint in the processes of migration for education?
- How has the migration for education influenced outcomes for the ‘nation’?

I discuss *folauga mo a’oa’oga* through the stories of 18 research participants who were born and raised in Sāmoa, and who migrated for western educational opportunities. The opening poem written by now deceased Tate Simi, who also migrated for education and represented Sāmoa as the High Commissioner to Australia (based in Canberra), elaborates on the dichotomy that the research participants would have had to endure. His poem explores the idea of being true to themselves as Sāmoans while also adapting to western educational practices and ways of life.

This research employed *talanoa* (semi-structured) interviews (Otsuka, 2005) with the research participants who provided rich and powerful stories to answer the aim of this research. This proposal sits in a much wider body of research on “Educating for Emigration?”

Searching for Appropriate Education Policy in the Pacific Islands” (Gamlen et al, 2017). The three elements for this research are education, migration and development, with connections generally drawn between only two of the three elements. Until now there has been a lack of comprehensive understanding of how all three might work in combination. This study explores how education, migration and development work together in the context of Sāmoa. I highlight how all three elements combine to shape individual migration for education, the *āiga* who support the individual to leave home, and the ripple effect of their *folauga* on Sāmoa’s development as a ‘nation’.

Being Sāmoan: A personal insight

While the Sāmoan diaspora in New Zealand are very pro-Sāmoan and proud of their roots, I acknowledge there is a difference between Sāmoans born in Sāmoa and Sāmoans born in New Zealand. Although I was born in New Zealand I have always considered myself Sāmoan. It was not until I lived and worked in Sāmoa that I experienced what Anae (1998) describes in her thesis dissertation *Fofoa-i-vao-‘ese*. Anae (1998) discusses, the identity journeys of New Zealand-born Sāmoans. In a focus group with New Zealand-born Sāmoans, a recurring theme from members concerned the concept of identity:

I am - a Sāmoan, but not a Sāmoan...

To my āiga in Sāmoa, I am a pālāgi

I am - a New Zealander, but not a New Zealander...

To New Zealanders I am a ‘bloody coconut’, at worst, a ‘Pacific Islander’, at best I am - to my Sāmoan parents, their child (Anae, 1998).

Growing up in New Zealand I always felt strongly about my Sāmoan culture. Much like the traditional education system in Sāmoa prior to colonisation, we were taught all the principles of *fa’a Sāmoa* including speaking Sāmoan fluently and reading and writing in Sāmoan. Within the house we donned our *‘ie lavalava* (sarong), my siblings and I were given specific chores and when adults came to visit we stood in the kitchen to serve them. If it was a visit from the church minister, we learned that there were different rules to serve them as they had a ‘higher calling’. We were taught about our history and we belonged to a local Sāmoan church,

mostly socialising with other Sāmoan families much like our own. My experiences mirror McLoughlin (2005), who acknowledges how religion and culture ‘travel’, how they alter and change as people move, mix and remake their lives in new settings, what they ‘preserve’, ‘lose’ and ‘gain’, and the impact of all this on their identification with ‘homes’ new and old is of importance in establishing the concept of Sāmoa as a ‘nation’ (McLoughlin, 2005).

I realised that while I was raised very Sāmoan, my life was also influenced heavily by a western culture in New Zealand. There was a difference in the way we were educated, our housing, the weather, geography, and health system among other things, so it was no surprise that those differences impacted my way of being in the world. For example, the idea of communal living does not sit well with me. After 30 years in New Zealand, my parents decided to return to Sāmoa to retire. They built a large six-bedroom home with the intention of having each of their five children return to live with them. I am a very proud Sāmoan, but the thought of living with my siblings and parents together with our respective partners and children made me feel ill! My thinking therefore has a lot of traces of western lifestyle that may differ to my Sāmoan-born counterparts.

Despite these differences, one thing is clear: Sāmoa is still home to us all. I know Sāmoans aged in their 30’s and 40s who were born and raised in New Zealand but speak, read and write in Sāmoan fluently, participate in all cultural activities confidently (presenting fine mats, honoring elders in functions), cook Sāmoan food, and embrace the Sāmoan way even down to the way they raise their children. Yet they have never set foot in Sāmoa. There is an inherent pride that rests in all Sāmoans and, whether they accept all of the culture and traditions of Sāmoa or not, they still pay homage to Sāmoa as a ‘nation’.

Thesis outline:

This complete thesis is organised into 10 chapters. Chapter one provides the rationale and overview of the context from which this study emerges, and my own personal connection to this thesis. The chapter also provides the aim of the research and key questions that guided my data collection process.

Chapter 2 looks at the wider body of literature on the three core components of this research (migration, education and development) and positions this research against an optimistic versus pessimistic paradigm for each. It is important to acknowledge both the optimistic and the pessimistic views to develop a balanced argument, and to appreciate the direction of this research against the global body of knowledge.

Chapter 3 elaborates further on the idea of Sāmoa as a 'nation', but it first looks at historical events that have led to its creation to understand the context of education (in its broader sense) and migration within the context of Sāmoa. Chapter 4 explores the process of methodological inquiry that is used as a guide for the research. The methodology does not stand in isolation from my thesis but provides the solid foundation on which my research was built.

Chapter 5 introduces all 18 participants whose stories are central to this research. The majority of the participants interviewed are relatively unknown outside of their own given professions. Their public profiles were not important for this research nor did it lessen the value of their stories. What is important is that the collective contributions made by both the participants and the well-known Sāmoans highlighted in this chapter, have helped to grow the prestige of Sāmoa on an international scale. The 18 participants names will be highlighted in **blue bold font** for ease of reference, and their stories, will be quoted in **blue font**. As I have interviewed many couples, I will refer to each participant by their *matai* title or their first name. This is to differentiate those that share the same surname.

Chapter 6 is an introduction to the themes of the findings. In each of the thematic chapters I will discuss how at the macro, meso and micro levels, the experiences of the 18 participants who migrated for education contributed to the development of Sāmoa as a 'nation'. This chapter then moves on to the first theme the *āiga* construct. This construct is not only specific to my participants but is woven into the fabric of *fa'a Sāmoa*. I will discuss the structure, value and importance of the *āiga* and how it enables the development of Sāmoans. Chapter 7 discusses how Sāmoans value education and what impact this has had on their decision to encourage their children to migrate for education.

Chapter 8 discusses how the participants were able to navigate their way through western education while still staying true to *fa'a Sāmoa*. I will discuss this in the context of Sāmoa's development at the micro, meso and macro levels. Chapter 9 highlights examples of how participants, regardless of their humble beginnings and challenges, contributed to the development of Sāmoa as a nation through their individual experiences of *folauga mo a'oa'oga*, migration for education.

Finally, in the conclusion, chapter 10 will discuss the findings of this research in the context of the aim and supporting questions. I will end this research with my contribution to the three components of the research migration, education and development in the context of Sāmoa as a 'nation'.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Ua sa'a fa'aoti le utu a le faimea.

Introduction

This chapter opens with a Sāmoan proverb using a fishing analogy. *Ua sa'a fa'aoti le utu a le faimea* (let the fisherman's bamboo receptacle be completely emptied out). In order to position this research in the global literature on the three core components of: education, migration and development. Like the fisherman in the proverb, who is encouraged before embarking on the fishing trip to sort out the appropriate fishing hooks and equipment necessary for a successful catch, I too as a researcher must sort through the varying perspectives and ideas from theorists worldwide. Should the fisherman be unprepared before the fishing trip, it can result in an unsuccessful catch. It is therefore important that I must sort through appropriate and inappropriate literature as part of this *folauga*, in order to lead to solid conclusions for this research.

Colonisation positions colonisers as powerful and in control (Bertram & Watters, 1986; Mitchell, 1991; Mudimbe, 1988). They were the decision-makers with 'all' the ideas to improve the lot for the poor (Chanock, 1985; Grier, 1999; Johnston, 2011). These narratives have been prominent in much Eurocentric literature, but many theorists, practitioners and academics have challenged those views (Chambers, 1997, 2014; Gegeo, 1998; Hau'ofa, 1993; Smith, 2013). Inherent in colonised countries is a long history of social, political, and economic organisation which proved sustainable and confronted foreign rule (Loos, 2017; Meleisea, 1987; Orange, 2015; Sinclair et al., 1980).

There are varying viewpoints of migration, education and development, and the pendulum of debate has swung back and forth over the decades from a developmental optimism to a neo-Marxist pessimism (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000; De Haas, 2005, 2010; Guskey & Huberman,

1995; Skeldon, 2008; Sriskandarajah, 2005). To explore this theme further, this chapter looks at the wider body of literature on the three core components of this research (migration, education and development), and positions this research against an optimistic vs pessimistic paradigm for each. It is important to acknowledge both optimistic and pessimistic views to develop a balanced argument, and to appreciate the direction of this research against the global body of knowledge. Gamlen et al (2016) have identified that any two of these components have been widely studied, but the trilateral relationship between education, migration and development in the context of optimistic and pessimistic viewpoints has not. They believe more research into the trilateral relationship can assist in understanding the patterns and processes observed in the Pacific.

Development

The idea of development is a powerful but amorphous concept that needs to be understood particularly from the perspective of the colonised. Development theories came into practice after the Second World War and at the time of decolonisation (Brohman, 1996; Hulme & Turner, 1990; Little, 1982; Annand & Sen, 1995). An important landmark was President Harry S. Truman's inaugural speech of 1949. Truman effectively defined the world into two clear areas: the 'developed' and the 'underdeveloped' worlds. Truman stated the main aim for the developed world should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens. The old imperialism – exploitation for foreign profit – had no place what is envisaged is a programme of development based on the concepts of democratic fair-dealing (Truman, 1949).

Brownlie's (2008) definition of development best captures not only the economic aspects of development but also the human development aspects: "[d]evelopment is a process of change and growth. It usually involves an improvement in people's lives, so that they become better, happier, and freer... it should also include social and human development, as well as issues such as respect for the environment, democracy, and human right." (Brownlie, 2008, p. 11). Development theory therefore was adopted to find solutions to improve the lot for the poor. What follows is a brief look at development theory in the context of this research to provide some important concepts in relation to this thesis.

Modernisation theory

Perhaps the most influential development theory in terms of long-term policy has been modernisation theory (Rostow, 1956). Developing countries were led to believe that traditional cultures hindered progress. A complete rejection of traditions and an adoption of the Western 'superior' culture was seen as an optimistic approach to modernising the underdeveloped world (Skinner & Wilson, 1975). Modernisation theory was a Western liberal approach that had a strong foundation in both classical and Keynesian economics (Hicks, 1974; Robbins, 1959). It dominated the development discourse from World War II to the 1990s. Some academics argue that modernisation theory still governs aid work today (Coxen & Tolley, 2005). A leading modernisation theorist, Walt Rostow (1956), proposed 'five stages of growth' as a recipe for developing countries to follow in order to become more like the West. Rostow allowed for various external constraints on economic growth including provision of capital. (Rostow, 1956). The five stages of growth were marked along a continuum starting with the traditional society, moving to pre-conditions for take-off, then the take off, and drive to maturity and finally high mass consumption. Rostow argued that wealthy countries willing to 'take off' in a particular sector were fortunate as they did not have 'traditional barriers' to grapple with. The higher up the continuum countries were the more developed they became (Rostow, 1956).

Rostow's five stages of growth did not advocate wholesale abandonment of culture and tradition, but rather just the elements of culture and tradition which discouraged or prevented accumulation and consolidation of private wealth (Rostow, 1956). Coxon and Tolley (2005) state that "...[t]raditional values and traditional social and economic institutions prevented people from perceiving their 'real' interests – the accumulation of wealth – and acting on them..." (Coxon & Tolley, 2005, p. 30). In the context of traditional society this meant that communal living, reciprocity, living off the land, traditional systems of governing or matrilineal systems, and religion (that ironically was introduced by colonisation), were 'backward' and stagnated progress (Haefele, 2003). Ultimately modernisation would create a dependency on the global economy to become successful. If states in the developing world emulated their Western capitalist counterparts, their poverty would be eliminated. It was also generally argued that things that stopped a country becoming modern were from internal influences and not from the outside (Rostow, 1956).

Modernisation saw a key role for education and mass education to transform traditional beliefs and practices into modern ones (Little, 2000). Modernisation also suggested migration was a positive, but mostly as urbanisation, not as international migration (Arango, 2017).

Dependency theory

Underdevelopment, or dependency theory, was a left-wing approach that dominated the 1970s and 1980s with its foundations based on Marxism (Cardoso, 1977; Ferraro, 2008). Dependency is best described by Dos Santos as "...a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected..." (Dos Santos, 1970, p. 231). Dependency was a theory that emerged from Latin America where its underdevelopment was explained through its trade relations with the West (Smith, 1979). The wealthy nations benefiting from trade were referred to as the metropolitan 'centre' of the global trading system, with developing countries, generally primary exporters such as the Latin American countries, were referred to as the 'peripheral satellites' (Grosfoguel, 2000). The production in countries at the peripheral satellites was determined by the demand at the metropolitan centre (Velasco, 2002). The imbalance in trade caused value to move from the periphery to the centre over time (Frank, 1967). Latin American economies that were dependent on primary sector commodities for export income were disadvantaged relative to their Western trading partners, who were exporting manufactured goods into Latin America (Prebisch, 1950). Manufactured goods were likely to increase in price relative to primary goods as demand and incomes increased. This would cause the terms of trade of Latin American countries or peripheral satellites to progressively deteriorate, but the metropolitan centres would be strengthened resulting in an unequal power balance (Prebisch, 1950). Dependency theory's solution to the problem was to focus its resources on strengthening the peripheral satellites and disconnecting from the metropolitan centre. Self-sufficiency's protectionism and strict regulations (or removal) of capitalism were suggested as the alternative path for improving human well-being.

Dependency sees Western education and migration as a means of reinforcing dependency and encouraging elites to become allied to the centre and not their own country (Prebisch, 1950). Western education was to be treated with suspicion unless it sought to challenge capitalism, dependency and Western hegemony.

Alternative development

In the 1990s a body of development theories (which came to be known collectively as alternative development) emerged. This was largely a liberal approach to rethinking the way development was practiced (Friedmann, 1992; Pieterse, 1998). Alternative development hoped to learn from the shortcomings of earlier theories and make way for civil society (i.e.: local communities, indigenous people, non-government organisations, civil society organisations and social movements) to lead the development sector in their own nations (Breheny et al., 1993; Stewart et al., 1992).

Participatory approach

One example of alternative development was the 'participatory approach' (Chambers, 1994; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Rahnema, 1990). The participatory approach looked at working alongside local people to develop initiatives that acknowledged culture and traditions and allowed local people to speak freely about the way development initiatives were practiced in their communities (Chambers, 2012; Mohan & Stokke, 2000).

A number of approaches and methods in the participatory approach later evolved to ensure that development projects were participatory in nature (Chambers, 2012). One of these approaches or methods is participatory action research (PAR) which encouraged the empowerment of local communities to realistically set in action their own processes for social change (Sachs, 1992).

Chambers challenged the 'top down' power dynamic and encourages practitioners to 'hand over the stick' and power so that local communities are empowered and dictate their own development outcomes. Chambers (2005), challenges development practitioners about their fleeting visits when developing and monitoring projects with local communities and therefore responded to the issue of 'time' raised in Participatory Rural Appraisal by

progressing more relaxed long term and interactive forms of development work and research.

Despite its popularity in development practice, the participatory approach has been the subject of scholarly criticism (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Pop, 2011; Williams, 2004). Post development writer Storey (2000) states that “concepts such as ‘bottom up’ and ‘participatory’ can often work to conceal and perpetuate relationships of inequality and domination” (Storey, 2000, p. 43). Unlike modernisation and dependency theories, the participatory approach has evolved from the work of development practitioners and is therefore not based on a coherent theory. Mohan (2002) argues that because of this incoherent theory, participation can be seen as tokenistic in practice (Mohan, 2002).

There are differing definitions of participation ranging from passive participation, where external agents dictate the project cycle, to self-mobilisation giving local communities full ownership of the project cycle. Consequently, Mohan (2002) argues that although participation came about as an answer to failed projects by development practitioners, it has only served as a ‘rubber stamp’ for development aid agencies and organisations to prove their participatory credentials. Parfitt (2004) also adds that participation “...rather than empowering those at the grass roots, simply provides alternative methods for incorporating the poor into the projects of large agencies which remain essentially unaccountable to those they are supposed to serve” (Parfitt, 2004, p. 537).

This suggests that participation is simply mainstream development being dressed up differently to address failed projects. The participatory approach has become popular not only for civil societies but increasingly for development aid agencies. By adopting approaches and methods of participation into development projects, this appeases not only government constituencies but more importantly the local communities they seek to work alongside. The danger here is that different aid agencies adopt different definitions of participation and there is little way of keeping them accountable. Alternative development seeks a ‘populist’ approach to development built on people’s own beliefs, aspirations and knowledge. Self-determination and empowerment are critical.

Gender

Alternative development acknowledged the contribution of women to the success of a country's progress. The period of modernisation was seen as a linear process that societies must follow to become modern (Beneria & Sen, 1982; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Modernisation made the assumption that male dominion and economic development was key to achieving change equally across class, race and gender (Kabeer, 2005). The role of women was ignored as a result and gender equality was similarly rejected as a development objective (Scott, 1995).

The Women in Development (WID) discourse became popular in the 1970s against the backdrop of a wide range of activities concerning women in the development domain, such as the 1975 World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City, and the United Nations Decade for Women 1976-1985 (Razavi & Miller, 1995). WID came about as a result of the rise of liberal feminism that focussed on equality and liberty for women. According to Tinker, (1990) WID was coined in the 1970s by a Washington-based network of female development professionals who argued that modernisation impacted differently on men and women. While on overseas missions these women had observed that modernisation actually deteriorated rather than improved women's positions in their communities. (Tinker, 1990).

Boserup (1970) was the most prominent influence on WID theory with her perspective shared on Women's Role in Economic Development. Boserup (1970) challenged the assumptions of the welfare approach and highlighted women's importance to the agricultural economy (Boserup, 1970). Razavi & Miller (1995) explain Boserup's position using an example in Sub-Saharan Africa which was characterized as the great global area of female farming systems in which women, using traditional hoe technology, assumed a substantial responsibility for food production. Boserup critiques colonial and post-colonial agricultural policies stating that through their productivity-enhancing interventions and dominant Western notions about what constituted appropriate female tasks, they had facilitated men's monopoly over new technologies and cash crops and undermined women's traditional roles in agriculture, thereby heralding the demise of the female farming systems. This, according to Boserup, was creating a dichotomy in the African countryside where men were associated with the modern, cash-cropping sector and women with traditional, subsistence agriculture. Relegated to the

subsistence sector, women lost income, status and power relative to men. More importantly, their essential contribution to agricultural production became invisible (Razavi & Miller, 1995, p. 3-4).

WID has been acknowledged as having the most impact on the way the development of women is perceived constructed within mainstream development practice. Policies prior to this time had ignored women and there was a demand for equality for women and men (Connelly et al., 2000). WID improved policies for women having access to education, training and employment (Visvanathan et al., 1997). During this time some countries introduced government ministries for women. WID was also responsible for the development of the 1973 Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act. This act meant that any assistance granted by the United States was required to help integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, therefore improving their status and assisting the total development effort (Tinker, 1990).

Women and Development (WAD) emerged in the second half of the 1970s during the period of dependency theory (Crush, 1995; Ghodsee, 2003; Singh, 2007). This neo-Marxist feminist approach emerged out of the concern that due to the limitations of modernisation theory, women had been unintentionally left out of development strategies. WAD argues is women have always been part of development processes and that they did not suddenly appear in the early 1970s as the result of the insights and intervention strategies of a few scholars and agency personnel (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 492). The contribution of women to economic development has always been evident, and the work done inside and outside of the household is central to the maintenance of those countries. WAD also argues that WID operates within a masculine framework that attempts equality between men and women but does acknowledge the differences.

“Development planners have tended to impose Western biases and assumptions on the South, and the tasks performed by women in the household, including those of social reproduction, are assigned no economic value. The labor invested in family maintenance, including childbearing and -rearing, housework, care of the ill and elderly, and the like, has been considered to belong to the ‘private’ domain and outside the purview of development projects aimed at enhancing income-generating activities” (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 493).

A further shift in approach recognised that focussing on women in isolation created limitations. This drew attention to the importance of looking at Gender and Development (GAD). GAD was popular from the 1980s and was concerned more with the social relationship between men and women that makes them systematically subordinate, than the biological differences (Momsen, 2009). Approaches to issues relating to women in developing countries became concerned with the manner in which gender and concomitant relationships were socially constructed. The focus on gender rather than women makes it critical to look not only at the category 'women'—since that is only half the story—but at women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these categories are socially constructed (Moser, 2012). GAD was motivated to empower women about decisions to do with their lives. Women were not seen as subordinate or inferior beings, but agents of change. GAD called for participatory approaches that unfortunately take time and are at odds with tight development timeframes (Rathgeber, 1990). GAD acknowledged that gender equality does not necessarily mean equal numbers of men and women or girls and boys in all activities, nor does it mean treating them in the same way. It means equality of opportunity and a society in which women and men are able to lead equally fulfilling lives. The aim of gender equality recognises that men and women often have different needs and priorities, face different constraints and have different aspirations. Above all, the absence of gender equality means a huge loss of human potential and has costs for both men and women, and also for development (Momsen, 2009).

The role of women in development is key in this research. We will see how both women and men engaged in education, but also how education was both shaped by, and questioned, established gender roles.

Post development theory

Post development theory emerged in the 1990s. Post development can be seen as having two strands: one proposing anti-development and the other proposing a way forward for development practitioners. Anti-development writers such as Esteva and Prakash (1998) view development radically as a failed discourse. They arrive at this conclusion after closely studying the practice of development through modernisation, dependency and even the more recent alternative development. Sachs (1992) states that development has become outdated. Pieterse (1998) articulates the thoughts of anti-development writers:

development theory and practice are rejected because it is the new religion of the West: “because it is the imposition of science as power giving rise to ‘laboratory states’ because it does not work because it means cultural Westernisation and homogenisation, because it brings environmental destruction” (Pieterse, 1998, p. 360).

Corbridge (1998) points out that Esteva and Prakesh “have no time for Western reason and they would dispute attempts to privilege logic over empathy”(Corbridge, 1998, p. 143). Anti-development writers provide a harsh critique of the development discourse but have in turn been criticised for doing little to offer alternatives. Fortunately for development practitioners who are not prepared to turn their back on the development discourse, more recently a group of post development writers have begun providing alternatives not made by their earlier colleagues. “Post-development is radical because it calls for a ‘new way of looking at the self and the world or, in other words, an epistemological turn’ that encourages people in the South, and elsewhere, to embrace a way of living – a good life - that is local and sustainable and not in tow to ‘the ordinary discourse of economics’ or ‘the concept of utility’” (Corbridge, 1998, p. 141).

Corbridge (1998) goes on to say that post development writers challenge practitioners to not only acknowledge the development failures of the past but also to confront our prejudices towards development agendas and to provide a ‘human touch’ to development that has been lacking in the past. It is the ‘human touch’ that provides a framework for re-evaluating how development can be practiced and whether practitioners dare to release control of development work.

Gibson-Graham (2005), leading writers in the field of post development, provide us with a way forward. They put their work into practice in the municipality of Jagna, Bohol, Philippines. The local government in Jagna wanted to explore alternative methods of development to build on the strengths of the municipality as opposed to focussing on its weaknesses. It was hoped that by not working in the deficit model, which always required external assistance to ‘save’ them but working to strengths, it would create a more resilient community. Examples were highlighted in which local customs and traditions the people of Jagna had lived by for generations were restored in order for development to occur.

Gibson-Graham (2005) believe rejecting development as a discourse is irresponsible. Post development therefore can see the importance of allowing indigenous people to control and direct their own development.

“The challenge of Post development is not to give up on development, nor to see all development practice as tainted, failed and retrograde; as though there were something necessarily problematic and destructive about deliberate attempts to increase social wellbeing through economic interventions; as though there were a space of purity beyond or outside development that we could access through renunciation. The challenge is to imagine and practice development differently” (Gibson-Graham, 2005, p. 6).

Post development also opens ways for very diverse approaches to develop depending on local systems, beliefs and cultures.

Indigenous epistemologies

To further explore the work of Gibson-Graham (2005) it is important to look at indigenous epistemologies or world views. Indigenous epistemologies are essentially “a cultural group’s way of thinking and of creating and reformulating knowledge using traditional discourses and media of communication and anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture” (Gegeo, 1998, p. 290). Indigenous epistemology assists practitioners to fundamentally change the understanding of strategies for development. Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002) state:

“Around the world today indigenous ethnic groups are asserting the validity of their own ways of knowing and being, in resistance to the intensifying hegemony of mainstream epistemology from the metropolitan powers. This assertion is not happening only among third-world scholars familiar with the challenges to Anglo-European cosmology and epistemology from postmodernists over the past several decades. It is also happening among rural villagers with little or no schooling or awareness of the debates going on internationally in philosophy and the social sciences. Moreover, the assertion is not only about ethnic identity and revitalizing culture. Villagers are also themselves exploring how they construct knowledge: instead of always being the subject of research by outsiders, which they often see

as exploitation, they are undertaking the recording and writing of their own cultures based on their indigenous epistemologies” (D. W. Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002, p. 55).

This approach challenges the foundations of thinking about development and puts emphasis on ontological ways of knowing.

Global aid agenda

Having surveyed these major strands of development theory, it is important to note how development has been practiced through the mechanisms and principles of international aid. These have been particularly important for education as a development strategy. Aid (also known by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as Official Development Assistance or ODA is a multimillion dollar industry (Perez, 1973) and has over decades remained a permanent fixture of international foreign relations (Wood, 1986). Aid does not necessarily imply a uniform group of funds or practices (Bermeo, 2009) nor does it imply that developed and developing countries have a shared understanding on how aid is delivered (Mertens & Wilson, 2012). There are many forms of aid and, depending on the parties involved in the aid relationship, the spectrum of interpretation and method of delivery is wide. The origin of aid is a contestable topic (Hjertholm & White, 2000; Tarp, 2003). Tchuigoua (2009) argues that aid was inspired by the experiences of the Russian Revolution. The Communist Party brought together the former colonies of the Russian empire as independent states in a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In these new republics, Bolshevism destroyed the exploitative primordial relations and deposed the ruling classes who had links to the Tsarist system. This Tchuigoua suggests, is where the notion of development aid was conceived with the aim of establishing equality between the member states of the union (Tchuigoua, 2009, p. 15). The state took a role of redistributing resources in order to promote development of less prosperous regions and communities.

More commonly referred to as the genesis of aid is the Marshall Plan 1947–1952 (Brownlie, 2008). Following World War II, the United States of America put in place a humanitarian economic programme that would assist Europe to recover from wartime destruction of industry (Agnew & Entrikin, 2004; Gimbel, 1976; Hogan, 1987). The intention of the Marshall

Plan was to help developing countries with economic, political and social reconstruction. The benefits for the U.S were that the money would be used to buy their goods therefore allowing them to retain and expand their superpower status (Brownlie, 2008; Gimbel, 1976). The Marshall Plan is often referred to as the first real aid programme.

There is still no universally accepted definition of aid (Goldthorpe, 1975; Hunter, 1984; Lancaster, 2008; Tchuigoua, 2009). Aid as defined by Lancaster (2007) is: “an effort to use public concessional resources from one country to bring about sustained, beneficial change in another”(Lancaster, 2007, p. 3). To expand on this Hunter (1984) aptly highlights a comment made by a practitioner that “aid is very much ‘what people say is aid’, a situation that derives partly from the fact that there are two parties to any aid relationship, with often totally different perceptions of what constitutes aid” (Hunter, 1984, p. 158). Though it is strongly acknowledged that the relationships between the two is not simply about a one-way flow of resources, as economic, political and social costs and benefits move in both directions.

Over the past 60 years shifts in the delivery and receipt of aid have impacted both policy and practice. Up until the late 1970s donors were interested in building the capacity of the state and trusted that aid delivered directly to recipient countries was the best policy mechanism for their development. The Cook Islands, for example, received general budget support in effect from the New Zealand government when it was annexed in 1901 until 1965. It then became self-governing in free association with New Zealand following an act of self-determination under the United Nations (Bertram & Watters, 1984).

Africa has witnessed the effects of modernisation and education. In 1961 UNESCO organised a high-level conference of African States in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on the development of education in Africa¹. At this conference a goal was set that by 1980 primary enrolment in Africa should be 100%, relative to 40% in 1960. Yet, by 1980 the net primary enrolment ratio in sub-Saharan Africa stood at only 56% (Puryear, 1995). Psacharopoulos states: “In 1990 UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank and UNDP joined forces in another high-level conference in Jom Tien to launch the ‘Education for All’ (EFA) campaign. EFA set a goal of universal

¹ <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000774/077416e>

primary education by the year 2000. By 1999 the net enrolment ratio in Africa was 57%” (Psacharopoulos, 2014). Due to growing concerns around initiatives such as EFA as well as failures in other sectors, it soon became apparent at an international level that something drastic needed to take place. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2000 saw 189 national leaders recognising their collective responsibilities to developing countries to not only reaffirm the principles of the United Nations but to also acknowledge the goal of human dignity and equity at the global level (Kabeer, 2010). The eight time-bound development goals were agreed upon by United Nations General Assembly and were to be achieved by the year 2015. One of the goals was universal primary education for all. The MDGs became the cornerstone of the New Poverty Agenda (Storey, Bulloch, & Overton, 2005) and the foundation of putting poverty reduction at the centre of focus for donor countries (Murray & Overton, 2011; Poku & Whitman, 2011).

The MDGs were replaced by the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) signed in New York in 2015. The SDGs are a detailed dashboard of goals and targets agreed to by all 193 United Nations member countries. The 17 SDGs and associated 169 targets represent a global consensus and were years in the making (Mariño & Banga, 2016). Education is the fourth SDG goal: ‘ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all’. Since the MDGs there has been significant progress in achieving universal primary education with total enrolment rates for developing regions reaching 91%. Literacy rates have increased with more girls being educated. Sub-Saharan Africa made the largest progress in primary school enrolment among all developing regions – from 52 percent in 1990, up to 78 percent in 2012, however there still remains large gaps for improvement (UNDP, 2015). SDG goal four also addresses the disparities between the rich and poor, rural and urban, boys and girls. It is proven that children from the poorest households are four times more likely to be out of school than those of the richest households (UNDP, 2015). UNDP states that achieving inclusive and quality education for all reaffirms the

belief that education is one of the most powerful and proven vehicles for sustainable development (UNDP, 2015).

Education therefore has been identified as a key objective and means of development. Furthermore, development aid has been prominent in both promoting the importance of education and funding its growth.

Development summary

Development theory has evolved considerably over the decades to cater to global occurrences; social, political, and economic differences across varying communities (Hettne, 1995; Leys, 1996; Moser, 2012). Over the last 60 years a series of theories have been proposed to narrow the gap between the developed and underdeveloped, the rich and the poor (McMichael, 2004). Since 1949 and President Truman's founding statement, development has been established, adapted, and transformed (McMichael, 2004). Theories of modernisation (Rostow, 1956), dependency (Cardoso, 1977), alternative development (Pieterse, 1998), participatory development (Chambers, 1997), gender (Boserup, 1970); post development (Gibson-Graham, 2005) and indigenous epistemologies (Gegeo, 1998) have influenced development policies at international levels with the intention of improving the futures of the developing world (Sharpley, 2000). With each counter theory developed, solutions to weaknesses were identified from the former theory, to cater to all communities. Despite this evolution, what the theories have in common is a strong undercurrent that places communities in a position of vulnerability, oppression, marginalisation, lack of power and in need of support. Coupled with aid, the agenda is always the need to improve situations through projects and programmes in order to find solutions to fix problems in developing countries.

More recent alternative and post-development theories have been useful to acknowledge that there are strengths within a community that already exist and the need to adopt modern concepts is not always necessary. Communities are therefore encouraged to return to their roots as they have survived for centuries without modernity.

This theory of development still leans to a 'we know what's best for you' approach. I understand and appreciate all these theories, but what happens when communities want to

live in both worlds? It is believed that a community's cultural identity and history is inherent and will never leave them, but what happens when they also want the modern lifestyle that is being offered to them through the promise of modernisation?

This research does not adopt a single theory of development to explain why and how Sāmoan participants engaged in migration for education. Instead it seeks to uncover how the research participants defined 'development' for themselves and their *āiga* and how they constructed their own development strategies. We can then re-examine the theories to see how development is conceived and practised by Sāmoan people themselves.

Migration

The second component of this research is migration. This section will discuss what the global literature says about migration in the context of this research. Migration is as old as human existence and examples of this are found in literature, historical documentation, oral histories, myths and legends. (Fisher, 2013; Lucassen & Lucassen, 1997; Manning, 2012). For the purposes of this research, migration is: "the temporary or permanent movement of individuals or groups of people from one geographic location to another for various reasons" (Hagen-Zanker, 2008, p. 4). The process of emigration is leaving one's place of residence or country to live elsewhere, while the process of immigration is to enter and usually become established – to come into a country of which one is not a native for permanent residence (Bascom, 2001; Cardoso, 1980; Hourani & Shehadi, 1992).

Early migration

The movement of people can either be voluntary or involuntary (Thompson, 2016) and people have migrated, emigrated and immigrated for a number of motivating factors (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2006; De Jong & Fawcett, 1981). Explorers have navigated their way across oceans in search of undiscovered territory (Birkett, 1989; Cary & Warmington, 1929). Their perceptions of the locations they discovered are revealed in their descriptions of the locals often as primitive, barbaric and common (Cary & Warmington, 1929; Corris, 1970). According to Spate (1979), when European explorer Balboa viewed the South Sea in 1513, he found the Pacific empty, vast and trackless. As some of the first Europeans to view the Pacific Ocean, they waded into the Gulf of San Miguel and, in one of those grand gestures of European

expansionism, took possession of the ocean and all its lands for Spain (Spate, 1979) despite the fact that it was already populated by many indigenous peoples.

Missionaries were motivated by spreading the word of God, but their message was not always welcome, and some lost their lives as a result (Gallego & Woodberry, 2010; Gandhi, 1941; Ingham, 1956; Porter, 2004). Migration also helped countries establish colonies outside their natural borders. None were more successful than Great Britain who colonised most of Africa and the Pacific (Havinden & Meredith, 2002; Lange, et al., 2006). The slave trade answers for a significant amount of involuntary migration. In the 1860's Peruvian slave ships coerced all able-bodied men (253) from the small atolls of Tokelau convincing them that they were to partake in a church service (Maude, 1981). Once on board the men were locked in chains and taken to Peru to work as labourers. Very few men ever returned and this had an impact on all areas of society in Tokelau (Huntsman, 2004; Munro, 1990). Motivations for migration varied and the power relations between the rich and poor were reinforced when those from powerful countries also migrated.

Migration: Optimistic viewpoint

Spaan et al (2005) identify two contrasting theories that have developed over several decades to explain the pendulum between optimistic and pessimistic views of migration and development. The first is an optimistic viewpoint that held sway during the 1950s and 1960s and is founded on neo-classical economic theory. Migrants moved for employment from their home countries to foster economic opportunities for themselves and their families, while also meeting a labour shortage in the receiving countries (Kindleberger, 1965).

In order for poorer communities to become modern, following a neo-classical viewpoint, migration was perceived as beneficial for both the sending and the receiving countries (De Haas, 2009). Migration was seen as a way of achieving balanced growth by restoring the equilibrium between labour-rich receiving countries and capital-poor sending countries (Todaro, 1969). It was believed that if labour freely moves in an unconstrained market environment, it eventually leads to the increasing scarcity of labour, coinciding with a higher marginal productivity of labour and increasing wage levels in migrant sending countries (De Haas, 2010, p. 5). Capital flows are therefore expected to go in the opposite direction,

eventually ending in a process of equilibrium – this was known as the Heckscher-Ohlin model (Massey et al., 1993). This theory saw migrant communities in a positive light and encouraged their development through gaining skills and economic prosperity. Neo-classical migration theory aligns to the modernisation theory where returning migrants were expected to be agents of change returning with financial wealth and new skills and abilities to improve the sending countries that they left.

Remittances have been attributed as having an important role in stimulating economic growth (Adams & Page, 2005; De Haas, 2010; Ratha, 2003). While there is appreciation of possible negative effects, such as loss of labour in developing countries, Kindleberger (1965) argues that the positive factors outweigh the negative in the long-term.

“Among the major arguments is the idea that out-migration leads to an improvement in resource availability and income distribution in origin areas... At the macro and micro levels, remittances contribute to a more favorable balance of payment situation, foster consumption and investment and improves the well-being of migrant’s households. (Spaan et al., 2005, p. 37).”

These authors also see much value in the skills, attitudes and investment capital brought home by returning migrants. This optimistic viewpoint was one way that migrants could improve the livelihoods of those in their homeland.

The cost and benefit analysis of remittances has attracted much debate since the late 1960s. Bertram and Watters’ MIRAB model (**M**igration, **R**emittances, **A**id and **B**ureaucracy) began as a way to describe the countries under New Zealand’s administration (i.e. Niue, Cook Islands, and Tokelau), but developed further to include other countries and territories in Polynesia and Micronesia (Bertram & Watters, 1985, 1986) . Bertram and Watters (1986) argued that island economies have been integrated with the mainland (in this case New Zealand) because of MIRAB and shifted from being a resources-based economy to a rent-based economy. New Zealand’s labour force mobility of the 1960s, and subsequent immigration policies to attract the Pacific population to New Zealand, further reinforced this. Since 2006 the temporary migration programme for unskilled workers - Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) reiterates MIRAB as the programme is a way to both relieve labour shortages in developed countries

and aid development in sending countries without entailing many of the costs associated with permanent migration (Gibson et al., 2008).

Migration: Pessimistic viewpoint

A second - strongly pessimistic - viewpoint with regard to migration dominated the period between the late 1970s and 1980s. It is referred to as the 'asymmetrical growth approach' (Jones, 2015). The belief is that there is a direct link between the underdevelopment of migrant-sending countries and the further development of the receiving country (Spaan et al., 2005). This approach draws links to dependency theory (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979; Prebisch, 1950; Santos, 1970) dominant in the same period. This is manifested through an unbalanced distribution of benefits and resources, which is reinforced through migration. Among others, this approach argues that migration is selective and deprives the origin areas of their young, healthy, productive and innovative workforce, subsequently resulting in changes in production and a loss in productivity. Furthermore, the return benefits from the investments in human capital by the origin countries are foregone. As return migration also includes those returning due to failure, illness, or old age, it does not contribute to productivity. Skill formation of migrants is limited due to the nature of employment at the destination and acquired skills are incompatible to the production systems in origin areas (Spaan et al., 2005, p. 38). This can best be described by Abadan-Unat, (1975) who discusses research undertaken by a Turkish- Dutch team in a small district in Turkey, Bogazliyan (Abadan-Unat, 1975). Bogazliyan highlighted that many of the alleged economic benefits of migration were either non-existent or insubstantial. It was discovered that Turkish migrants, who were more skilled than the average worker, once abroad seldom received training, and often worked in less-skilled jobs than those they previously held (Abadan-Unat, 1975; Sinclair, 1977).

The promise of the neo-classical theory and its equilibrium standpoint was challenged by pessimists drawing on dependency theory (Frank, 1967, 1969). Pessimists believed that neo-classical theory in fact increased the gap between the sending and receiving countries by strengthening the lot of the rich (Louie, 2006). Pessimistic viewpoints were further reinforced around literature on the brain-drain phenomenon that began to emerge in the 1960s (Carrington & Detragiache, 1999). There was a concern that was gaining international interest

whereby highly skilled and qualified workers from developing countries were moving to developed countries for better opportunities. This impacted on underdeveloped countries welfare and economy with the loss of skilled people. (Grubel & Scott, 1966; Johnson, 1965; Kilchenmann, 2005). Some theorists in the 1960s argued a solution to stopping the brain-drain was ensuring that their qualifications were less internationally recognised, therefore limiting the incidence of people leaving permanently. (Kilchenmann, 2005; Myint, 1968). While the brain-drain hypothesis attracted significant attention, Penninx (1982) draws our attention also to a 'brawn-drain' where a large-scale movement of able-bodied men migrate from rural areas therefore causing a lost labour effect, resulting in a loss of agricultural labour and a decrease not only in agricultural productivity but in the reliance on land as a resource for survival.

Remittances is a major benefit for the recipients, but it has also drawn a lot of criticism from theorists. Lee (2009) highlights a range of factors to consider around not so much remittances as money and goods. As social remittances, these include: "limited domestic resources, small land masses and geographical isolation, declining commodity prices, limited opportunities to generate income, environmental problems, government policies that create obstacles to change, and the rising expectations of the population have all been cited as factors in the creation of a reliance on remittances and foreign aid in order for the small island countries to remain economically viable" (Lee, 2009, p. 18). Remittances were therefore used for consumption rather than investment and local production which, according to Connell and McCall (1989), creates dependency and hinders development.

It has been suggested that remittances raise unrealistic expectations on families of migrants who, instead of investing their money productively, end up squandering it on non-productive items and goods that cannot be purchased locally (Lewis, 1986). Research undertaken by Lipton (1980) showed that migrants used money to pay for loans that financed the initial migration, but more than 90% was spent on everyday consumption. These communities had very little training on how to budget, or handle cash and they did what they saw from the receiving countries. Status was another way remittances was expended in undertakings such as fancy events, feasts and funerals as well as building lavish houses.

Piper (2005) draws our attention to the concept of gender in migration. According to the UN in 2013², approximately half (48 percent) of all international migrants (over 200 million) are women. Piper (2005) acknowledges that while all migrants experience challenges when moving to a new country and seeking employment, women are subject to deep gender as well as ethnic and racial discrimination. Most migrant women end up in lower paying positions, so they are three times more disadvantaged compared to migrant males and, being subject to sexual and racial harassment also places migrant women in a more vulnerable position.

New Perspectives

Whilst the debate between optimists and pessimists has continued in migration theory, more recent work has opened some new perspectives on processes of migration while largely avoiding the broader debate. The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) approach developed by Oded Stark and others in the 1980s (Stark & Lucas, 1988) highlights the position of the family in the decision-making process and acknowledges that household members decide collectively about migration for the benefit of the whole family (De Haas, 2010; Gamlen, 2014a; Spaan et al., 2005). Families are sent off either individually or as a family, but with the sole purpose of providing opportunities for the wider family. Most migration research does not take into account family and community dynamics. However research into the impact on whole households, and in some cases, communities is essential to make positive decisions around migration and the receiving of remittances (Taylor, 1999).

Traditional neoclassical migration theory focusses on macro or micro decisions for migration. Both assume that the 'individual' makes the decision to emigrate. Hagen-Zanker (2008) acknowledges that families can influence the individual's decision to migrate. "The family as a whole migrates if their net gain is positive. If only one partner finds a (better) job at the destination, the family only migrates if gains of one family member internalise the losses of the other family member. The family migration decision is thus in essence an aggregation of individual migration utilities...migration [is] a household decision in which a family allocates labour to the urban or rural sector depending on the marginal products of combined wages" (Hagen-Zanker, 2008, p. 12).

² http://esa.un.org/unmigration/documents/the_number_of_international_migrants.pdf

Migration and development

Over the decades it has been argued by migration enthusiasts that there is an inextricable link between migration and development (De Haas, 2010; Gamlen, 2014b; Kapur, 2004; Vammen & Brønden, 2012). The argument that migration has opened up opportunities for both recipient, and receiving countries to develop their economy, politics, and social status in relation to development theory will be discussed later in the chapter.

Gamlen (2014a) highlights that over the past two decades governments, international and multinational organisations have participated in summits, forums and written reports on the positive links between migration and development. The transformative power of globalisation has resulted in states, societies, economies and cultures becoming increasingly integrated and interdependent. Technology has seen the rise of goods and services transported between continents (IOM, 2005). The International Organisation for Migration (IOM), recognises that there are both positive and negative effects of migration. On the one hand the standard of living for people have genuinely been improved with access to money that improves the lives for the underprivileged. On the other hand, there is an increase in migration and displacement as a consequence of conflict, persecution and climate change (IOM, 2018). There has been a:

“huge growth of interest in the links between migration and development, with institutional interest from the United Nations, the World Bank and donor governments, a number of major new research projects, and a growing number of practical measures on the part of development actors to engage with migrants and capitalise on the resources they have been able to accumulate in host countries and regions. These initiatives have increasingly recognised that migration carries significant potential benefits, as well as risks and costs (Black & Sward, 2009, p. 1).”

At an international level the link between migration and development was reinforced by the then United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Anan who, in 2005, established the Global Commission on International Migration. The main reason the Commission was set up was to recognise that: “International migration has risen to the top of the global policy agenda. As the scale, scope and complexity of the issue has grown, states and other stakeholders have

become aware of the challenges and opportunities presented by international migration. In every part of the world, there is now an understanding that the economic, social and cultural benefits of international migration must be more effectively realized, and that the negative consequences of cross-border movement could be better addressed (IOM, 2005, p. vii).” This paradigm shift recognises the way migration and development has been viewed over the last 20 years (Gamlen, 2014b).

Migration summary

The impact of migration on development over the past five decades has been described by Taylor (1999) as the subject of continuous and sometimes heated debate with the opposing views of migration optimists and migration pessimists. De Haas (2010) identifies that debates on the relationship between migration and development have fluctuated from optimism in the early part of the 1970s to pessimism until the 1990s, and in more recent years back to optimism.

Early migration during the period of colonisation saw explorers and missionaries particularly having little interest in indigenous communities. The idea of changing their lifestyles to match the west was high on the agenda. Through the neo-liberal economic theory, those from ‘sending’ countries were encouraged to migrate in search of prosperity. Through their remittances this prosperity was sent back to their families to improve livelihood. For the ‘receiving’ country the migrant helped to meet labour shortages. Through the asymmetrical growth approach, it was recognised that the neo-liberal approach in fact weakened the ‘sending’ countries and strengthened the ‘receiving’ countries at the centre. This was reinforced through concepts such as ‘brain-drain’ where ‘sending’ countries were losing their most well-abled people to migration.

Regardless of whether the viewpoints for migration are either strongly optimistic or strongly pessimistic, migration has and will continue. With globalisation through technology it has become easier for people to migrate from the developed world to the developing world. Motivations for travel vary, but if it is to provide perceived improvements (from the perspective of the traveller) to the livelihoods of communities in the developing world, this may not be an issue. This research is interested in how people move – in this case for

education- and how this movement affects the improvement or not in the livelihoods and development of themselves, their families, and their wider communities and nation.

Education

The final component of this research is education. According to Little and Coulson (1968) the word education derives from two Latin words; firstly *educare* (*educare, educare, educavi, educatum*), the second *educere* (*educare, educere, eduxi, eductum*). Both mean 'to bring up', 'to rear', 'to guide', 'to direct', 'to educate', 'to lead out' (Little & Coulson 1968, p. 6). With this, 'traditional' forms of education existed in developing countries but on an 'informal' basis. Children were raised by adult members of a family by developing their characters and directing them on how to carry out daily activities (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003).

We will take Thaman's (1995) definition of traditional or informal education as meaning "unorganised³ and non-institutionalized learning" (Thaman, 1995, p. 723). Traditional or informal education was common place in many developing countries before the arrival of Christianity, where small societies largely learnt by 'doing' and reenacting what they saw but also by what they were taught through oral traditions. This earlier education injected traditional pedagogies with specific mentorship of young by elders, usually chiefs, who were usually deliberately selected and trained to become leaders (Sanga, 2003). Parents and families became the educators, teaching and embedding beliefs, values, traditions and practices of the community (Crocombe, 2001). Specialised knowledge was reserved only for individuals based on rank, ability and skill level: "Medicine, magic, religious esoterica, navigation, even techniques for catching octopus or barracuda, were carefully guarded secrets, passed on by experts to selected children or other close relatives. Knowledge was segregated by gender, by profession or craft, and in many societies of rank" (Crocombe, 2001, p. 238). There is much evidence of traditional or informal education around the Pacific and Africa aimed at teaching specialised skills and knowledge such as those relating to warfare and navigation in the case of males, and various craft-related skills for females (Thaman, 1995).

³ Unorganised is not referred to in a negative sense, but more that informal education is organic in nature.

Formal education, according to Adamson (2013), originated through two streams – religion and secularism. The early Christian church for example with its various institutions, created schools to propagate their message of salvation and with the primary agenda of teaching people to master the significance of the scriptures. The administrative side of education became the domain of the early church while the secular source determined the curriculum that was influenced by the church (Adamson, 2013). As a result two conflicting arguments existed in the middle ages as the Bible was central for the church to promote its message. In order for this to happen, a thorough understanding of Latin, Greek and Hebrew were required. This provided opportunities for secularism to promote languages and later philosophy to the students, broadening a student's understanding to go beyond just the Bible (Adamson, 2013).

Education was seen by European powers that colonised the underdeveloped world as an essential element of their development. From the mid to late 1800s, countries in Africa faced European imperialist aggression and diplomatic pressures that led to their eventual colonisation (Falola, 2002). Economic, political and social pressures were the main drivers of European rule during this time. There were economic opportunities available in the form of natural resources, not to mention valuable land that could be of benefit to the Europeans.

While African powers resisted this foreign rule, colonial powers set up local and national governments complete with laws and policies to govern their new territories (Falola, 2002; Oni & Segun, 2014). Education was not only used by the early missionary groups to spread the gospel, it was also introduced as a way of developing the local people so they could operate within this newly introduced Western form of government (Crocombe, 2001). On a global scale it is perceived that Western education, in a broad sense, is the cornerstone of development (Bloom et al., 2006; Colclough, 2012). This is based on two differing approaches to education that will be discussed in this section.

Approach to education: Building human capital - an optimistic viewpoint

The first approach to education is a human capital and functionalist paradigm that is adopted by most governments with regard to education policy (Colclough, 2012) and leads to matching labour demands of capital enterprises (Gamlen et al., 2017). By building the human capital,

training is developed to cover all areas of education from basic training to develop vocational skills to high-level professional education (Gamlen et al., 2017). This form of education, like other forms of investment in human capital, can contribute to economic development and raise the incomes of the poor just as much as investment in physical capital, such as transport, communications, power, or irrigation (Psacharopoulos, 2014)

Human Capital theory is driven by economics and is the most influential economic theory of Western education and has set the framework for government policies since the early 1960s (Tan, 2014). Fitzsimons (2015) says it is seen increasingly as a key determinant of economic performance. To determine economic performance, Fitzsimons employs a conception of individuals as human capital and various economic metaphors such as “technological change,” “research,” “innovation,” “productivity,” “education,” and “competitiveness.” The birth of the human-capital theory was announced in 1960 by Theodore Schultz (Schultz, 1961). The concept of human capital theory is the idea that people spend on themselves in diverse ways, not for the sake of present enjoyments, but for the sake of future financial and non-financial returns. Blaug (1976) states that people “...may purchase health care; they may voluntarily acquire additional education; they may spend time searching for a job with the highest possible rate of pay” (Blaug, 1976, p. 829). Education, then is a form of investment, and is undertaken as an alternative to consumption, and it is done so by individuals, their families, and society as a whole. What is important in these phenomena is not who undertakes what, but rather the fact that the decision-maker, or -makers looks forward to the future for the justification of their present actions.

Education and training are key elements and investments in human capital (Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008). The influence of economic theories on education can be traced back to the 1940s and 1950s and the Chicago School of Economics where theories about economic importance of human capital were promulgated, and the idea that education could grow the economy (Spring, 2015). The Organisation for the Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was the first global organization to use human capital economics to develop education policies, and called on nations to invest in skills-based curriculum (Spring, 2015). The policies favoured education as a cause of economic growth and as means of reducing inequalities in income (Gylfason, 2001). The World Bank lent money to developing nations after adopting the

human capital ideas of the Chicago School of Economics, to improve their schools as a means of stimulating the economy (Psacharopoulos, 1994).

Schultz (1961) discusses that having a high school and college education in the United States greatly raised a person's income. This was after netting out direct and indirect costs of schooling, and after adjusting for the better family backgrounds and greater abilities of more educated people. Schultz goes on to say that much of what we call consumption constitutes investment in human capital. Direct expenditure on education, health, and internal migration to take advantage of better job opportunities are clear examples. Schultz encourages economists to see that the investment in human beings, while it can be seen as offensive and reducing people to a mere material component like something akin to property, can also be viewed that by investing in themselves, people can enlarge the range of choice available to them. It is one way free individuals can enhance their welfare (Schultz, 1961).

Becker (1994) in his book 'Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education' identified that the earning power of educated people is almost always well above average, and the gains are larger in developing countries. Cheswick (1983) looked specifically at the earnings and returns from human capital investments of second-generation American Jews. Compared with non-Jews he found that Jewish men have 16 percent higher earnings, a 20 percent higher rate of return from schooling, and a steeper experience-earnings profile. This example reinforced the economic returns of investing in education.

According to Becker (1994), prior to the 1960s in America, women outnumbered men in graduating from high school but were less likely to continue on to university. Subjects such as maths, sciences, economics, and law were avoided by women at that time. They gravitated (or were directed) more toward teaching, home economics, foreign languages, and literature. Women's motivation, according to Becker, rationally chose an education that helped in household production, and no doubt also in the marriage market. But this has changed radically with the increase in women entering the fields of accounting, law, medicine, engineering, and other subjects that pay well. Becker states that the same trends in women's education are found in Great Britain, France, Scandinavia, Taiwan, Japan, Mexico, and other countries with large increases in the labour force (Becker, 1994). Adom and Asare-Yebo

(2016) undertook a study to evaluate critically how the elements of human capital theory, such as level of education, area of education, training and prior work experience, influenced female entrepreneurship in Ghana. The findings from qualitative in-depth interviews with 25 women entrepreneurs in Accra, who work in service delivery, manufacturing and trading, revealed that the level of education, business training and knowledge gained during the course of their work was a crucial factor towards their success (Adom & Asare-Yeboah, 2016).

Wantchekon et al (2014) carried out a study with regional schools in colonial Benin in West Africa to investigate the effect of education on living standards, occupation and political participation. They found by comparing the living standards of educated and non-educated families living in the same village, that education provided a significant positive effect for the first generation of students, as well as their descendants who had had higher living standards and were more likely to be politically active. They also found that extended family members also benefitted directly from a family member's education. They refer to this as a "family tax," as educated families transfer resources to the extended family (Wantchekon, Klačnjak, & Novta, 2014).

Education for human capital therefore is a means to an end rather than the end itself. It is used to lead to opportunities of success not only for the individual but for a wider group that includes the family, community and possibly even the development of the country. Steeped strongly in economic theories of development, it aligns with modernisation theory and is seen as a way forward to improve, empower and strengthen the development of states.

Inappropriate Education: a pessimistic viewpoint

A criticism of investing in human capital through education was raised by Richard Freeman's (1976) book 'The Overeducated American'. He proposed that America, following the promotion of education as a tool for economic development, entered an era in which the college degree cannot be assumed as a safe avenue to economic success. It was believed that as the levels of educational attainment rose in the 1960s, there was an increasing number of workers who became overeducated in relation to the positions available to them once qualifications were completed (Burriss, 1983). Social theorists hypothesised some of the

consequences of this trend were found in increased levels of job dissatisfaction and the likelihood of widespread political discontent (Hultin et al., 2016).

Yamada (2015) raises the need for caution around education to build human capital due to weak job markets, low-quality university programmes, and job-education mismatches. With a growing number of university graduates it could exacerbate unemployment, underemployment, and over education of professionals. As a result of this, the job market in America became depressed in the 1970s (Freeman, 1976). Evidence of the concern about overeducated Americans was not strong and fizzled out but was replaced with another concern about whether the United States provided adequate quality and quantity of education and other training (Becker, 1994). These concerns were motivated by economic competition found in Europe, Japan, Korea, and other Asian countries, against poor rates of productivity in the United States during the 1980s where SAT scores were lower. Added to that was the terrible performance of American high school students on international tests in mathematics (Becker, 1994).

Fine (2002) and Davis (2003) argue that a further problem with education for building human capital is that the only benefits from education that are considered are an increased productivity and a higher wage. They believe this only contextualises the world through the eyes of contemporary mainstream economics. It cannot satisfactorily deal with issues of culture, gender, identity, emotions and history (Folbre, 1994). Robeyns (2006) also highlighted the problem with human capital theory is that the only value of education is for economic productivity. Knowledge, for example learning how to read and understanding poetry or learning a foreign language, is not recognised as an investment value from the perspective of human capital theory, unless you are able to generate money through your learning (Robeyns, 2006).

Theorists argue that education to build human capital fails to acknowledge education for the development of responsible global citizens (Rickover, 1959; Rogers, 1969; Sicher, 1955). To do this, education must promote the human development of students and also encourage an understanding of the goals of human development for all, where people are empowered to make their own decisions and political choices. By doing so students will foster capabilities not only for themselves but for all (Nussbaum, 2009). This type of an education emerges from the ideal of equal respect for all human beings and equal entitlement of all to a range of

opportunities. This type of education also encourages the student's own senses, imagination, thought, and practical reason (Nussbaum, 2009).

An alternative Perspective – education for liberation

Education for social justice aligns with an egalitarian society that is based on the principles of equality and solidarity. This is a society that understands, and values human rights, and recognises the dignity of every human being (Zajda et al., 2007). On a global scale the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed in 1948, expresses the founding principles of social justice, and has been endorsed by the international community (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). Education therefore can also be about having access to information to be able to make informed decisions on health, reproduction and contraception, learning a different language as a means of communication, and using technology to minimise everyday tasks. Education is about opening the minds of people and improving on the ways past generations have lived (Robeyns, 2006).

The approach to education leans to governments moving beyond the rhetoric of policy to ensure a more equitable, and fair access to resources (Zajda et al., 2007). This approach derives from the work of Freire (1970; 1974) who in the 1970s became a strong advocate for participation, and conscientisation⁴ in Latin America (Freire, 1970; 1974), seeking to provide opportunities for local people to express their needs to achieve development (Chambers, 1997; Mosse, 2001). Critical in Freire's work is the insistence that education and pedagogy must liberate the oppressed from outside domination. Those following Freire believe that education raises a general consciousness around liberation and teaches people about why they are oppressed and poor, but it also provides them with a way to gain agency through their own empowerment (Freire, 1970).

The work of Amartya Sen (1999) in his book *Development as Freedom* evaluated the processes, and outcomes of economic development (Sen, 1999). Sen (2005) examined traditional definitions and understandings of the expansion of freedom and believes that "the two concepts of human rights and capabilities, which are necessary for development and freedom, go well with each other so long as we do not try to subsume either concept entirely

⁴ "[P]oor and exploited people can and should be enabled to analyse their own reality" (Chambers, 1997, p.106).

within the territory of the other” (Sen, 2005, p. 151). People commonly think of freedoms as economic or political but true freedom is about social justice and the term ‘freedom’ cannot simply be about economic prosperity. The freedom - centred perspective has a generic similarity to the common concern with ‘quality of life’ (Miletzki & Broten, 2017).

Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative by and for Pacific People (RPEIPP):

Through aid, the promotion of education by bilateral and multilateral donors as a tool for development continues today (Thiele et al., 2007). The earlier approach using education for building human capital did not recognise different learning styles. Verspoor (2008) acknowledges that all countries in Africa identify the importance of a basic education for economic and social development, but even after considerable efforts to expand education to reach all regions, they still do not meet their goals (Verspoor, 2008). “Unless the increase in admissions in grade one that has occurred in recent years in many countries is followed by improvements in quality and retention, the human resource base for sustained development will remain unacceptably weak. Less than one-third of the children of school leaving age currently acquire the knowledge and the skills specified in their national primary education curriculum” (Verspoor, 2008, p. 13). Using education to get ahead is jeopardised as a result of poor educational training and resources, and both the human capital and social progress approaches suffer. The education for all (EFA) strategies in Africa are critical for the improvement of education, but attaining improvements in the quality of education has been challenging (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014).

Understanding the right education for the right context has been the work of some Pacific educationalists (Sanga & Taufeulungaki, 2003; Thaman, 2009). To completely reject Western-style education would be irresponsible based on the fact that world economies, in which developing countries must participate, are controlled by globalisation, technology and economic development (Obed, 2004). But in order to find a suitable curriculum that would help students leave school with the right skills to not only help them to contribute as a global citizens but also contribute financially to the economy, it is important to keep in mind new education initiatives and essential to these is adding the ‘human touch’ (Corbridge, 1998).

Chu (2009) discusses the origins of Rethinking Pacific Education (RPEI) in 2000 by three Pacific Educators, Dr Kabini Sanga, Dr Konai Helu Thaman, and Dr 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki. The three leaders arrived at a decision that 'some dynamic changes in Pacific education' needed to be made (Chu, 2009). By 2001 a group of leading Pacific educators, supported by New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID),⁵ initiated and developed The Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative (RPEI) (Sanga & Taufeulungaki, 2003). By 2004 RPEI added 'Pacific people for Pacific people' and therefore became known as Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative by and for Pacific People (RPEIPP) (Chu, 2009). The primary purpose of RPEIPP is to encourage leadership by Pacific educators for the educational development of their own communities and to examine the effectiveness of educational development in the Pacific. RPEIPP identified a lack of ownership of education by Pacific communities. A lack of clear vision for educational development within these countries was also an issue that needed to be resolved. RPEIPP is a long-term venture and was first managed from Wellington, New Zealand from 2001, and by the University of the South Pacific, Fiji, since 2004 (Sanga & Taufeulungaki, 2003). RPEIPP has a strong advisory group made up of influential educators and leaders in the Pacific. Sanga (2003) states that RPEIPP seeks to address major education issues at a very strategic level. The focus is very much on effectiveness-creating change.

RPEIPP has encouraged the re-thinking of other areas in the education sector, such as curriculum and aid relationships. Curriculum in the Pacific is largely Eurocentric with the focus being "donor/ consultant driven, culturally undemocratic with little consideration of students' (and teachers) socio-cultural contexts, gender and (dis)abilities, and almost nil stakeholder participation in their development" (Thaman, 2009, p. 14).

Thaman (2009) highlights the core values of the curriculum as reflecting the core values of their colonial masters as opposed to the core values of local communities. In order to re-think Pacific curriculum, Thaman (2009) believes two issues must be addressed: "the first is the need to make the curriculum more inclusive of the students and their home cultures, and the second is the need for the curriculum to address important national and global issues

⁵ NZAID provided funding for RPEIPP and trusted the Pacific educators to spend as they saw fit. This was a huge 'leap of faith' for a government aid agency but also ingenuity in post development theory.

– that is, to better reflect Pacific Island Countries’ development needs” (Thaman, 2009, p. 13).

Sanga (2005) highlighted the reasons why aid relations require rethinking. Missing from most development projects under modernisation is indigenous epistemologies: “indigenous Pacific bodies of knowledge, worldviews, understandings and skills have not been part of the discourse or practice of educational aid” (Sanga, 2005, p. 13). Sanga compares two different people working in the education sector in the Pacific. One, a local observer of aid relationships over three decades and the other, a donor consultant from Australia. Interestingly both people conclude that recipients of aid had not improved the quality of life of local communities. It is important to remember when re-thinking aid that Pacific people value relationships and engaging on a personal level. Good strong and solid relationships take time and effort to develop so practitioners need to note that becoming a valued member of the community is pertinent (Sanga, 2005). Chambers (2014) also valued the importance of community involvement. Aid donors must not only be aware of the needs of developing countries but also recognise and value indigenous knowledge and capacities for change (Chambers, 2014).

Education summary

These contrasting perspectives – the first based on neo-classical economic theories and the other on social justice – still agree that education is crucial as a means of development (Gamlen et al, 2017). In order for developing countries to survive and participate in the world economy, formal education is essential. The challenge is to do this while acknowledging the local values and the strengths of indigenous communities, as proposed by post development theorists (Gibson-Graham, 2005). Sanga and Niroa, (2004) reiterate the need to allow local communities to lead their development by stating that “after two decades of ‘listening’ to ‘outside voices’ without seeing overwhelmingly convincing positive results, it appears that the time is here for the cultivation of local agenda, Ni-Vanuatu interpretations, and *man ples* (local) perspectives” (Sanga & Niroa, 2004, p. 14). While there is considerable debate about which approach to education works best for which country, what happens when communities excel in both approaches, is this even possible given the approaches mentioned are contrasting? This will be explored further in this research.

Conclusion

Migration, education and development have experienced many iterations over time with both pessimistic and optimistic viewpoints. These iterations have been influenced by events such as globalisation and modernity that have affected the ways communities in the developing world have experienced 'growth'. These external influences placed the developed world as the stronger partner who dictated the way in which development, migration and education were perceived.

This review of literature highlights that while the developed world is more dominant given its resources and geography, the developing world also has a contribution to make through its own sustainable livelihoods.

The progression of more recent theories of development such as alternative methodologies, migration through asymmetrical growth, and approaching education for social justice, were developed due to weaknesses identified in earlier approaches. However, it should not be assumed that earlier methodologies based on theories of economics no longer have a place in the developing world. The Re-thinking Pacific education work while important, does not actually suit all Pacific people. In fact, these theories of economics still provide some answers for communities, and are not necessarily outdated or irrelevant. I will explore these concepts further in the chapters that follow.

Of key importance for this research is the need to give voice to Sāmoan ways of thinking about, and practicing development, migration and education. We need to challenge dominant developed – world theories and uncover Sāmoan concepts, experiences and aspirations.

Chapter 3: Sāmoa – a ‘nation’

‘E lele le toloa, ae ma’au i le vai.’

Introduction

‘E lele le toloa, ae ma’au i le vai’ is a Sāmoan proverb that refers to the bird *toloa* (grey duck) that takes flight but will always return to its natural habitat, water (Mulitalo-Lauta, 1998; Seiuli & Malaela, 2010). The meaning behind the proverb, when used by orators, references the *āiga* (family), and reassure members that no matter where they go they will always have a home (Tominiko et al., 2016). Singer songwriter Vaniah Toloa (2013) composed a song using this proverb and broadened the definition to include Sāmoa nationally. Wherever Sāmoans travel around the globe, they will never forget Sāmoa. Although Sāmoans are separated by vast distances, the motherland will never be forgotten, as the intelligence, culture and customs of Sāmoans are derived from the heart of Polynesia, the ‘nation’ of Sāmoa (Toloa, 2013). This proverb is fitting to the concept of Sāmoa as a ‘nation’ as it broadens the contribution of Sāmoans migrating beyond its shores for education.

The ‘nation’ of Sāmoa exists far beyond the group of islands in the central Pacific Ocean. The idea of travelling abroad for educational opportunities is about returning to support the family. Due to globalisation and technology, *āiga* members are still able to support their communities from afar but also strengthen the nation of Sāmoa while living overseas. Sāmoans, for example, have established a presence in New Zealand at all levels and within many different sectors and Sāmoa as a ‘nation’ has benefited from this contribution of sons and daughters living outside of the homeland. Due to transnationalism, Sāmoan diaspora residents in New Zealand, Australia and USA are very much connected to their homelands. (Lee, 2009; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009; Macpherson, 1999, 2004). While the country itself has suffered from brain-drain as labour market studies show, but the extent of the brain-drain has varied over time and with conditions in external labour markets. (Bredtmann et al., 2018;

Özden & Phillips, 2015). There are many educated, intelligent and skilled people running the country, and contributing at high levels on the international stage.

This chapter will discuss the idea of Sāmoa as a nation, but first it looks at historical events that have led to its creation to understand the context of education (in its broad sense), and migration from the perspective of Sāmoa.

Fa'a Sāmoa

Before the arrival of colonial powers in Sāmoa, culture and heritage were vibrant amongst Sāmoans. *Fa'a Sāmoa* (the Sāmoan way) is a core component of what makes the people of Sāmoa. *Fa'a Sāmoa* has many intricacies that are deeply woven into the fabric of Sāmoan culture. The principles of *tautua* (service); *fa'aaloalo* (respect); *tapua'i* (support); *galulue fa'atasi* (work together); *alofa* (love); *tauivi* (never give up), are embedded in Sāmoan people (Huffer & So'o, 2003). *Fa'a Sāmoa* is very structured, ordered and hierarchal; roles are not only gendered but also age specific. Mulitalo-Lauta (2000) states that *fa'a Sāmoa* influences individual's values and belief systems and becomes the basis for decision-making on the well-being of the collective.

The *āiga* or family forms the foundation of *fa'a Sāmoa* (Lilomaiva-Doktor, 2004). My mother often told me that the *āiga* for a *pālagi* is essentially their immediate family which consists of father, mother and their children. In contrast for a Sāmoan, *āiga* extends to aunts, uncles and cousins who are often three to four times removed. As aptly put by Meleisea (1987), "[a]n *āiga* can be any family group from a married couple to a large clan comprising all the descendants of a common ancestor either male or female" (Meleisea, 1987, p. 6). Each *āiga* is led by one or more *matai* (chief) since the splitting of titles commenced, a long-standing governance system whereby individuals are chosen by the *āiga* to carry a chiefly title and act as their representative, voice and leader. According to Meleisea (1987), *matai* is derived from '*mata i ai*' which connotes being set apart or consecrated. There are two types of *matai*: *ali'i*, which implies the title was founded by an ancestor who had sacred origins, and a *tulāfale*, those that speak on behalf of the *Alii* (Tcherkezoff, 2000).

Acquiring a *matai* title is not based on genealogical links alone (Tcherkezoff, 2000). Although it is important to be connected to the title either by birth or marriage, the most important

aspect is service to the *āiga* (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2000). Certainly the Sāmoan proverb '*O le ala i le pule o le tautua*' 'the road to leadership is through service' (Ulu Kini, 2000) in its true essence best demonstrates that service is indeed a prerequisite for even being considered for a *matai* title.⁶ In March 2012 the Land and Titles Amendment Act 2012 was passed by parliament. It was believed that *matai* titles were losing their credibility, particularly when they were given to (bestowed upon) youth who did not understand their significance, or to serious criminal offenders which brought shame on the *āiga*. The 2012 Act prohibits anyone under the age of 25 from becoming a *matai* (Sapolu et al, 2012).

The *nu'u* or village is made up of different *āiga*. Each *nu'u* is governed by a *fa'alupega*, village chiefly honorifics (Meleisea, 1995; Huffer & So'o, 2003), which acts as the charter or constitution for the *nu'u*. The *nu'u* (village/polity) is organised by the *fono a le nu'u* (village council) who are made up of *matai* within the *nu'u* who hold different rankings within the *nu'u* hierarchy (Meleisea, 1987). At the *fono* level *matai* possess a substantial amount of power and are expected to understand their rank, village protocols, land issues, religion and social control, and collectively decide on what is best for the village (Lockwood, 1971). The village *fono* manage the affairs such as food production, health and sanitation, social control and relationships with other villages (Sapolu et al 2012). The village *fono* also have the power to strip other *matai* of titles if they have brought shame on the family, deciding on banishments or burning of properties if families are seen to challenge the village structures, as well as acknowledging the positive aspects of the village (Va'a, 2000).

The *nu'u* also has its own hierarchy of *matai* and depending on the *nu'u*, both an *Ali'i* and a *Tulāfale* can hold paramount titles. It is therefore important to note that each title can only be understood in the context of the respective *nu'u*. For example, in my father's paternal village of Toamuā, there are two paramount chiefly titles '*Ulu*' and '*Ale*'. Both titles are interchangeable and can be both *ali'i* and *Tulāfale*. There are other *matai ali'i and Tulāfale* that support the paramount titles, but when the district meets, these other titles have no

⁶ It is important to note that this proverb has been challenged by Samoan academics who from their own experience as Samoans, contend that the road to leadership is no longer through service as chiefly titles have now become commodities and can be and are effectively now 'purchased' (So'o & Fraenkel, 2005). In the context of this research, I have used it the proverb in its true essence.

voice -only *Ulu* and *Ale*. When the different *nu'u* combines an *itumālō* or district is formed. *Fa'a Sāmoa* remains a key feature of the cultural makeup of Sāmoa, and Sāmoans have held on to these core values in order to survive and dominate the external influences proposed by colonisation.

Colonial History

Sāmoa's colonial history was relatively short in comparison to other developing countries. Economically, perhaps the most influential group of foreigners in the mid-1800s were the Germans who dominated the trade and plantation industry. Most foreigners lived under the authority of the *matai* who were the highest authority in Sāmoa. As time progressed, although the foreigners were small in number, they were strong in material wealth and they slowly began to possess land. As they grew in strength, to protect their new wealth, foreigners opposed the control of the *matai* system and demanded a Western-style central government (Meleisea, 2012).

As Germany gained economic dominance it annexed Sāmoa in 1900, motivated by Deutsche Handels and Plantagen Gesellschaft (DHPG), formerly known as Godeffroy and Sohn, who were leaders in trade and plantations, growing coconuts, cacao, and hevea rubber. The first German Governor to Sāmoa, Wilhelm Solf, could see the long-term economic benefits of DHPG for both Sāmoa and the German Administration (Meleisea, 1987). Germany took control of Sāmoa following a period of civil war. Solf's main aim was to maintain German imposed order and peace in Sāmoa and to resolve kinship. Solf selected a paramount chief, Mata'afa Iosefa, the senior of the *tama a āiga* titles. Solf agreed with Mata'afa to keep Sāmoans exempt from being forced to work on DHPG plantations. DHPG brought labour to work on the plantations from New Guinea, western Solomon Islands, Bougainville and China. Mata'afa was also interested in protecting the land from being purchased by Europeans. However significant amounts of land were sold to Europeans, today 81% of the land is customary community-held land because German lands were confiscated, consolidated and returned to Samoan ownership and control at independence. In return Mata'afa would assist Solf to keep Sāmoa as a quiet and calm colony. At first Sāmoans were receptive to Solf's thinking that Germany had established a protectorate that still permitted internal self-

government. Sadly, and contrary to Solf's maiden speech that he would govern in accordance with *fa'a Sāmoa*, Sāmoans soon learnt that this would only occur if it was in accordance with the Governors' plans (Meleisea, 1987).

There were a number of examples of resentment towards the German administration, none more prominent than the formation of the *Mau a Pule* – the firm opinion of sovereignty – in 1905 (Meleisea, 2012). Their motto *Sāmoa mo (for) Sāmoa* – implied that outside influence was not required or welcome. The *Mau a Pule* was led by Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe, a leading orator from Safotulafai in Savai'i who wanted to protect and restore the national *fa'alupega* (village chiefly honorifics). Lauaki planned to present a petition to Solf at Mulinu'u with a large group of supporters outlining the desired reforms of the *Mau a Pule* for the German administration. Unfortunately, Solf travelled the country to turn the people away from Lauaki and eventually Lauaki and his family were exiled to the Marshall Islands (Meleisea, 1987) for their alleged conspiracy against the German Administration. Germany continued to govern Sāmoa until 1914.

At the outbreak of WWI in 1914 New Zealand, under Colonel Robert Logan who became governor, was mandated to invade and take control of Sāmoa for Great Britain (Meti, 2002). Unlike the Germans, New Zealand did not have any significant economic interests in Sāmoa and its motivation was carrying out a request from the British Government, and administrative control was subsequently conferred by the League of Nations in the form of a mandate (Meleisea, 2012). Like Solf, Logan imposed unrealistic rules that clashed with *fa'a Sāmoa*. Logan enforced curfews where Sāmoans were banned from travelling village to village between 10pm and 6am the next day. There were liquor bans for Sāmoans but they were not so stringent for Europeans, and the main method of travel by boat or canoe was also banned (Smith, 1924). Interestingly *matai* were so dissatisfied with Logan and his administration that Hempenstall records a telegram sent by *matai* to Solf requesting his return (Smith, 1924).⁷

⁷ While the German and New Zealand Administrations felt threatened by the Mau movement, there were also internal tensions in Samoan society at the time, due to challenges of leadership. This limited the power of the Mau leadership to unite the movement (Field, 1984).

The non-violent *Mau* movement was again reborn as a direct result of disgruntled *matai* and Sāmoan leaders' attitude towards the New Zealand administration. The main motivation of the *Mau* was self-government (Field, 1984). The measures stipulated by the New Zealand administration were unrealistic and unfair. By the 1920s, with more and more foreigners living in Sāmoa, there was a lot of interracial marriages. The *Mau* movement was therefore not only made up of influential Sāmoan *matai* such as Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, but also wealthy part-Sāmoan businessmen such as Olaf Nelson who was also one of the three elected 'European' members on the Legislative Council and a key figure in the *Mau* movement. Nelson was seen as a huge threat to the New Zealand administration (Meleisea, 1987).

Unlike Lauaki's attempt to unify Sāmoans when the *Mau* movement was first introduced under the German Administration, the rebirth of the *Mau* saw around 90% of Sāmoans (Pedersen, 2012) stand together and actively challenge the New Zealand administration, holding it accountable for its actions. This was helped by propaganda networks paid for by Nelson. The *Mau* had their own newspaper, the *Sāmoan Guardian*, and their own police force. They also began boycotting certain white businesses and government services (Pedersen, 2012). The *Mau* movement also gained support after New Zealand lost respect after the mismanagement of the influenza epidemic in 1918. New Zealand knowingly allowed a ship carrying passengers with the pandemic to dock in Apia Harbour killing 22% of the population (Meleisea, 1987).

George Spafford Richardson, who replaced Tate as Administrator in 1923, did not respond well to the resistance group. He found it difficult to control the growing numbers of *Mau* followers (Pedersen 2012). He would go on to deport key leaders, those he believed to be the backbone to the movement, and the troublemakers to New Zealand. Both Olaf Nelson and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III were among those deported (Field, 1984).

With tensions rising under the New Zealand administration, Pedersen (2012) recorded a petition to the League of Nations lodged on 9 March 1928 by, "7982 Sāmoan taxpayers (out of a total native tax-paying population estimated at 8500 adult men) appealing to the League to either transfer the administration of Western Sāmoa from New Zealand to England or to grant the small territory self-government" (Pedersen, 2012, p. 231).

Inhabitants of any territory governed under a mandated authority could petition to the League of Nations if they felt their rights were being violated: “The current administration was autocratic, costly and unjust, with the Sāmoans ‘treated as a subjugated race’ and all power and positions concentrated in the New Zealand administrator’s hands. Ancient customs were being trampled: the administrator had appropriated the right to appoint hitherto elected members of the Sāmoans’ representative body; he had abolished chiefly titles; he was individualising collectively owned land; he had perverted the rarely used custom of banishment into a tool with which to punish political dissenters. Nor would he listen to their grievances, instead attributing their protests entirely to European instigation. This claim was ‘an insult to your Petitioners’ and to their ‘justifiable and creditable national aspirations’” (Pedersen, 2012, p. 232).

The petition was formal in its language and ornately lettered but unfortunately never made it beyond the British Colonial Office (Pedersen, 2012). New Zealand was arrogant in its management of Sāmoa. For years when New Zealand High Commissioners to London gave reports to the League of Nations regarding their mandating of Sāmoa, the League were led to believe that Sāmoa was a model mandated territory. It wasn’t until 1927 that the first intimation that things were not going well between Sāmoa and New Zealand actually materialised when a former official in the Sāmoan administration made charges against former employers (Pedersen, 2012). The League of Nations was angered that it was not informed by New Zealand of what was really going on in Sāmoa. Richardson left Sāmoa in 1928 losing the support of both Sāmoa and New Zealand, and was replaced by Stephen Shepherd Allen.

By the time Allen arrived in Sāmoa, New Zealand had well and truly lost their credibility. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III returned from deportation in 1929 to take part in his last protest with the *Mau* marking the second event that reinforced the resistance of Sāmoa. Black Saturday, 28 December 1929, saw that *Mau* take a peaceful procession through Apia led by the three paramount chiefs - Tamasese, Tuimaleali’ifano and Faumuina. When the New Zealand police attempted to arrest a *Mau* member a scuffle broke out and the New Zealand police opened fire on the unarmed procession, killing the *Mau* leader Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III. A total of

nine died that day with 50 people wounded (Field, 1984). Following the death of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, a number of ineffective New Zealand administrators were placed in Sāmoa. Some attempted to map out Sāmoa's future with no consultation with the people and this annoyed the *matai* and leaders of the country. The *Mau* started to lose hope for self-government, but were encouraged by Nelson to forge on, Nelson returned to Sāmoa only to be deported again because of the possibility of the *Mau* reappearing.

Pedersen (2012) states that Sāmoa went on to lodge many more petitions to the League of Nations, therefore helping to sustain a Sāmoan national movement. Taking heed of the resistance from the *Mau* movement by the 1950s, and in line with decolonisation pressures worldwide, New Zealand allowed Sāmoans to have more participation in their government. Sir Guy Richardson Powles spent 11 years in Sāmoa and worked together with the Sāmoan and the New Zealand governments to establish Sāmoan autonomy, something the *Mau* had fought for years to achieve (Field, 1984).

Sāmoa became the first country in the Pacific Islands to gain independence on the 1st January 1962. Seven months after becoming independent, New Zealand recognised its special relationship with Sāmoa. The Treaty of Friendship was signed on the 1st August 1962 by the New Zealand High Commissioner, John Bird Wright, who replaced Powles in 1960, and the Sāmoa Prime Minister Fiame Mataafa Faumuina. The Treaty was not to provide protection from a powerful nation over a weak inferior nation but rather it was an agreement recognising the strengths of two South Pacific states uniting Sāmoa and New Zealand as a mutual partner. The Treaty also acted as a way of righting the wrongs of New Zealand's past in Sāmoa.

When Sāmoa became independent its constitution was unique in that it hoped to combine two very different sets of principles, a Western parliamentary democracy with *fa'a Sāmoa* (Huffer & So'o, 2003). The principle of *fa'a Sāmoa* was based on a *matai* (chiefly) system where titleholders represented their *āiga* based on their control of the lands and estates of the families and had its foundation in political economy, and the Western parliamentary democracy was based on a very different set of values such as individual rights, religious freedom and equality under law (Meleisea, 2000).

In 1962 these differences did not pose too many problems as the majority of the people lived in the villages in a semi-subsistence economy (Meleisea, 2000). However, with huge migration that saw about one-third of the population moving overseas during the 1970s and 1980s (Meleisea, 2000), the constitution began to change. Both sets of principles have evolved significantly since 1962.

The Western parliamentary system of the Sāmoan government is based on the Westminster model with a unicameral legislative assembly (Government of Sāmoa, 2012). Sāmoa has a head of state whose function is to assent bills before they become law (So'o, 2012). There are 49 members of whom 47 are *matai* representing the 41 territorial constituencies (six have two representatives each due to the size of the constituency) (So'o, 2009) and the remaining two seats are for individual voters (So'o, 2012).

Another unique arranged marriage between the Western culture and *fa'a Sāmoa* was the formation of the Sāmoa Land and Titles Court alongside the District Court, Supreme Court and Court of Appeal. Sāmoa's Chief Justice, Patu Falefatu Sapolu, again highlights the contradictions between the two different world views stating that the most frequent area of tension in law and justice in Sāmoa is between communal philosophy and individual rights (Sapolu et al, 2012).

To differentiate the two court systems, offences “including the non-payment of debts, illegal weapons ownership, sexual offence, theft, trespassing driving offences and assault were considered offences under both Sāmoan customary law and Western law” (Sapolu et al, 2012, p. 25) and were handled by the Western legal system. “Sāmoan disputes over customary lands and titles were mainly dealt with in the Land and Titles Court by Sāmoan judges, known as *fa'amasino* Sāmoa, to differentiate them from judges of the Supreme and Magistrate Courts” (Sapolu et al, 2012, p. 25). The Lands and Titles Court is necessary because two systems of land tenure co-exist and necessitate two bodies of jurisprudence and two agencies to administer these.

Traditional Sāmoan education

The evolution of Sāmoa's legal and constitutional structures framing *fa'a Sāmoa* and Western principles and practices are to an extent, reflected in its history of educational provision. A form of education, while not referred to as such, existed in Sāmoa before the arrival of Christianity. This type of education still exists in Sāmoan homes today with the intention to provide a solid foundation for young people. In modern terms this type of early education can be referred to as life skills that are taught and learnt within the home and wider community. Ma'ia'i (1957) and Meleisea (1987) believe that these life skills frame the development of Sāmoan culture as we know it today.

Ma'ia'i (1957) identified three stages of education for a Sāmoan in the pre-colonial era. These three stages holistically prepared an individual for adulthood. The first stage deals with a child's formative years and parents assumed the roles of teachers socialising a child and providing them with tools so they understand their position within the *āiga*: "This was expressed in the myths and legends, in proverbial sayings, in the songs and dances, in the reverential restraints and taboos, in parental and social comments on the actions of the children, as well as the minutiae commonly found in a tradition-bound society (Ma'ia'i, 1957. P. 166).

It was in this first stage that Ma'ia'i (1957) believes a child is taught key principles that frame their identity. Sauni (2011) uses these same principles in the *Ula* model. The principle of *fa'aaloalo* (respect) is paramount to a Sāmoan and this governs the way a child learns to sit, walk, stand and speak within the hierarchy of a Sāmoan family. The fundamental principle of *alofa* (love) was also taught so that it ran deep for a child and well into their adult years. *Alofa* encompassed the whole *āiga* and not just the individual. *Va fealoa'i* acknowledges a person's social behaviour and learning, using appropriate behaviour, speech, posture when addressing others and situations. To use appropriate language is necessary for establishing or re-establishing successful relationships within one's family and extended families. In a Sāmoan child's early upbringing, learning the values of respect and obedience towards superiors is very important. The *va* is described by Tuagalu (2008) as the social and spiritual relations

between people and that is how Sāmoans relate with one another and the world at large (Tuagalu, 2008). *Gagana* (language) was also taught in this first stage. Sāmoa has an oral history, so language and culture always go hand in hand. *Feagaiga* (covenant) is a sacred and honourable principle within a Sāmoan *āiga* context. Boys are always taught at a young age to care, protect and provide for women. This protocol is non-negotiable for a Sāmoan (Sauni, 2011). The *feagaiga* requires brothers to protect their sisters rather than all women and requires the male side of the family (*tamatāne*) to protect and show deference to the female side (*tamafafine*). In the first stage, children were also taught myths and legends about Sāmoa, but more specifically about their village context.

The second stage of education for a Sāmoan according to Ma'ia'i (1957) moves away from the nuclear family and into the community. This is where roles between boys and girls became more defined and the principles taught in the first phase were further developed within the community. The boys joined the *aumaga* (untitled men, single men) and developed their skills in fishing, agricultural production, and food preparation. The girls joined the *aualuma* (association of young women) and were taught the art of weaving mats for everyday living as well as ceremonial occasions. The second stage was about progression and utilising what was taught in the *āiga* to improve lifestyle choices.

Ma'ia'i (1957) defines the third stage as having the necessary skills for full participation in the social leadership and economic activities of the community. House building and canoe making were economically viable skills that supported the wider community. Others branched off into oratory skills, not something that was done by everyone, but identified quality leaders within the community. Knowledge of medicine and genealogies were also restricted to a chosen few.

Mission schools

Missionaries were amongst the early European settlers to Sāmoa arriving to convert local people to Christianity. By the 1820's religious cults had started to emerge, introduced through beachcombers, such as the sailors' lotu⁸ or *Sio Vili*, a cult that was started by a Sāmoan who had picked up the message of Jesus Christ on his visits around the world (Meleisea & Schoeffel - Meleisea, 1987). As these early groups lacked theological training and they were not

⁸ "Church" or "devotional time".

considered legitimate by later more recognised religious groups that arrived at Sāmoa from Europe. John Williams from the London Missionary Society (LMS) arrived at Sapapali'i in 1830 with eight Tahitian and Rorotongan teachers (Gilson, 1970). Malietoa Vainu'upō, the *Tafai'ifa* and the highest ranking chief in Sāmoa at that time, welcomed Williams and therefore made it easier for Christianity to be spread throughout the country (Meleisea, 2012).

Education was a major driver for the missions. The LMS was the first to set up schools which were supported by the Congregational church in England (Crocombe, 2001). By 1834 material published in Sāmoan was produced to assist the teaching of reading and writing. In 1836 the first schools were established with the motivation of baptising interested locals (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016). LMS also set up the theological school at Malua by 1842, and the Methodists set up Piula in 1864 to train locals to become church ministers to spread the gospel throughout Sāmoa (Galo, 1966). By the 1850's the church had established a presence in Sāmoa to start moving into village schools. The idea was to educate men in the village to become pastors of the church so that it would free the English missionaries to teach in church schools and colleges. These faith-based schools were the first to introduce education to Sāmoa, teaching basic arithmetic, scripture and church music. Boys were taught vocational skills using Western tools introduced by the missionaries to make life easier for them, and women were taught how to be pastors' wives (Meleisea, 1987). Crocombe (2001) notes that most early teachers in the schools were missionaries providing educational opportunities for local communities, although it is believed that by 1937, 16 Sāmoans were employed through the mission education system to teach literacy and Christian principles (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016). Church-based schools became part of local communities who assisted with maintenance. The school placed specific emphasis on needs, attitudes, technical knowledge and skills, practical training and a strong sense of community support and ownership (Aru, 2004). These schools focussed on rote learning mirroring Western teaching methods and dismissed oral traditions. Education spread wide and fast in Sāmoa and twenty years following the introduction of Christianity to the islands, hymn books, prayer books and the Bible were translated into Sāmoan language along with a Sāmoan dictionary (Kramer, 1994).

The Bible was translated into Sāmoan by 1855 and used as a tool to promote literacy in the local language. Maths was also taught in Sāmoan by this stage (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016). While

the spread of the missions seems relatively fast, Ma'ia'i (1957) acknowledges complications largely due to political and commercial interests of the three powers existing in Sāmoa at the time (Great Britain, USA and Germany).

By the time Germany had taken control of Sāmoa in 1900, and Great Britain and the USA had renounced their interest in Sāmoa, most of the population were literate at least in their mother tongue. The German administration was supportive of the mission schools and promised to not disturb their work allowing the church missions to run the education system in Sāmoa. There was a German school that was opened in 1899 intended for German and half-caste Sāmoan students. The language of instruction was German, although English was available for those on the roll that desired it. Another all-boy's boarding school was opened in Avele under the German Administration at the request of Sāmoan *matai* who wanted older boys to be educated in German to enable them to qualify to work for the Government. While German was the main subject, vocational skills were also taught (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

The mission schools taught a range of subjects for students while the Methodist Church ran an all-boys secondary school, an all-girls secondary school and a vocational school. They also had a training college for teachers. The LMS had a boys' district school, a separate high school for both boys and girls and, of course, their theological college. Both the Methodist and LMS were largely staffed by local Sāmoans. The Roman Catholics established two Marist Brothers schools and the Latter-Day Saints also had schools (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

Education under the New Zealand Administration

Under the New Zealand Administration, it was recognised that while there was real value in the mission involvement in the education system, the respective churches worked in silos and education was therefore disconnected and uncoordinated. There were five separate educational systems when New Zealand entered Sāmoa (Ma'ia'i, 1957). It therefore became policy that the work of the missions would be supplemented by the government to provide a satisfactory national system of education for Sāmoa (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016).

New Zealand had a keen interest in building a national education system in Sāmoa. E.W. Beaglehole, who had knowledge of the German language, was sent to Sāmoa as a

superintendent of schools. While Sāmoa was under German administration, English was the main language of instruction, due to the British missionaries, and locals were therefore more interested in learning English than German. This made Beaglehole's job easier.

There were only a few government schools when New Zealand assumed administration of Sāmoa and these schools adopted the New Zealand curriculum. Beaglehole was astounded at the keenness of local people for education: he was overrun with Sāmoans bringing their children for education and soon faced the problem of accommodation for teachers. It was here that a partnership was established between the government and villages that teachers and school supplies would be supplied by the government and the villages would provide housing and food for the teachers. New Zealand continued education as under the German rule, working side-by-side with the missions for the first three years. New Zealand attempted to design an education policy, but this was challenging with the various missions. However, a national education department was set up and more government schools were established (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

It was clearly evidenced both before and after colonisation, that Sāmoan parents always desired education for their children. Ma'ia'i (1957) found a petition presented to a New Zealand Parliamentary group that visited Sāmoa in 1920 stating: "It is the unanimous decision of the Sāmoan Parliament to erect a college by the Sāmoan Government and school houses in various parts of Sāmoa and to send Sāmoan boys to be educated in New Zealand as school teachers" (Ma'ia'i, 1957, p. 175).

In March 1920 a report was issued by Bird, a New Zealand school inspector, outlining Sāmoa's education system under the national department. Bird met with the various mission schools for consultation and, following a conference, three grades were set up in Sāmoa. The first grade was a village school, to be taught in Sāmoan by Sāmoan church ministers who would also perform religious duties. The first stage was solely under the missions with open visits by government teachers to offer assistance and was for one year. The second stage was sub-district, or second grade schools taught primarily by Sāmoan teachers. English was taught as a language. Like the first grade, mission schools conducted this grade with advice and inspection by government teachers. The second stage received funding from the government

based on numbers of students enrolled in the schools. Both stage one and two were compulsory for all students aged between four or five to nine or ten years. The final grade or district schools were staffed by white teachers with local support. English was the language of instruction and they were under the control of the government. The third-grade schools were entirely secular. Students had to qualify to get into the third grade by sitting a national examination. Boarding schools were set up, but attendance was not compulsory. The New Zealand government wanted to promote a national, secular education system modelled after the New Zealand education system (Coxon, 1996). The Bird Report also provided scholarships for students from district schools to gain further education in New Zealand (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

By 1921 a scholarship regulation was set up providing people with a one-year residence visa to New Zealand for further education. St Stephens College in Auckland hosted the earliest scholarship students from Sāmoa, a group of four boys: "On February 1922, the Director of Education nominated four Sāmoan boys to enter St Stephens in Auckland. The four scholarships were awarded in the following manner; two went to the government schools, one was chosen from the LMS missions and one from the Methodist mission." (Ma'ia'i, 1957, p. 180).

Sāmoa strongly wanted to progress a scholarship scheme and, by March 1923 three scholarships were provided per year and consideration was opened beyond St Stephens to Technical Colleges in New Zealand. Unfortunately, the scholarship programme lapsed for another 20 years (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

A Sāmoa education conference held in 1925 highlighted the importance of adapting education to the local Sāmoa context. This recognised that not all of the country would have the opportunity to leave its shores for further education. Therefore vocational skills were strengthened within the education programme with a focus on agriculture to improve opportunities when students returned to their villages (Galo, 1966). What this provided was options for students. High-level education was reserved for only a few, but locally-relevant education was made available to all (Male, 2011).

By 1943 Sāmoan leaders, with the support of Malietoa and Tamasese, suggested to the secretary of the administration that a tax per *matai* and *taulealea* be levied on the people to

send sons of Sāmoa for educational opportunities in New Zealand. It was unanimously believed by Sāmoan leaders that the only practical way towards *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa* was for young Sāmoans to be educated to qualify for executive position of authority (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

The Secretary of Native Affairs said:

“There is no other way. When a few of the Sāmoans acquire full education and take responsible positions in the management of their Islands, one hopes that reflections of the Sāmoans will at last turn from resentment of the white person's privileges to emulation of successful careers attained by their own fellow Polynesians... It is been proposed that several scholars be sent annually to New Zealand to be trained in various occupations such as medicine, teaching, law, surveying and so on... it is transparently clear that present conditions in Sāmoa call for higher education and vocational training than can be obtained here, if the local community is to fill more of the executive positions than it does at present” (Ma'ia'i, 1957, p. 216).

Education was something that had become important to Sāmoans during this time. So'o et al (2006) discuss how Sāmoans started to rival the higher status Europeans and half caste Sāmoans. It was clear to local Sāmoans, who were culturally hierarchical, that in order to operate at higher levels, education was crucial. Tuia (1999) suggested that parents began to urge their children to do well, which they saw as a means to a better future as well as a blessing to the whole family.

The premise for the scholarship programme was to educate and train students so that on their return they would be in a position to fulfil prominent positions in Sāmoa. The scholarship scheme would also bond students for three or five years once they completed their studies. Salary levels would also change once a student returned with a qualification compared to their locally trained counterparts. The criteria for scholarships were based solely on the grounds of academic achievement as this was a big expense for the New Zealand government. Year level was also considered, for junior applicants (who would be given six years in New Zealand) and senior students (who would be given four years). There was also a category for full Sāmoans and another for Europeans and half caste Sāmoans. Unlike the earlier scholarships to St Stephens, other schools were also considered – New Plymouth Boys' High

School, Diocesan Girls' School, and where boarding school facilities were available. The New Zealand Prime Minister at the time, Rt Hon Peter Fraser, approved the scheme immediately recognising that something should be done for the Sāmoans in the matter of education. In February 1944 an announcement was made that 12 Sāmoan youths would be sent to New Zealand to complete their studies (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

There was a total of 109 students who sat the national scholarship exam in 1944, of the top 14, girls placed 1st, 2nd, 6th and 8th in the exam. Sua Matatumua Petana, one of these female recipients of the first cohort of scholars recalls:

“...big debates took place throughout Sāmoa. Some *matai* said that the chiefs' sons should go because they were going to be the leaders of the independent Sāmoa; others said there must be open competition for the awards. The New Zealand Government decided that scholarships would be awarded on merit and would be open to boys first. There was to be no chiefly interference. My sisters and I sat the scholarship exam, and I don't recall this being very different from our daily school work” (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1998, p. 145).

Petana was one of 14 students in her cohort who left for New Zealand in 1945. New Zealand announced a further 20 scholarships for the following year.

While the scholarship scheme was underway, a commission on Islands Education in 1945 identified that not much had changed in the schools since 1925 (Ma'ia'i, 1957). This was because of the Mau movement, economic depression, as well ill-defined goals for mandated territories, that accepted the New Zealand assurances of progress in Samoa (Meleisea, 1987). However, the Commission identified that education was the tool that would prepare Sāmoans for full participation in their government. Recommendations were made at a national level with both grades two and three now under the government. Following the Commission and the successful placement of up to 40 students on scholarship in New Zealand, it was identified that a local school should be set up to provide quality education with quality teachers. The establishment of the school also recognised the high costs of providing scholarships borne by the New Zealand government. The school would be fully-funded and resourced (staff and learning material) by the government and it would be the pre-eminent school in the country

with a competitive entry process. In 1952 Sāmoa College was officially opened, situated in Apia. Sāmoa College historically saw only the cream of the students from within Apia and the districts admitted. Students sat an entry exam to attend Sāmoa College and it was very competitive. Over 90% of the staff were foreign teachers and the majority of scholarship recipients were students from Sāmoa College.

By the early 60's more than 150 Sāmoan children and young people were brought to New Zealand on scholarships. Initially the scholarships were funded by the New Zealand government and then financed from the profits of the Reparation Estates agreed to by the Sāmoan leaders. The education levels ranged from primary right through to tertiary level. "From the time they leave Sāmoa and whilst in New Zealand, their education and personal welfare are carefully planned and closely supervised by the Officer for Islands Education. Students have returned trained in a variety of occupations" (Ma'ia'i, 1957, p. 293).

Education after Independence

Sāmoa's independence in 1962 reinforced the scholarship programme. The Treaty of Friendship provided a link to New Zealand where scholarship students were first educated.

Sāmoa became dependent on donor aid for education throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Education has always been a top priority for Sāmoa along with health (Afamasaga, 2005). In the 1980s there were 21 government rural junior secondary schools under district management, and about 90 primary schools under village management (Afamasaga, 2005). Four secondary schools and three primary schools also fully funded by the government. There were also six secondary schools operated by churches. In the 1990s the Government of Sāmoa abolished the old system of selective education based on an adaptation of the New Zealand school curriculum, whereby a relatively small number of children with the highest marks were admitted to secondary schools. Now there are district secondary colleges with classes up to Year 13 throughout Sāmoa, also mainly under the control of the village councils in each district. Present day Sāmoa most children attend school for ten years or more in proportions comparable to those in developed countries (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016, p. 46).

The inequality in education between rural and urban areas and the rich and poor became apparent and Sāmoa started to slowly move away from competitive entry to secondary schooling (Coxon, 1996; Male, 2011). This approach of the late 90s and early 2000s gave students in the rural areas, who would have otherwise been overlooked, access to education in town. The schools in town were less crowded and theoretically better resourced (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016).

As part of the decolonisation process following World War II, Pacific Island countries started to entertain the idea of having their own institution of higher learning. Sāmoa was among the first Pacific Island countries to realise this dream following the government's adoption of education for human capital, Cabinet recognised the issue of labour needs for the country and the problems faced by Sāmoan students undertaking tertiary training overseas. In 1984 the National University of Sāmoa was established with 45 students undertaking their university preparatory year. The first degree programme was launched in 1987 and has expanded since to include post graduate studies up to doctorate level in a number of academic disciplines (National University of Sāmoa, 2018).

The Ministry of Education Sports and Culture (MESC) has primary responsibility for education in Sāmoa. There are now 34 senior secondary schools: 25 government, 16 church, and five private schools, for a population of about 190, 0000 people. School fees were abolished by MESC in 2011 (Tuia & Schoeffel, 2016, p. 47).

Aid to education remains high. From 1988 – 2003 New Zealand and Australia continued to provide scholarships to New Zealand and Australian institutions as well as to the campuses in USP Suva, Port Vila and Alafua. New Zealand also helped to design relevant curriculum materials to the Sāmoa context and also support in-service training of teachers. The Government of Sāmoa recognises the importance for maintaining the scholarship programme and there is a large investment by donors on scholarships and training. As a result, the government agencies have a very qualified and capable workforce, and human resources have developed with relevant skills and know-how. The Government of Sāmoa continued with the bond scheme that saw graduates return to serve their country. Currently there are four types of scholarships, undergraduate, post graduate, vocational and mature age. Sāmoa also

set aside scholarships for the university preparatory year and another for everyone else, civil servants, private, people with limited education.

Under its Aid Programme Strategic Plan 2015 -2019, New Zealand currently invests 10% of its aid budget on scholarships to develop local people who will influence positive change in their countries. Education remains a focus for New Zealand and Sāmoa. The Sāmoa Scholarships, Training and Bilateral Division sits within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Its key responsibility is to strengthen relations with relevant donors ensuring that national priorities align as well as developing policies, and of course supporting students and their respective education institutions. The aim of the scholarship programme remains that qualified students return to Sāmoa as inspired, skilled and knowledgeable individuals keen to make a meaningful contribution to developing their nation.

Education to build human capital was definitely a feature of the development of Sāmoa. With the establishment of western government systems by colonial administrations, Sāmoans were keen to learn this western construct. Educating the youth of Sāmoa by sending them to western countries to adopt language and skills from their counterparts was encouraged, but with the motivation of returning to give back to Sāmoa. On the other hand, the idea of education for social justice was not expressed. The focus was to get a western education for economic prosperity of the nation of Sāmoa not of the individuals. Overseas education, as a result, is still sought after by Sāmoans. Gaining a scholarship remains the ultimate goal for many school children with the prosperity of the family and nation as the main focus.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism describes a condition in which, “despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common - however virtual - arena of activity” (Vertovec, 1999, p. 447).

The term ‘transnationalism’ can be used more broadly in relation to global business, finance, governance and so many other aspects of globalisation. However, transnationalism is also a

feature of migration. It describes the connections between migrants and their homelands through remittances or globalised technologies such as the internet that enable them to communicate with friends and family around the world (Lee, 2009). For Pacific Islanders, transnationalism involves the multidirectional movement of people, money, goods of many different kinds, artefacts, ideas and symbols. It involves individuals, families, groups and institutions. (Lee, 2009). Gough (2006) recognises that Sāmoans are adaptable to new circumstances and take what suits them without relinquishing what is of most importance. While the work of the missions remains central to Samoan way of life and national identity, and the impact of globalisation is apparent everywhere in Samoa and has been eagerly embraced, Sāmoans exhibit an extraordinary drive to move on from colonisation, the work of the missions and the impact of globalisation. Gough (2006) sees Sāmoans as a group of new transnational communities that are experiencing migration as a process of empowerment.

The term diaspora is now widely used not only in academic settings, but also within government policy. Diaspora was initially used to reference the historic experience of particular groups, such as Jews and Armenians (Faist, 2010). The concept of diaspora is now extended to include religious minority groups who may not differ in colour to majority population, but still experience life through a different lens than the majority (McLoughlin, 2005).

The Sāmoan diaspora in New Zealand remains the largest of the New Zealand Pacific people. Faist (2010) identified three characteristics that define diaspora. The first refers to the causes of migration or dispersal. The former reference of forced dispersal is based on the experience of Jews and Palestinians. However newer notions refer to any kind of dispersal, such as trade, or labour. The second characteristic links cross-border experiences of homeland and destination. Older notions clearly imply a return to an (imagined) homeland. The line between returning home for good and working in both worlds is less distinct now with technology and ease of travel (Faist, 2010). The last characteristic concerns diaspora holding close to their roots and not assimilating with the country they have settled (Faist, 2010).

During the colonial era, New Zealand's role in the Pacific assisted to shape its history of migration (Bedford, 1986). The Cook Islands and Niue were given citizenship status following

WWI and Tokelau has been administered by New Zealand since 1926. The Cook Islands and Niue are self-governing states in free association with New Zealand in 1965 and 1974 respectively which represented major constitutional changes but preserved citizenship. There continues to be close ties to New Zealand with the populations on the islands dwindling as more Tokelauans, Cook Islanders and Niueans use their citizenship status to migrate. (Lee, 2009).

Pacific people have a long history of migration and settlement in New Zealand due to proximity and it has been a popular location for furthering economic opportunities, education and providing labour the New Zealand. In the 1950s, the industrial and agricultural sectors were picking up momentum and the New Zealand government began recruiting labour from the Pacific to work in these sectors. Most of the labour came from Fiji, Tonga and Sāmoa (Lee, 2009).

Sāmoa and gender

The contribution of women to the development of Sāmoa as a nation is significant. The Sāmoan proverb *“e au le ina’ilau a tama’ita’i”* (The legacy of women is one of total achievement) (Paaga Neri, 2005) has varying origins. The first is from Tai’i Tulei, Orator of Falelupo. The proverb is set in Falealupo, Savai’i, when a house called ‘Afolau’ was built in a competition between Sina from Falealupo and Leleisi’uao from Palauli. Leleisi’uao came with courting party to ask for Sina’s hand in marriage. Sina agreed but issued a challenge to Leleisi’uao that they would build a house starting from opposite ends of the building. If Leleisi’uao were to finish first, he would have her hand in marriage. However, if Sina finished first, Leleisi’uao would return to Palauli unmarried. Sina of course finished her side of the house first, but unfortunately Leleisi’uao did not complete his side and the proverb *‘Ua au le ina’ilau a tama’ita’i, ae le au le ina’ilau a ali’i’* was born (the thatch of women is complete, but the thatch of men is not).

The second origin of this proverb is taken from Tu’u’u (2001) and is also set in Falealupo. Nafanua (Sāmoa’s legendary warrior goddess) ordered the men of the village to complete the building of her house. The women believed that they could complete the building faster, so the challenge was issued by Nafanua between men and women. As a result the women

completed their section of the house first which resulted in the popular proverb above (Tu'u'u, 2001).

Whatever the version, the ultimate meaning of the proverb is that women in Sāmoa achieve, and will continue to achieve, anything that they set their minds to. Their achievement is one of great success. Acknowledgement of the role of women in the development of Sāmoa, is crucial as the contribution of women to Sāmoa's development often goes unnoticed.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was adopted by the UN member states on 25 September 2015. The SDGs provides all nations with a global framework for advancing sustainable development through its 17 goals over the next 15 years (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016).⁹ The SDGs replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a series of eight time-bound development goals that were agreed upon by United Nations General Assembly that were operational from 2000 - 2015. Under the MDG's gender equality and women's empowerment was the third goal with three indicators to monitor progress: closing the gender gap in education at all levels; increasing women's share of wage employment in the non-agricultural sector; and increasing the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (Kabeer, 2005). SDG 5 (achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls) acknowledges that gender inequality persists worldwide, depriving women and girls of their basic rights and opportunities. Achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls will require more vigorous efforts, including legal frameworks, to counter deeply rooted gender-based discrimination that often results from patriarchal attitudes and related social norms.¹⁰

To trace how Sāmoa fared against the MDG's, the National MDG taskforce chaired by the Ministry of Finance were charged with completing two MDG reports; the first in 2004 that "assisted to generate and enhance awareness among all development stakeholders of the importance of reaching these goal" (Government of Sāmoa, 2010, p. 13), and the second in 2010 that "contextualizes the MDGs to reflect Sāmoan realities and provides a more diagnostic approach to the country situation including the identification of major challenges in the pursuit of the MDGs" (Government of Sāmoa, 2010, p. 13).

⁹ http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E

¹⁰ <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg5>

While females are slightly outnumbered by men in Sāmoa, when it comes to eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education, females outnumber their male counterparts in primary, secondary and tertiary education. There are more females enrolled in primary and secondary education and the statistics widen at tertiary level with females accounting for 61% enrolled at tertiary level compared to 39% for males. Unlike countries in sub-Saharan Africa, where males enrolled in education outnumber females, (Bloom et al., 2015) the Sāmoan experience is the opposite (Government of Sāmoa, 2010).

A report written by Meleisea et al (2015) on gaining a better understanding of the barriers to women's political participation in Sāmoa, highlights the participation of girls in Sāmoa's education system:

“Families evidently considered investment in girl's education to be as useful as investing in the education of boys, and in this respect Sāmoan custom worked in favour of girls. Farming and fishing is considered men's work and most routine household chores such as collecting food from the family plantation, feeding livestock, making a ground oven and cutting grass are done by boys, while girls are expected to keep out of the sun and do indoor tasks. Sending girls to school did not make a hole in the household labour supply and most primary schools were close to villages so there were few obstacles to educating girls. Educational opportunity has enabled women to succeed in increasing numbers in the modern sectors of the economy: in the public service, in business and in the professions.” (Meleisea et al., 2015, p. 28).

In employment the same occurs. Women in paid employment make up close to 55% of the workforce in Sāmoa with salary levels increasing over the years (Government of Sāmoa, 2010). In the Ministry of Finance in the year 2014 – 2015 women made up 52% of the ministry, 28 women (compared to 16 men) held senior officer positions and 19 women (compared with 13 men) served in middle management positions. Of the 15 senior executives, nine were women.

While women have excelled in education and employment, this has not translated to female representation in parliament. Since independence in 1962 a total of 17 women have been elected to parliament, of whom three had their victories overturned by electoral petitions so

that only 14 women have actually taken their seat, and most just for a single term (Meleisea et al., 2015). Sāmoa is one of the lowest-ranked countries in the world, (128 out of 140 countries), in terms of women's representation in parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015). There continues to be low representation of women in parliament in Sāmoa but to combat this the Government of Sāmoa passed a Bill in 2013 to reserve five seats or 10% of the 49 parliamentary seats for women electoral candidates (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2015).

Experts in the field of violence against women in Sāmoa recognise that domestic violence is on the rise in Sāmoa. While Sāmoa has signed up to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women as well as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Government of Sāmoa, 2010), in 2017 a United Nations Working Group visited Sāmoa to take part in a national inquiry on violence against women. In the past UN Officials have voiced concern that violence against women appeared to be socially legitimised and accompanied by a culture of silence and impunity. This mission was motivated by the figures of cases brought before courts of domestic violence in Sāmoa that rose to 723 in 2015 from 200 in 2012 (Reader, 2017).

Women's contribution to the development of Sāmoa will continue to be significant. This is reflected in the number of women that succeed in education and the senior roles they hold within the Government of Sāmoa (Government of Sāmoa, 2010). While they are under-represented in parliament, this should not necessarily be seen as a negative. I agree that more women need to take up positions of parliamentarians, but in the context of Sāmoa, women are still able to influence policy in many other ways. The role of women in Sāmoa is important and without their contribution Sāmoa would not be where it is today. This has helped with the notion of Sāmoa as a nation.

The 'Nation' of Sāmoa

In setting out on the *folauga* (journey) for this research, it became apparent when asking about the impact of migration for education on the development of 'Sāmoa', that I could no longer confine Sāmoa to a group of islands in the South Pacific. In fact it has become clear, after discussing the history of Sāmoa and the journey of Sāmoa's education, that Sāmoa as

a people were never supposed to be contained in a box, but instead encouraged to live beyond their natural borders. It is therefore important for this research to discuss the idea of Sāmoa as a 'nation' in order to understand the impact migration for education has made.

Sāmoa has continued to grow and develop, nowhere more notably than in New Zealand. Sāmoans are now not only represented in the sporting arena, but also in politics, government and the movie industry (Taule'ale'ausumai, 1990). The current New Zealand government has two Sāmoan Ministers, with one in Cabinet. A Sāmoan is the CEO for the Ministry of Pacific People, and the Assistant Vice Chancellor (Pasifika) at Victoria University of Wellington is also a Sāmoan, incidentally in 2018, the first Pacific woman to be granted the title of 'dame' in New Zealand. While these personalities live and reside in New Zealand and they work in a New Zealand context, they still represent a Sāmoan constituency and, in some way, shape, or form, support the mother land of Sāmoa and Sāmoan people everywhere. While they do not live in Sāmoa, here in New Zealand they are often labelled as 'New Zealand-raised' or 'New Zealand-born Sāmoans'. Other references include 'of Sāmoan descent'. The word 'Sāmoa' is not dropped from their ethnicity whether they are first, second or third generation New Zealanders. My argument therefore is Sāmoa is still recognised in the achievements of Sāmoans outside of Sāmoa and the profile of the country continues to grow as a result.

It is important however to define 'Sāmoa' in the context of this argument as suggested previously. Sāmoa has two constructions of place and, of people: the first is Sāmoa as a land-mass and geo-political-legal jurisdiction that is centred on the land and sea in the mid Pacific Ocean. This is vital in acknowledging roots and a place of identity. The second construct recognises, due to globalisation and migration facilitated by technology, Sāmoan people are no longer confined to the geographical location of Sāmoa.

The history of Sāmoa discussed earlier, showcases leaders who challenged the status quo. Leaders stood up to colonial powers regardless of their wealth and experience and they pushed for their children to be educated in order to take over from the foreigners. This was evident as early as 1920 when Sāmoan chiefs petitioned to the New Zealand administration to send their sons to New Zealand on scholarship.

I was moved by Hau'ofa (1993) who was confronted by the belittling view by social scientists for the welfare of Pacific peoples. "According to this view, the small island states and territories of the Pacific, that is, all of Polynesia and Micronesia, are much too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth for their inhabitants ever to be able to rise above their present condition of dependence on the largesse of wealthy nations" (Hau'ofa, 1993, p. 4)

Hau'ofa (1993) challenged these views and believed they were based on economic and geographical points of view. Hau'ofa believed when looking at the myths, legends and oral traditions it was clear that Pacific people operated within an ocean 'as far as they could traverse and exploit':

"Their world was anything but tiny. One legendary Oceanic athlete was so powerful that during a competition he threw his javelin with such force that it pierced the horizon and disappeared until that night, when it was seen streaking across the skyline like a meteor. Every now and then it reappears to remind people of the mighty deed. And as far as I'm concerned it is still out there, near Jupiter or somewhere. That was the first rocket ever sent into space. Islanders today still relish exaggerating things out of all proportions. Smallness is a state of mind" (Hau'ofa, 1993, p. 7).

Hau'ofa (1993) encourages us to recognise the gulf of difference between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and as 'a sea of islands'. Admittedly the first acknowledges the small land mass and remoteness of the islands, the latter appreciates the vast sea that makes the Pacific. Hau'ofa goes on to calling people of the Pacific 'ocean peoples' fitting with the sea of islands concept. When former President of Kiribati, Hon Anote Tong, addressed the 69th United Nations General Assembly in New York in 2014 regarding the impact of climate change on the sinking islands of Kiribati, he was not focussed on the negatives the country is experiencing but rather on the abundant resource they have at their fingertips: "The Ocean plays a pivotal role in the sustainable development of my country. Our vision for achieving sustainable development hinges on the blue economy, on the conservation and sustainable management of our marine and ocean resources. While we in Kiribati have been labelled a

Small Island Developing State, we are in fact a ‘Large Ocean State’ spanning an ocean area of 3.5 million square kilometres.”¹¹

Hau’ofa gives permission for Pacific nations not to be intimidated by the size of their islands, but to be outward looking. We are part of the large unconstrained Oceania and our histories are significant in reinforcing this concept of largeness. Thus, Sāmoa is not confined to some islands in the Pacific but globally it comprises a ‘nation’, communities in many parts of the world linked by identity, relationships and frequent contact.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a context for this research. Historically a form of education already existed in Sāmoa and this was augmented with the adoption of western education during the colonial period under both the German and New Zealand Administrations. Sāmoan chiefs were welcoming of this new initiative. This was not because they were interested in ongoing foreign rule, but they wanted their children to rise up and assume positions with the newly western formed governments and gain self-rule. Migration abroad for education was therefore a means to an end that would lead to the development of Sāmoa. But with migration abroad and introductions to other streams of wealth, Sāmoans settled abroad. Through transnationalism, Sāmoan diaspora are still able to contribute back to Sāmoa as they remained connected through technology and globalisation.

The opening proverb therefore is reinforced ‘*E lele le toloa, ae ma’au i le vai*’. The *toloa* (grey duck) was populous in all parts of Sāmoa, but due to changes in the geography of the wetlands following cyclone Val and Ofa, the *toloa* is now only found in American Sāmoa as part of a conservation project (Tarburton, 2001). However, the *toloa* or its scientific name - *anas superciliosa* is also found in Europe, South America and New Zealand (Gillespie, 1985; Rhymer et al., 1994; Sheppard, 2017) and as long as there is water, the *toloa* continues to survive. The ‘water’ is the connecting factor for all *toloa*, no matter where in the world it is, the *toloa* will be comfortable if there is water. For immigrant Sāmoans, the nation of Sāmoa is this connecting factor, regardless of where they live the Sāmoa brand is strengthened and Sāmoa as a nation continues to develop.

¹¹ http://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/gadebate/pdf/KI_en.pdf

Chapter 4: Methodology

O le aso ma le filiga, o le aso fo'i ma le mata'igatila

Introduction

The Sāmoan proverb '*o le aso ma le filiga, o le aso fo'i ma le mata'igatila* (a day to weave the sinnet, a day to observe and examine the rigging), is a weaving metaphor that is often used by orators to explain that each day brings its own views of what is on the horizon and each day brings its own choices. It is ultimately up to the individual how they deal with those views and, choices. The methodology for this research required me as a researcher to adopt a flexible attitude and, to be open to change. Rather than being set in concrete western methodological practices, it was important to be open to new learnings and perspectives to arrive at a desired approach, respectful to the research participants but also being true to the outcomes of this research.

This chapter focuses on the process of methodological inquiry that is used as a guide for this research. Understanding epistemologies and ontology provides the reader with some context as to how the results of the research were arrived at (Meretoja, 2014). Epistemologies and ontology provide an alternative for researchers when there is not a natural fit with western academic practice (Garner et al., 2016). This flows on to worldviews and positionality that delves deeper on a personal level into the appreciation of who we are (Hansen, 2010; Henry & Pene, 2001). This research is qualitative in method and explains how the rich stories from my participants came about.

When embarking on the journey of this PhD, I was challenged in that I did not fit physically, intellectually, culturally and methodologically in a western academic setting. My thought process and topic, as a result, also were not a logical match. I was fortunate that I had support within the university to explore a methodology that worked for me, and more importantly the research participants.

Framing this research was an important first step to ensure that I was true to myself and my participants. O’Leary reminded me that “[m]any students ...haphazardly [select] one method that may or may not be appropriate to their project ... [or] conducting their analysis without any well-defined methodological protocols” (O’Leary, 2004, p. 257). I recognised from the start that a research methodology acknowledging genealogies/ *whakapapa*/ *āiga* was crucial for the topic (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2015). Given the importance of kinship relationships and descent, research on attitudes, experiences and decisions of Pacific Island people, what must be recognised is these are not constructed simply by individuals in isolation, but by families and kinship networks, which consider communal welfare and identity as critical (Vaiolleti, 2016). Therefore, this research uses the *āiga* as a frame of reference to trace issues such as how and why people have moved, how decisions have been made regarding the education of children, and how individuals have contributed to the welfare of the wider kinship network.

Indigenous Epistemology and Ontology

Globally there are numerous initiatives, doctrines and policies that acknowledge indigenous epistemologies (Batibasaga et al., 1999; Gegeo, 1998; Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002; Kovach, 2015; Roy & Campbell, 2015). Epistemologies, as defined by Gegeo (2014), are a cultural group’s way of thinking and of creating and reformulating knowledge using traditional discourses and media of communication, while anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 2014). More fundamentally, Mathez-Stiefel et al (2007) state that human actions are an expression of “culturally constructed nature-society relationships that result from a set of symbolic representations, value systems, tacit and explicit forms of knowledge and practice” (Mathez-Stiefe et al., 2007, p. 70). This can be referred to as ontology, a branch of philosophy that explains what exists or the state of ‘being’ (Uphoff, 2005).

Ontology is concerned with the process through which knowledge is constructed and validated, and the role of that process in shaping thinking and behaviour (Uphoff, 2005). Gegeo (1998) states that all epistemological systems are socially constructed and informed through socio-political, economic, and historical context and processes. There are parallels to the notion of *standpoint epistemology* as developed by feminists (Campbell, 2015; Kurki,

2015), which recognises that knowledge claims are always socially situated rather than universalistic. Gegeo (1998) elaborates further by saying that knowledge is situational and fashioned within a certain context and people. Therefore, knowledge is not shared commonly but based on a certain situation (Gegeo, 1998).

Dr Konai Helu Thaman (2003) presented a paper at the 2003 'Decolonizing Pacific Studies' Conference hosted by the University of Hawai'i. In her presentation she addressed how the subject - Pacific Studies - has been strongly influenced by Western, scientific and liberal thinking. The subject after all sits in a Western academic structure of a university. What she suggested in her presentation was that although Pacific Studies is being taught in a Western setting, there is nothing wrong with teaching it with a Pacific flavour. What was notable about Thaman's presentation was her art of combining academia with anecdotal material, synonymous with the oral cultures of the Pacific that brings to life her topic in a way that reflects the Pacific (Thaman, 2003).

This approach sits well with my topic and the way in which I carried out this research in a paradigm specific to a Sāmoan setting. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) urges researchers in 'Decolonizing Methodologies' to use culturally appropriate practices, and also for the conscious development of indigenous peoples as researchers. Tuhiwai - Smith (1999) strongly opposes researchers and intellectuals that extract and claim ownership of indigenous ways of knowing and imagery, then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and nations (Smith, 1999). Indigenous epistemology assists practitioners to fundamentally align the understanding of strategies for development (Smith, 2015).

For many years the books produced in the Pacific were written by Western researchers who wrote from very Eurocentric perspectives that silenced, misrepresented and belittled the perspectives of the very people they studied (Gegeo, 1998; Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002; Hau'ofa, 1993; Tamasese et al., 2005). On the other hand there is also a lot of scholarship by 'Europeans' such as the work of Ron Crocombe (Crocombe, 1971; 1976; 2001); Randy Thaman (Thaman, 1982, 1993, 2005); Cluny Macpherson (Macpherson, 1992, 1999, 2004; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2000); Sandra Tarte (Tarte, 2010, 2014); and Patrick Nunn

(Nunn, 1994; 2007); scholars who have genuinely made and make an effort to acknowledge the ontology of people of the Pacific.

Epistemologies overlap with social constructivism in the field of education first developed by Vygotsky (1967). He argued for a move away from individualistic models of development but encouraged a supportive, inclusive learning environment through an emphasis on social activity (Vygotsky, 1967), including instruction in learning and the learners contributions to their own development (Rogoff, 1990). The classroom is shifted to the concept of a community. If the classroom is seen more as part of the community, the environment and people in that community feed into the curriculum and students understand through context.

Worldviews

O’Leary (2004) states that we make sense of the world through the rules we are given to interpret it. But because we are immersed in these rules and surrounded by them, they can be very hard to see (O’Leary, 2004). Understanding worldviews helps researchers to avoid the trap of judging other’s reality in relation to their own (O’Leary, 2004). How do we get to understand these? What are the tools? What would be the worldview of Sāmoans regarding research, especially academic research; knowledge, especially academic knowledge; or culture, in the traditional, modern, or any other sense, etc.?

The construction of Sāmoan knowledge or knowledges is situational and contingent on history and circumstance. It is also personal and structural. Each of these viewpoints act to create a contested ground for trying to understand/make sense of Sāmoan research and knowledge (or any research paradigm or knowledge) in any unified way. This introduces the need for analytical/intellectual tools such as epistemology to recognise Pacific/Sāmoan ways of knowing and forms of knowledge. These are strongly socially and culturally constructed and are conveyed through oral forms and protocols, underpinned by *fa’a Sāmoa*.

As a development practitioner, I am constantly reminded to never operate in a deficit model. Words such as sustainability, capacity building and skills exchange imply that the donor is in the position of power when in fact in local settings, recipient countries already have a wealth of experience and knowledge. As outlined by Gegeo and Watson Gegeo: “Around the world

today indigenous ethnic groups are asserting the validity of their own ways of knowing and being, in resistance to the intensifying hegemony of mainstream epistemology from the metropolitan powers” (Gegeo & Watson Gegeo, 2001, p.55). Research methodologies are forever evolving (Tamasese et al, 2005; Smith, 1999) and Pacific people in New Zealand have become part of the professional, educated, middle-class as well as leaders within politics, education, sports, church, university, law, medicine and the arts (Taule’ale’ausumai, 1990).

Methodology: Qualitative Research

This research sits in a qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research has progressed over time and can be challenging on many levels (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Lather, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 1992; Merriam, 1998; Schwandt, 1997). Traditional academic research was dominated by scientific methods (Lichtman, 2012) but researchers such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that research be carried out in natural settings rather than in laboratories (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). O’Leary (2017) cites Einstein’s famous quote ‘Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted’ and reminds us that this indeed is a powerful endorsement for working with qualitative data (O’Leary, 2017). I have taken a common characteristic about qualitative research from Tuafuti (2011) to cement my reasons for choosing this research paradigm, ‘Naturalistic inquiry’: “behaviour and the sharing of real-life experiences are best understood when they occur in natural settings, as the interpretation and meanings of shared experiences rely heavily on contexts” (Tuafuti, 2011, p. 35).

Qualitative research is described by Lichtman, (2012) as ‘fluid and ever-changing’. Maxwell (2012) discusses the process of design using his interactive approach and says that sequential models of design are not a good fit for qualitative research because they attempt to establish in advance the essential steps or features of the study (Maxwell, 2012). Any component of the design of qualitative research needs to be reconsidered or modified during the study in response to new developments or changes in some other component (Maxwell, 2012).

Therefore, the process used for qualitative research cannot just be developed (or borrowed) through a logical strategy in advance and then implemented faithfully. Maxwell (2012) encourages researchers to construct and reconstruct a research design. We as researchers

need to adopt a 'do-it-yourself' rather than a 'cookie cutter' process, one that involves 'tacking' back and forth between the different components of the design and assessing their implications for one another. Maxwell (2012) goes on to say that qualitative research is not linear with a defined starting point, that has a sequence of steps, but rather requires collaboration amongst all design components (Maxwell, 2012).

Qualitative inquiry raises questions around procedures for establishing the credibility of research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998). Qualitative researchers routinely employ member checking, triangulation, thick description, peer reviews, and external audit (Creswell & Miller, 2000). This research employs a multiple case study approach and is triangulated through interviews, observations and document analysis. This is reinforced by Patton (2002) who identifies that qualitative findings grow out of three kinds of data collection: in-depth and open-ended interviews; direct observation; and written documents (Patton, 2002).

Method - *Talanoa*

My interviews were conducted using the *talanoa* method (Coxhead et al., 2017; Stewart-Withers et al., 2017; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014); and my own observations I made as a researcher. Otsuka (2011), Vaioleti (2016), recommend *talanoa* as a research approach practical in Pacific culture. The characteristics of the *talanoa* approach include no time-limits, being guided by the participants, internal control by participants, and cultural obligation, (Robinson & Robinson, 2005). These characteristics provide advantages and make it suitable for this research (Prescott, 2008).

I blended the established Western method of interviewing with *talanoa* (Otsuka, 2005). *Talanoa* is described by Otsuka (2005) as to talk, to tell stories, or to relate experience. Gegeo (1998) says that *talanoa* could mean different things to different societies. There are therefore no hard and fast rules established regarding how *talanoa* is conducted as a research method. Vaioleti (2006) summarises *talanoa* as speaking broadly in both a formal and informal manner but without a rigid framework. This does not suggest that the content of the conversation is not important. In fact, I found that when *talanoa* is not rigid, participants are more willing to share anecdotal information that could add to my research. This is where

Vaioleti (2006) suggests that *talanoa* offers discussions that are multi-layered and critical to the research.

Relationships are important in *talanoa*. Otsuka (2006) encourages researchers to have good interpersonal relationships with the researched. Otsuka (2006) proposes to researchers that using *talanoa* helps research move away from a surface academic interview process but encourages the interviewer to engage emotionally with the interviewee.

All the interviews were bilingual (Sāmoan and English) and once the participants settled into the conversation, thoughts and ideas flowed naturally. Because the topic was about their life and motivation for migrating for education, stories were natural and genuine. Some participants started the interviews feeling as if they had nothing worthwhile to share, but as the questions came, they surprised themselves with how much they had achieved in their lives.

Sāmoans are generally a very proud people not only in the way they carry themselves, but in their speech, dress, faith, and ordering of their homes. It is important to temper this pride with humility, and the act of getting the balance right can be tricky. On the one hand we are encouraged to be proud of our family roots, culture and language but at the same time, we are also told not to be boastful - to be quiet and act with humility. When one sways more to being prideful, this can be perceived by Sāmoans as showing off. If one sways more to being humble, it can be seen as lacking a backbone. Whilst the two opposing viewpoints are contradictory, the balance can be achieved. The ideal is to be humble enough to not be walked all over, but strong enough to carry forward viewpoints in a non-threatening manner.

As a hierarchical nation, there is terminology for rank and order that gives respect to others, however it would be seen as inappropriate to use the same respectful terminology towards yourself. For example, the word for name is *igoa* but when referring to someone else, a more respectful term is *suafa*. But you would never use *suafa* in reference to yourself as *igoa* would be a more apt word. *Talanoa* challenges the humility that I believe at times can be seen as a result of the 'tall poppy syndrome'. I wanted the participants to acknowledge their journey

was not easy but a major achievement regardless of whether they were in a senior management position or they were running an NGO within the community.

For Sāmoans, gatherings are centred on food. I wanted my participants to feel relaxed, so they could share their stories in a trusted environment. I conducted most of my interviews over dinner at the interviewees' homes. The interviews were low key as I wanted to create a comfortable atmosphere for people to relax. If I was unknown to the interviewee, I was asked about my parents and their villages. Before long, both parties were able to establish lineage and connections. As I knew most of my participants, we mixed the interviews with general catch-ups. For those that I did not know so well I was keen to establish a relationship quite quickly. A huge part of the interviews involved getting to know each other's background. I did not want to 'use' the participant for my benefit, but I wanted them to know that I valued their time and stories and, as a result, I did not place a time limit on the interviews.

Setting the criteria to identify the participants was a very fluid process. Initially I had intended on focussing only on women, largely because I knew from my work experience in the Pacific that women are central to the success of developing countries. However, this shifted when by chance I was discussing my thesis with a close friend and we started to talk about her husband (who I knew well), his story of migration for education and the work he was doing in Sāmoa. It seemed that the research would miss out on other rich stories because of my decision to focus only on women. So, the criteria for the participants was they must have migrated outside of Sāmoa for educational opportunities and be currently working and contributing to Sāmoa in some way. Because I have defined Sāmoa as wider than its geographical location, the participants did not necessarily need to be living in Sāmoa. I knew that my criteria provided me with a variety of options both in Sāmoa and in New Zealand. I have been working in and out of Sāmoa for the past 15 years and have wide networks to draw from.

For a credible research I wanted a mixture of participants who were born into opportunities not necessarily based on their financial wealth but on hierarchical positions - to participants who grew up with nothing and journeyed away from Sāmoa for better opportunities. The feedback from a cross section of participants provided a number of themes and

commonalities that helped with the research aim. I carried out 18 interviews, 11 with women and seven with men. All but four of the interviews were conducted in Sāmoa, two were in New Zealand, one in Australia and one was in Fiji. The calibre of the participants was impressive. They all held qualifications from established universities. Their command of the English and Sāmoan languages was of a high standard so the concepts shared were easy for them to follow. This is evidenced in their quotes throughout this thesis.

Clark (2010) asked: why do people engage with qualitative research? This provided some interesting challenges to consider in relation to understanding why my participants would want to be involved in this research. I was fortunate to gain the interest of the participants because it was an opportunity for everyday Sāmoans to tell their story. Pacific writers Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop (1998) and Sandra Kailahi (2007) both wrote books showcasing notable Pacific women (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1998; Kailahi, 2007). The women in these books have made a huge contribution to the development of Pacific people. My participants could have been showcased in books like this, but they do not consider their stories worthy of publication. What I was able to do was engage the participants to promote a positive effective interest (Clark, 2010). Clark (2010) highlights that because the research sample was part of other groups and networks they were more likely to be connected to the project. I found that as I spoke to my participants they would mention other people that I should interview or asked if I had considered speaking to certain people. As a result, I had a high level of engagement throughout the interview process and participants were very generous with their time. In some cases, I was fortunate to have more than one meeting and participants were more than willing to share their experiences.

Interview process

The research participants were not all asked the same questions. Being true to *talanoa* I allowed them to direct the flow of the conversations and they therefore spoke about what was important to them. For some participants a chronological journey of their lives was therefore not captured. Readers will note from the extracts in later chapters that some research participant's stories stopped at their formative education while others carry through to their working career. This is the nature of qualitative analysis as comparisons between each participant was not as clear as a quantitative interview process.

I took written notes throughout the interview and then transcribed these notes. A jointly composed narrative was developed from the interview notes through a process of negotiation and the final was a combination of direct quotes from the research participants and my reflections. Once the negotiated texts were ready, they were sent back to the respective participants via email for editing. I used the agreed edited version as the final for the analyses of results. I decided at this point of my proposal that I would only record the interviews by notetaking. This was a difficult decision to make as while I write fast, I do not know shorthand and it would be easy to miss certain points. However, this was a deliberate move as I have found over the years in both my work and post graduate studies that audio recording of interviews can sometimes block the flow of a conversation. The nature of the questioning for this topic took participants back to childhood memories. Some discussed these in a positive light while others had very difficult and challenging pasts that motivated their decisions to succeed in the future. When sensitive topics were discussed I would stop notetaking and listen to the participants. There were times where tears would flow, and I recall one participant saying to me "I'm glad this isn't being recorded". Recording also seemed to go against the indigenous epistemological and ontological approach that I had adopted. There were not any recording devices in our oral history so not using this method was consistent with my approach.

There were some challenges with not recording. I found that the process took a lot longer than if I had recorded. There was a lot of to-ing and fro-ing with the participants to agree on the final transcript. Some were embarrassed by my reflections as they felt I was too generous with my comments. I had to tell them that this was how I interpreted their interview and their stories were inspiring. Another area I had not considered was the length of time for each of the interviews. On average each interview lasted between four to six hours in length. It meant that I had to be alert for the full time of the interview as I was taking notes. Sometimes I was so exhausted I just could not write anymore so I missed key quotes, and this had to be rectified with the participants.

The timing for the interviews invariably took place outside of work time, so often interviews started in the evenings. One interview lasted until 4am and both the participants and I wrote

off the following day. I should have transcribed the interviews soon after they finished, but there were times where this was not physically possible so the time lapse in transcribing meant that understanding my notes proved challenging. All this was rectified via email and each participant was able to edit their drafts.

The stories that came out of that interview were rich and motivational. I was constantly reminded that qualitative research means continually assessing whether the design is actually working during the research and how it influences and is influenced by my research participants (Taylor et al., 2015). It is important to make adjustments and changes to reach the desired outcome of the research. Qualitative research is an interconnected and flexible process (Maxwell, 2012).

The interviews took place in New Zealand, Australia, Sāmoa and Fiji over a period of two years. Because of the nature of my topic, I was never short of willing people to interview with so many local people who had migrated for education and who had made a significant impact on the development of Sāmoa as a nation.

When conducting interviews that require research participants to recall facts from their past, the issue of authenticity is important (Bodnar, 1989). Throughout this research it was clear that some memories were limited, and an accurate reconstruction of the past through memory (or any other means) was not possible. As mentioned, all of the stories were checked and rechecked with participants and generated valuable insights. Research participant Maiava Iosefa Maiava explains this eloquently “[The interview is a recollection of my past, framed in a way that conveys messages which could be considered important, for today’s Pacific and tomorrow. We cannot go back in time to re-live our lives, but we can live a better today and tomorrow by applying lessons from the past](#)” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018). The voice of the 18 participants will be represented in blue font for ease of reference. As I have interviewed many couples, I will refer to each participant by their *matai* title or their first name. This is to differentiate those that share the same surname.

Analysis of the data was somewhat challenging because the data material was not clearly quantifiable. However, the common thread and motivation for migrating for education for all

participants was the *āiga*. This therefore is a chapter in and of itself. The other chapters were naturally arrived at based on chronology, the research participants early education through to secondary school, tertiary studies and working career.

Positionality: My story

In qualitative research (and in Pacific epistemologies in particular) the researcher is not a neutral observer but an active participant. My positionality and my relationships were an integral part of the research process and I draw on my own experiences throughout this thesis. It is therefore necessary to recognise and describe my positionality in this research.

Knowing my birth place, education, gender, personal beliefs, employment, culture, political following, and religion provides a framework that assists in the understanding of my positionality and ontology. For this research it is important to leave no stone unturned in reflecting on my positionality.

I am a first-generation New Zealand-born Sāmoan raised in the suburb of Te Atatu South in West Auckland. My mother Malaefilogia Ulu (nee Aloali'i) was born in Sasina, Savai'i and is the eldest daughter of Rev Aloali'i and Sa'ilele Aloali'i who were Methodist church ministers in Sāmoa. My mother is a registered midwife and a trained teacher who taught most of her life until retirement. My mother comes from a very educated family and she is the eldest of seven siblings, two girls and five boys. As church ministers, her parents were posted for up to seven years in different villages as per the guidelines of the Methodist Church.

My mother lived in both Apia and Savai'i. At the time of her secondary schooling she lived with her aunt in Apia to attend Sāmoa College where she was fortunate enough to gain a place for schooling. Gaining an opportunity to attend Sāmoa College, particularly if coming from Savai'i was a significant achievement. Education was very important on my mother's side of the family. All her brothers gained scholarships to travel to New Zealand and Fiji for educational opportunities. Of the 31 cousins in my generation, 13 are degree holders, with six of us gaining master's degrees, and two of us studying towards our PhDs. As a result, all of my mother's family are financially secure and, other than gifting money for weddings and funerals, we have never had to remit money for daily living expenses, as is the case with a lot of Sāmoan families.

My mother originally trained as a primary school teacher in Sāmoa. On coming to New Zealand in 1965, she found that her qualifications were not recognised, nor could she gain admittance to Teacher Training College. After working in a biro factory for ten months she trained as a maternity nurse then gained qualifications in midwifery and Plunket nursing. Between 1971 and 1973, my mother nursed at National Women's Hospital, Waitakere Hospital, St Helens and the Plunket Society rooms in Ponsonby, Auckland. By 1973 she had had given birth to my two older brothers and me so most of her work was on night shift.

In 1976, after encouragement by a cousin, my mother entered Auckland Training College to return to the career of her first choice. My father supported my mother during this time. He kept her company while she struggled with assignments late in the night and he also helped with looking after us and housework. The demands of training coupled with a considerable drop in salary made this period of her life very difficult. The arrival of my grandmother to New Zealand made it possible for mum to complete her teacher training.

My mother started her teaching career in West Auckland and while she was trained a primary school teacher, she was always interested in teaching the older students. She taught at Rangeview Intermediate School and later moved to Nga Tapuwae College in South Auckland where she taught social studies at secondary level. My mother always worked hard. As we lived in West Auckland, mum was always on the road at the crack of dawn to get to school on time. When she left Nga Tapuwae to take up an award to do a Diploma of Teaching English as a Second Language at Victoria University of Wellington, her Principal said, that mum's car was always the first in the staff carpark and the last to leave at the end of the day. She produced solid results and while she was tough and not so popular with the students, my mother was what was needed in the 70's and 80's in the education system for Pacific students. It was no surprise that she would push this passion for education on us and the direct route was tertiary studies when we finished high school.

In 1994 my mother was teaching Sāmoan language and social studies at Kelston Girls High School. She was chosen by the Ministry of Education to be a member of the six-person panel, three of whom were secondary teachers, to prepare the new syllabus for Sāmoan Language. My mother was instrumental in providing a solid foundation for what is now a popular topic

in schools throughout New Zealand. My mother retired from teaching in 2005 after moving to Sāmoa to be with my father. Sadly in 2014 she was diagnosed with dementia and is now resident in a secure dementia unit in New Zealand.

To honour my mother's family, the *fa'alupega* (village chiefly honorifics) for Salani, Falealili:

Afio le Gafatasi

Le Fetalaiga ia Tofua'iofoia

Le mamalu ia Sata'eleaga

*Fa'apea fo'i Salani ma Alofisula*¹²

My father Si'a Mano'o Fa'asalaia'i Leuo Avateao Kato Ulu Kini is the son of an orator Ulu Kini and Ta'atele Ulu who served their families through cultural duties within the extended family. My father was born on our family land 'Matautuala'a' in Puipa'a, Toamuā. He is the youngest of seven children - one girl, who is the oldest, and six boys. My father's family is steeped in culture and tradition. Land tenure and chiefly titles play a significant role in the lives of my father and his siblings. My Grandfather, Ulu Kini, was a young boy when he lost all of the members of his family to the 1918 flu epidemic that hit Sāmoa (Shanks, 2016). My grandfather was raised by members of his extended family until he was older, and an uncle gave him the paper work for the parcels of land our family now reside on in Sāmoa. My father and his siblings inherited this land, and some have built houses on this land.

My father and his brothers are very gifted orators. They speak with passion and confidence. My cousins and I often laugh comparing notes on being disciplined by our respective fathers. Aggressive phrases such as '*aua le palaai*' (have no fear), '*e fai sou ake?*' (do you have guts?) were always thrown around to ensure that we too would succeed in life.

My father never gained any university qualifications, but he was labelled by a family friend as 'street-wise'. Unlike my mother, he grew up with very little. He finished schooling at Form 2 and started working for McKenzie Wholesale in Apia, where he worked in the warehouse assisting with orders. It was at McKenzies that my father laid his eyes on beautifully

¹² This constitution pays homage to the high-ranking titles of the village of Salani.

manufactured furniture. He had always wanted a house full of furniture for his mother but could never afford it. Now that he was working, my father was determined not to let his miniscule wages get in the way of purchasing the furniture. He arranged with his manager that he would cut money from his salary every week to pay off the price of a bed and dressing table. The manager saw that my father was a good worker and told him he could take home the furniture and continue making the payments. It would have taken my father at least two years to clear his debt, but when customers came to get big orders (building material) my father would work quickly and smartly to load the goods on to the truck. The customers were so impressed with his fast service that they would often tip him. My father would split the tip with his supervisor and take his share straight to the office to pay off his debt. Being resourceful he was able to pay off his account sooner and went on to purchase a dining set and lounge suite for his parent's home.

My father later found the opportunity to buy his first vehicle. An old man was standing outside the McKenzie wholesale looking at his car, my father joined him, and the old man asked him if he could drive. My father, who did not know how to drive at the time, replied 'yes' and promptly jumped in the vehicle, turned the ignition and the car started. The old man then told my father that his children had sent the car from American Sāmoa for him to use, but because he did not know how to drive, he asked a family friend to drive for him. Unfortunately, the driver took the car off the boat at the wharf months earlier and he had not seen the car or the driver until the morning he was with my father. The old man then asked my father if he wanted to purchase the vehicle. My father, although he had no money, said yes and went to see the manager of McKenzie. He was married to a Sāmoan woman who also worked in the office. Dad had limited English, so he asked the manager's wife in Sāmoan if he could have a loan to purchase the car. The lady laughed and mockingly said to my father, 'how can you afford a car on your wages?' My father replied to her calmly, 'you too were like me and had nothing, but now you're married to a white man and you're able to afford things for your family, all I want to do is get a car for my parents, so I've come to you for some help'. She took pity on dad and negotiated the price with the old man and managed to get the car for a steal. At Sāmoa's independence in 1962 my father was driving to work and taking his parents to church.

Nothing was ever too hard for him. He worked as a welder when he moved to New Zealand and met my mother at a dance at the Pitt Street Methodist church. They married in Feb 1970. They purchased their first three-bedroom home at 3 Bodi Place, Te Atatu South in 1971 and later lifted the house and turned it into a five-bedroom home. After welding, he managed a second-hand whiteware shop, worked as a truancy officer, and later owned and operated the first Pacific-owned taxi business in Auckland ('Polynesian Taxis'). He fundraised for the building of numerous churches in both Sāmoa and our local church in Glen Eden, Auckland. He poured all he and my mother made into the *āiga* and church for as long as I can remember. From a young age we were always hosting people and at one point our home had up to 21 people living there permanently. Every family member stayed with us both temporarily and some, long-term.

When my father told me the stories of growing up in Sāmoa, everything made sense. His will and determination, hard work and love for the family had always been his motivation for success. He was never working for his own success but the success of the *āiga*. My father had always longed to return home to Sāmoa and in 2004 he retired there with my mother. He worked as an assessor at the Lands and Titles Court in Sāmoa. He worked as an assessor at the Lands and Titles Court in Sāmoa until his death in November 2017.

To honour my father's family, the *fa'alupega* (village chiefly honorifics) for Puipa'a and Toamuā:

Tulou le paia aua Ulu ma Ale

Leitulua o Sa Tunumafono

Le Gafa o A'atoe

Ma le Fetalaiga i le Va'aulu¹³

I am the middle child of four boys and one girl. The older three boys are close in age with a seven-year gap between my younger brother and me, leaving my sister as the baby. As my mother was an educator, there was no choice for us but to attend university after secondary school. She even went as far as choosing careers for the three older children, my eldest

¹³ This constitution pays homage to the high-ranking titles of the village of Puipa'a and Toamuā.

brother would be a church minister, my second brother a lawyer and me a teacher. We fulfilled her wishes just as she planned. My younger brother is also a university graduate. We are products of our parents. We have the best of education bestowed by our mother, and the oratory, culture and sheer determination of our father.

Like a lot of first-generation New Zealand-born Sāmoan children, although we grew up in New Zealand speaking English and attending a Western school, when we arrived home everything was Sāmoan. For Sāmoans living in New Zealand church was more than religion. The Pacific Island Presbyterian Church in Glen Eden became our surrogate village and essentially our community. For years I thought I was related by blood to the families at church because we attended each other's birthdays, weddings and funerals. All families within the church contributed financially to these events. I was immersed in the Sāmoan culture from a young age, learning how to dialogue in *gagana* (language) Sāmoa, reading the Sāmoan Bible, understanding my place as a son and respecting cultural values. I lived and breathed being Sāmoan and frequently visited the islands as a child.

My oldest brother, Iasepi Denis, is a church minister based in American Sāmoa. He is married to Leone Ripley and they have three children. I had no idea about some of the pressures Iasepi underwent growing up as the oldest. As a young boy quite often, my father would wake him late in the night and say to him 'if you fail, all your younger siblings will fail'. There was tremendous pressure on him to always deliver. Iasepi claims he was not very strong at school, but he did manage to make it to university despite the challenges of high school. He holds two degrees, a BA in Geography from Victoria University of Wellington, and a Bachelor of Divinity from Otago University.

Aloali'i, the next brother is a barrister and resides in Auckland where he and his wife Marion (also a barrister) run a small law firm in South Auckland. Aloali'i holds a BA Geography from Victoria University of Wellington and an LLB from Otago University. He has three daughters. My younger brother Ma'anaima and his wife Alecia live in Gisborne where Ma'anaima is an English teacher at Gisborne Boys High School. He has a BA in English from Victoria University of Wellington. My only sister, Vaipousa, now lives at our family home in Sāmoa with her husband Junior and their daughter Pearl.

I have not had the easiest childhood. From eight years old I was sexually abused over the period of 10 years, by 12 male perpetrators. My ontology has been shaped by this aspect of my horrific childhood. It has made me sensitive to others, a good listener, and respectful of difference. I did not want to be defined by my past, but I have used it to propel me into a successful future.

Because of the abuse I was very weak at both primary and secondary school. I was an average student and scraped into university in 1991. I studied for my undergraduate degree at Victoria University of Wellington and completed a Bachelor of Arts in History followed by a Diploma in Secondary Teaching from the Auckland College of Education.

I decided that I wanted to follow in my mother's footsteps and become a teacher. I taught for six years in Auckland, one year relieving my mother at Kelston Girls High School while she wrote the Sāmoan syllabus and five years at Aorere College in South Auckland. In 2002 I moved to Sāmoa after realising that I was not happy in the teaching profession. It was during my time in Sāmoa that I was introduced to the world of development. I worked for a year and a half at the New Zealand High Commission in Apia managing the scholarships programme. In 2003, I moved to Wellington to start a job with Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA) where I worked for 13 years starting as a Programme Officer and finishing as the International Programme Manager in charge of operations. It was during my time at VSA that I was encouraged to return to Victoria University of Wellington to complete a master's in development studies. I enjoyed the programme so much that an opportunity arose to continue with my PhD in the same academic discipline. In 2016 I became an international consultant specialising in development projects. I am married to Phillipa Jane Ulu (nee Schofield), a *pālagi* woman born in Carterton and together we have fraternal girl/ boy twins Micah and Malachi. We have been members of Destiny Church for the past 14 years.

Ethics

In planning this research, ethics approval was sought and granted following the internal institutional requirements according to Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics procedures. The nature of this process is important from an academic perspective as power

dynamics between the 'researcher' and the 'researched' can quite easily be abused. Victoria University of Wellington expect researchers to conduct all research in an honest, responsible and ethical manner. Researchers must also adhere to relevant governmental, institutional and professional guidelines. The University has a responsibility to protect the privacy, safety, health, cultural sensitivities and welfare of human subjects.¹⁴ As this research is heavily qualitative and involved personal interactions with human subjects, ethical considerations were fundamentally important (de la Bellacasa, 2017). All participants were provided informed consent forms and information sheets outlining the purpose of the research (Appendix 1).

As discussed, I adopted the *talanoa* method to carry out the interviews. As part of the formal process for gaining ethics approval, a series of questions were submitted to guide the *talanoa* interviews (Appendix 2). The line of questioning for each participant was to gain a deeper level of understanding of how participants arrived at their stage in life at the time of the interview. Questions about their early childhood, educational journey (including migration for education) and motivations for success were submitted.

While I had the series of questions at hand, I never referred to them during the interviews. I committed the line of questioning to memory as I did not want to be distracted during the interviews by referring to a piece of paper. *Talanoa* is an organic process that encourages fluidity in a conversation. I did not want to be constricted by questions on a piece of paper. I also wanted the interviews to be in a conversational setting, natural, genuine and true to *talanoa*.

I have never liked superficial relationships, and always like to engage deeply in a relationship to do this meant sharing my vulnerability. This helped dispel any power dynamics that I could possibly use as the researcher. In keeping with the methodology of this research, there was a reciprocity of rich information that occurred during the interviews. The participants knew that my motivation for carrying out the research was to gain a PhD. For them I was given the responsibility of recording their life story.

¹⁴ <https://www.victoria.ac.nz/fgr/current-phd/ethics>

Gaining the PhD soon became less important once I heard their stories. I felt it to be an enormous privilege that my participants trusted me with their stories, and the level of detail some went into often left me in tears. It reinforced that these relationships would last much longer than the period of the research. *Talanoa* incorporates this whole concept and is not just about talking, but about relationship, trust, respect, time and love. Ethics therefore are not just a matter of forms and committees, they are embedded within the very heart of *talanoa*.

The issue of not recording the interviews was something that I thought would be challenged by the Human Ethics Committee. I struggled with the idea for a long time, but as mentioned I decided this was the best practice for me. To ensure that my notes accurately captured the interviews the transcribing process was very time consuming. If I had recorded the interviews and received their consent I could have used everything said in the interviews. However, because I had decided not to record, the participants were given an opportunity to discard anything they wanted. As the interviews used *talanoa* there was not always a clear chronological flow, and some childhood memories came about as a result of a story much later in life. The transcriptions therefore took some time to rearrange so they followed a chronological flow. The transcriptions were a combination of direct quotes from the participants and my reflections. In keeping with the qualitative methodology, I have used, the permission and ethics process was continuously reworked until the final transcription was signed off.

My interview process was that of a biographer and I was collecting information for a series of mini-biographies. One of the research participants Momoe Malietoa stopped me mid-way through her interview and asked, "Are you writing my biography?" I replied, "I don't think I am qualified to write your biography." We both laughed, but it was the first time I had considered that was what was happening.

At first, I struggled with the human ethics process. To me it seemed quite removed from the methodology that I had adopted for this research. One of the questions in the ethics process asked how my research conforms to the University's Treaty of Waitangi Statute. In the past I

had always struggled with the Treaty of Waitangi as I believed it was not relevant to me personally. I also felt that questions of this nature were tokenistic and mainstream New Zealand only ever discussed the Treaty of Waitangi to tick a box. I was mistaken. There are principles in the Treaty that guided my research and aligned with my chosen topic. The principle of *manaakitanga*: hospitality, kindness, generosity, support - the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others, was adhered to in my research. Acknowledging that the culture and heritage of Sāmoa are *taonga* to these countries further reinforced the importance of *manaakitanga*. The ethics process is not a separate activity, but inherent in all aspects of this research.

It was never an intention to make the identities of the research participants confidential. I considered my key questions and knew that the findings were not going to jeopardise the participants negatively, which was something I considered from the start. I also knew the stories of the participants were going to be rich with examples of how they had arrived at their final successful careers. I wanted them to be able to celebrate this by being identified by name. Gaining informed consent was therefore a continual process with the initial request made at the first interview, followed by ongoing checking when the final negotiated text was signed off by the participants.

The relationships developed with each of the participants was deep and personal. Therefore, information from the interviews flowed freely and I was privileged with quite personal insights on their lives. This put a lot of responsibility on me to reflect their stories accurately and to complete this research. When one research participant sent through the final negotiated text of their interview, the email read 'I expect a final copy of your thesis once the final has been signed off'. This is a much stronger ethical response than any legal or formal process. The research participants had been put in the position of power, with me at their mercy. It was an interesting dynamic I had not considered.

Insider/ outsider view

Merriam et al. (2001) discuss the challenges of negotiating insider/ outsider status within and across cultures. It is typically assumed that being an insider equates to easy access, the ability to ask more meaningful questions, read non-verbal cues and essentially have an appreciation

of the culture (Merriam et al., 2001). However, it can also be that insiders are too close to the culture and have a vested interest in the way a concept can come across, and therefore may tailor questions accordingly. Merriam et al. (2001) provide case studies about the experiences of black female researchers interviewing black women participants and two Asians in the US interviewing other Asian participants from their homeland. Interestingly in each case, researchers were challenged to examine their assumptions about access, power relationships and commonality of experience.

While I look Sāmoan and speak Sāmoan fluently, I know that what differentiates me from my participants is the fact that I was born and raised in New Zealand. From a young age I was made aware of this difference by my extended family. My Sāmoan language has been a work in progress and has only improved with age, but as a youngster my Sāmoan was very broken. Sāmoans can be very unforgiving in a lot of areas, but none more so than a Sāmoan not understanding their language and culture. My siblings and I were often mocked and scorned for mispronunciation of words and concepts. Do not be mistaken: family that came from Sāmoa to New Zealand received their fair share of mockery for the mispronunciation of English terminology, so there was no love lost between the two!

While I am an 'insider' in the context of my research I cannot pretend that I've experienced the migration for education story. There are many similarities in my story and upbringing with my participants, but I did not grow up on a tropical island and I did not migrate outside of my birth country for educational opportunities. It is not to say that I had a better life than my participants. On the contrary, some of the childhood memories of my participants left me feeling envious. Living and working in and out of Sāmoa for the past 15 years also helped me to accept this difference. Growing up in New Zealand I felt that I did not really fit in, but interestingly when I moved to Sāmoa in 2002, while I felt like I was home, I was reminded daily that I was not an insider.

Merriam et al. (2001) highlights a case study of a black female researcher who interviewed four black women participants as part of her data collection process. The researcher found although "[t]here were silent understandings, culture-bound phrases that did not need interpretation, and non-verbalized answers conveyed with hand gestures and facial

expressions': "several respondents related growing up poor and when the researcher related similar circumstances, the accounts were not taken at face value as the race and gender stories had been. Instead the [participants] responded with, 'Well, you wouldn't know it to look at you now', or 'Really?'" (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 407).

A lot of things were very familiar when I moved back to Sāmoa. I understood what was and wasn't culturally appropriate. I appreciated differing viewpoints and I also recognised mannerisms typical to Sāmoans I had witnessed growing up in New Zealand. Yet there were so many things that were also foreign to me too. One night I and a group of friends went to the movies in Apia to watch 'Titanic'. As the ship was sinking and people were falling to their deaths into the freezing water, the whole theatre erupted with laughter. I stopped and looked around thinking this is the saddest part of the movie and the crowd find this part of the movie hilarious. I still don't understand what was funny about that scene, but I acknowledged there was a difference. I subconsciously accepted that while I am an insider, I am also an outsider. I am an insider in that I understand culture, respect, salutations, my position, the way questions should be framed, when to speak and when to listen. However, I am an outsider in that I did not grow up in Sāmoa and my worldview has been influenced by growing up in New Zealand. I am in a privileged position as there is automatic trust between the researchers and researched because of the colour of my skin. As a result, richer information is shared. But I am also in a privileged position as I have been educated in New Zealand and I inherently understand the requirements of the structures of education within which I am working.

Merriam et al. (2001) showcased another example of a Chinese researcher interviewing a Chinese participant. "[M]any told her 'it's my pleasure to help out another person from the homeland', or 'this is the least I can do for a fellow Taiwanese Chinese'. Unfortunately the Korean researcher did not have such easy access to Koreans living in the US, perhaps because she was studying their reasons for not participating in adult education" (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 407). I believe that I had an easier time with my participants because my topic resonated not only with me but also with my participants. The topic was non-threatening and there were commonalities between both parties. This created a balance in the power dynamics and being both an insider and outsider worked in my favour.

Conclusion

Finding an appropriate methodology that fits with this research was a challenge. The experiences of the participants and my own personal experience with western education were quite different. My participants excelled in their formative western education, where I did not, and I have used Pasifika methodology to survive in the world of academia. Using the popular *talanoa* methodology meant that I needed to adopt this methodology in selecting participants, carrying out the interviews and analysing the data. The process was very fluid and required flexibility from my part. This was reflected when carrying out the five-hour long interviews, deciding not to record and allowing research participants to dialogue beyond my line of questioning. This created more work, but it also provided richer information. The methodology therefore was not just about this research but establishing lasting relationships beyond this thesis. Developing appropriate tools was necessary to capture the essence and stories of the participants, allowing both parties to think, feel and experience the research participants' *folauga mo a'oa'oga*.

Chapter 5: Sāmoan Success

‘Alo i ou faiva, tau ina ia a’e malo’

Introduction:

The opening Sāmoan proverb, *‘Alo i ou faiva, tau ina ia a’e malo’* uses a fishing analogy. *Faiva* is a catch of fish. When fishing was the main source of sustenance in Sāmoa, groups of men would go fishing spurred on by their *āiga*. It was said that no matter how many times you cast the net, you must not give up as you’ll eventually catch the big one. The proverb has become popular today in Sāmoa and is used as an analogy for many challenges in life. This proverb is used to encourage, empower and provide support to someone who is about to give a speech, performance, participate in sports activities or other endeavours.

This thesis adopts a philosophy that is development-based, appreciating assets, strengths and success, not deficits or failure (the conventional approach). This is not to deny that development in Sāmoa hasn’t involved struggle and difficulty. However, in this research I have consciously focused on those who have achieved. I have teased out my findings from the narrative that has been unveiled. In this way it is possible to identify and highlight Sāmoan exemplars of success rather than seek foreign western models (as in modernisation theory).

I interviewed 18 participants - 11 women and seven men. All were known to me, either through work, family or their status within Sāmoan society. Most of the participants were people from underprivileged families, who were strongly religious and grew up with limited resources. To balance this, I also interviewed someone from Sāmoan royalty and a non-church goer.

In this chapter I will introduce all 18 participants, who have made an impact on Sāmoa as a ‘nation’. Most of the participants interviewed are relatively unknown except within their own given professions. Their status was not important for this research nor did it lessen the value

of their stories. What is important is that the contributions made by all the participants have helped to grow Sāmoa on an international scale.

Exemplarily Sāmoan

The 18 participants have been selected because they have gone through the process of migration for education and have succeeded in their chosen path. It could be argued that they represent the 'elite' of Sāmoa. Elitism has its historical roots among traditional universities of high reputation such as Oxford, Harvard, Cambridge, Princeton, and Yale. These western universities had provided education for upper social classes and their descendants. The intention with elitism is to replicate other elite within a chosen few, resulting in marginalisation (Marginson, 2006; Shin & Harman, 2009). In the context of this research, most the participants were not born into these opportunities. In fact, only one of the 18 participants was born into one of the four paramount families of Sāmoa. However, each one of the interviewees has had to work extremely hard to get to where they are today. The idea of elitism, therefore, is much more complex in the context of the 18 participants, as will be uncovered throughout this chapter.

While the accounts and excerpts from the research participant's interviews that follow, may reflect that some of them solely had themselves to thank for their achievements, it was clear from the interviews that the majority of the participants credit their success to their strong faith in God. All throughout the interviews most of the research participants found that their Christian upbringing provided an inner strength that encouraged them throughout their examinations in their formative years. Their faith in God certainly motivated them when they migrated for education, and some have returned to their traditional churches where they serve God along with their families.

In the memoir of the current Prime Minister of Sāmoa, Tuilaepa Sa'ilele Malielegaoi, 'Palemia', it is easy to draw strong parallels to those that were interviewed as part of this research (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017). Tuilaepa is the top politician in the country who would fit well with the criteria for the participants in this research. He was not born into royalty, nor did he grow up with wealth, but he has become part of the elite of Sāmoa through sheer hard work and a passion to see Sāmoa succeed. Tuilaepa is still strongly connected with his roots

in his birth village of Lepa and continues to represent their interests as the local MP for the district.

Born in Lepa, Aleipata, Tuilaepa grew up with very little in terms of monetary resources but had the opportunity to attend school in Apia through an aunt who worked in town. Tuilaepa attended a Catholic primary school in Mulivai and realised early on that he was strong in mathematics. He carried on his formative education at Marist Primary School and eventually attended St Joseph's School. Tuilaepa excelled at school but he held onto his culture and heritage that had been instilled in him through his parents. While receiving a western education, culture and tradition remained a strong force in his life. Due to the distance between Apia and Lepa, Tuilaepa only returned home once a year: "Usually my father would come to Apia and accompany me from the bus stop at Falefa or Falealili and we would walk the rest of the distance to Lepa. We would walk through the hot afternoon. We would walk and walk and walk. We would feel thirsty, hungry and tired and then my father would say, 'Oh, let's invite ourselves in for a free meal.' We would turn into a family of his choice. My father would address the family starting with the typical salutation of Sāmoan oratory for that village and its prominent chiefs. This is the etiquette that sets the tone for the traditional introduction to establish the cultural ties between the host village and ours. Then he would state his title and refer to me, his son. My father would say, 'We are hungry, and we have decided to rest for an hour.' (All I wanted to hear about was the food). Then the activities would begin. The chickens were killed, the firewood lit, the taro prepared, the coconut milk extracted and within an hour the feast of the finest in Sāmoan cuisine was laid out before us to partake of. This was Sāmoan hospitality at its best. After an exchange of words of gratitude, we would continue on our journey completely refreshed" (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017, p. 46-47).

After successfully completing secondary school at St Joseph's in Lotopa, Tuilaepa gained a scholarship to New Zealand to sit University Entrance at St Pauls College in Auckland followed by gaining a further scholarship to study for a Bachelor of Commerce from Auckland University, in 1968 and a Master of Commerce in 1969. As a qualified economist, Tuilaepa worked as a public servant in Sāmoa, responsible for the development of government budgets and monitoring the effectiveness of government-funded initiatives. He also did a short stint

with Treasury in New Zealand. Tuilaepa then moved to work in Brussels at the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) Secretariat before returning to Sāmoa to enter politics in 1980.

Tuilaepa's motivation for joining politics was in response to the financial crisis Sāmoa was experiencing at the time, "In Sāmoa in those days all the imported meat we had was rubbish: like the bones of poultry, and chicken and turkey tails, as well as mutton flaps. The best parts had already been removed. These were the only kinds of things we could afford to import and that was what we were eating. The shop shelves were completely empty ... People at the Department of Public Works, the labourers, would come in the morning, sign in and loaf about for the whole of the day because there was nothing to do. There was absolutely no money available for public works. The government was borrowing heavily from the banks and was heavily in debt to the suppliers" (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017, p. 65). What is inspiring about Tuilaepa's response was he knew, with his skills and experience, he would be able to effect change, not just as a public servant, but within government.

Tuilaepa has represented his constituency in Lepa since 1980 and has held various roles within the Government of Sāmoa, notably Minister of Finance, Minister of Tourism, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Deputy Prime Minister and of course Prime Minister in 1998 after Tofilau stepped down due to ill health. Tuilaepa is now the longest serving Prime Minister in the Pacific. He has never lost sight of his motivation to enter politics: "I had never bothered to enquire how my parents came to decide to tie the knot ... For whatever worldly attraction they saw in each other, their decision to make a lifetime companionship was to create my insurance policy for a future political career, which would set me on a path to serve my village, district elections. Why? For the very simple reason that the voters of my parents' villages, namely 'A'ufaga and Lepa out of the three-village constituency, would always consider my candidacy to be that of a 'son of the soil', a term that describes the offspring of a mother and father from the same constituency, and vote accordingly in support" (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017, p. 41).

Over the past 15 years since working in Sāmoa, Tuilaepa has been considered as a strong visionary by public servants. The devastating tsunami in 2009 claimed the lives of 189 Sāmoans and was a traumatic time for all of Sāmoa. One eye-witness to the first meeting that was called at the National University of Sāmoa lecture theatre noted: “All government ministers, public, private; CSOs, church leaders and the donor community were invited along. It was obviously a stressful time for Sāmoa, but Tuilaepa was assertive and confident in his address. As the area that was affected was only on the South Coast of the island of the main island of Upolu, Tuilaepa assured his people they could work together to fix the situation. Tuilaepa turned and asked each government department CEO to provide an update on the status of their work. After each update he gave them instructions on what to do from there, creating sub committees to support their work. Tuilaepa also actioned the disaster advisory committee. It was so impressive to watch him take control of the situation and nothing fazed him, he was confident and didn’t allow emotions to get in the way. He was remarkable and I felt so proud to be Sāmoan that day” (Ulu, 2013, p. 89).

Tuilaepa has been recognised for his contribution to the development of Sāmoa with honorary doctorates in law from Victoria University of Wellington and the University of the South Pacific, as well as an honorary doctorate in Economics from the National University of Sāmoa. It is clear his career is impressive, and his migration for education has led to significant changes in Sāmoa. Malielegaoi & Swain (2017) says: “Tuila’epa Sa’ilele Malielegaoi has met with the Queen of England, had audiences with the Pope, talked over global affairs with the President of the United States of America, and addressed the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, but at heart he remains a village *matai* from Lepa.” (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017, p. 73).

The story of Tuilaepa provides us with a template to outline the lives of the 18 participants in this research. They have not all met the Queen, the Pope or the President of USA, but their lives have followed other trajectories of struggle and success.

Hinauri Petana

Le Mamea Matatumua Ata Faletoese is the maternal grandfather of my first participant [Hinauri Petana](#). Hinauri is the current Sāmoa High Commissioner to Australia based in the

nation's capital Canberra. "My mother Suia was the quietest of the lot, very understated and most people actually didn't know her. She was the most intelligent, but also the most humble. She never wanted to let people know how intelligent she was, and deliberately kept her opinions to herself, unless asked. She was at heart a very shy person. My mother was good with numbers, she loved bookkeeping and commercial practice, and after completing her studies at Wairarapa College, she stayed on to work as a clerical assistant with the Department of Agriculture, returning some two years later to Sāmoa. My mother had a genuine interest and empathy for people. She had oceans of patience when dealing with people. She would often surprise people, especially those of the public service, when she would stop and chat with them, remembered who they were, their family background and history. Suia is really good with details, and a very logical thinker and methodical person. She went on to work with the Department of Education as a pay clerk, before she was transferred to the Treasury, and later to the Public Service Commission (PSC). My mother was the first appointed Secretary of the Public Service Commission. My mother is also very discreet, she never released anything her siblings confided to her. She was also privy to high level information – particularly around payroll within PSC that was always held in the strictest of confidence, and other sensitive matters, which even to this day, has never divulged, even to us, her family.

My father, Falevi Petana, sat the national scholarship exam and gained a scholarship amongst the first group as my mother. He went to Wesley Boys College in Auckland. He first met my mother during this period as young recipients travelling to New Zealand together. They married in November 1952 but had to wait for the filming of Return to Paradise with Gary Cooper in Lefaga to finish shooting in September of that year, before they married, as her father, Le Mamea, had a part in the film. My father worked as a Customs Officer, since his return, going on to hold the position Deputy Comptroller of Customs, and later established one of the first Customs Agency in the private sector.

When my mother was at Wairarapa College, they were put up in a residence for girls, but they arrived in the middle of the night so didn't know where they were, and what to do next, when a young girl came to help them locate their beds and make sure they were comfortable that night. Her name was Hinauri Strongman, a Maori/Pakeha young woman. She was the first

friend my mother and her sister Fetau made, and she would remain a close and dear friend for life until her death in 2004. When I was born in August of 1953, my mother named me after her. Hinauri married an American soldier during WWII and they moved to America to live in Utah. I remember when I started school and I got teased about my name. I came home crying and complained to my mum and said, why did you name me Hinauri, the teachers and students are mocking me about my name as they could not pronounce it. That's when mum sat me down and told me 'you are named after the kindest and dearest friend I know'. When I finally met this woman for the first time at the age of 10, I remember crying because she was so slim, fair and beautiful. I stayed with her and her family a few times. Hinauri stood up for the rights of indigenous people, the Native Americans, the Pacific Islanders living in Utah and many other ethnic minority groups. She loved helping a lot of young troubled communities, teenagers and brought different community groups together. I felt a little unworthy of her name, her shoes were too big to fill, for to me she was truly an angel. My mother never gave me a second name like a Sāmoan one which all my siblings got. I was told that my namesake bridged the gap between New Zealander and non-New Zealander when they were at school, so I didn't need another name. My family have tried to bestow me with *matai* titles, but I've never felt compelled to accept them, and have managed to get this far and lived this long without one. All I need is Hinauri. Besides if we all get titles who will *tautua* (serve), I love to do the background work and I do that (*tautua*) for my family. My mother never wanted a title and she said to me, you do what you feel is right for yourself" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Papali'i Momoe Malietoa – von Reiche

As discussed in Chapter three, when Sāmoa became independent its constitution was unique in that it hoped to combine two very different sets of principles, a Western parliamentary democracy with *fa'a Sāmoa* (the Sāmoan way) (Huffer & So'o, 2003; Sapolu et al., 2012).

Sāmoans were included in the dialogue in establishing a constitution for the country with the development of a Constitution Convention (Sapolu et al, 2012). The Convention included the four *tama'āiga* title holders: Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole and Malietoa Tanumafili II, (joint holders of the Head of State position at independence); Mata'afa Faumuina Mulinu'u II, the first Sāmoan Prime Minister; and Tuimaleali'ifano Suatipatipa who held the office of deputy

Head of State. Only a year after independence Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole died and Malietoa Tanumafili II served as the country's sole surviving head of state (Levine & Roberts, 2005), until his death in 2007.

Having very little to do with Sāmoan royalty as a child, I did not meet anyone from the Malietoa family until much later in life. My older brother and Malietoa's granddaughter Salamasina von Reiche, both married into the Ripley family, so I met with Salamasina often through family events. As Sāmoa is hierarchical, my father was always honouring of Salamasina because of her rank within *fa'a Sāmoa*. My perception of the Malietoa upbringing was one of wealth both in culture and in finances. But when I met with **Papali'i Momoe Malietoa - von Reiche**, my understanding of her upbringing completely changed. "I was born in Sāmoa in 1945. My parents were: Malietoa Tanumafili II of Sapapalii and Poutasi Falealili, and Lili Tunu Molio'o of Faleapuna and Toamuā. However when I was eight months old my parents had to go to New Zealand on a State visit, and I was sent to my aunt To'oa Salamasina (my father's sister) at Papauta Girls School where I was raised until I was eight years old. My father was the joint "Fautua" (Advisor) for Sāmoa together with Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole during this time of pre- Independence. I am fourth in line of six children; my eldest brother Papali'i Laupepa (deceased), my sister To'oa Tosi, my brother Su'a Taimalelagi Vaiinupo (deceased), myself, my brother Papali'i Fa'amausili Moli (who is now the Malietoa), and my sister Fu'aolemālō who died at infancy. My father had children from other liaisons and we are very close to them particularly with my eldest sister Seiuli Tutai Kitimira Henry-Malietoa, and my eldest brother Papalii Eddie Henry-Malietoa (deceased). Their mother was a Rarotongan lady that my father met while he was at school in New Zealand" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017)

Papali'i spends most of her time now running her art gallery - M.A.D.D. in [Moto'otua](#). M.A.D.D organises dance and drama programmes, as well as creative writing programmes for children. There are classes that run through the whole week. English literacy classes run on Monday and Tuesday, Wednesday are classes teaching communication in Sāmoan, and Thursday is art day with drama, dance and painting.

Public servants: Aida Sāvea, Falefata Hele Matatia, Onosefulu Fuata'i, Cam Wendt

As identified by Ma'ia'i (1957), Sāmoan chiefs in the early 1900s under the German Administration wanted their children to be educated to serve in the newly formed government. This included learning both German and English and migrating abroad for educational opportunities. All throughout the 1900s the first of these well-trained locals returned to serve under the Government of Sāmoa. The Government of Sāmoa scholarships are based on the priority needs of the country. There are four types of scholarships, undergraduate, post graduate, vocational and mature age. There are scholarships set aside for the University Preparatory Year and another for everyone else - civil servants, private, people with limited education. The Government of Sāmoa recognises the importance of maintaining a scholarship programme. As a result the Government of Sāmoa has a very qualified and capable workforce, and human resources have developed with relevant skills and know-how (Ulu, 2013).

The Government of Sāmoa has many diplomatic postings abroad to serve the international interests of the country. Public servant [Aida Sāvea](#) is currently working in Suva and I was privileged to interview her as part of this research:

[“My dad was born in Savai'i but educated at Leulumoega. My mum was also born in Savai'i and married my father when she was 18. My dad started a job at the UN office in Sāmoa and worked his way up. He has a BA from the National University of Sāmoa NUS. My father reached a high level within the UN system in Sāmoa. He then took up a post for the UN in Sudan for nine months. My father has also held several positions with the UN in Bangladesh, Vietnam, Pakistan, Iraq, Russia and Timor-Leste. In 2001 he ran for politics for the Palauli Falefa constituency and became an MP. He has held different positions within politics including Minister of Finance and currently serves as an MP.](#)

[I am the youngest of four siblings - one boy and three girls. Salote is the eldest. She attended Flinders University in Adelaide for her undergraduate studies and she also has a master's in economics from ANU. Asenati studied journalism at Otago University. She runs a signage business in Sāmoa. And Notise works for the Scientific Research Organisation of Sāmoa \(SROS\)](#)

and has an agriculture degree from USP Alafua. My oldest sister Salote's children have also been on scholarship. Her eldest daughter has a MA from the Netherlands and an undergraduate Science degree from Fiji. Salote's second has an undergraduate Science degree, and the third won a scholarship to Melbourne to study social work.

My current role is Student Counsellor for the Government of Sāmoa at the University of the South Pacific (USP) in Suva, Fiji. The main aim of my role is to support the Sāmoan students and enable them to complete their degree qualifications within the designated timeframe. This is the only international office of its kind for the Government of Sāmoa.

Around twenty years ago the Government of Sāmoa was facing a high failure rate from scholarship students in Fiji. These were linked closely with high rate of fighting on campus, particularly between Sāmoan students against Tongan and Fijian students. At the time Sāmoan students dominated the campus and formed a united front against other ethnic groups within USP, there were up to 300 Sāmoans enrolled at USP at any given time. Often it was the first time a lot of these students had left their homes and, when they were with their peers, things got out of hand.

As a result of the fighting the *Palemia* (Prime Minister) of Sāmoa became involved. Due to the low retention rate for USP Sāmoan scholarship students, this impacted the budget allocated for scholarships and subsequently a low rate of return for donors supporting this initiative. Furthermore, Sāmoans were being labelled as 'trouble makers' on campus. The Government of Sāmoa developed the Student Counsellor position as a way of minimising the fighting and focussing on supporting the students both academically and socially.

I am the third student counsellor to Fiji since the office started in the early 2000s. Palepa Ng Chok was the first in the role. In the early days of the position if you were in a fight or found in the vicinity of the fight, your award was automatically terminated – students knew it was serious and so it really minimised the issues" (Interview with Aida Sāvea, Suva, May 2017).

.I first met participant **Falefata Hele Matatia** in 2002, in his second year of his undergraduate degree at USP, Suva. At the time I was working for the New Zealand High Commission looking after scholarship students of which Falefata was one. I always got the impression he was a good student who worked hard and was determined to complete his degree qualification.

Falefata carries traits of a strong yet humble Sāmoan who is ambitious to get ahead for his wider *āiga*.

I lost touch with Falefata after he completed his undergraduate degree but reconnected with him when he started working for the Government of Sāmoa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). From 2012 – 2015, Falefata was posted to Wellington to serve as a Counsellor for the Sāmoa High Commission to New Zealand. At the time of this research the Sāmoa Cabinet had just appointed Falefata as the 2019 Pacific Games Chief Executive Officer at the tender age of 34 (Feagaimaali'i-Luamanu, 2018).

Falefata has done extremely well with his education and career but he is also very relaxed about his achievements. While he should be proud, he never likes to boast about his or his family's achievements. [“It's better to be acknowledged by others about one's achievements than acknowledging this yourself”](#) (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

As an example of the good stock Falefata comes from, of his father's eight siblings, every family has a degree holder, some with PhDs and some are medical doctors. Falefata's first cousin on his mother's side, So'oalo Mene, is the MP for Gagaifomauga No. 2 and he did an undergraduate degree at Waikato University. Education in his wider family is not unusual. [“I am one of five siblings, my oldest sister Norma works as a Business Adviser at the Small Business Enterprise Centre in Apia”](#) (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

At the time of this study, Norma was undertaking an LLB through USP Centre¹⁵ in Apia. Falefata's sister Via works for SPREP and has an Environmental Science degree from USP, Suva; and a MA in Water Hydrology from the University of Queensland. [“Leti, my brother, is a Civil Engineer, he studied at Monash University to gain this qualification. He recently completed a Masters in Renewable Engineering from Kingston University in England”](#) (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

There is a significant age gap between the older four siblings and the younger two. “Nu'usa (male) is a chef and lives in Australia, and Titi the youngest sister, is a student at the National

¹⁵ USP Centre is distance education courses.

University of Sāmoa completing a Diploma in Journalism. “From a young age, my parents placed a huge importance on education for us children. My father taught us about the long-term benefits of education and this message was drilled into all of us. In order to secure a good future, education is key and if you pass you are set for life. Education was seen as a tool to provide us with opportunities to succeed. There was no other alternative life for us, this is what we knew and as a result we were serious about education” (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

Falefata’s parents are Church Ministers for the Methodist Church of Sāmoa. “My father has a reputation in the Methodist church for challenging the status quo. He probably bore the brunt of not staying quiet. My dad always encouraged us to critique everything and to go against the grain. After serving in the church for more than 35 years my father has only recently been given church postings, firstly in Sataua, Savai’i, and secondly in Fa’atoia, Upolu. Besides that he has been teaching in the church schools, most of the time he has been in the church. This is quite unusual as Methodist church ministers tend to get church postings early in their careers and serve up to seven years per posting and then move to a new church” (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

While **Onosefulu Fuata’i** is now working for a donor-funded organisation, she was for a long time a public servant, including managing the scholarship programme for the Government of Sāmoa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Trade and Deputy High Commissioner to Wellington at the Sāmoa High Commission in Kelburn, Wellington. Fuata’i is currently the CEO for the Sāmoa Institute of Directors. “The Sāmoa Institute of Directors was birthed out of the need for board members of state-owned enterprises, government ministries and non-government organisations to be leaders of good governance. The establishment of the Institute has provided a space to address issues of accountability and transparency. We also promote young leaders in the public and private sector. There are a number of training programmes that the Institute provides, namely training board members about good governance. The Institute of Directors is partly funded by DFAT.

Historically the Fuata’i family had no history of people going away on scholarship before my siblings and me. However, my mother’s family definitely migrated away from Sāmoa for educational opportunities. I derive from the Seumanutafa family in Apia and also from Lauli’i. We were brought up in a village environment deeply rooted in culture and heritage.

My maternal grandfather, the late Rev. Elder Iupati Imo (*afakasi* Sāmoa with a *pālagi* father), started his education at the Fiji School of Medicine but did not complete his qualification. He later went on to study theology at Malua Theological College and also served as the treasurer for the Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa (EKFS). Iupati married Mauinuuese Tofaeono Imo. Iupati and Mauinuuese had six children: Sina (f), Lusa (f) my mother, Ailao (m), Tile (m), Poloaiga (m), and Filifilia (f) married to the former Head of State Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi.

Iupati and Mauinu'uese were posted as missionaries to Kapakapariko near Port Moresby. It's a coastal village. Their two eldest daughters, Sina and Lusa remained behind in Sāmoa with the younger siblings and became surrogate parents to them. Sina was a nurse at Moto'otua Hospital and Lusa a teacher at Apia Primary School in Malifa. Sina and Lusa were very strict and ran a tight ship with school work a major priority for the younger siblings. The routine every night was food preparation, homework and then bed time. There was not a lot of movement for much else. I remember my aunt Filifilia saying that Sina and Lusa were so strict that none of the siblings ever fell out of line. Sina and Lusa had the respect of their younger siblings, well they had no choice that was their only option with no parents there with them.

Sina and Lusa's disciplinary action paid off. Ailao went on scholarship to New Zealand when he was 10 years old. Ailao eventually attended Waikato University for his tertiary studies. Tile went to the Fiji School of Medicine and became a medical doctor. Poloaiga gained a scholarship to New Zealand and worked both as an electrician and a fireman.

The youngest, Filifilia, left Sāmoa for schooling in New Zealand when she was 8 years old. I remember my aunty telling me that she stayed with a family in Palmerston North and on her first night there she cried herself to sleep. Filifilia later went to New Plymouth Girls High School as a boarder and then on to Victoria University of Wellington in the late 1950s where she studied for a Bachelor of Arts in English Literature (she won a blue-ribbon award recognising excellence in English Literature). In 1966 Filifilia trained at Ardmore Teachers College before returning to Sāmoa to teach at Sāmoa College" (Interview with Onosefulu Fuata'i, Apia, November 2016).

The Wendt family are synonymous with being well educated in Sāmoa. I was privileged to interview [Cam Wendt](#) as part of this research. At the time of this research, Cam was the Manager, Public Sector Improvement Facility at Ministry of Prime Minister & Cabinet (Sāmoa). Cam's father Felix is brother of the author Albert Wendt. Cam's background is German on the Wendt side, through his great grandfather on his paternal ancestry. His grandfather on his mother's side is from Ngaaruaru, Patea and his maternal grandmother is from Featherston in Wairarapa.

Cam's uncle, Albert Wendt was educated at Ardmore Teacher's College (1958–59) and Victoria University of Wellington where he completed a master's degree in 1964). Wendt taught and later became the Principal of Sāmoa College from 1965–73. In 1974 Wendt accepted a professorship at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, and three years later he established a branch of the university in Sāmoa, serving as a professor and administrator. Wendt has also taught at the University of Hawai'i and the University of Auckland (Hereniko & Hanlon, 1999; Michel, 2004; Sharrad, 2003).

Wendt has gone on to publish numerous novels and poetry books. Victoria University of Wellington awarded Albert Wendt with an honorary doctorate in Literature in 2005. Cam's sisters Lani Wendt-Young has also become a well-known author publishing the 'Telesa' series that are aimed at a younger audience. ["I am one of six children, two boys and four girls. My sister Tanya and I both hold PhD's as does my father Felix. My father was educated in Sāmoa and went through Apia Primary School, Leififi and eventually Sāmoa College. He was dux of Sāmoa College in his final year. Dad gained a scholarship to attend Wellington Boys College for his 7th Form year. He then studied Agriculture at Massey University and that's where he met my mother Merita. After completing his degree at Massey University, he returned to Sāmoa and taught at Pesega College"](#) (Interview with Cam Wendt, Apia, November 2016).

Cam's family are devout members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS). Pesega is the LDS Secondary School in Sāmoa. ["My father then gained a scholarship to the University of Hawai'i to undertake his master's degree. When he returned with his MA, he taught at the USP Alafua Campus that specialises in agriculture. He then gained another](#)

scholarship to do his PhD at Cornell University in New York. With his PhD in hand, he returned to Sāmoa and was promoted as the Head of School at Alafua. He was the first Sāmoan to hold this position.

My father always promoted that education was an important part of our lives. His father, and my grandfather often said to us ‘if you want to make it in life, you need an education’. My father always encouraged us all to go to school” (Interview with Cam Wendt, Apia, November 2016).

Support to donors: Sa’ilele Pomare

Donors have a role to play in Sāmoa and they take advantage of the expertise of locally engaged staff. Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) makes up close to 40% of Sāmoa’s annual budget. Poirine (1995) highlights that Pacific Island countries receive more aid per capita than anywhere else in the world (Poirine, 1998).

Understanding *fa’a Sāmoa* is difficult to comprehend if you have not lived it in person. Local staff see their roles as advising donors on protocol, culture and tradition, ensuring that donors do not offend the Government of Sāmoa (Ulu, 2013). **Sa’ilele Pomare** has worked for both the Australian High Commission and now the US Embassy in Apia. She was a scholarship recipient to Beijing, China and speaks fluent English, Sāmoan and Mandarin. “I was born on the 3rd July 1970 at Moto’otua Hospital during the Methodist Church conference. Mum and dad (Methodist Church Ministers) were based in Faleula, teaching at George Brown. The conference was held at Matafele in Apia and people for the conference were billeted in Lalovaea. I was born breach, mum said, ‘*ga fai ai le a’oga o le foma’i i le faiga o le breach*’ (the doctor practiced delivering a breach baby on my mother). Mum always had a book in her hand and was reading when she was in labour with me. The doctor said that there were complications with her pregnancy, but she still had a book in her hand and didn’t sense the danger she was in” (Interview with Sailele Pomare, Apia, March 2017).

Education sector: Honiara Salanoa, Sau’i’a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Laumata Pauline Mulitalo

The field of education has seen numerous stars rise up within the ranks both in Sāmoa and abroad. Lecturers at the National University of Sāmoa **Honiara Salanoa** and **Sau’i’a Dr Louise**

Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo have both contributed to education through their respective careers.

Honiara Salanoa was born and raised in Falefa, a village on the north east coast of Upolu. Falefa means 'Four houses', indicative of the four sub-villages which make up the village itself; Sagogu, Gagaemalae, Saleapaga and Sagapolu. Honiara is one of five siblings, two girls and three boys. She is the second eldest daughter of Ala'iasā Sagalala and Leitu Moananu Salanoa. She comes from a very educated family: “My father is a land surveyor by profession. He holds a BTech in Surveying from the University of PNG and gained this in the early 1980s” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

Honiara's oldest sister Ane is an Air Traffic Controller and works in the tower at the Faleolo International Airport. Her younger brothers all hold degree qualifications. Fuimaono Fili Magota'amu, the oldest of the three boys, holds a BA Environmental Studies from USP Alafua, Peleti holds a BA with double majors in Real Estate and Land Use Planning from USP Fiji, while the youngest, followed in his father's footsteps and is completing a Bachelor of Surveying at Otago University. “As schools were zoned in Sāmoa when I was growing up. My parent's hopes and desires were for my siblings and me to be educated in Apia. My late uncle Tusani Simanu (married to my mother's sister) was a School Inspector and we had the opportunity with his children (my first cousins) to be educated in Apia. My older sister and other older cousins set the standard for us. They all did very well at school and were always in competitive classes” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo recently completed her PhD in History at Victoria University of Wellington: “I am one of five children. My sister Malvina is the eldest and I am second in line, followed by Seraphine, Damien and Nicholas. My grandfather Vaifale (my mother's father) hails from Leauva'a and Vaisala in Savai'i and my grandmother Seraphine is from Lepea. My grandmother's parents were Nicholas (*Pālagi*/ Fijian and Sāmoan) and Maletua (Sāmoan from Lepea). Maletua died in the 1918 flu epidemic and Nicholas' Fijian family returned to Sāmoa and took back Seraphine and her two siblings, Luia and Moaloka. Seraphine later came to holiday in Lepea and met Vaifale and they eloped. Moeloka, Seraphine's brother married into the Seumanutafa family.

My grandmother was part of the third order of the church in Lepea. There were a group of women that fellowshiped and prayed together and they were part of the English choir. My grandmother supported families within the church that needed assistance and she also did housekeeping (cooking, cleaning) for the Marist brothers. My grandmother spoke very good English, in fact she spoke seven languages – English, Sāmoan, Fijian, Latin, French and German. It was the language of the colonialists. She was also a very musical woman. Seraphine was always hard working, and as well as all her other duties, she also tutored some boys English and worked at the school selling food to the students. This is how some of my grandfather's family became educated. Some went on to become priests. Some of the boys she tutored went on to complete arts degrees and then taught at St Josephs. Both my parents are in the field of education and are teachers. My father Va'aulimasao Mata'ia is the eldest of his family so he had to perform. He was very intelligent and trained at the Sāmoa Teachers Training College. He did his teaching practicum in Lepea. His father was a policeman.

My mother Taioalo Rosalie Mata'ia (nee Vaifale) is the youngest girl in her family. She had a fortunate childhood and her father was very good to her. My mother went to St Mary's in Savalolo, as she was the youngest she was the same age as her sister Malvina's children. Most of mum's siblings moved overseas but she remained behind. My mother had a lot of different opportunities, more than me actually. She did things like play hockey and netball, but after Year 8 she wanted to finish school and then stayed home for some time. When my mother finished school my father took her to his aunty Su'esu'e to do her domestic duties and to work for her. My mother was not use to this new lifestyle, *'e fai mai e o e vele le vao, ae e fou ia ga ia le o e vele le vao'* (my mother was asked to cut the grass, but this was new to her), she never did this kind of work growing up. Mum compared the life her father gave her with working for Su'esu'e and decided it was the not the life she wanted. So she went back to school and took night school courses. She became an assistant teacher at 19 years old. She also has a Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language from the USP extension centre. My mother is very strict and disciplined us while we were growing up. She was very tough. She is still teaching at the tender age of 70" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Laumata Pauline Mulitalo is Head of Department for Science at Avele College and has been teaching since she completed her degrees from Waikato University in the late 90's. "My

parents are trained primary school teachers. They met while teaching at Faleata Intermediate School (now as Faleata College). They got married and had my oldest brother Faleata soon after in 1973. Two years after I was born. By then they were teaching at Falelatai Primary School. After a year they then moved to Vaimauga Jr secondary School (now Vaimauga College) and taught there for about a year. In 1977 my father Filipino applied to be the Principal of Vaivase Primary School and they moved to the school grounds and lived there. Filipino worked at Vaivase for the rest of his working life, officially retiring in 1996 at 55 [the retirement age in Sāmoa]. Then extended for five more years as Principal, but returning in 1996 – 2010 as a volunteer teacher. He passed in 2010, just one day after he stayed home on sick leave” (Interview with Laumata Pauline Mulitalo, Apia, November 2016).

Private sector: Nynette Sass, Aopapa Maiava, Latu Sauluitoga Kupa

The Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa (SDS) 2016 – 2020 sets out four priority areas with fourteen key outcomes of the SDS. These cover economic, social, community and environmental improvement and the policies, programmes and actions Sāmoa has in place to achieve their outcomes (Government of Sāmoa, 2016). “Tourism remains a key outcome for the economic priority, “Tourism provides for a growing number of employment opportunities. Tourism sector planning will be more responsive to rapidly changing market demands with an increased focus on particular product (adventure and experiential tourism) demand from different countries (Australia, New Zealand and Asia). Diversified tourist products and activities that engage with Sāmoan culture will be promoted through quality marketing methods to establish Sāmoa as a top destination. Local fresh produce and value-added products will be promoted as tourist experiences. A large number of major infrastructure projects are underway including, upgrading Faleolo International Airport, passenger and freight facilities at Aleipata and major road access routes. Projects to be undertaken include the redevelopment of the Apia waterfront and improvements in internet connectivity, access and capacity. Trade research in 2013 identified increasing flight access as a major opportunity for tourist source markets of Australia, New Zealand and China. Extending air services via Apia by all trans-Pacific operators is a priority.” (Government of Sāmoa, 2016, p. 12).

Nynette Sass has played a big role in development of tourism in Sāmoa as will be discovered throughout this research. “My mother was sent overseas, and I didn’t have a lot of contact

with her. The first time I saw her was when I was 27 and she was visiting from New Zealand. I have siblings in New Zealand, but I'm not close to them simply because we did not grow up together and only connected much later on in life with some of them. I lived with my granny in Vaimoso. She was the most influential person in my life impacting me in a big way." (Interview with Nynette Sass, Apia, March 2017).

Aopapa Maiava also contributes to tourism as a business owner of Enne's Lodge in Vaiusu. She provides comfortable accommodation for tourists to Sāmoa. "I was born in Lufilufi before mum and dad got married. My mother was very strong. I was told that she was doing her usual chores around the house and then went into labour and I was born on the living room floor of my grandparents' house. My name derives from the bestowal of the title Tupua Tamasese, (*fa'ae'e ai papa o Tupua Tamasese*). My maternal grandfather was instrumental in doing this bestowal – *Ao o papa*, so my grandfather named me Aopapa as my birthday coincided with the same event on the 25th November 1965.

But when people heard my name they never pronounced it correctly. I used to hate my name as a result. I would be called bang bang or people would just make up something derogatory. For the longest time I was the only one with the name Aopapa, but now it's common. When my mother Fa'atupu fell pregnant with me, my father Ma'anaima was a student at the Methodist Church's Piula Theological College in Lufilufi. My father was expelled from the College because my mother fell pregnant out of wedlock. I was two years old when they finally married. Once married they returned to Piula with me and we lived there. My sister Malae was born while we were at Piula but my paternal grandparents – also Methodist Church ministers, were posted to Saina in Faleata. My paternal grandfather fell ill because he missed my sister Malae so much, so she went to live with them" (Interview with Aopapa Maiava, Apia, March 2017).

Latu Sauluitoga Kupa started his career as a public servant after completing his Engineering Degree at Canterbury University. But has since left the public sector and started a successful consultancy covering contracts not only in Sāmoa, but internationally. Latu is the youngest of eight siblings (five boys and three girls). His parents were church ministers for the Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa (EFKS). They graduated from Malua Theological

College in 1948 and went with their eldest daughter to Papa-Puleia, Savai'i. "I was born in 1963. My father was a church minister and back then the profession was not as lucrative as it is now in Sāmoa. The stipend they received did not go very far so my mother had a banana plantation, and, at the time, there was a regular shipment of bananas from Sāmoa to Auckland. After school my role was to help with work on the plantation to prepare the bananas for exporting. This was how mum made more money to pay for our education" (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

The export programme was managed by the Banana Scheme, a government agency. They managed the market chain between the farmers and exportation, such as fertilizer, insecticides, timber and nails for boxes, technical advice for growers, and inspection of fruit for quality assurance. The New Zealand Government heavily subsidised banana exports from Sāmoa during this time (Ashcroft, 1998). "I remember the banana export ending abruptly after a shipment arrived into Auckland and human excrement was found in the banana boxes" (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Latu's wife, Temukisa was able to share what it was like for her as a New Zealand-born Sāmoan at Auckland's Henderson High School. "When the story spread throughout New Zealand, my friends at school laughed and mocked us Sāmoans asking us if our father had pooped in the banana boxes. It was really embarrassing" (Interview with Temukisa Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

The banana exporting did not only stop because of this incident, but because of other factors including demand and supply and the introduction of air transport. Previously, bananas were sea freighted and the fortnightly service fitted with the rate of the bananas ripening. The decline in banana exports meant that alternative methods were sought to service Latu and his sibling's education.

International stage: Maiava Iosefa Maiava

To expand further on the idea of Sāmoa as a nation, it is important to explore the contribution that Sāmoa has made beyond its geographical shores. The idea of Sāmoa as a nation came about when looking at the impact migration for education has made on the development of

Sāmoa. The scholarship programme for example encouraged students to travel abroad, but they were bonded to return back to Sāmoa to further develop their country. However, times have changed, and it can be quite competitive for returning scholarship students to find challenging employment opportunities once they return to Sāmoa due to the amount of degree holders now resident there. Jobs may exist, but they are often pitched at lower pay scales. As families may be depending on the graduate, the returning student is compelled to find a job that pays more to support the wider family. Consequently, some graduates end up taking up positions outside of Sāmoa.

Maiava Iosefa Maiava has spent most of his career outside of Sāmoa after graduating with his undergraduate and post graduate degrees. However, he has made a large contribution to Sāmoa and also to international development as we will see in later chapters: “I was born Iosefa Afele at the Moto’otua Hospital in Apia but raised in Savai’i by my parents - Afele Tapati Maiava of Sato’alepai and Fagamalo; and Lualuai Maulolo of Afega and Safotu; and later Seira Tofaeono of Vaiala. Afele was a primary school teacher and principal and Lualuai was a district nurse inspector. My birth certificate says my birth place is Sato’alepai but knowing that I was actually born in Apia, helped me navigate my relocation to Apia to attend intermediate and high school. In Sato’alepai, I was teased as an adopted (*tamafai* or made-up) son. And now I was back in Apia, my birthplace, I was called a boy from *kua* (the back).

My biological mother, Fa’avaeoali’i Maulolo of Afega and Safotu, who was my mother’s younger sister, was a nurse too. I met my biological father Vaiouga Levi and his family when I had already my own family and [was] preparing to start a new job in Fiji. But it was still nice to know that he was a doctor. I felt a little guilt for feeling that way. I lived my early years in Satoalepai attending primary school at *Tutaga* (landfall¹⁶), the Primary School where Afele was the Principal. Lualuai my mother was based at the hospitals in *Fagamalo* and *Safotu*, two fully functional health centres that are no more in Fagamalo’s case and hardly functional in the case of Safotu. Safotu, one of the six authorities (*pule*) of *Salafai* (Savai’i), was a centre of Tonga’s presence in Sāmoa in the old days. *Fotu* is the name of the woman of Fijian and Sāmoan descent whose name the village Safotu carries. One of my early memories is of

¹⁶ Behind the school is *Vao Sa* (sacred forest) the dwelling place of *Tui Fiti* (Fijian *Aitu* or Ghost) and *Tutaga* refers to the landfall of the *Tui Fiti* and his ghostly crew. It’s a reminder of the close ties between Fiji and Sāmoa in the old days, including through ancestress *Fotu* (Sāmoan/Fijian woman) whose name my other village Safotu carries.

Fa'avae my biological mother visiting Sāmoa with her family from Hawai'i, and I recall in particular the wish for an opportunity to visit or live overseas" (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Scholarship student residing in Auckland: Malae Aloali'i and Aloali'i Viliamu

Malae Aloali'i gained a scholarship to New Zealand and returned to serve her bond but then migrated back to New Zealand where she settled with her four children. Her eldest son, Aloali'i Viliamu, while born in New Zealand, was raised and educated for his formative years in Sāmoa. Theirs is a story of contributing to the field of education in New Zealand as they are both educators. Malae at Aorere College and Aloali'i at the Manurewa High School in the largest Pacific city in New Zealand – Auckland. Malae: "I was born when my father and mother were studying to be Methodist Church Ministers at Piula Theological College. My paternal grandparents were Methodist Church Ministers in Salelologa, Savai'i at the time. I was very close with my grandparents and so I lived with them in Moamoa until I was four years old. I moved back with my parents when they graduated from Piula. I vividly remember crying when I left Savai'i to move in with my parents who were living in Faleula after they graduated from Piula.

My memories of Moamoa were great. I was spoilt by my grandmother. I slept with her and when I fell ill she would nurse me back to recovery, staying up all night to care for me. There were times when she'd go to town and get me fish and chips and a Coke and then return back on the bus with my food (I was Form 4 and she was still doing this for me). Three of her unmarried sons, my uncles, lived with us. Two of them had been overseas on scholarships and the other was a weight lifter who represented Sāmoa in the South Pacific games. They had all returned back to Moamoa to work and care for their mother. My uncle To'o said that we were going to eat good food, *ga ou koaga i le a'oga, ou te le fia ai elegi'* (I worked hard at school because I don't like eating tinned fish). My grandmother was a good cook, so we ate steak all the time and my grandmother made us desserts. Compared to living with my parents in Malifa I [had been] living in the lap of luxury. I had to share everything with my siblings and we were always on a tight budget. I always got money from my uncles and was very spoilt by them. My grandmother was always clean, no shoes were allowed in the house, nothing was ever

allowed to look messy. I've continued to be like that now with my own family. Grandma was so loving to me and never got angry with me" (Interview with Malae Aloali'i, Auckland, January 2017).

Aloali'i was born in Auckland, New Zealand and only spent a short time in New Zealand before returning with his parents back to Sāmoa. He undertook his formative education in Sāmoa when his father was studying to become a church Minister at Piula Theological College. Things did not work out for his parents and they split, and he returned to live at with his mother's family in Moamoa and his father moved back with his parents in Savai'i. Aloali'i's mother Malae gained a scholarship to Waikato University where Aloali'i and his younger brother joined her.

"When we left Piula and returned back to Moamoa, my younger brother and I were tasked with picking up the fallen leaves from the trees. Our father didn't come back with us to Moamoa and I remember sitting on the side of the road and watching the buses go by. Every time a bus stopped near our house I hoped that my dad would get off the bus and come and get us. But he never got off that bus. I realised after that, my father didn't set standards as a dad. I decided he's not a good dad. I was fatherless and being raised by my mum and the church. It took a while to get over it but it was all part of God's plan" (Interview with Aloali'i Viliamu, Auckland, January 2017).

Diaspora Sāmoans: Phillipa Matatia and Temukisa Kupa

As already discussed in other chapters, migration outside of Sāmoa has been occurring for generations. Fairbairn (1961) identifies that from the census of 1921, there were people living in New Zealand that were born in Sāmoa. These were mostly *afakasi* Sāmoans. By the mid-1950s, the number of Sāmoans had increased with more full-blooded Sāmoans living in New Zealand (Fairbairn, 1961). Migration to New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s was spurred on by the industrial boom and modernisation (Anae, 1998; Grainger, 2006). Ironically expansionism necessitated the incorporation of the foreign, and those from Sāmoa obliged (Grainger, 2006). While immigration procedures were strictly controlled, thousands of Sāmoans made the move to New Zealand for a better life. Dunstall (1981) says that Sāmoans together with their counterparts in the Pacific, became a welcome solution to the growing demand for unskilled labour. With them travelled many more from their families, plus their

culture, church and *fa'a Sāmoa*. It became, what Wilcox (1996) referred to, an overwhelming period that endangered New Zealand's white power structure (Wilcox, 1996). As previously discussed, with migration came remittances, major goals of construction of houses, purchasing vehicles and erecting new churches, New Zealand became the land of milk and honey. Remittances helped the Sāmoan Government run the economy therefore changing the face of the nation (Ahlburg, 1991; Cahn, 2006; Macpherson, 1992).

This story of migration for Sāmoans extended to New Zealand where large Sāmoan communities exist. The children of these early migrants have risen in their own fame in all arenas in New Zealand. The field of sports has seen so many first- and second-generation Sāmoans excel for example in rugby: Michael Jones, Vaaiga Tuigamala, Tana Umaga, Alama Ieremia, Ma'a Nonu, Rodney So'oialo and Jerry Collins; and in netball: Rita Fatialofa, Leilani Reid, Sheryl Clarke and Maria Tutaia. New Zealand Sāmoans have also made a name for themselves in the arts arena. Artists such as Michael Field and Fatu Feu'u; musicians such as King Kapisi, Scribe and Igelese Ete who's music featured on the Disney Moana movie; as well as actors such as Teuila Blakely, Oscar Kightley and the Rock.

When people think of Sāmoans in New Zealand they often jump to the field of sports, arts and music. But Sāmoans are also serving in prominent positions within government in New Zealand. In academia, Damon Salesa, Sāmoa's first Rhode Scholar, is making a name for himself and Sāmoa through his writings and work at Auckland University; the current CEO for the Ministry of Pacific people, Mac Leauanae, is a first-generation Sāmoan who grew up in West Auckland; Honourable Carmel Sepuloni, is Minister of Social Development and is also in Cabinet along with Hon. Aupito William Sio, who is Minister for Pacific People.

While this wave of New Zealand Sāmoans are settled in New Zealand, two of my participants married New Zealand-born Sāmoans and have now taken them back to Sāmoa to live. Dovi (2016) and Rensel (2017) discuss the implications of reverse migration not only on those migrating but also for those that live in the place referred to as 'home' (Dovi, 2016; Howard & Rensel, 2017). **Temukisa Kupa**, married to Latu Sauluitoga Latu, and **Phillippa Matatia** married to Falefata Hele Matatia were both born and raised in New Zealand. It just so happens that they are related, but this was learnt during the interview process. Both these women

were raised, educated, and successful in their own right before meeting their husbands, yet they agreed to return back to Sāmoa and reside there. Listening to their stories growing up in a country miles away from the motherland in some ways resembled the stories of their husbands. They are featured in the findings of this research as a result of their connection to the principal participants:

Temukisa Kupa:

“My father, Tapaleao Moega left Sāmoa in 1955 and caught a boat to Fiji. He then flew to Auckland’s Whenuapai base. My mother, Emo Tuioti, moved to New Zealand a year later. My mother lived in a big house on Kings St in Ponsonby and had a lot of family immigrants stay there. My parents met on ‘K’ Rd (Karangahape) it was the place to meet and socialise for the Sāmoan community. They married in 1957 and firstly lived in King St before moving in with the Nuualiitia’s. They finally set up a home on Wilsher Crescent in West Auckland in 1961. I am the youngest of six siblings; four boys and two girls” (Interview with Temukisa Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Phillippa Matatia is a Sāmoan/ Maori and holds a Bachelor of Arts in Film from the University of Auckland. Phillippa is the daughter of Turi Te Hira (Te Rarawa) an architect, and Lili Tuioti, the first Sāmoan Secondary School Principal in New Zealand: “My maternal grandmother migrated to New Zealand from Sāmoa with her four daughters in the 1960s. My grandmother moved away from Sāmoa with her four girls, because she didn’t want them to be *nofo tane*¹⁷ and burn their faces in the *umu* (oven). They travelled to New Zealand by boat and I was told that my grandmother tied an *ie lava-lava* (sarong) to her daughter’s ankles and linked them to herself in case they rolled off the boat” (Interview with Phillippa Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

Conclusion

The 18 participants have been introduced in this chapter within the context of many other Sāmoans who have contributed, not only to the development of the public, private and civil society sectors of Sāmoa, but also Sāmoa as a nation. Their journeys and fields of expertise

¹⁷ *Nofo tane* refers to a woman married to a man. However, the connotation behind this term can sometimes be derogatory. Traditionally when a Sāmoan girls marries her future husband, she leaves her father’s home and moves in with her husband’s family. Historically the newly wedded couple would move in with the husband’s parents and live communally. The reason why it can be interpreted as derogatory is because these women often did most of the chores around the house and were never made to feel comfortable as it was not their home. This is a generalisation, and not all *nofo tane* had these experiences. Things have shifted considerably but the phrase is still thrown around in jest today.

may be different, but their impact is significant while still holding true to their cultural identity of *fa'a Sāmoa*. Returning to the opening proverb of this chapter, these Sāmoans have definitely used their craft and risen individually as a result. But their rise has not only seen benefits to them as individuals, but also to their *āiga*, and ultimately Sāmoa as a nation. Whether these Sāmoans are resident in Sāmoa or not, their contribution is still significant and is continuously reinforced through their hard work and determination.

Chapter 6: *Āiga*

“O le fogava’a e tasi”

Introduction

The 18 stories of the research participants are inspiring and compel the reader to engage chronologically with how they achieved their success. However not every component of the interviews was relevant to the final research. As discussed in the methodology chapter, I remained true to the *talanoa* model. While I had questions to guide the discussions, which helped to tease out the answers to the key questions of this research, the participants were free to talk about what they wanted to discuss.

The following thematic chapters are an analysis of the data collected for this research in relation to the core questions. First, we will look at the impact of the *āiga* on the 18 participants, followed by their early education in Sāmoa and their emigration for education. Added to that we examine how the many and varied experiences of being educated abroad fed into how the participants eventually assisted with the development of Sāmoa as a nation.

One core theme that all the respective participants of this research share is the value of the *āiga* and the importance this construct had on each of their *folauga mo a’oa’oaga*, and the decisions they made throughout their lives. Participants’ journeys were made possible through the empowerment, support, encouragement, determination, discipline (or fear), of a mother, father, aunt, grandparent, cousin or distant relative, who had either recognised their brilliance or became a role model to follow in their footsteps. Admittedly the participants’ journeys were not well thought-out planned stages in their lives that were totally managed by their families. Some came across their career professions themselves simply by what was available at the completion of their studies. What was clear is the *āiga* is paramount in that it provided a foundation or platform for participants to launch their careers from. The *āiga* construct is not only specific to the research participants but is woven in the fabric of

fa'a Sāmoa. In this chapter I will discuss the structure, value and importance of the *āiga* and how this construct enabled the participants to succeed for the benefit of the extended family.

Āiga – the extended family

In order for the participants to have a stable foundation, the role of their *āiga* was vital. It helped launch them into their early education, supporting them during their time abroad, and catapulting them into their careers. The *āiga* instilled values and morals that helped all participants make decisions about their future. It did not mean they had perfect lives, but the participants developed a skills-set they could tap into when things became challenging. **Nynette Sass'** biological mother was absent for all of her childhood, but she was raised by her grandmother who established a solid footing for Nynette from a very young age: *"I was raised by my half Chinese granny... ...We might not have had a lot economically growing up, but we were rich with values of respect for elders (va felaoa'i). This helped to set the moral compass for my life"* (Interview with Nynette Sass, Apia, March 2017).

The construct of the *āiga* is more than its literal translation of 'family'. The opening Sāmoan proverb to this chapter, *'O le fogava'a e tasi'* - we are one family, acknowledges that the *āiga* is wider than the immediate or nuclear family in a Western setting. Like Nynette Sass, others of the participants did not meet their biological parents until much later in life, but it did not make them orphans or displaced. They were part of a greater *āiga* that meant they were never alone. Maiava (2001) says the *āiga* is the social unit that incorporates the wider family, or kinship groups (Maiava, 2001, p. 79), the extended family. McPherson (2000) discusses the *āiga* in the context of the classical extended family "characterised by geographic proximity, economic interdependence, authority of the head of the group over the members, and an emphasis on kin relationships over the conjugal relationship. Membership is also more formally prescribed and limited" (McPherson, 2000). This definition of extended family means that members are safeguarded in every area of their lives. It is not intended to be an overwhelming protection, but such that members of the *āiga* understand they have a place of belonging.

The *āiga* provides shelter, food, protection, care, love, health, emotional support, faith etc (Rumbach & Foley, 2014) and one should be able to find everything one needs within your *āiga* and, if not, then advice on where to go.

This was played out in the life of **Maiava Iosefa Maiava** who had a very complicated childhood. Maiava was adopted and raised by his biological mother's sister Lualuai and her husband Afele in Savai'i. While Maiava was at primary school Lualuai fell ill with cancer and they had to move to Apia for her treatment. It was an unsettling time for Maiava as they moved between two different locations because of Lualuai's deteriorating condition. It was during his mother's illness that Maiava was introduced to Afele's step mother Anevili. When Lualuai died Maiava moved into Anevili's home that was full of other school-age children from the wider *āiga* who were being educated in Apia. Maiava remained with Anevili throughout his intermediate education and she fed and clothed him during that time. Although Maiava was moved further and further away from his nuclear family, there was always someone in the wider *āiga* that he could stay with. The title Maiava is actually from his adopted father Afele's family. Maiava, therefore, has no blood ties to this title but because he was raised in this family and through his career he is reciprocating by way of contributions made to *fa'alavelave*, in acknowledgement of the *āiga* raising him, Maiava is an accepted member of the family.

Extended families live together within a village setting. Communal practices ensure that members are looked after and it not unusual to have *āiga* live in close proximity to each other. This is particularly true for **Sau'i'a Louise Mataia-Milo**. "My upbringing was very traditional...we had very little money, but my parents would always support the *āiga*. I grew up in a big extended family. We lived communally on my mother's family land in Lepea. My maternal grandparents lived in the main house and our house was a *fale apa* on the same site" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Louise Mataia-Milo's living arrangement is typical in a Sāmoan setting ensuring that members of the family are taken care of when material resources are low (Ngan-Woo, 1985). Communal living means that there are always people around to care for the children and no one goes hungry because resources are shared across the village setting.

The participants were taught from a young age about rank and order within an *āiga* as Sāmoa is hierarchical by nature (Mead, 1928) and this is reflected within the *āiga*. Every *āiga* is guided by the elected *matai* of the *āiga*, a title holder who can be either male or female

(Aiono, 1986), though paramount chiefly titles are still commonly held by men. If a *matai* is fair and transparent, things can go relatively smoothly. Obviously there will not always be full agreement within a family and strong personalities can clash with the elected *matai*, but as the head of the family the *matai* can veto decisions at the benefit or demise of the *āiga* (Anae et al., 2017; Binder & Baker, 2017; Herr, 2015). The paramount *matai* is at the head, and other *matai* with lower ranked titles follow. Each *āiga* will have representatives that sit at the village council level to bring positions and understandings to wider discussions. Everybody from men, women and children have a role to play and responsibilities to carry out within the *āiga*. The village participate in daily activities from planting and harvesting plantations, fishing, food preparation, house building and education.

Sau’i’a Louise Mataia-Milo grew up understanding the mechanics behind the hierarchy in her own village of Vaimoso. “The dynamics of village life included listening to the old ladies, *lo’omatutua*, who were always very staunch. I grew up in the *auvaluma* [untitled women]. As one of the young girls, we all had different chores to do and I was one of the army of helpers. We learnt about our position, our *fa’alupega* [village chiefly honorifics]. This upbringing was our gateway to our future and this history shaped my life” (Interview with Sau’i’a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

My own experiences in growing up illustrated many of these themes regarding *āiga*. My father was a gifted orator and was always part of the decision-makers within the *āiga*. Before he passed, he held four titles, two of them being paramount titles, which meant that he was responsible for directing these families and deciding on everything from land disputes to planning events such as weddings, funerals, bestowing of titles etc. The role of a *matai* is not for the fainthearted, with leadership is responsibility, so we often did not see our father because he was travelling for *āiga* events. Even within my mother’s family, where dad’s voice probably should not have been heard because he married into the family, he was always in the decision-making seat with my mother’s siblings and cousins. It was a duty that he took great pride in and we all fell into line as members of the *āiga*. My mother is far more educated than my father and was the main bread winner in the family, but in a *āiga* setting she played the role of *fautua* – supporter of my father. My mother’s role was not demeaning, but there was a time and place for her to speak and she knew never to speak out of turn. This did not in any way mean that my mother was beneath my father, but she respected the protocol and

if she did want to speak she was never shy to do so. As *fautua* my mother always advised my father on things he did well and things that he could improve on, but this was only done in our home. My father respected her for this and their relationship, while not perfect, worked in the construct of the *āiga*.

Members of the *āiga* are taught from a young age how to serve elders. The etiquette school for a Sāmoan starts in the kitchen by cooking, cleaning, and understanding protocol and how things are done. We could never ask people who visited “would you like a hot drink?” The assumption had to be that of course they wanted a hot drink, so the more appropriate question would be “what hot drink would you like me to serve you?” Or for additional credit we would make a pot of coffee and a pot of tea and bring both out with a jug of water so that all options were covered. In this way I wouldn’t end up wearing the pot of tea when I upset my mother by only providing the guest with one option (that never happened again!). Using one’s initiative and understanding how elders liked things done really helps to bring peace within the *āiga* construct. I always tried to anticipate my parent’s wishes and I knew exactly how my mother liked things done. When my mother would ask me to put on the roast for dinner, I would take that three steps further and not only put on the roast but cook the potatoes and set the table so that it was all ready when everyone came home from school and work. I did this from primary school age. It really paid off when we came together as a wider *āiga* and I was familiar with running kitchens, so I was able to scale things up to cater for larger groups. Within the *āiga* you need to know how to work and there is no room for laziness. Bowing before people when passing them and saying *tulou* (excuse me) is also important to show humility and respect towards each other. This practice is continued today, and I find myself saying to my children when passing before anyone ‘say *tulou*’.

These early teachings helped **Falefata Hele Matatia** when he went away from his *āiga* on scholarship. “I left Sāmoa for my scholarship with my identity and culture intact. I took with me *alofa* [love], *fa’aaloalo* [respect], *fa’amaoni* [honesty] my *āiga*. These values helped me to survive while on scholarship, but I didn’t lose these values. I was not influenced negatively by the Western culture. In fact I reviewed what the Western world had to offer and applied what was relevant to my context. When I returned from scholarship, my values were not lost. I came back and knew my position, where to sit, how to stand, these are key components of *fa’a Sāmoa*” (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

The role of women should never be underestimated within the *āiga*. Young boys are reminded from a young age of the Sāmoan proverb, *o le iomata o le tuagane lona tuafafine* (the pupil of a brother's eye is his sister). The pupil is a very sensitive part of one's eye that allows light to strike the retina, the way a pupil is protected is the way a brother should protect his sister, who is metaphorically the light of the family. [Sau'i'a Louise Mataia-Milo](#) illustrates the concept of protection and the relationship between brothers and sisters when she tells the story of her maternal grandfather Vaifale who, when his father died, took responsibility for his aunts (his father's sisters). Vaifale actually did this right until his death and often took his siblings and children to do chores for his aunts. "[Vaifale always served his father's sisters, Sileoleoga \(Petaia\), Su'esu'e \(McDonald, Paul and Schmidt family\) and Le'avea \(Tuala Tiresa - Malietoa family\). Vaifale assumed this position when his father Sila, who was a master carpenter, went to Nuku'alofa, Tonga to work on a building project for Queen Salote but later died in Tonga. My grandfather always took his sisters to do domestic duties for his aunts as they were growing up](#)" (Interview with [Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo](#), Wellington, December 2016).

Everyone and everything has a place within the construct of the *āiga* and women are respected as matriarchs within the family. I have one sister who is the youngest in our family. My brothers and I helped to build my parent's home in Sāmoa, but we all understand that the house will belong to my sister and her family once our mother passes on. This is a given and my sister knows that we will always cover her needs in whatever way we can.

Knowing place and position within the *āiga* was played out, none more so than when my father passed. My siblings and I sat together to discuss the plans for the funeral. We knew two things: it would be big and expensive. My father's four titles from both his maternal and paternal lineage meant that each village had every right to come forward and ask to carry out the customary obligations of the day. But we reserved this right to the paramount chief of my father's family, his older brother Ulu. My uncle Ulu held that title since the late 90's and was chosen collectively by the wider family at the death of his older brother. All the plans for the funeral had to go through him and he essentially had the final say. We have a good relationship with Ulu and he was very accommodating and stood up for us when the wider *āiga* tried to change decisions for the day. We were transparent with Ulu and he was with us, so the funeral went well with him at the helm. My siblings and I were all given roles and

responsibilities and none of us questioned this regardless of our level of education, position within our careers or amount of money we put in for the event.

The *āiga* positions you as a Sāmoan. When I got older and moved to Wellington for university, I made friends with many other Sāmoan students. I was often invited around to their homes and met with their parents. The first thing I was asked, '*O ai lou āiga?*' (Who is your family?), and '*O fea lou nu'u?*' (Where is your village?). It felt somewhat of an interrogation, but all they were trying to find out was my position in a Sāmoan context. In every situation when I've been asked these questions, the questioner has known someone in my family. The most impressive was when I met with a parent of a Sāmoan student that I taught at a secondary school in South Auckland. His daughter was a delight to teach and very smart, so I was looking forward to meeting him. We exchanged pleasantries and discussed his daughter's progress. At the end of the conversation he asked, *o ai lou āiga?* I explained both my father's and mother's families and their villages in Sāmoa. He smiled and looked long and hard at me. When I asked 'do you know my family?' He replied, "I was the MC at your parent's wedding" and then proceeded to discuss how closely we were related on my mother's side. I was not familiar with his surname and later told my parents about him and they told me we're related to him. At break time I went to get a coffee in the staffroom, and my *pālagi* colleagues asked me how the night was going, I replied "I just met the MC at my parent's wedding". It's not every day something like that happens at a parent/ teacher evening, they replied. There really are no degrees of separation with Sāmoans. Everyone knows someone within your family and it can be overwhelming at times, if abused.

Āiga on a national scale

I was fortunate to be a delegate for the United Nations Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States (SIDS) convened from 1-4 September 2014, in Sāmoa. The event built on from previous conferences hosted by Barbados and Mauritius. The theme was the Sustainable Development of SIDS through genuine durable partnerships and was carried out to a high standard by the Government of Sāmoa. Sāmoa hosted 21 heads of state and governments, as well as 3,500 delegates including representatives from government, the private sector and civil society. As well as the formal conference there were also many side

events that took place pre and post the conference proper, and these were all held on the island of Upolu (IISD, 2014).

From the moment we arrived in Sāmoa, the airport was adorned with SIDS banners welcoming all the delegates to our country. The 40-minute drive from the airport to Apia was decorated with the colours of Sāmoa and Sāmoan flags. When I spoke with a government official, Pesetā Noumea Simi, I was told none of the villages in Sāmoa were given any funding by the government to decorate their street fronts. This was done by everyone in the village collectively, pooling their personal resources together to promote the interests of Sāmoa and to put our best foot forward. Whenever a visiting party arrives for an event or *fa'alavelave*, the *āiga* always brings out the best of everything to ensure the visitors feel welcome.

I spoke with some foreign delegates who frequent UN conferences, as this was my first conference of this type I had nothing to compare it to. I was told that Sāmoa had gone above and beyond their call of duty. All public servants had a role to play. I recognised some of them who worked as principal officers within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. They were all assigned different delegations to look after. Hosting did not stop once the formalities of the conference ended each day as the host then accompanied their delegates to after functions and waited patiently until the delegates were ready to go home. I sat with some of them who had not slept in the weeks leading up to the conference. During the week, one lady had not seen her children going on to three weeks as she had sent them to her parents in Savai'i until the conference was over. Sāmoans are used to long hours during a *fa'alavelave* staying up all hours of the morning cooking, cleaning, preparing, and talking with families, the *āiga* focus on the *fa'alavelave* and give it their full commitment on until it is completed. I also noticed that senior public servants had put aside their positions to serve, Pesetā Noumea Simi, who was the ACEO of the Aid Coordination Division and who usually represents Sāmoa's positions at high level UN meetings, writes reports on aid effectiveness and is known globally for her work in aid and development. She was handing out plates of food at a side event. I saw another CEO opening up gates so that cars could get through to the SIDS Village. In a typical *fa'alavelave*, career positions are parked and your role as a member of the *āiga* is assumed to focus on the event.

Participants remarked time and time again that the Sāmoa people and the government put on an impressive and impeccable show, every colourful detail was carried out with care (IISD, 2014). On my way home after the conference, the plane was buzzing. Nearly every foreign woman was wearing a flower in their ear, a Sāmoan-designed outfit or a piece of local jewellery. I was stopped on my way to the bathroom by a woman from Europe. She asked if I was a Sāmoan, I replied yes. She then made the comment: “I have no idea how Sāmoa pulled that off, but it was a remarkable effort by everyone”. I said to her that the whole event to me was a *fa’alavelave* but on a national scale, everyone assumed their roles and responsibilities and worked collaboratively right from the time delegates arrived at the time they left. This is exactly how a *āiga* operates when a family has a *fa’alavelave*. At the end of the conference, the Prime Minister thanked the country in a national broadcast, a type of debrief which also occurs when a *fa’alavelave* ends.

Expectations set by the *āiga*

Setting expectations for members of the *āiga* is done verbally by one’s elders or through observation. Key messages can be shared amongst members of the *āiga* in the way a *fa’alavelave* - transliterally meaning ‘interruption’ to the *āiga* general routine (Tui Atua, 2009), is carried out. It is common for the *āiga* to rally together to provide sufficient resources to meet obligatory demands for *fa’alavelave*. Puaina et al (2008) clarify that the idea of giving to a *fa’alavelave* is to share the load of larger responsibilities within the *āiga* in times of need such as a funeral, wedding, birthday, bestowal of titles, church building projects, village building projects, etc. When an *āiga* has a funeral, the first thing that enters the mind of a Sāmoan is how one can help by way of giving food, money, fine mats etc. There is an unspoken expectation that *āiga* will arrive from far and wide and rally together in support. These expectations are instilled in every member from a young age. As an adult I now participate in these practices as an active giver to *fa’alavelave*.

But there are also expectations that are delivered verbally for the benefit of the *āiga*. If you ask any Sāmoan whether they have been subjected to the ‘guilt of a Sāmoan parent’, without doing any research I can confidently say that 90% will respond affirmatively. Parents will do anything and everything to ensure their children do well, because if the children do well, the *āiga* benefits. In our home, like most other Sāmoan families, anything that reinforced the importance of education was used. There is a commonly used Bible verse that is often quoted

in Sāmoan households: “*O le atali’i poto na te faafiafia lona tamā; a o le tama valea e fa’anoanoa ai lona tinā*” *Fa’ataoto 10:1* (“A wise child brings joy to a father; a foolish child brings grief to a mother” Proverbs 10:1). The word *valea* in Sāmoan is quite strong and is more than ‘foolish’ as has been used in the English translation. When someone is *valea* they are associated with stupid, idiotic, failure, embarrassment, no hope, cannot be relied on, no future. I remember when my father recited this Bible verse in our home, I had visions of my dear mother sitting sadly in our home because of me being *valea*. I’m not a theologian, nor do I know for sure whether the Hebrew meaning behind this verse pertains to education, but as much as being well-educated equated to the progress of the *āiga*, if one were *valea* it also meant the demise of the *āiga*. The pressure therefore on the participants to do well, was not taken lightly. When the participants travelled abroad for education they were never alone - sitting on their shoulders were the expectations of their families back home.

Some of the participants came from families who took advantage of all that the early administrators of Sāmoa had to offer. [Hinauri Petana](#), comes from a long line of prominent, intelligent, successful, strong, and influential men and women over the past four generations who have served, and continue to serve, the Government of Sāmoa. This is a remarkable family who have supported each other with the primary focus of, not only developing opportunities for their *āiga*, but also Sāmoa, while holding true to their culture and heritage. “My maternal grandfather is [Le Mamea Matatumua Ata Faletoese](#), who was a paramount chief of Matautu, Lefaga, and held many senior positions under the NZ Trusteeship of Sāmoa, and later in the government when Sāmoa gained independence. His first marriage was to [Fa’alelei Masinalupe](#). They had four daughters: [Laulu Fetauimalemau Mataafa](#) (Educator, Politician), [Suiamaisitoeainaofaletoese Petana](#) (Secretary Public Service Commission), [Eni Leulumoega Sofara](#) (Broadcaster), and [Matatumua Maimoaga Vermeulen](#) (Superintendent of Nursing, Politician and Environmentalist). Their only son was [Le Mamea Ata](#) (a medical doctor). Our grandmother passed away when her son Ata was a baby. My grandfather [Le Mamea](#) remarried some time later to [Faleluafua Perelini Afamasaga](#). [Le Mamea](#) spoke fluent German and was an educated man. He worked as a translator amongst many other duties under both the German and New Zealand Administrations. My mother is [Suia](#). When New Zealand took control of Sāmoa, they started the process of preparing Sāmoa for independence. They held national scholarship exams for the first intake and [Suia](#) topped that

exam, and she, along with her elder sister Fetau, were in the first lot of scholarship recipients. Eni followed later in the second group, with Maimoaga also gaining a scholarship award. There was a lot of controversy around Le Mamea's children going on scholarship, but they were not selected randomly, but instead had to sit national exams to qualify, like all the others given such opportunities to prove themselves" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Hinauri's aunt, Masiofo Laulu Fetauimalemau, was Sāmoa's first lady at independence in 1962. She married Fiame Mata'afa Faumuina Mulinu'u II, son of Mau movement leader and paramount chief Mata'afa Faumuina Fiame Mulinu'u I. Laulu attended Apia Primary School and, when she was successful in gaining a scholarship to New Zealand, she attended Kowhai Intermediate and then moved with Suia to attend Wairarapa College in Masterton. Laulu moved on to Ardmore Teachers College in Auckland gaining a teaching qualification before returning to Sāmoa to teach at Sāmoa College. She left teaching when she married Mata'afa, combined being a dutiful wife with forging her own career. "My mother was educated by Laulu at Sāmoa College in the late 1950s and we were often told stories of how strict Laulu was on the students. Nobody got away with anything as students were reminded every day by Laulu that they had made it into the preeminent college in the country, so they had to continue proving themselves with no excuses.

My great grandfather, Faletoesa compiled the first book of *fa'alupega* [village chiefly honorifics] and Fetau accompanied him on his missions throughout the country to put together this momentous work. She was one of the finest female orators Sāmoa had ever heard. She had intelligence and was interested in oratory so she naturally carried this ability into her political and public speaking life. In Sāmoan oratory, Fetau would quote from the Bible and other well-known Sāmoan orators and their rhetoric. In English, she would be quoting from Shakespeare, the Bible, Milton and other leading writers, and had a natural ability and commanding presence, that made you want to listen. Her teaching experience added to this as well, in holding the attention of those she spoke to or with" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Masiofo Laulu Fetauimalemau went on to have a stellar career of her own. She travelled the world alongside her husband and worked with the Pacific Council. She was bestowed with the title Laulu in 1964 by the village of Lotofaga. When her husband passed away in 1975, Laulu

contested his seat and successfully entered politics. In 1976 Laulu was awarded an honorary doctorate in Law (LLD) by Victoria University of Wellington in recognition of the outstanding achievement and contribution to both the development of women and also the development of Sāmoa.¹⁸ In the late 1980s Laulu was appointed Consul General and eventually High Commissioner in Wellington before she retired in 1997. The unspoken expectation for Hinauri following in the footsteps of such a strong family history, meant that if she had the ability to do well in education, there was very little wriggle room for her to fail.

There was also an expectation from Cam Wendt's grandfather that his children and grandchildren would all do well. His family are very accomplished and benefitted from the encouraging words from their *āiga*. "My sister Tanya topped School Certificate at Sāmoa College and gained a scholarship to Wales – Atlanta College. They only accepted top students at that school. My sister Lani lived in Washington DC when my father was Ambassador for Sāmoa to the States. She then moved to Wellington to do a BA at VUW, she taught for some time before setting out to become an author of the Telesa series. My other sister Pele is a chemical engineer and has a BA and a MA, she works on oil rigs. Rebecca was dux in her year and topped all her subjects. She went on to gain a LLB from VUW and currently lives in Rarotonga with her family" (Interview with Cam Wendt, Apia, November 2016).

On a slightly different angle **Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche**, who was born into Sāmoan royalty, could be interpreted as someone having a lot of material wealth. But this could not be further from the truth. Unlike Tongan nobility who collect leases from residents and businesses within their constituencies, Sāmoan nobility do not own all land in Sāmoa. Forging a path for the success of the *āiga*, was just as much a part of Papali'i's life as it was for Hinauri Petana. While there are definitely examples of members of the tama-a-āiga titles using their position to get ahead (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017), Papali'i did not have the same experience and in some instances her rank worked against her, so she had to work doubly hard to progress for her *āiga*: "I think a lot of people were/are under the misconception that if one was Malietoa's daughter one was privileged and had money. On the contrary, we grew up very poor. I think we were one of the poorest families in Sāmoa because my parents were forever giving money away to their hard-up relatives that came for *fa'alavelave*. We accepted

¹⁸ <https://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/victorias-story/history/honorary-graduates>

this as a way of life however we were very strictly brought up and schooled in the values of our culture. It was hard most of the time to be a role model on an empty stomach and being stigmatised for having a name that was acquired at birth without one's say whether it was all right to have it or not. Growing up with my siblings, we were the victims of abuse (hair pulling, foul language, told to go to the back of the queue etc.) because we were Malietoa's children. It rubbed off on most of us and these complexes have been part of our lives ever since - we are hesitant to face people or be too uncomfortable in people's company" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017). For Papali'i it was her mother that encouraged her to move away for education, their family fell on hard times when her parents split: "I was lucky that my mother fought hard and encouraged me to get a scholarship to go away. She realised that I had potential to study if I really wanted to because I was a reader" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

Obligations

Lilomaiaava-Doktor (2004) states that improving and enhancing the *āiga*, culturally, socially and economically is the aim of *fa'a Sāmoa* and the status is dependent on the behaviour, actions and interactions of *āiga* members and their *matai* (Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiaava-Doktor, 2004). The status of the *āiga* establishes the identity and self-worth of an individual and being part of a well-respected and well-known *āiga* is of equal importance and moves out to the village, church and wider community (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2000). For the participants migrating for education it was about acknowledging all they were taught as young people of the *āiga*. They had all received rich upbringings, learning skills and abilities that rooted them in *fa'a Sāmoa*. Their minds had been conditioned to supporting a wider network of people rather than just the individual. The expectation to succeed therefore was not only placed on them by their *āiga*, but also by themselves. The sense of obligation back to their families saw them as somewhat of a sacrifice in order to create opportunities for the generations that followed. **Louise Mataia- Milo** articulates this when she reflects on moving to Hamilton, New Zealand to undertake her first degree: "All the way through university I could feel my mother, at the pub, at uni, everywhere I went, it was as if my brain was conditioned to feel her presence. I could hear her '*aua ge'i e faia se mea leaga, ia e keige lelei*' (don't do anything bad, be a good girl). She had drilled something in me" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Participants found that there was a sense of obligation back to their *āiga*, through the act of reciprocity. This is the act of giving and receiving and is practiced frequently through family events such as weddings, birthdays, funerals and church events. Accountability plays a key role within the *āiga*. All actions, good or bad, will be reflected back on one's *āiga* so it is important that the reputation of the *āiga* is upheld with one's actions as everything that is said or done is accountable back to the *āiga* (Swain, 2014).

Honiara completed her MA in Applied Linguistics in 2013. Her parents, son and a lot of her immediate and extended family attended her graduation in April 2014. "I come from a very close-knit family – so one's achievement is the whole family's jubilation" (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017). There was a real sense of responsibility and duty for the participants. When **Suai'a Louise Mataia-Milo** submitted her PhD for marking at Victoria University of Wellington, she rung her mother in Sāmoa to tell her: "*ua taunu'u le fa'amoemoe, fa'afetai mo le tapua'i* [the mission is complete, thank for your ongoing support]" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016). At the end of her journey she was not alone, it was important for Louise to acknowledge her *āiga* by way of her mother and personally thank her. **Aopapa Maiava** explains this sense of obligation that all the participants felt by saying "My motivation for education has always been about supporting my *āiga* and that has never stopped" (Interview with Aopapa Maiava, Apia, March 2017). To this day Aopapa's *āiga* benefit from her ongoing support.

There does exist a challenging side to the obligations towards the *āiga* that would be remiss of me to not discuss. Pressures can be quite an overwhelming experience for individuals. While the concept of *āiga* is dear and close to my heart, there is no denying the stresses that Sāmoans go through to meet the dream of their families. My cousin has recently moved his youngest son to Wellington for tertiary studies. My cousin has four sons and none of them have had an opportunity to acquire a degree. Previously he had attempted to put his eldest son through university, but unfortunately things did not turn out and his other children were working but in low - waged positions in Sāmoa. His last attempt for a university graduate in his family is now on the shoulders of the youngest son who was fortunate to get into a commerce programme at Victoria University in Wellington. My cousin and his other children

now fund the fees of close to NZ\$3000 per trimester for the youngest son to fulfil this dream and to get the *āiga* ahead. All the resources of the *āiga* have been poured into the youngest son to succeed, and his success will not only be for himself but for his wider *āiga*, who will no doubt want to see a return on their investment. The dreams and aspirations of the older siblings have been sacrificed to support the younger brother throughout his schooling.

This act of collective giving is not uncommon in a Sāmoan setting. Unfortunately for some, the idea of giving in a modern environment has gotten out of hand and contributed to additional stress for Sāmoan families (Seiuli, 2015). Lesatele (2016) from the University of Auckland carried out a survey with 400 Auckland Sāmoans about the practice of giving for a *fa'alavelave*. While most of those surveyed took pride in *fa'alavelave* acknowledging that it was part of their identity and obligation to encourage a sense of community and reciprocity, it did place a huge financial burden with some extended families giving up to \$10,000 for a *fa'alavelave*. Lesatele (2016) interviewed mainly full Sāmoans who lived in New Zealand and were first generation New Zealand Sāmoans, predominantly from South Auckland between the ages of 19 – 35. The views therefore are not necessarily reflective of all Sāmoans. Some respondents described the practice as being used as a kind of social boasting and as being out of control. People in the community felt under pressure to give more than they could afford. Instead of it being about supporting the other party, it's more about showing 'I have all this money and I'm able to show my family can afford it'. But behind the scenes a lot of family members are struggling to contribute (Lesatele, 2016). Lesatele (2016) found that a lot of Sāmoans were taking loans out to cover costs of giving because the cost of living in New Zealand was expensive enough (Dreaver, 2014; Fuata'i, 2017; Lesatele, 2016).

While this might be the case for some, **Honiara Salanoa** still stands by her family: “Family has, and will always be important to me *o le āiga o lou fa'asinomaga*. I believe that my family are my community. We work together, attend church, live together. My heart lives with my people in Sāmoa and I want to give back to my community. It might seem like there are always '*fa'alavelave*' but I have a responsibility to my family and community. We might not have money, but we're content with our life. It's not just about me, but my whole family” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

Aopapa Maiava shares the same sentiments. I have known Aopapa all my life and she is often called on for financial obligations. She is at every *fa'alavelave* and does not complain about the giving: “Family is crucial to me. While it can bring stress due to financial and obligatory commitments, I still love my family and it really defines me. I’m the oldest grandchild and no matter what happens in life, everything is going to be all right because we have each other. There are no complications with this side of my *āiga* and *faigofie a kakou* [we’re uncomplicated]. I really appreciate and am grateful with the simple and straight forwardness of my *āiga* and it’s because we all think alike. We are brought up with the same mentality, the same state of mind, education is key and we are founded on our faith. All this comes from God and we have a Godly legacy” (Interview with Aopapa Maiava, Apia, March 2017).

While the majority of my participants enjoyed their educational experiences abroad, this is not always been the case for scholarship students. Tiatia-Seath (2008) discusses the pressures put on Sāmoan students to succeed in schooling and there is an honouring of parents and the *āiga* that is important to ensure that achievement is accomplished (Tiatia-Seath, 2008). But there is often no acknowledgement of the huge culture shock that students endure let alone the stress of completing assignments on time in a completely different setting (Borrero, et al., 2010; Graham et al., 2010; Tiatia-Seath, 2008).

For Patricia Galovale-Siaosi, who gained a scholarship from Sāmoa to New Zealand in the mid-2000s, her story resulted in a tragedy. Falling pregnant to her partner in Sāmoa after her first, and only, sexual encounter, Galovale-Siaosi was ashamed to tell her *āiga* as she did not want to lose her scholarship and was ashamed to be unmarried and pregnant. It had become quite overwhelming for her that she gave birth to the child and disposed of it and the child later died. Galovale-Siaosi was charged with infanticide as a result (McNeilly, 2016). The pressure Galovale-Siaosi had placed on herself was unnecessary and it could have ended differently if she was not afraid to share her story about the pregnancy.

The *āiga* has had to adapt over time to account for the modern environment in order to factor in a lot of issues and demands on Sāmoans today. While the *āiga* has worked in the lives of my participants there are cases where things get out of hand and result in some terrible conclusions. The *āiga* then, can be a powerful support system but they can also create pressures on its members.

Conclusion

The construct of the *āiga* instils in its members traditions, cultural norms, customs, respect, morals and *fa'a Sāmoa* that provide them with a solid foundation before they start their *folauga mo a'oa'oaga*. The participants took these teachings and learnings with them due to the raised expectations from their *āiga* but also the obligations they put on themselves as a result of their upbringing. When the participants did migrate for education they felt empowered and this cemented their ability to succeed while abroad.

The construct of the *āiga* has also been adopted and expanded to carry out large scale events such as the third International Conference on Small Island Developing States (SIDS) at the national level. Concepts of working collaboratively and communally ensure that Sāmoa is strengthened in a way that benefits the construct of the *āiga and the nation*. It is continuously practiced today both in Sāmoa and within transnational Sāmoans abroad.

Chapter 7: Early Education in Sāmoa

Ua fetau fola

Introduction

This chapter looks at the introduction of western education into the lives of the participants who, with the help of their *āiga*, built a solid foundation for further study. Since colonisation, it has been important that Sāmoans have been able to operate effectively in both *fa'a Sāmoa* and western culture. It has been recognised by the *āiga* that the young need to understand the two worlds in order to stay true to their cultural identity while also appreciating the global influences that affect them.

Historically chiefs always wanted their young to be educated and learn foreign languages in order to represent the interests of Sāmoa in western-formed governments. This occurred under both with the German and New Zealand administrations (Ma'ia'i, 1957). Recognising the exceptional abilities of these students and sending them abroad for education occurred as early as 1920 (Ma'ia'i, 1957). Contrary to literature, that credits colonial administrations for advancing local communities (Mead, 1928), in the context of Sāmoa it was the locals that fought for their children to be advanced within western paradigms (Ma'ia'i, 1957). This was not because the chiefs were unhappy with *fa'a Sāmoa*, but they recognised the advancement opportunities that western models presented for their culture. Furthermore, they also understood that westerners had assumed authority of their islands and set up western governance structures that were unfamiliar to Sāmoans. It was through the *Mau a pule* (opinion of rule) that Sāmoa needed to take strategic measures to regain their authority.

Most of the research participants for this thesis grew up in Sāmoa in very humbling circumstances in comparison to their western counterparts. Sāmoa was a stark contrast to what they encountered when they migrated for further educational opportunities. However,

they were able to straddle both worlds and not only survive, but excel by not allowing a different language and culture to become stumbling blocks for them.

The proverb *ua fetau'i fola* – the floorboards meet, typically refers to when two *matai* agree in a *fono* - meeting, meaning that further discussion is superfluous as the matter is settled (E. Schultz, 1980). I am using this proverb in the context that the two floorboards refer to that of *fa'a Sāmoa* and western education. They provide a solid floor or platform for the participants to walk and live upon. This chapter will discuss how the participants were able to navigate their way through their early education in Sāmoa and build a foundation on which their further education would take place.

Research participants have shown us through their stories how the evolution of the Sāmoan education system crossing cultures through colonisation has allowed young scholars to straddle their own and western demands. They have also given us a useful view of how beliefs and expectations formed them from early childhood and the *a'oga o le faife'au* - through to high school.

Education in Sāmoa

The education system in Sāmoa was born out of an early colonial education system. The schools in Sāmoa were modelled after schools in Europe devoted to civilising the Sāmoans into western culture, cutting them away from their roots of culture (Wendt, 1983). While Sāmoans wanted their young to be educated in the western system, the Europeans were very much in control of how this operated. When my mother attended Sāmoa College in the late 1950s English was the only language that could be spoken within the school grounds. If students were heard speaking Sāmoan during school time they were punished with detention. Sāmoan teachers adhered to this rule too and students were able to continue speaking in Sāmoan within their families.

C. E. Beeby, under the New Zealand administration, can be credited with developing much of the formal philosophical and structural basis of the current Sāmoan education system (Tavana et al., 1997). Beeby developed an educational model identifying the quality of the school system following four stages: 1) the Dame School stage, 2) the formalism stage, 3) the transition stage and 4) the meaning stage (Beeby, 1966). Beeby was employed by the New Zealand administration as the primary figure to plan Sāmoa's education. Like Rostow's five

stages of growth (Rostow, 1952) Beeby believed in order for schools to advance within the four levels, it must surpass the previous stage through a criteria that involved: employing good teachers through rigid recruitment processes, streamed schools and classes within schools, and individual student performing well in external examinations, to name a few. Beeby believed Sāmoa was at stage two during his tenure and had the potential to move to stage three. Colonial powers attributed the dominance of the traditional Sāmoan culture as leading to the failure of schools to reach stage four (Tavana et al., 1997). Modernisation theory saw culture and tradition as a stumbling block to development (Engerman et al., 2003; Rostow, 2000). The world of traditionalism, modernists argued is stagnant and therefore holds back development (Smith, 1950). For progress to take place, culture and tradition must be done away with and replaced with modernity (Eisenstadt, 1966).

The German and New Zealand administrations ensured that schooling in Sāmoa was a very competitive process. When New Zealand assumed administration of Sāmoa, the curriculum, subjects and streamed classes were adopted across the whole country and modelled after early education systems in New Zealand. Students were made to believe that education was the tool to succeed: “I always knew that I needed to do well at school. Education was the way forward and teachers always reminded us that throughout school... I always listened during class to the teachers as there were very little resources to study from” (Interview with Malae Aloali’i, Auckland, January 2017).

Streaming classes was a deliberate move to separate the top students from the weaker ones. Only the cream of the crop made it into the top government schools in Apia. National examinations were sat by all students across the country and you had to have an excellent pass to secure a place in a school in Apia.

The common schooling trajectory for top students was attending Apia Primary School in Malifa, followed by Leififi Intermediate School and then the top secondary school in the country, Sāmoa College. Most of the participants went to some if not all these schools, and others followed the Catholic education system that had single sex schools from primary level through to secondary school. It was particularly hard to break into Apia schools for those living outside of town. However, securing a place in the school was only the first step. Moving up into accelerated classes was equally competitive, and then of course maintaining one’s place in the top class based on regular testing, was a constant battle throughout the year.

The competitiveness of schooling in Sāmoa is illustrated by **Sa'ilele Pomare** who was fortunate to spend two years of her formative education in Fiji while her father was on scholarship in 1975 at the Pacific Theological College: “At Apia Primary there were six streamed classes at every level, A1 – A3 and B1 – B3. I entered into the lowest class B3 until after the first term exam and then was shifted to A3. At the end of Std 1, I topped the A3 class so by Std 2 I was in A1. In A1 the majority of the kids in that class were *pālagi*, Indians, and *afakasi*, many spoke no Sāmoan at all. I did my intermediate years at Leififi Intermediate School. Like Apia, primary the classes are streamed A1 – A3; B1 to B3 and then there’s Accelerate 1 and 2 that all the kids from other primary schools in Sāmoa can apply for. There was an exam to sit to get into Leifiifi Intermediate School but Apia Primary’s Standard 4A1 – A3 and the top 5-10 of B1 got automatic entry into Leifiifi. The rest sat the Leifiifi entrance exam and those who failed went to Apia Form to complete Form 1 and 2, just like Leifiifi. Form 1 brought about an awareness of intense competition. Some of the Accelerate 1 placements were high achievers from other schools and they could easily take your spot in Form 2” (Interview with Sailele Pomare, Apia, March 2017). Sailele was a naturally bright student, but even she had to work hard to maintain her placing.

Most students living in town attended the top schools, but those living outside of Apia were less fortunate unless they made it in through the district examinations. **Latu Sauluitoga Kupa**, who lived quite a distance from Apia, welcomed the opportunity to be educated in town and was determined to make it through: “When I was approaching intermediate school, children in the districts, outside of the town area, were given the opportunity to sit a national exam to attend Leififi in town. All the best schools, set up under the New Zealand administration, were based in Apia with the best staff and resources. There were two places from each district to attend Leififi and I was one of these students from the Aleipata district. Back then if children made it into any of the schools in the town area, it was considered very honouring and it felt like you had made it.

At Leififi there were two classes set aside for the students that came in from the districts. They were the lowest streamed classes of the school. It was an honour to be selected to attend the school, but I found myself in the bottom class. I wanted to prove myself and following our first exam I topped the whole level in maths. But because my English grade was poor I remained in the lower class for rest of my first year.

In my second year at Leififi, I didn't make it into the top class, although I topped maths in my level the previous year. I was disappointed, but I had to move on because it was an important year as making it to Sāmoa College was my priority. I was confident of getting into Sāmoa College, but I wanted to make it into the top class" (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Latu did make it to Sāmoa College and whilst he did not make it into the top class, he still topped maths for every year level whilst he was there. Latu also skipped a class because he was well ahead of the other students.

The Sāmoa College uniform is well known in the country. If this uniform was donned by students it acted as a medal to get free bus rides, discounted food, respect and honour because Sāmoans knew how difficult it was to find a place at Sāmoa College. "Wearing the gold and orange school uniform of Sāmoa College earned us respect in Sāmoa. I remember being stopped in the street by people of my village or friends of my parents whenever I was in my uniform. They would give me money and treats. It was because I was a boy from the district who was representing them all at the most prestigious school in the country. It was a good feeling" (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

The participants were being educated in an era where the teacher was always right. Being educated was serious business and challenging teachers was something that was frowned upon. This dynamic of respecting one's elders and the hierarchical nature of *fa'a Sāmoa* aligned with the western education model, so teachers literally took this concept into the classroom and students were put under strict pressure to succeed at any cost.

One such teacher was Filipo Sāvea, the Principal of Vaivase Primary School where five of the participants carried out their early education. Vaivase was not the top Primary School in Apia, but it was down the road from Sāmoa College. Filipo taught in the senior school and had worked in the school from the early 1970s until his retirement in the late 1990s (Sāvea, 2017). His main goal was to get as many of his top students into Sāmoa College. He openly competed with Apia Primary and challenged his students. The stories from these five participants about their time with Filipo Sāvea was both petrifying and inspiring, but it gives an insight into the competitive nature of education in Sāmoa.

Aopapa Maiava shares her experience of Filippo in the 1970s: “My parents enrolled me in Vaivase Primary School where my uncle Filippo was Principal and his wife Logo (dad’s sister) was a teacher..., I did all my intermediate years at Vaivase Primary School because I couldn’t get into Leififi Intermediate as you had to start at Form 1 and you couldn’t enter from Form 2. There was a group of five of us that were the top of the school. In Form 2, I was made Head Girl by the teachers which lasted two weeks – shortest ever in the history of head girls. My uncle, being the principal, heard a few rumours amongst the students that the only reason I was head girl was because I was his niece. Filippo was so strict and he never favoured nepotism. Everyone (especially his family members) had to work hard to get anywhere and there was no special treatment. He called me to stand up in the School Assembly and he removed my *pige* (Head Girl badge) from my blouse and I lost the Head Girl role that day.

My two years with Filippo were so intense. I was boarding with my uncle at the time. My routine was I’d wake up in the morning and we all had chores to do. Then it was school until 1:30pm before returning home to do more chores including food preparation for dinner. After dinner we’d return to school to study until Filippo was tired. This was every day and Filippo was so strict. I use to get hit by uncle Filippo if I got things wrong, my bum was red, blue, purple, green, and black all the colours of the rainbow. At the end of my Form 2, I made it into Sāmoa College – this was the ultimate aim for all of us” (Interview with Aopapa Maiava, Apia, March 2017).

Laumata Pauline Mulitalo is the daughter of Filippo Sāvea and she attended Vaivase Primary a decade after Aopapa and her father’s teaching methods did not change: “I started my primary education at Vaivase Primary School. From Year 1 – 5 I topped the class. With both my parents working as educators, I grew up with education all around me and it was the biggest part of my life. We were always doing school work, even after school we did more school work. I moved to Malifa for Years 6 and 7 and it was there then I’d realised that there was a greater and challenging world out there regarding education that I’d never knew before. On top of that my classmates were speaking to each other in English which made me feel intimidated. I never liked speaking in English to others.

I moved back to Vaivase for my Year 8 as my father wanted to teach me himself, especially in Mathematics. Being the daughter of the Principal meant that there was no favouritism. It was

harder for us, if we made a mistake in class Filippo would get angry and punish us as an example to the rest of the class. We would sit on the mat and my father had a long stick, if anyone got anything wrong they felt the wrath of Filippo. In Year 8 it was a big year getting ready for secondary school with the ultimate goal to get into Sāmoa College. There was no time to *kafao* [muck around]. Before the exam, we would camp at the school for revision. My written English was very strong, and I was in the top 20 students in the Year 8 national exam. My results were strong that I made it into Sāmoa College. From Year 9 – 13 at Sāmoa College I topped my Year 9 class and made it to the top Year 10 class and stayed in the top classes for the remaining years of College” (Interview with Laumata Pauline Mulitalo, Apia, November 2016).

By the 1990s, when **Aloali’i Viliamu** attended Vaivase Primary School, Filippo Sāvea still maintained his strong work ethic and high expectations for his students. Filippo taught Aloali’i skills that still serve him today as an educator and maths teacher. Filippo was somewhat of a mentor for Aloali’i Viliamu: “Filippo Sāvea was the Principal and he was so strict on us, but he was the best thing about my education. There were tests every week and placings within the class. We were seated in class where we were ranked academically. School was very competitive. Filippo taught me maths and there was a method he used to find the ‘X’ in algebra and it was brilliant. Years later when we returned to New Zealand so my mother could take up a teaching position at Aorere College, I was so confused with the method that my teacher taught me to find the ‘X’ in algebra, I reverted to using Filippo’s method and it worked every time. Now as a math teacher that’s the method I use with my students today. There was no special treatment at Vaivase. I got the massive stick on my backside just as much as the next kid. Filippo broke the stick on me one time, so I got a hit with an even bigger stick.

Around exam time we had Saturday classes and we did very long days. I topped English, Math, and Science and got a ‘B’ for Social Science. Sāmoan was my lowest grade. Maths was always my easiest subject. If Filippo didn’t push me, I never would have done well when we later moved to New Zealand. I don’t think I would have ever been interested in school if it wasn’t for the discipline I received in Sāmoa” (Interview with Aloali’i Viliamu, Auckland, January 2017).

The strong discipline from teachers was also received by **Papali’i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche**. She was disciplined for challenging her teacher even when she was in the right: “My

first school was the Model School. This school was in the same compound as the Western Sāmoa Teachers' Training College. Our school served as the observational model for the students that attended the Training College. This was during the New Zealand administration. Therefore most of the lecturers were New Zealanders. I remember distinctly one such observation lesson. I was in Standard. 3 at the time. The student-teacher conducting the lesson was confused over the meanings of 'further' and 'feather'. He started the lesson by writing the word "fur" on the board, then pointing to the hairs on his body (underarm) he said in Sāmoan, "*fulufulu*" (hairs). Then he wrote the word "further" on the board and said in Sāmoan, "*fulufulu o le moa*" (chicken hairs/ feathers). At this point I was trying not to laugh as I put my hand up. He asked if I had something to say, and I said that 'feather' is the word he was looking for as 'further' meant distance. He said in Sāmoan for me to shut my mouth and that I was too '*fiapoko*'. The *pālagi* lecturer stopped the lesson and had a talk with the student -teacher pointing out that I was right. Despite that, after the lecturer and the observing students left, I still got the strap from the principal of the Model School for 'insubordination' (being *fiapoko*)" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017). Schooling therefore was not always enjoyable, but there was little they could do at the time.

Not all teachers were strict. **Hinauri Petana** credits her teachers for the success of her and her contemporaries, who went on to become government CEO's, medical doctors, prominent business owners in Apia, and diplomats. Hinauri admits that her class was full of very intelligent individuals and was the first class to achieve high level pass rates for five subjects in School Certificate, but it was not just about their natural ability. "We were one of the last classes to benefit from the excellent experience and inspiring teaching of expatriate teachers and well-educated Sāmoan teachers who were former scholarship awardees with excellent academic qualifications. They all helped us to excel in our school work. One other notable feature I recall was that the ratio of teacher to pupils was like 1:35" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Sailele spoke fondly of her Standard 4 teacher Mrs Stewart, an expatriate woman who was patient with her students. Also, there was Mrs Tuitama who introduced Leififi to musical productions: "Mrs Stewart was really considerate with the way she taught and the way she explained things. Correct pronunciation of English words was very important to her. That's

the year some girls were getting their period and she was so compassionate. This woman was not just a teacher, she was a mother figure to us. We walked away that year with an amazing level of English. I made it into Form 1A1.

In Form 2, Mrs Tuitama came to Leifiifi from Pesega (LDS Church School). She did the Joseph and his Technicoloured Dream Coat production. We had a choir, soloists, actors, dancers, stage lights, it was a proper production. I was in the choir, it was so awesome. Our parents were invited. It ran for three nights. That was one production that Leifiifi will always be known for” (Interview with Sailele Pomare, Apia, March 2017).

Learning through books

Some of the participants really took to reading from a young age. They were introduced to well-known authors through their parents, aunts and teachers, and they were really able to broaden their appreciation of western concepts. The skill of reading helped some to become accomplished writers with extensive vocabularies and they were immersed even further into their education. **Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche** was encouraged to read by her aunt Salamasina and by the time she started school, she already knew how to read and write: “What helped me a lot in the different transitions of my life growing up, was my reading. I was an avid reader from a very early age. My aunt Salamasina made sure that I had enough books to read. She used to buy new books for me at the Wesley Book Shop every time their new shipment came in. That was my introduction to Shakespeare in abridged version... By the time I reached primary school, I was reading books like Tom Sawyer, Uncle Tom’s Cabin, Nancy Drew Mysteries, Huckleberry Finn and heaps of other stories. I also had a friend who supplied me with heaps of comic books like cowboy themes, The Phantom, Batman etc. I also loved listening to jazz and rock and roll music although every Sunday we respected our father and listened to classical music. So my imagination was in budding form” (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

Sailele Pomare was another enthusiastic reader, always finding ways to get her hands on new material: “I’ve always loved reading, my love of reading came from mum. She had so many books, and the only person who was allowed to read the books was my older sister, due to the nature of the material. Mum had the Dollanganger series: Flowers in the Attic, Petals on the Wind, If There Be Thorns, Seeds of Yesterday, Garden of Shadows. Some of these books were worse than 50 Shades of Grey. Once mum finished each book she would pass it on to

my sister. My sister was boarding at Sāmoa College at the time and she would read the books and then come back and tell us the story. It was like a movie night and we would find ourselves mesmerised by the stories. But I was secretly reading the books and noticed my sister kept missing out key parts of the story, so I would correct her. It was then that mum and older sister realised I had read all the books too.

In Std 2A1 ... I was introduced to so many other books. An Indian boy had Archie Betty Comics some were thick and some small. The comics got passed and swapped around the class once they were read. I would take my mum's books, romance series - Mills and Boons and Harlequin. I brought the big books to swap around. It was like our movie nights. At home we only had a small TV, and we could only watch the 'Chips series' and cartoons on Saturday, otherwise we weren't allowed to watch it all. So my entertainment was books. Dad subscribed to Reader's Digest, and Time Magazine. He had hard cover Reader's Digest given to him and I'd sit in the toilet and just read and read. After dinner I would disappear to read. I'd always be in the toilet reading.

Our neighbours in Malifa were a *pālagi* family from Australia and the couple had a daughter around my age named Laurita. I went to school with Laurita and my sister went to school with Laurita's sister, Bronwyn. I was invited round to play with her and I'd watch her play with her dolls. '*We're going to sew little skirts for the dolls today*' she'd say. I was never really interested in the dolls. I only went for the cookies and glass of milk, oh and the fried mince and grilled cheese. Laurita and Bronwyn also had lots of books that I'd borrow and I'd read them from cover to cover. The *pālagi* girls taught us how to do a production using plays from school journals. We would rehearse all day and I'd eat the cookies and drink the milk, then we would put on a show in the *fale* Sāmoa, complete with curtains, and we'd invite our parents to watch ... From Standard 2 – 4, I was in the top 10 in the school. Peter Honerkamp (an American boy), would bring in Superman, Batman and Spiderman comics. He owned the majority of the comics circulated around the classroom. He was the big man both in stature and personality" (Interview with Sailele Pomare, Apia, March 2017).

It would have been quite impressive for teachers in Sāmoa to come across these students who had a love for literature. **Hinauri Petana** had a real passion for reading and like Papali'i she memorised Shakespeare's sonnets and read Shelly, Milton and Byron. Hinauri was always interested in the school magazine and tells the story of an article she wrote about the popular

Beatles song, Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds: “In my younger college days, the Beatles was the rave and I was hooked to their music. One song I particularly liked was called ‘Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds’. I had no idea the song was in reference to LSD. I had to research LSD at the library and learnt about the effects of psychedelic drugs on people. There were Sāmoan Peace Corp hippies floating around Apia at that time. It was all new but interesting to me. I liked to write about these issues, and wrote about LSD but I lost my confidence when a poem I had written entirely by myself got me into trouble. I was called up by the teacher and later taken to the Principal’s office because they thought I had plagiarised someone else’s work. I won a scholarship award to go to Victoria University, and I wrote an essay for a history paper I was doing. My tutor gave me an A+ and said to me ‘I really believe you should think seriously about taking up writing as a career’. That restored my confidence but other life changing events decided otherwise” (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

These women were reading some difficult concepts and their comprehension levels were extraordinary, bearing in mind that their living environment would have been quite different to the contexts of the stories they read. They pushed themselves to excel in English while living in a strongly Sāmoan environment.

A’oga o le faifeau

The *a’oga o le faife’au* (church minister’s school) was set up by the London Missionary Society (LMS) across the country within village settings at the meso level. The focus of the *a’oga o le faife’au* was to upskill children (at the micro level) in literacy and numeracy and also draw heavily on learning and understanding the Bible through the Bible stories (Tagoilelagi-Leota, 2017; L Tanielu, 2004). I first learnt the Sāmoan alphabet (*pi tautau*) through church and this is a key feature of the foundation of literacy programmes for the *a’oga o le faife’au*.

The *a’oga o le faife’au* was run at the discretion of the *Faifeau* and, depending on the number of students. Parents held the teachings of the *a’oga amata* at a high level within the village (Auva’a, 2003; Ete, 2013). Iolesina Tagoilelagi aptly stated at the 1988 Lopdell Centre Conference on Developing Early Childhood Education “we are not trying to confine our children to *fa’a Sāmoa*. We are trying to bridge the gap so our children... learn to live happily in their new environment at the same time hold on to our cultural values especially our language” (Tagoilelagi-Leota, 2017, p. 1).

The *a'oga o le faife'au* is a unique feature of education in Sāmoa. It is recognised as the first educational institution for children. In most traditional villages, even today, the pastor's house is the first school house of the village children. From as young as three-years-old, children will attend *a'oga o le faife'au* every day of the week. As well as literacy, numeracy and the Bible, children also learn life skills that include sewing and cooking for girls, and plantation work and fishing for boys. Morals are also reinforced at *a'oga o le faife'au*. Correct behaviour -how to serve, stand, speak - are instilled in each child (Government of Sāmoa, 2005).

Today the *a'oga o le faife'au* continue to feature as an important part of the village set up despite the growth of *a'oga amata*, pre-school, facilities (Faoagali, 2004; Government of Sāmoa, 2005; Tanielu, 1997). This balanced school helped shape some of my participants and provided for them strong skills that lasted them into their schooling years: **Suai'a Louise Mataia-Milo**: "We learnt how to read from a young age. Although I grew up a staunch Catholic, I always attended the *a'oga o le faife'au* of the EFKS church not far from our home. Before school mum would say '*kamo'e alu e fai le fai'kau pi e sau ai*' (run and recite your alphabet [at the *a'oga amata*] and then return). I would do that for five minutes every morning before school and it was my routine. All the kids in our family would do that same routine. If we got things wrong '*e kauai oe i ma'a*' (you would get stones thrown at you)" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

For **Latu Sauluitoga Kupa** the *a'oga o le faife'au* was a little more intense as his father was the church minister of the village: "My parents served in Papa-Puleia for 21 years before moving to Iva, Savai'i (my father's village) and eventually to Matatufu in Upolu. Maths was always my strong suit and while I attended the local district schools, my real school was the *a'oga o le faife'au*" (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Fairbairn-Dunlop (1998) discusses how *a'oga o le faife'au* always had tests and quizzes within each class on all topics, and a prize giving after major examinations. *A'oga o le faife'au* was much more than a learning institution, there was always competition between the children to keep them motivated (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1998). "*A'oga o le faife'au* was not just on

Sundays, for us it was every week day with school finishing at 1pm. That gave us enough time to go home to change and have a quick bite before heading back to *a’oga o le faife’au* that started at 3pm and went on into the early evening. I did very few chores during our time in Matatufu. My dad wanted us to focus on learning. My father was really strict and I was treated more severely than the rest of the class. I was never allowed to make any mistakes, otherwise I would have been disciplined in front of the other students. So I made sure I was always ready for quizzes and continuously studying” (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Latu was asked whether he found this learning method intimidating. “No, I have fond memories of my time at *a’oga o le faife’au*. It was definitely hard work, but it was a great foundation for my later school years. My father was a strong mathematician and this is where I found my love of maths. During the lessons, students were brought before my father in pairs (boys versus girls) to recite their *fa’atele* (multiplication tables). They would start off with the younger age children reciting their ‘one times tables’, alternating between each pair. If a pair answered incorrectly they were hit. None of us ever wanted to be the one that was punished. My father would then move on to the next pair. I became so proficient at my times tables that I was never defeated and I ended up memorising my times tables up to 25. There was definitely more pressure on me because I was the son of the *faifeau*. There was no special treatment for me. I also had to convert metres to centimetres, miles to kilometres, weight versus mass. I worked this out all in my head. *A’oga o le faife’au* provided me with a solid foundation that enabled me to compete well with my classmates” (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Failure is not an option

Not all the participants naturally found their place in the education system. The journey for some was very difficult, with challenges of losing parents at a young age and learning to adjust to new environments, but failure was not an option. **Maiava Iosefa Maiava** was not very interested in primary school and preferred playing billiards and roaming the waterfront and the wetlands behind the village, catching fish and crabs. After moving to Apia and losing his mother while still at primary school, Maiava changed his attitude to school after seeing how people in Apia lived. He knew that the only way forward was to work hard at school. “Back at *Matautu-uta*, I struck up a close relationship with a relative whose BBQ chicken-backs had an

aroma and taste to remember. I would sit with Pio and talked about girls and the life we would want with cars and nice food, like that of our other rich relatives and neighbours. I made it to Sāmoa College in 1970 and continued staying at Matautu-uta with a few other boys from *kua*, sleeping on the table if I got to it first and helping out with cutting the grass, making the *saka* (boiled short finger bananas mostly with coconut cream) and collecting fire wood from the river whenever it flooded, which was fun. Also had fun surfing with the *laupapa kamea* (laundry board), climbing mango trees including after midnight while the owners slept, playing marbles, eating bread and butter whenever someone had some money, and chasing chickens for something else to eat.

My father Afele had gone back to Savai'i after a short teaching stint at *Falefitu* and with his new wife, Seira, raising three children. I was fortunate they continued to support me and enrolled me in the Sāmoa College Hostel when I advanced to Form 4. I had entered at Form 3C another slight improvement from Form 2D at Leififi, moved up to Form 3B by the end of the year and was now in Form 4A. I got lucky and was picked for the new accelerated programme moving to the special upper Form 5 class with 19 other top fourth formers. I was not bad with History, Biology, Chemistry, and Geography but my English still sucked.

At the end of Form 5 I went back to Savai'i to await the School Certificate results. We were playing volleyball one afternoon when someone called me home. Was a bit peeved at being pulled but the news of my pass – my sister Meavali who was working in Apia, had sent a telegram – gave me a pretty good buzz.

Lucky for me, a kerosene boat the *Kiki* was anchoring at *Fagamalo* picking copra and people and getting ready to travel to Apia. It was my first and last time to travel straight from the village to Apia. Afele knew the captain who let me sleep on his bunker. I remember coming into the harbour in Apia. It was a beautiful morning and I was very excited” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Unfortunately for Maiava he started his sixth form year drunk from home brew and thinking he had made it. He paid the price for playing up and getting involved in smoking, drinking and girls instead of studying. However, he did get a scholarship in Form 6 to attend teacher's training college in New Zealand, going through all the paperwork in preparation to leave. He even returned to Savai'i to hold farewells at his village. Sadly, it was not meant to be: “The

main government building was right next to the New Zealand High Commission and upstairs was the Prime Minister's Department where the Foreign Affairs scholarships division was. I went to pick up my ticket and final instructions and was simply told 'you're not going'. I was so shocked I didn't even ask why, so I left without any explanation. I walked out of the office and by the time I came to my senses I was by the Vaisigano Bridge, the famous bridge where we had once taken our stance against some Apia lads. I had no idea how I got there and how I crossed the road. I got to Matautu and told my family and everyone else that I wasn't going after all. It was quite a traumatic time for me but it was interesting that no one asked any questions. The rest of my family just accepted the decision. Perhaps there was nothing they could do anyway except to feel the disappointment" (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Maiava returned to Savai'i saddened by the decision. His father wanted him to find a job, but Maiava wanted another scholarship. He needed to right his wrongs from his previous year. Maiava remained in Savai'i for two weeks before deciding to return to Apia to repeat his sixth form. But he did not want to return to Sāmoa College after the way he left and decided to try another school, Leulumoega. It was at this new school that Maiava was able to change the direction in his life. "The first term at *Leulumoega*, I was pretty much on my own but luckily the Principal had kindly allowed me to attend classes without having to pay fees. I was probably seen as a prospect, but I really appreciated the support I received from the school. I had one set of uniform and had to commute from Matautu-uta by bus, but by the second term my family, realising that I was determined, agreed to pay for me to continue and stay at the school dormitory. It was an open house and a far cry from Sāmoa College Hostel, but the boys were good to live with and the food of mostly soupy tinned fish and root crops or rice was not that much different from what we were getting at home.

I wanted a scholarship so bad and was keen to go overseas. I had not thought much about it when I was a student at Sāmoa College, but after the first (withdrawn) offer of a scholarship, I got the scholarship bug. I thought about growing up in Savai'i and then moving to Matautu-uta and seeing the difference in standards of living. I knew the only way out or up was through a university education. I thought perhaps I had blown it the first time by playing up and that I could have done better. Leulumoega had fewer smart kids so I became the dux of the school

that year. It was a harder living and humble and I changed as a result” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

It was at Leulumoega that Maiava, although he did not realise it at the time, adopted Freire’s model of education around liberating the oppressed from outside domination. Maiava’s general consciousness around education for liberation came to the fore and as a result promoted agency through a message of empowerment (Freire, 1970). “My sense of social justice and divide was further enhanced, and I wrote an English essay on the limits of GDP which got printed in the end of school year magazine. It was on ‘The illusion of the average GDP’. The essay argued that GDP is not a good enough measure of development, it is based on the average earnings of the affluent and not the poor. It’s meaningless for people who don’t earn anything. The majority of the population still lived low while a small percentage of the population lived high therefore pushing up the average” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Louise Mataia-Milo’s early years at school at St Mary’s were not successful at first. She was told by her teachers that she had shaky hands and her writing was not strong. She spoke only Sāmoan at home so transitioning to an English-speaking school was challenging for her: “There were funny moments at school, learning how to speak English. We had to ask for toilet paper. When going to the toilet, we would say to the Principal ‘can I have toilet paper?’ and we would get corrected ‘may I have toilet paper?’ It was embarrassing but it forced us to speak English. I didn’t like school. I was not focussed at first. I had trouble understanding my teachers and I thought I was *valea* [stupid, dumb]” (Interview with Sui’a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuola Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Louise recalls when her mother, a teacher at St Mary’s came for her parents evening. “In Form 1 after the first term I remember getting a bad report. After school I usually had school duties to do and when I finished I went to see my mother. I found her crying. She said to me ‘*koaga i le a’oga, e le lelei lou lipoki*’ [work hard at school, your report is not good]. I asked her why she was crying. She had just come back from seeing my teacher and picking up my report and my teacher (a nun) said to her ‘no hope *lou kama, e ka’ape le faiai*’ [your child has no hope, her brain is scattered]. I asked my mother ‘does that mean *ou ke ma’i, e leaga lo’u ulu?* [I am sick? I am mentally sick in the head]. My mother cried and replied, ‘all you have to do is do

your best' and that's what I've been doing all my life. That was the advice I clung on to and never looked back. The incident when I was Form 1 stayed with me all my life, '*ou ke le oki, koaga i le a'oga ke'i ua e uliva'a'* [I'm not going to die, do well in school in case you come last in your class/ year]. By the end of Form 1, I was placed 6th place and I got first in Christian living. I was above average in Form 2 and got into Form 3 at St Mary's. Maths was my weakest subject" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

It took hard work for Louise to make it to secondary school, but she eventually attended St Mary's College. Unfortunately, she missed getting into her foundation year by one mark. Louise mother told her not to go to work but return to school to improve her grades to go back to foundation. The second time she made it through and decided to change from a focus on science to history: "I never thought of taking history, but I had learnt my history through my father who was a reader. He read *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens and a lot more from our *faleo'o*. I loved listening to my father's stories. He was always engaging. He also use to read us bedtime stories – *Three Billy Goats Gruff*. I had read a lot of these same books before my foundation year. Books about history, religion, Shakespeare's sonnets (my mother's collection), *Mills and Boons*. I realised that my focus had shifted. Foundation formally introduced me to history, but history was already informally introduced to me in my own home. I changed from science to arts. For my first essay I scored an 'A' and I thought to myself, hang on a minute I'm good at this! My father was the first person I showed my essay to" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Honiara Salanoa completed two years of secondary schooling in New Zealand and then returned to Sāmoa confident in English, but she lost her competitive drive because she found schooling in New Zealand was so different. Honiara's story of success was not easy and she had to make some mistakes before she learnt what to do: "When I returned to Sāmoa I was confident in both my written and oral English and I enrolled into Sāmoa College for my six form year. I stayed in the hostel at Sāmoa College as it was easier than travelling from Falefa to Apia every day. I soon realised that my schooling in New Zealand counted for very little, as I did not really know anything. I ended up going to school to hang out with my friends and we

snuck out of the hostel outside of school time. When PSSC¹⁹ came around, in order to enter foundation (Form 7 equivalent) students total scores were not to exceed 15. Unfortunately, my total was 16. My father sat me down and growled me ‘*Alu e su’e sau galuega, e ke alu eke faigaluega*’. [Go look for a job and work].’ I felt I had let my family down, my father especially as he was the sole breadwinner of the family. I talked to the principal at Sāmoa College and agreed to repeat Form 6. I said to myself ‘*e mafai kele a ga ou faia!*’ [I can absolutely do this!]. I thought of my older cousins who had gone on scholarships and had returned home successfully” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

Honiara did well when she repeated her 6th form year and entered into the University Preparatory Year (UPY). “UPY was very competitive as it was the whole country competing for only a small amount of opportunities. *O le figau lava* [it was down to determination]” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

What these stories depict is that the backgrounds for these three participants was very basic. Maiava had very little material wealth and slept on a table in his aunt’s place. Both Maiava and Louise actually started off their education journeys not liking school at all. Louise particularly was told that she would not amount to much. They all had to work hard, all repeating their sixth form year in order to gain an award. They were not the most naturally bright individuals, but through their sheer hard work and determination they were able to succeed.

Conclusion

A strong sense of *fa’a Sāmoa* was instilled in all the research participants. They knew and practiced their culture on an everyday basis growing up in Sāmoa and within the construct of the *āiga*. It was also within their *āiga* that they were encouraged to learn and develop skills in the *pālāgi* domain. Western education was a new concept to each of them, but through reading, writing, challenges and mistakes they were able to excel in both worlds confidently. Failure was also not an option for the young scholars and they worked extra hard, repeating classes if necessary to get on where many may have walked away. The *a’oga o le faife’au* programme, introduced by missionaries but adapted to fit a Sāmoan setting, was also crucial

¹⁹ Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate (PSSC) is the exam students sit in their Sixth form year to enter into University Preparatory Year or Foundation studies at the National University of Sāmoa.

in ensuring that each participant survived once they entered a western education setting. From this early journey of education in Sāmoa, we will now move to their life overseas and their *folauga mo a'oa'oga*.

Chapter 8: Journey for Education

la su'i tonu le mata o le niu.

Introduction

This chapter opens with the proverb, *la su'i tonu le mata o le niu* – (Pierce the correct eye of the coconut). The *niu* or drinking coconut is found throughout all countries in the Pacific and provides both food and sustenance. The exterior shell of the *niu* is hard and unless you have a sharp machete, and you're skilled at neatly cracking an opening at the top of the *niu*, it is difficult to retrieve the juice without losing half of it on the ground. There are three eyes of the *niu* that can be pierced with a sharp stick in order for the juice to flow freely but today most people use machetes as it is faster. However, I remember family members in Sāmoa showing me how to pierce the eyes and it was fun doing this as a youngster. The meaning behind the proverb is 'to go about the right way in doing things'. It also means to not allow yourself to be diverted from your goal (Schultz, 1980, p. 56). This proverb has been chosen as the journeys of the participants required them to stay focussed on their goal of migrating for education despite the challenges to their *folauga mo a'oa'oga* – migration for education. Furthermore, the *niu* tells of a careful considered and strategic approach to development.

As previously stated, huge value is placed on education by Sāmoans, but the value placed on emigrating for education has been even greater. The long-held dream of seeing first-hand everything the participants had read about and studied throughout their early education in Sāmoa would be realised - for many of them for the first time. Six of the participants had already lived abroad in their younger years when they accompanied their parents on postings overseas but for the majority, their study awards saw them leave Sāmoa for the first time. Their perceptions of life abroad were sometimes quite far from reality.

Suai'a Louise Mataia-Milo recalls her thoughts of New Zealand as a youngster: “We had a clock with a Maori girl in her traditional outfit – *piupiu* [traditional Maori costume] hanging

on our wall, it was a gift from a family member that had visited Rotorua. I would say to my mum *'ou ke alu loa i Niu Sila o'u alu loa e su'e le keige lea'* [when I get to New Zealand I'm going to find this girl]. My mum replied *'aia lou vale'* [you're an idiot]. I thought everyone in New Zealand looked like her" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Despite their passion for reading and their success in a western education system in Sāmoa, nothing really prepared them for life abroad. This chapter will look at the opportunities, successes and challenges that the participants faced while studying abroad. We will discuss their stories in the context of the scholarship programme where some of the participants had the chance to complete secondary schooling abroad as well as tertiary studies. We will also discuss how they navigated their way through a western paradigm that was so different to life in Sāmoa.

Scholarship scheme

Most of the participants and their families were not in a financial position to privately fund their education abroad. The scholarship scheme was an avenue for them to access the dream of gaining a tertiary education. The participants were grateful for the scheme as it has provided them, and their *āiga*, with options that they otherwise would not have available. It was through the scholarship scheme that the participants were able to use education as a means of development, for themselves and their nation.

The scholarship programme started a period of development that not only impacted on Sāmoa, but also donor countries. There was an influx of young people going to New Zealand on scholarship to build the public sector. Most returned to Sāmoa, but those who stayed on have actually contributed much to New Zealand's development. Sāmoans have managed to integrate as well-rounded professionals operating at high levels in New Zealand and Sāmoa itself.

Hinauri Petana believes this says a lot about education being the key to development. "We have raised our standards of excellence and we have broadened this to specific professional needs. In comparison to the rest of the Pacific such as Fiji, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and PNG, they all have bigger geographies with more natural resources to draw on. Sāmoa has limited natural resources, but our resource is our people. Economically, Sāmoa is one of the smallest

in the Pacific, but yet you will see wave after wave of educated Sāmoans putting us on the map. I guess you can say there's a lot to be said about how well we have done. We are grateful for our bilateral relationships and our own self-determination, which have aided and sustained us in our development" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Overseas scholarships remain a strong feature of the Government of Sāmoa and are managed through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade's (MFAT) Scholarship, Training and Bilateral Division (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Sāmoa, 2018). The key functions of the division are to strengthen relations with relevant stakeholders, as well as promote new, mutually beneficial partnerships that will support the national priorities of Sāmoa. In addition, the division is responsible for the administration and development of policies for the various scholarship schemes and short-term training opportunities. The division works closely with development partners and Sāmoa's overseas offices to ensure that Sāmoan nationals studying abroad receive the crucial support needed to succeed in their programme. This also assists in the student's return to Sāmoa, not just as a graduate of a scholarship or training award, but as an inspired, skilled and knowledgeable national keen to make a meaningful contribution to developing our country (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Sāmoa, 2018).

There are a limited number of scholarships for Sāmoan nationals to study in tertiary institutions overseas. The majority of the awards continue to be funded by Australia and New Zealand with the Government of Sāmoa funding some fees-only awards. There are also awards funded by China, Japan and the Commonwealth. The awards are allocated on a competitive basis each year in a general public category, i.e. the open category awards. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Sāmoa, 2018).

Aida Sāvea, who is employed by the Government of Sāmoa at its post in Fiji, works closely with the Scholarships, Training and Bilateral Division of MFAT in her role as Student Counsellor: "The number of scholarships awarded by donors to Sāmoa has largely reduced since the programme started. There are only five scholarships to New Zealand and no more LLB scholarships. Australia funds up to 20 Pacific Regional Awards and Sāmoa pick up the rest as well as dual citizens. There is a salvage programme that exists for students who don't finish or fail the first time around. They are given a second chance after a stand down period, but it is only for fees and book allowance. Altogether at USP in Suva and Port Vila, there are around

115 Sāmoan students that includes scholarship and privately funded students” (Interview with Aida Sāvea, Suva, May 2017).

The scholarship programme is constantly developing and some flaws in the system need to be improved to ensure that returning students meet priority areas for the Government of Sāmoa: “Scholarships are still a big part of HR plans in Sāmoa. The Ministry of Commerce Industry and Labour release every two years a list of priority areas for the government. But the priority list doesn’t necessarily translate in what students apply for. Medical doctors and engineering is straight forward, but there are gaps in the labour market that will remain gaps because students are not enrolled in the right courses. I looked at the number of students that come every year, it’s between 20 – 25 students, and they are mostly enrolled in BA courses, but there is a Science gap in Sāmoa and only a few students are actually enrolled in Science. Like most countries there is also a shortage of teachers in Sāmoa. Students might not want to teach but take up the scholarship because of the opportunity. Because students have the option of changing their courses when they arrive, subject to donor approval, the scholarships they take up might fill the gap at the time, but because they change courses the gap still remains. Often students might move into computer science therefore meeting their personal goals but not the country goals” (Interview with Aida Sāvea, Suva, May 2017).

Secondary schooling abroad

Through the scholarship scheme, opportunities were given to students to carry out parts of their secondary education abroad. Some of the participants took advantage of this and applied for placements, and others were fortunate to accompany their parents on postings. The overseas experiences differed significantly from their education growing up in Sāmoa, where there was structure, order and discipline. Schools outside of Sāmoa were more relaxed for some participants and therefore challenged their perception of education.

Culture shock

One of the challenges that the journey for education raised for the scholars was culture shock. While Sāmoa is very hierarchical the research participants still shared a lot of things in common such as language, *āiga*, culture and heritage, faith, *fa’alavelave* etc. Everything in Sāmoa felt familiar to them and they were absolutely comfortable in their surroundings. Suddenly they found themselves in surrounding where English was the most commonly heard

language, and the majority of the people around them were white. For the first time in their lives, they realised they were in the minority. Adjusting to this was quite overwhelming for some participants. On top of that was the racism that some experienced.

Towards the end of **Latu Sauluitoga Kupa's** time at Sāmoa College he sat the national New Zealand exam for University Entrance and managed to get a scholarship to undertake Form 7 at New Plymouth Boys High School in 1981. After gaining 98% for maths in the exam, Latu felt confident that his maths would carry him through his studies, but unlike Sāmoa, there were no regular tests at his new school. It was not until the end of the first term that Latu was really able to showcase his maths' ability. Having won the top maths award in his schooling in Sāmoa, Latu's aim was to do the same in New Zealand. But despite being the top of the subject in all the internal exams in his seventh form year, the award was going to go to a *pālagi* student in his year who was placed second. It was the first time Latu had experienced unfairness but, have being taught to always take the humble position, he did not want to challenge the decision: "I topped maths in all the internal exams and at the end of the year I thought I'd receive the top maths award at prize giving. But before the prize giving, I found out that I wasn't going to be awarded the top maths' prize, despite topping the level all year. I accepted this decision and let it rest. But my Sāmoan friends were angry with the decision and complained to the head matron of our boarding house. The head matron took the issue to the principal who recognised that the decision was unfair. It was because my peers and the matron fought for me that I was eventually awarded the top maths prize that year" (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Latu mentioned in the interview that this happened in 1981, the year of the Springbok Tour. I found it ironic that while there were some parts of New Zealand that felt strongly opposed towards the tour, there were other pockets of the country were struggling with the acceptance of difference.

In her fourth form year, **Sailele Pomare's** family moved to Melbourne for a six-month stint as her father had a placement with a church. Up until the move to Melbourne, Sa'ilele had a great life in Sāmoa. Academically she always did well in her exams and made it into top classes' right throughout her schooling. Sa'ilele was always the 'popular girl' and she loved going to school. But things changed dramatically when she started school in Australia. Sa'ilele soon realised life in Sāmoa and life in Melbourne were very different: "I thought I was tough

at Sāmoa College, but when I went to Australia, I met the biggest bully of Australia. I would watch her bang a girl's head against the locker. Bullying in Australia had a gang element to it and racism was rife there. The punk styles was big then too and girls wore dark make-up and dyed their hair in different colours. It was completely foreign. I hated going to school. The *pālagi* girls called me 'blackie, blackie'. My 9-year-old brother came home from school one day and said to my mum, '*Tupu, o la'u gagu fou lea, o le F*\$# you, Oi kalofae o le gagu ga e falepuipui ai kaua.*' [Tupu this is my new English phrase, F*\$# you, mum replied, darling that English phrase will see us locked up in prison']" (Interview with Sailele Pomare, Apia, March 2017).

When Sa'ilele was growing up in Sāmoa in the 1970's and 1980s, public displays of affection were seldom seen around town. It was more common to see boys and boys or girls and girls holding hands, but it was never suspected that they were in a relationship. Girls and boys holding hands was frowned upon. Sa'ilele was invited with her siblings on a train ride to town with a member of their church: "The church that invited us had a lady from a European country and their kids were gorgeous. Kathrine was blond and beautiful and in the 5th Form and the son was Form 3. One day we went on a train ride together and the son was kissing his girlfriend. It was the first time we experienced public display of affection and it was very uncomfortable" (Interview with Sailele Pomare, Apia, March 2017).

Sa'ilele and her family returned to Sāmoa after their six-month stint in Melbourne and she continued the rest of her fourth form year at Sāmoa College. At the end of the year an opportunity came up for Sa'ilele to sit the exam to continue studying in New Zealand. Sa'ilele was not interested: "After our experience in Australia I thought no way am I going to New Zealand. I never wanted to be put in a position where I wasn't in control" (Interview with Sailele Pomare, Apia, March 2017). Fortunately, Sa'ilele gained her confidence back and secured a scholarship to China when she finished High School.

Another shock for the participants was what they perceived as the relaxed nature of the education system in New Zealand compared to that in Sāmoa at the time. As discussed, schooling in Sāmoa was very competitive and there were constant tests and exams to monitor students' progress, while also providing them with opportunities to compete for higher-streamed classes. The aim of a lot of the participants was to make it in the top classes in their schools. But things changed when **Honiara Salanoa** sat the Year 8 New Zealand entry exam

and gained a placement to do secondary schooling in New Zealand. Honiara's first cousin, Lelovi Simanu, had got a scholarship the previous year in 1990 and Honiara wanted to join her. They both lived with their uncle in Newtown and attended Wellington East Girls College, an all-girls secondary school, for two years. Honiara was surprised at what she found when she started school at Wellington East Girls College: "After coming from Sāmoa where schooling was so competitive, I noticed that schooling wasn't so important in New Zealand. There was no real planning and competition. After I got my first report I thought to myself 'oh is this how it works here?' My English was fair, but not great. I could tell that students made fun of my English, but I didn't care" (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

Aloali'i Viliamu who accompanied his mother on her scholarship to Waikato University, lived and schooled in Hamilton for the duration. When he moved back to Sāmoa, so his mother could serve her bond, the stark contrast of education in New Zealand compared with Sāmoa was evident: "Schooling in Sāmoa was very competitive and so different to New Zealand where schooling wasn't competitive at all. I remember schooling in New Zealand was fun, but it wasn't strongly academic" (Interview with Aloali'i Viliamu, Auckland, January 2017).

Around the late 1980s and early 1990s (the same time that Honiara and Aloali'i studied in New Zealand) the education system in New Zealand was starting to change through the Tomorrows School programme. Government policies and curriculum were starting to realise that the academic pathway was not the only option for students (Wylie, 1991). Therefore academic (as opposed to other areas in the curriculum such as sports, arts, poetry, dance, drama etc.) was not as widely stressed. It was these other options that some participants were able to explore in the field of arts and sports that they wouldn't normally have had.

Making the most of school

There was a lot to take in for the participants moving to a new country for schooling, but for some it was the making of them. Resources were limited in Sāmoa and co-curricular activities were not as varied as their new schools in New Zealand. To combat the homesickness some participants busied themselves with developing new skills and interests and it really worked for them. Time flew by faster and they enjoyed the experiences as a result.

Papali'i Momoe Malietoa – von Reiche gained a placement to board at Nelson College for Girls. Her early schooling in Sāmoa developed Papali'i's reading and writing skills, and teachers recognised that she was a very gifted student who was good at maths, science and in the field of arts. Moving from Sāmoa was quite adventurous for Papali'i. The initial feelings of homesickness soon changed when she found the school Library: "I discovered the school library and pretty soon I was reading "Les Miserables" by Alexandre Dumas. It was a very thick book but I got through it because the story was taking me along. Then it was the Tale of Two Cities, The Count of Monte Cristo, and Charles Dickens and so on. I also discovered another author that was my mother's favourite – Anya Seton who wrote a lot about ancient England. I loved the school's Art Department where I was at last able to paint to my heart's content. The teachers were quite puzzled that my way of expressing was very abstract coming from such a backward place like Sāmoa. Boarding life was good... I made some new friends and played a lot of sports. I excelled in hockey and I was in the College A team and also played in the Nelson Rep team. I took Latin and French, Geography, History, English, Maths and Art" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

Papali'i developed her love of art and poetry in Nelson and pursued this using the resources available to her. She dropped maths in her Fifth Form year to continue with art and poetry: "It was in Nelson that I started to write poetry. In my final year I won a poetry competition as well as the prestigious Art Prize of Nelson College for Girls. I am forever thankful to the fantastic teachers and academic mentors at Nelson College for Girls for their 'sao' [contribution] in my educational and personal development" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

Nynette Sass studied her last two years of secondary school in Wellington as a private student. She wasted no time at all and had always wanted to experience life outside of Sāmoa. Since she was a little girl, she had wanted to be travel in the world because of her fondness of reading books: "I went to New Zealand and stayed with my mum's sister and did Form 6 and 7 at Wellington East Girls College. I did well at East and topped English in my sixth form and became a prefect in Form 7. I got into everything at East: tennis, athletics, volleyball, track and field events. I was also in the annual school production, it was a musical. I knew this is what I'd been waiting for. I would drag along some of the other Sāmoan girls in my year.

One day I saw swimming lessons being advertised and I thought ‘they teach you how to swim?’ I went to my first swimming lesson and I almost drowned. I joined a special choir (six girls) and we sang at the Town Hall and would sing for end of year prizegivings. We had a very good voice coach who was a professional opera singer. It was 1978 and my aunt was so proud of me. When I finished 7th Form ... I applied for a scholarship with the Sāmoan Government” (Interview with Nynette Sass, Apia, March 2017).

Life at University

The ultimate aim for the participants and their *āiga* was a University education and this is where I find I can draw a lot of parallels with my own story. My siblings and I all made it into university after secondary school. We grew up in Auckland and my mother made the difficult decision to send us away for university because she knew how deeply involved my father was within family *fa’alavelave*. My mother could have sent us to work after secondary school. We all knew she could have done with the extra money to cover the expenses and the many *fa’alavelave* we were involved in. However, sending us away meant that we would have no distractions or excuses to fail, and eventually return with qualifications that allowed us to compete for higher paying jobs that would benefit the *āiga*. Within the church everyone knew that we were going away for university studies. Some asked why we had to go away when there was a perfectly acceptable university in Auckland, but my mother stuck to her guns and ignored some of the negative chatter. The pressure on us to do well was immense, not only for our own personal achievements but for the wider *āiga*.

In honour of my āiga

Those that began their journey abroad at secondary school were keen to carry onto tertiary education. **Latu Sauluitoga Kupa** completed his seventh form year at New Plymouth Boys High School and gained a place at the School of Engineering at Canterbury University. He entered the field of engineering because of a conversation he had with his father when he was a boy growing up in Sāmoa: “I chose engineering following an incident where our family bus had broken down in Sāmoa. I was young and my father told me to go and become an engineer and then come back and fix these broken down buses. I didn’t really understand the engineering degree was slightly different to what my father had in mind, but I set out on the journey anyway. I passed my intermediate year and made it into my first professional year of engineering” (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

These conversations are not uncommon in Sāmoan households. We had similar conversations with our father with him pointing out that sending children away to be educated should benefit the *āiga* in some way.

Unfortunately, Latu failed his first year of engineering. After working so hard and doing so well throughout his school years it seemed like it was the end of the road for him. “Failing after my second year at university left me feeling lost. I returned to Sāmoa in 1984 and I knew I had to look for a job. Having worked in Sāmoa during the previous school holidays, I already had some leads. I managed to get a job teaching maths at my old school - Sāmoa College. Teaching was not a profession I liked, but it was something to do while I re-evaluated my options. That same year I approached the Scholarships Office and negotiated going back to Canterbury University to carry on my engineering degree. Unfortunately, it was turned down due to my grades, but I was given the option of undertaking a BSC Maths. I just accepted the award” (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Latu talked about the life lessons he had learned failing his second year at university. He believed that he was being taught a lesson. All his life he had topped his maths classes excelling in every exam and, he believed, doing it on his own strength. However, Latu felt that God wanted him to rely on God’s strength. Returning home in 1984 was to be a real lesson in relying on the unknown and not his own natural ability. “I returned to Canterbury University in 1985 and was accepted back by the School of Engineering. However, when the Scholarship Liaison Officer found out about the change she warned me that it was under one condition: if I failed one subject the scholarship would be terminated. I graduated with a Bachelor of Engineering, Mechanical in 1989 and when I returned to Sāmoa I was one of two people with this qualification” (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

For **Honiara Salanoa**, gaining an opportunity to go overseas was not just about representing her *āiga* but also her church. When she gained a scholarship to go to Fiji to study a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.), Honiara’s church minister was very proud of her as she was the first to get a scholarship from his *a’oga o le faife’au* class. She remembers her church minister saying to her “*ese lou lelei – fa’aaau e oe le galuega a lou tamā aua o ia o leisi sikolasipi muamua a Falefa* [You are so good, you continue the legacy of your father being one of the first scholarship students of Falefa]” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

Studying abroad was not easy for Honiara. The terms of the scholarship were very strict and if students did not meet their grade point average, their awards could be suspended. While Honiara had already had her experience of two years of education in New Zealand, Fiji was going to be more challenging because she had no family and no relatives. Honiara would often receive phone calls of encouragement from her parents during her time in Fiji. After her first year Honiara passed all her papers. Unfortunately, in the first semester of her second year, Honiara only passed one of her papers and she realised that this was going to push her behind in completing her degree within the three year window. Honiara always called her father to update him on her progress.

As Honiara's father had also completed a degree in PNG he was well aware of the pressures, but he was a constant support to her as was her whole *āiga*. She then decided to take summer school in her second year. The scholarship officer in Sāmoa noticed that Honiara had overloaded her papers and called to discuss this. Honiara was asked whether she was sure whether she would finish on time: "I felt determined and said to myself, 'I'm going to prove you wrong'. I knew that I could do it and didn't want to disappoint my parents. I was studying towards a degree in Education, but I actually never wanted to teach. The scholarships that were going at the time were for teachers as there was a shortage of qualified teachers in Sāmoa. I come from a family of educators and that was the opportunities available, so I took it. I completed my degree in time and was able to prove my critics wrong. I never thought that one day I will be in a teaching profession – 16 years later, whilst teaching is poorly paid in Sāmoa – I have no regrets. I believe it is the most rewarding and satisfying profession ever. You look at your former students and how successful they have become, and you are pleased knowing that you made an impact on their lives" (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

When I interviewed **Sau'i'a Louise Mataia-Milo**, her mother always came up as a motivating force during her studies. Her mother was tough and always challenged Sau'i'a in everything she did. Sau'i'a's early education showed no signs of a future academic achievement, but with her mother's support and hard work, she was successful in gaining her first award in 1993. "I won an award in 1993 to go to Waikato University, it was my first trip out of Sāmoa. I was finally going to travel on a plane and see the world. I was so excited going to New Zealand.

One thing with me is I've always been honest with my parents. I've never hidden anything from them, including my naughty moments. My mother thought I was rebellious and worried about me going to New Zealand. She told me to get rid of the rebellious attitude before going overseas *'fefe le mea la'a kupu ia oe? [I don't know what will happen to you?] Do what you're there to do'*. I graduated with a Bachelor of Social Science majoring in geography and history with an English minor in 1996. I then went on to do a Diploma of Teaching in 1997 at Waikato University" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Sau'i'a moved back to Sāmoa to work but was successful in gaining another scholarship to Otago University, initially for a Post Grad Diploma in 2005 and later for a thesis towards a master's degree in History. The focus for her thesis looked at Pacific men involved in the 28th Maori Battalion. At the time of this research Sau'i'a received another scholarship to complete a PhD through a partnership between the National University of Sāmoa and Victoria University of Wellington. She graduated with her Doctorate in History in 2017.

After Sāmoa College, **Hinauri Petana** spent a year at St Matthews Collegiate in Masterton. The school board had set up a trust fund for young girls from developing countries to receive an education at the school. Other prominent Sāmoan women were also educated at this school. Hinauri gained University Entrance and secured a place in a Bachelors' programme at Victoria University of Wellington in 1973. But when her mother fell ill, she decided to give up her award to return to Sāmoa to care for her. It did not go down well with her mother's older sister: I gained my UE and started a BA at VUW in 1973. I transitioned to a Government of Sāmoa scholarship for my tertiary studies due to my good grades. I returned for my second year of my BA and then my mother fell ill. I wanted to return to Sāmoa to care for her, but it would mean giving up my scholarship. I had made my decision and I advised the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs accordingly. Telling my aunty Fetau, who was in New Zealand with Mata'afa representing Sāmoa at the funeral of Sir Norman Kirk, was much harder. The Foreign Affairs office was not far from their hotel and I walked in and told them about my decision. Well Fetau hit the roof and scolded me for making this huge mistake. She had me in tears and I was sobbing. She stormed out of the room. I sat there with my uncle Mata'afa who didn't say a thing throughout my aunt's rage. We sat there for some time and he turned to me and said 'you know your aunt very well, dry your tears and make us a cup of tea'. I sat

down after bringing him his tea and the TV was on. I wasn't paying too much attention to what was showing, but it was a documentary about the mating habits of fish. The narrator was explaining how the fish mated, and I was becoming uncomfortable, looking across to my uncle [to see] if he wanted the television turned off, when he said instead, 'I never knew that they were such cheeky fish!' We both started laughing and it broke the tense atmosphere in the room, and he then went on to calm me further saying 'your aunt will come around'" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Hinauri did not change her mind about giving up her scholarship and she returned home to care for her mother. She arrived back in Sāmoa in August of 1974 and was asked by the Director of Education at the time to supervise some classes at Sāmoa College. What was only supposed to be for a temporary arrangement turned out to be a fulltime teaching position for Forms 3 - 5. For the early part of her teaching, Hinauri was a page ahead of the students but soon learned, with the help of senior teachers, how to be better prepared for each day: "In 1976 I gained another scholarship award to study at the USP in Fiji, and I deliberately took subjects that would not lead to my teaching again on return. During the holidays when I came home, I worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I completed a BA in Political Science and Management from USP graduating in 1979" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Aopapa Maiava did not launch into tertiary education right away. However, supporting her *āiga* was always a motivating factor. She left Sāmoa College after Term 2 of her sixth form year and started working as a bank teller for the Pacific Commercial Bank. She was only 18 at the time. Later she moved to American Sāmoa, which was considered the land of opportunities. She took on two jobs to support her parents and siblings. Aopapa later married and had children and accompanied her husband to Fiji in 1994. It was in Fiji that she enrolled in a degree in Tourism in 1997: "I did one paper at a time and completed my degree in 2001. I always wanted to run an accommodation venue and had this vision for some time. I have always been passionate about houses. With my husband's job we always got invited to a lot of functions at some very fancy houses. People were always busy networking and drinking at those functions, but I would walk around and look at all the details in the houses, how they were decorated, and I'd study these. I love houses and food - good food. Part of my interest

in running my own accommodation is I didn't want to wake up and travel to work. If I owned the place I could wake up and I'd already be at work. I wanted to do a home stay and this was enhanced while in Fiji and staying at homestays when we holidayed" (Interview with Aopapa Maiava, Apia, March 2017).

Determined to succeed

As has been a common theme throughout this research, the participants endured challenging times and for most, giving up at some point would have been a more attractive option. But there remained a determination to succeed and remain focussed on the goal.

After completing her studies at Nelson College for Girls **Papali'i Momoe Malietoa - von Reiche** secured a scholarship to Wellington to attend Teachers College. She recalls her student years as being some of the most challenging times of her life, fraught with hunger and lack of money. "I loved being a student but when one was hard up then it had so much [many] limitations. For example, if I had to catch a train to Lower and Upper Hutt to a school where I was sectioned. I had to save money to buy the train ticket, so I had to walk the four to five blocks to the train station to catch a train. Once at my destination I had to try to hitch a ride to the school which was sometimes half an hour away. Although we received a stipend as teacher trainees, it didn't go very far... I had only one pair of hush puppies that had to last me until I went home. I stuffed them with newspaper to cover the holes" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

Papali'i specialised as an Arts teacher to teach primary level and in her final year she took a course in Life Drawing under John Drawbridge at the Wellington Polytechnic School. Papali'i held a joint art exhibition with some of her lecturers at the Central Art Gallery in Wellington: "It was my first ever exhibition. I was very privileged to have been taught by so many of New Zealand's great art teachers like Dame Doreen Blumhardt, Brian Carmody, John Drawbridge, to name a few" (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

After **Maiava Iosefa Maiava** missed out on his first scholarship and then repeated sixth form at Leulumoega. He was offered two scholarship options at the end of that year. One was from the church to do teacher training in New Zealand and the other was from the Government of Sāmoa to study for a BA Education at USP. He opted for the government scholarship. But the government scholarship was deferred for a further year and Maiava did a foundation year

instead. It was the second time that this had happened for him. The first time round he and his family just accepted the decision: “but this time I was a lot more aggressive in seeking my own opportunities” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Maiava finally took up his scholarship to Fiji in 1977. He received an allowance of FJD\$75 every three months but he was determined to pass every course and pass well. In 1978, Maiava got the chance to do an exchange to the University of PNG. PNG had just gained independence in 1975 and Maiava was keen to be a part of history in the making: “The University of PNG was a hive of political talks and infectious nationalism. And the parties were many and varied, in the dorms, in the clubs, homes, on beaches and in the bushes... PNG was so good I wanted to stay and my sponsor, the New Zealand government was kind enough to let me graduate in PNG with a BA in Political Science and Administration” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Maiava’s goal was to work for the Foreign Service when he returned to Sāmoa as he had been working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs part-time during school breaks. But after graduating in 1979 he remained in PNG for a year before moving back to USP Suva after being offered a job as a teaching assistant with the opportunity to do a master’s degree. Unfortunately, the master’s programme never materialised and Maiava spent a year as a teaching assistant. Complaining about the failed promise of a master’s programme by USP with his friends at Christmas drinks, Maiava’s conversation was overheard by a *pālagi* man sitting near them that would change his life: “At the end of 1980 academic year, we were having celebratory drinks at the old Grand Pacific Hotel, and we must have been loud in our complaints because a respectable and kind looking gentleman joined us and enquired about our frustrated study interests. He took our details and we parted ways. I returned to Sāmoa and thought nothing of it. In Jan 1981 I received a telegram from USP informing that I was the recipient of a MA scholarship to the Australian National University. The old *pālagi* man who had joined our table at the Grand Pacific the previous month was actually Professor Geoffrey Dukes who was scouting Asia and the Pacific for potential students to undertake a Master’s (international Relations) at ANU. I don’t think anyone of us knew what he was doing at hotel that evening. I had not planned to and didn’t know about the programme at ANU, but I returned to Suva immediately, packed my bags and got on a plane to Canberra. The programme was made up of nine months coursework and three months for a sub thesis. It was full and a very generous

Ford Foundation scholarship and the course was quite intense” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Maiava moved into fancy Bruce Hall. He later realised the hall was for students from well-off families. Meals were served in a restaurant style, and his room looked and felt like a hotel, with small fridge and tea/coffee making facilities. Staff made up their rooms every day and refreshed their supplies. “On Thursday, dinner was particularly fancy. We had sherry before going into the dining room and we actually got served a three-course meal. Graduates wore their academic gowns on Thursdays. It was very British in its traditions. School was tough but manageable and very interesting, and the academic bug had become a pretty good buzz” (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Maiava completed his MA but did not return for graduation as he didn’t have the money for his air fare. He secured a teaching position at USP lecturing in history and politics from 1982 to 1983. In 1984 Maiava took up a fellowship at the East West Centre in Hawai’i and started a PhD at the University of Hawai’i. He completed all the coursework with good passes but did not complete the doctorate fully due to meeting his future wife. Despite this he went on to have a career in international development that will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

Malae Aloali’i was always a good student, but her life changed when she fell pregnant after her fifth form year. Her mother did not see this as something that should disadvantage Malae, and encouraged her to further her education nonetheless. Malae’s life got worse before it got better, but education really charted new directions for her. Later in life her children adopted the role of supporting her to complete her education: “During my fifth form year, I fell pregnant with my eldest daughter. It was a difficult time that I’d rather not talk about. In 1986 after having my child, I found a job as a teller with the Pacific Commercial Bank. I worked there for nine months. While I was working at the bank, my mother called the Principal of the Teachers College and asked her whether I would be considered for a placement. I didn’t want to teach but I went anyway. In my second year I met my first husband Viliamu and had my eldest son in 1989. I deferred my studies and stayed home to raise my son. I was home for three years before returning to Teachers College to finish the qualification” (Interview with Malae Aloali’i, Auckland, January 2017).

Malae graduated in 1991 and started teaching at Leififi Intermediate School. She always knew she wanted to finish Teachers College as she never saw herself as a stay-at-home mum. In 1992 Malae transferred to Faleata Junior High School where she taught for three terms with her husband. Her second son Agape was born soon after and she went on maternity leave to care for him. In 1993 Viliamu was accepted into the Piula Theological College (it had been a wish for Viliamu for some time to enter the ministry, but Malae never wanted to go to Piula). They were at the school from September 1993 until October 1995 and were expelled because Malae challenged her superiors. Her marriage to Viliamu ended and Malae moved back to her family home with her sons. “I thought about my kids and my love for them and so decided my destiny lies with me, nobody is going to dictate my destiny. I have to be strong. I knew I was too smart to be stupid and do nothing. In 1997 I applied for an Aotearoa Scholarship to do a degree in New Zealand. It was part of my plan to get something for my kids. I wanted a better life for them. I managed to secure an award at Waikato University. I was so motivated that I completed my degree (21 papers) in two and a half years. I finished with a ‘B’ average. My boys were so supportive of me during that time. I had some late classes and eldest son Aloali’i would get home and shower his younger brother who was 8 years old. Then Aloali’i would cook our dinner. I’d arrive home to a tidy house, a cooked meal and two sons who never argued. Aloali’i was so responsible and he still is today. I met my second husband while at Waikato and we have two daughters together” (Interview with Malae Aloali’i, Auckland, January 2017).

Conclusion:

The stories shared in this chapter depict the layers of complexities that the research participants navigated their way through when they emigrated for education. Education is highly valued in Sāmoa. The historical scholarship programme provided many with the opportunity to realise the dream of gaining western qualifications. The contradictions with life in Sāmoa and life abroad was foreign to the participants, some experiencing racism and being in the minority for the very first time. But others made the most of the opportunities and soaked up co-curricular activities to fight against the battle of homesickness.

It was the *āiga* that remained a motivating factor for many of the participants. Knowing that the journey for education was about not only their success but the success of the *āiga* helped them to remain focussed. The pathway to success was not always easily identified, and many

came across many obstacles that could have resulted in them giving up. However, a common theme here is that with determination and hard work, they did to come back from adversary to reach their final goal. This reiterates the opening proverb *ia su'i tonu le mata o le niu*, meaning in the context of this research they stayed focussed on their goal of migrating for education, despite the challenges to their *folauga mo a'oa'oga*.

Chapter 9: Education for Development

E pa'upa'u ae o'o i Lepea

Introduction:

Early education in Sāmoa and migrating for educational opportunities abroad, allowed the participants in this research to make a range of different contributions once they completed their studies. The overall aim of the participants in migrating for education was to advance their *āiga* and, ultimately, Sāmoa. We open with a Sāmoan proverb that derives from a story of a chief who came with his retinue from Safune in Savai'i to Lepea in Upolu to court the daughter of Faumuina. Being unsuccessful they set out on their return journey. As they passed through Puipa'a (my father's place of birth), they met the *Tulāfale* Aupagamalie who dressed in an old girdle (*pa'upa'u*) and was working in his plantation. Aupagamalie heard of the 'aumoega's (courting party) ill-success, and he offered to return with them for another attempt. They laughed him to scorn because of his dirty clothes. He replied '*e pa'upa'u ae o'o i Lepea*' (it may be only an old girdle, but it will bring results at Lepea). His proposal was accepted, and they returned to Lepea where thanks to Aupagamalie's skill, the heart of the fair lady was won. Ever since that time Aupagamalie has been Faumuina's talking chief (Schultz, 1980, p. 104). I have chosen this proverb because most of the research participants came from humble beginnings and, in one way or another, despite their considerable abilities and success, they could identify with Aupagamalie. The participants experienced set-backs and challenges while studying either in Sāmoa or abroad, but they really did prove the saying '*e pa'upa'u ae o'o i Lepea*'. The proverb also speaks of the potential of ordinary people and everyday action to bring success and development. Even the daughter of Sāmoa's first Head of State experienced the challenges of limited resources, going to school with a breadfruit for lunch and being looked down on by her peers and educators, showing us the titled elite may not be as easily defined as first thought.

This chapter will highlight examples of how the participants, regardless of the humble beginnings and the challenges they faced, have contributed to the development of Sāmoa as a nation through their individual experiences of *folauga mo a'oa'oga*. Throughout the thematic chapters of this research we have looked at the impact of the *āiga* on the participants to gain an education for the benefit of family members, their early education in Sāmoa and the participant's time abroad for education.

As discussed throughout the research, the motivation for educating Sāmoans abroad, ever since the 1920s, has been to build the capacity and independence of the Sāmoan nation. The participants in this research were among many Sāmoans who completed their studies whether sponsored or privately funded and went on to make a valuable contribution to different sectors of Sāmoan society. Their contributions were not only specific to Sāmoa nationally, but also internationally, strengthening the identity of Sāmoa abroad. This chapter will illustrate some of the contributions participants have made to the development of Sāmoa since completing their studies.

Contribution to the Public sector

After finishing their studies, many graduates followed the wishes of the early *matai* who were keen to see them return to run the government (Kallen, 1982). The idea of education to build human capital had come to fruition in Sāmoa. **Falefata Hele Matatia** believes the success of Sāmoa's public service is due to scholars returning home to the country with the relevant skills and qualifications. Falefata believes that because of the scholarship programme “[there is major transformation in the public sector. The older public servants played key roles in the development of Sāmoa, but mostly held qualifications up to diploma level. Now there is a new level of public servants who are mostly all degree holders. There are young public servants who are now at the CEO level already because of their qualifications and experience. It's taken 30 years to get to this stage](#)” (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

The following examples highlight the contributions of participants to the development of the public sector in Sāmoa.

One of the earliest scholars to return with a qualification to support the public sector was **Hinauri Petana**. She came home in 1979 armed with a Political Science and Management degree. While in Fiji she received two job offers but was told by the Public Service Commission

(PSC), who placed returning scholars into employment, to return to serve her bond. From the period of colonisation right through to the 1980s it was not uncommon to have expatriates leading most of the government ministries (Meleisea, 1987). Hinauri was assigned to Treasury upon her return to assist New Zealander Alistair Hutchison, the Financial Secretary at the time, who had served in Sāmoa since the early 1970s (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017). Kolone Vaai, another educated Sāmoan scholar, served as Hutchinson's deputy.

Hinauri's qualification had nothing to do with finance, and she was neither prepared for nor interested in the new role. However, she was assigned to the Ministry because Hutchison had requested PSC to send him the first returning female graduate. For most of the first few months Hinauri spent time becoming familiar with the Public Moneys Act, all of the Treasury regulations, and understanding the workings of the Ministry. She also spent time reading all relevant policies and studying budget documents. Hinauri was thrown into the deep-end and, together with Kolone Vaai, they ended up being responsible for administering the national budget. From 1981–1986 Hinauri experienced some challenging times in her role. There was political uneasiness with four different Prime Ministers during that time. Sāmoa also experienced an economic and financial crisis due to some poor decisions made in the late 1970s (Malielegaoi & Swain, 2017).

In 1984, Hinauri was appointed as the Assistant Secretary of Finance, responsible for the Finance Division. This included being in charge of the national budget, and the administration of aid grants and loans for the government. In 1992 she was appointed Deputy Financial Secretary for the Ministry of Finance and moved into the Secretary role from 2000 – 2009: [“In 2009 my contract wasn't renewed, and I started to do consulting work which involved work with AusAID, NZAID, UNDP, ADB and even the government. I also teamed up with other Sāmoan consultants on a few of these assignments.”](#)

Hinauri now serves as the Sāmoa High Commissioner to Australia based in Canberra: [“I was quite busy on my consulting work, and never even thought about seeking out this opportunity. I was therefore totally surprised when I received a call from the Hon. Prime Minister, Tuilaepa, asking me if I wanted to take up the High Commissioner's position. During my first term, my priority was to have the new chancery and residence built. This work had commenced under the late Lemalu Tate Simi \[the former classmate of Hinauri and High Commissioner to Australia\] with the completion of the designs. The chancery was officially](#)

opened by the Hon. Prime Minister on July 25th 2017". The opening of the chancery was attended by Hinauri's classmate, Pesetā Noumea Simi, the CEO of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, who accompanied Tuilaepa... ..the vindication of all the hard work was Tuilaepa turning to me and saying, "Well Hinauri, you now have the nicest chancery out of all the Sāmoan chanceries in the world". Praise indeed, thanks be to God." (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Latu Sauluitoga Kupa returned to Sāmoa with a Bachelor of Engineering, Mechanical in 1989 and was one of two people in the country with the qualification. He was sought after by the government and started in a role as Mechanical Plant Manager in 1990 with the Ministry of Public Works. In 1991 Latu was given an opportunity to study towards a Master of Engineering but unfortunately his father got sick. He turned down the award but accepted a promotion to be Deputy Director of the Public Works. Latu became the Chief Executive Officer of the Sāmoa Water Authority in 1993 at the tender age of 30 reflecting the lack of qualified people in his area but also his great talent at the job. "The Government of Sāmoa really invested a lot in me as there weren't many engineers in Sāmoa at the time. That's why it was so fast getting to the top positions. Before returning to Sāmoa, the CEO for the Ministry was always a *pālagi*. My appointment as CEO assisted the government with localising the positions. I had a good understanding of the culture, people, and language as well as stakeholder engagement. *Pālagi* had limitations with stakeholder engagement and at times they were wrong at engineering decisions, sometimes conflicted with the culture. Modern ways of engineering sometimes go against local needs. It's not viable and appropriate for local conditions" (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

In 1995 **Aida Sāvea** returned to Sāmoa after completing her undergraduate at Waikato University. She served in the area of trade for the Government of Sāmoa and hit the ground running. The government had an incentive scheme for private businesses who applied to the trade division for funding. Aida's division were responsible for vetting the applications within the guidelines and then taking the recommendation to cabinet. Aida then moved to the Institutional Strengthening Programme (ISP) Trade and Investment Promotion Unit funded by the former AusAID.

Aida was mentored by a *pālagi* man from Australia, who taught her many good skills that helped her develop a strong work ethic in her employment with the government of Sāmoa:

“There was a *pālagi* man from Australia who was brought in to oversee the project for the first three years. In my first role we were told to vet the applications from the private businesses using draft letter templates that didn’t exist, so we were left to fend for ourselves and draft everything. But in this new role the *pālagi* from Australia was a really good role model. He would set tasks and tell me to check back with him if I needed assistance. He would give me a paper to read and ask me for my thoughts. Then he’d challenge me, ‘why do you think that?’ It wasn’t enough to just have an opinion, I had to justify it too and see all the different angles. I remained in that role until our merger with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2003. There were six positions available once the merger took place and senior staff were given the first choice. I moved into one of the trade positions. It was essentially my role but elevated to Principal Officer Level. I was in that role from 2003 – 2012” (Interview with Aida Sāvea, Suva, May 2017).

Contribution to representing Sāmoa on the international stage

While the research participants were returning back to Sāmoa with qualifications, like in any new job, building up confidence in different aspects of a role took time and self-belief. Some participants were not as confident as others in their new jobs, but with support from mentors and with the challenge of the roles, they were able to grow and find their voice.

Some of the research participants brought up the contribution Sāmoan public servants have made to the way the Government of Sāmoa is represented abroad. When Aida shifted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), the Assistant CEO Trade role became available. She applied successfully for the position. Aida talks about her concerns about representing Sāmoa at regional meetings: “Going to the regional meetings was going to be a big step up, as the former ACEO dominated the floor. I was never as eloquent as my predecessor, but I accepted that I had to do it my way. If it works - great, if not then I need to tidy some things up. What forced me to speak was the smaller islands were never vocal and it frustrated me. I really grew into that role and the confidence came with it. Sāmoa were afforded a lot of respect because of my predecessor so the smaller countries would look to Sāmoa for a response. I rode on the coat-tails of the former ACEO and the reputation of the country. I tried to steer away from chairing the meetings, but people would say ‘you know you’re a natural’. So I reluctantly chaired the meetings, but then these small countries would not speak so as

the chair I put them on the spot, Tonga what is your position? From there it became routine. God gave me the grace to do that job” (Interview with Aida Sāvea, Suva, May 2017).

From 1994 – 1996 Hinauri was seconded as a technical assistant to the Executive Director’s Office which represented Sāmoa and Asia at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Washington DC. This was the first time such a position had been created in the IMF for the Pacific, and Sāmoa, being the longest serving member of the IMF from the Pacific, was given the first opportunity to send someone for the role. “I had worked closely with the IMF when they would visit on Article IV consultations with the government on a biennial basis, and my secondment enabled me to experience first-hand the work of the institution, and this time, it was like working from the inside looking out. I had a lot of qualms about taking up the post given my limited knowledge of economics, but the Hon. Minister encouraged me to take up the role. Knowing I was the first Pacific Islander to work with the IMF, I felt unqualified and felt that I could place the government and my family in an embarrassing position. However, Tuilaepa said to me *‘vaai i lou palaai, o oe lea e feagai ma le IMF’* [why are you so fearful, considering you’re the one that is now doing much of the collation of data and working closely with the IMF for Sāmoa]” (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017). Hinauri was successful in the role and learnt new skills and experiences that helped her when she returned Sāmoa where she went straight into a public sector reform.

While **Maiava Iosefa Maiava** has spent the majority of his time outside of Sāmoa since completing his qualifications, his career success and representation of not only Sāmoa but the Pacific region, reflects positively on his country. Maiava moved back to Sāmoa in 1990 to assist in rebuilding following Cyclone Ofa. He worked for UNDP in an entry-level position and was good at his role. Maiava recalls the UNDP Deputy resident representative at the time encouraged him not to remain long in the role saying: *There is something I must tell you, you’re very good at what you do but you have one problem, you don’t like kissing arse. You need to leave UNDP. You’re too low level where you are in the system to move up quickly, so go and make something of yourself somewhere else and then re-enter at a higher level”* (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Maiava took the advice and moved into consulting in 1993. He did that for two years before moving to Fiji in 1995 to take up a position with the Forum Secretariat as a development coordination officer. “I got promoted in 1996 to an adviser position before becoming the

Director of the Economic Development Division in 1997. I became the first non-economist in the job. It was good that my boss Andrew Needs was very supportive. In 1998 I was in Canberra for meetings and I visited ANU for a seminar. Prior to leaving for Canberra I had applied and was interviewed for the Deputy Secretary General role. I got a call while leaving the seminar that I got the job. I recall distinctly the feeling of walking on air. It was a significant addition to the happy associations with ANU. I stayed in the DSG role for seven years.

When people ask, my advice is to stay focussed on the job at all times, learning through practice and trying one's best even if things seem unfamiliar. Use what you have. I'm not an economist but I have some background in political economy which provides a perspective that is different but relevant. The Forum was like the UN and quite bureaucratic, but I was prepared to take (or risk) alternative paths which worked without backlash. This was the lesson I wanted to leave with others" (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

After seven years with the Forum Secretariat, Maiava was invited to assist in Nauru following up on some work he had started while with the Forum. He became the Secretary for MFAT for two years. "The first thing I did with Nauru was get the Forum Officials Committee to agree to forgive Nauru's debt. Things had become so bad in Nauru after its collapse in the early 1990s that the public servants weren't even getting paid. Most of the senior roles were being covered by expats who were funded by New Zealand and Australia. Nothing was working, the Trust Fund and NPF had depleted. The country was bankrupt, savings in the bank had gone and people were dissatisfied. I was just glad I was able to help a little and that things had started improving by the time I left" (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018).

Maiava thought about the advice he received from the UNDP deputy resident representative in the early 1990s, and at the end of his two-year stint in Nauru, he re-joined the United Nations, but this time as the head of the UNESCAP Pacific Office. "Taking alternative paths was not easy very but they always turned out to be the most fulfilling. When I went off to work in Nauru, some of my friends were worried that I was straying away from the mainstream of regional and international work. But who knows if my experience in a troubled country wasn't the thing that got me the UN job?" (Interview with Maiava Iosefa Maiava, Apia, January 2018). Maiava was still in this role at the time of this research.

As has been explored here, not every participant was strongly confident as they began their new roles. Some needed encouragement from peers to progress their careers. Their contributions to the development of the public sector were developed over a period of time, taking what input they needed, and as a result their respective careers were enhanced too.

Education opened up other options

The private sector is growing in Sāmoa and some participants saw the opportunity to branch out on their own to start consulting companies as well as tourism ventures. These opportunities saw growth for Sāmoa in a different way to the retail and food chain businesses that had typically dominated this space. **Falefata Hele Matatia** believes that “Sāmoans are naturally ambitious. The desire to do well is inherent in every Sāmoan. No one wants to be *samusamu* and eat left overs” (Interview with Falefata Hele Matatia, Apia, November 2016). Some participants recognised these alternative opportunities.

When Latu worked as the Chief Executive Officer for the Sāmoa Water Authority, it was a progressive move for Sāmoa as locals were now moving into roles that were mainly held by expatriates. But participants also recognised that these former *pālagi* civil servants were returning as highly paid consultants and it raised concerns for Latu: “As an engineer working in public sector, I always met with highly paid consultants picking my brains for ideas and taking advantage of my local expertise. I realised I held the same degree as these consultants, but they had a lot more benefits than me. I was equally as experienced but was struggling on a public sector salary. I felt like I was being used by expensive consultants. So, I decided that if they can do it, I can do it. I remained at the Sāmoa Water Authority for ten years, but I knew I wanted to leave. There was the risk of leaving a secure permanent job, but I decided to leave anyway” (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

In July 2003, Latu branched out and established Kupa Engineering and Water (KEW Consult). KEW Consult provides engineering consultancy services in Sāmoa and the Pacific region. “In my first two months I didn’t have any contracts. I was just sitting in front of my laptop playing solitaire. The only people that knew me were the donors ADB and EU. They were the ones that contacted me. After three months of consulting things started to grow. And it grew so quickly that my wife had to leave her job to join me. A lot of the projects and contracts were through the government of Sāmoa, ADB, EU and the World Bank. Pacific regional contracts, water and waste water, and project management. We’re now slowly getting domestic house

projects. In 2013 we set up our office in Henderson, Auckland and have two staff working there” (Interview with Latu Sauluitoga Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Nynette Sass, returned from her scholarship as the first female Air Traffic Controller in the early 1980s. She struggled on a local salary of SAT\$3,500 per annum and due to early flight times and not having her own transportation, she often slept in the tower. After a stint in Solomon Islands with her husband and children, Nynette returned to Sāmoa and moved into international development in 2000: “I was brought on board by the New Zealand government to manage the Sāmoa Tourism Support Fund. It introduced me to the tourism industry. The fund targeted supporting small operators and the application form to apply for funding was 20 pages long. Can you imagine, small business operators running a beach *fale* had to fill out this long form with little English? I said to New Zealand, we need to rework this, and I created a two-page form that was more user friendly. I was head-hunted by Sāmoa Hotel’s Association and finally relented and agreed to be their administration manager. This was in 2004. A couple of years later I became the CEO. I worked with donors like IFC who were a profound support to online booking systems. By 2004 I became the CEO of SHA and remained in that role until 2011. I felt strongly about supporting small medium enterprises. I also started to join boards” (Interview with Nynette Sass, Apia, March 2017).

Nynette moved from SHA to the Chamber of Commerce where she did a short stint as CEO. Since that time, she has done a lot of consultancy and voluntary work and remained on boards. “Sāmoa has changed a lot because of education. Economically it has enhanced, for example produce. Previously people would go to Pago to shop, but now you can get most things here. Medical facilities have improved. Most people come back to Sāmoa to live here now” (Interview with Nynette Sass, Apia, March 2017). In September 2017, Nynette was appointed as the new Chef de Mission (CDM) of the Samoa Association of Sports and National Olympic Committee (SASNOC). The CDM is seen as the public representative of Team Sāmoa and will represent SASNOC in all occasions in connection with the Games. Nynette has been busy working towards the Vanuatu Mini Games in December 2017 and the Commonwealth Games in April 2018 during the time of this research.

Aopapa Maiava has contributed to the field of tourism by opening a nine-bed holiday home called ‘Ennes Lodge’ in Vaiusu. She completed the building in 2008. Returning to Sāmoa was

as much about establishing the business as it was about giving back to the tourism industry in Sāmoa. Aopapa Maiava used her experiences of living overseas to establish a home away from home for foreigners visiting Sāmoa. She has tapped into a market in New Zealand, Australia, USA and Europe and has not actively had to advertise her lodge. All her business has been through word of mouth and she is always booked out throughout the year. “I’m glad I took the course because a lot of what I’m doing I learned from my course. Everybody in the tourism industry should take at least a diploma course in tourism to understand the holistic view of tourism - looking after people, attracting people. If the product is good, people will hear about it. I don’t even have a sign for my business, but if you go on-line and look at comments from my clients, it speaks for itself. I admit I am a control freak and I’m a perfectionist. I always try to look for ways to make things more effective and efficient. I’m also a home body and I’m very domesticated” (Interview with Aopapa Maiava, Apia, March 2017).

Education

Early education in Sāmoa was fraught with many different challenges for the participants. Some of them had not intended to enter the field of education, but because of the awards available to them at the time, they took up the opportunity to train as teachers. Some participants became passionate about education and tried to introduce a new way of learning that they had picked up from their time abroad.

When **Papali’i Momoe Malietoa - von Reiche** returned to Sāmoa after completing her qualification she was assigned to teach at the Teachers Training College at Malifa. She was initially supposed to teach arts but there was little interest from the students. Papali’i married and did a number of different things within the field of arts living between Sāmoa and New Zealand and raising her nine children. Papali’i continued writing poetry and painting pictures during that time and in 1989, while living in Waipu (North of Auckland), she was awarded the New Zealand MASPAC Art Award for being a multitalented artist. Papali’i returned to Sāmoa shortly after winning the award and further developed her love of art and education. “In 1993, I officially opened my art gallery and called it MADD Gallery for Motivational Arts Dance and Drama. I started doing tutorial services for USP and got into writing books for children. In 2003 I opened Niu Leaf Publications with the assistance of the Japanese Government to print 13

bilingual books for early/primary readers” (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

Papali'i was recognised by the Government of Sāmoa having gained much recognition in her field of art and education, and she was invited in 2004 - 2005 to assist in writing the curriculum for Secondary School Art. Papali'i also started to teach art part-time at the National University of Sāmoa. In 2008 and 2009 Papali'i was asked to write the curriculum for primary levels in Performing Arts and later the Government of Sāmoa asked her to rewrite the Visual Arts curriculum. In 2011 Papali'i completed a Master's in Education from the University of the South Pacific and now aims to undertake a PhD.

Her children have followed in her footsteps with some entering the field of arts. Papali'i is still teaching: “I now teach at Kip McGrath, a more intense system of teaching and one that is a total opposite of how I teach my own students that come to the gallery. Nevertheless, it is still challenging and rewarding. I still run my art gallery and write/illustrate bilingual books for early readers and have more time to paint. My journey has brought me this far with the help of so many mentors, teachers and guides that illumined my path. However, in its unfolding, my life is like a book in its telling and it reaffirms my belief in the power of stories and the transitory magic they provide to take you to places that only your imagination can reach” (Interview with Papali'i Momoe Malietoa-von Reiche, Apia, April 2017).

Honiara Salanoa returned to Sāmoa and secured a job at Avele College, a co-educational college based in Vailima. Honiara taught her younger brothers as students at Avele so she was able to directly influence their education as a result of her own experiences. Honiara taught at Avele for four years. In that time, she did part-time teaching at USP Alafua for a 100-level course. By 2004 Honiara moved to the Sāmoa Polytechnic to teach communication studies: “It was better salary and I also went for the change. From 2004 I started to apply for scholarships to carry on into postgraduate studies. In 2006 the Polytechnic merged with the National University of Sāmoa. By 2010 Communication studies merged with Media and Journalism under the Faculty of Arts. There were three departments within the Faculty of Arts (FOA): English and Foreign Languages (EFL), Media and Communication Studies, and Social Sciences” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

Many failed attempts at gaining a scholarship did not dishearten Honiara. In June 2011 Honiara received another offer to study for an MA Applied Linguistics at Waikato University. She completed this qualification and returned in 2014 as Head of the Department of Media and Communications Studies. In 2012 NUS developed a partnership with VUW to offer PhD scholarships to further develop NUS staff. As part of the development of NUS, all staff are being encouraged to further their studies to PhD level. Honiara started her PhD in Linguistics in 2017 and is due to complete in late 2019. Her contribution to education continues through her research “When it came to look at what I wanted to achieve for my PhD, well as a lecturer working with vocational students in Sāmoa, I was challenged to find ways of improving communication skills across the different trades. Knowing how to support these students meant understanding their workplace communication needs and their future linguistic practices. As a Sāmoan researcher and a second language speaker of English, I am drawn to improving workplace communication opportunities within my community, focusing particularly on identifying and enhancing successful communicative competence. The research will also contribute particularly to an understanding of seasonal work as a sector for vocational education. By focussing on good practice in workplace communication among migrant seasonal workers, the study will provide further information about language use and communication by second language speakers of English for practitioners in the field of vocational education. It also has the potential to provide policy direction for employers and governments in how to sustain such schemes by ensuring that the workers are able to communicate effectively with regards to their own needs as well as the needs of the employers” (Interview with Honiara Salanoa, Wellington, February 2017).

When **Sauí’a Louise Mataia - Milo** returned to Sāmoa in 1998 she found a teaching position at Sāmoa College. After growing up in the Catholic Education system Sauí’a was looking forward to working at the highest school in the country. But she was surprised when she arrived at her first classroom and was greeted with a room with no desks, no chairs, and a hole in the wall. There were girls playing knucklebones, a boy was lying on the floor and everyone was talking to each other. Sauí’a later learned it was a makeshift class as classes were overloaded in that year level, so the overflow made up the class that was before her. She went on to spend two years teaching at Sāmoa College and she adopted many teaching methods from her peers and parents to ensure learning took place in her classes. “After two

years at Sāmoa College an opportunity opened up at the National University of Sāmoa for lecturers as there was a real shortage. I moved to NUS in 2000 and became a lecturer in History. In the early 2000s NUS signed an MOU with Otago University, I was successful and received another scholarship to Otago University, for a MA in History. My MA thesis looked at Pacific men involved in the 28th Maori Battalion.

When I returned to NUS with a MA there was a lot more responsibility at the university. NUS became strict with lecturers' qualifications, and staff were encouraged to upskill to MA and PhD level. Priorities started to change as NUS were wanting to become a more credible academic institution. As well as the teaching, the research and publishing component was also encouraged. I became the head of Social Science Department in 2012. This included History, Geography, Social Science and Anthropology. I had seven staff in my department" (Interview with Sau'i'a Dr Louise Marie Tuiomanuolo Mataia-Milo, Wellington, December 2016).

Laumata Pauline Mulitalo returned back to Sāmoa in 2000 and started teaching at Avele College. Since 2002 she was invited to sit on the marking panel for the Sāmoa School Certificate for Biology, Pacific Senior School Certificate and Sāmoa School Leaving Certificate. She later became the chief examiner/marker for School Certificate Biology Exam for 2005, 2006 and 2008: "As a young inexperienced teacher back in 2002 and being noticed by the Ministry of Education to carry out a very important task as being an assistant marker in her National Exam is not only a blessing but a very overwhelming experience knowing there are many other experienced Biology teachers around that could have been in my place. Being a marker has helped us be aware of the "dos" and the "don'ts" of teaching Biology. That's another advantage for both us as teachers and our students regarding tackling exam questions" (Interview with Laumata Pauline Mulitalo, Apia, November 2016).

By 2005 Laumata was appointed as HOD of Science (Biology, Chemistry, Physics, and Agricultural Science) for Avele College and has been in that role since. Her level of commitment to not only her craft but to Sāmoa is unwavering: "I have also had a number of opportunities to be either in a group of facilitators or going solo in facilitating biology teachers' workshops in both Upolu and Savaii (Sāmoa). I have also been a member of the panel to review the Biology part of the curriculum statement on behalf of the Ministry of

Education, Sports and Culture of Sāmoa. Many times the ministry don't pay for that extra work but I'd take up the opportunity to gain experience and to grow in the field" (Interview with Laumata Pauline Mulitalo, Apia, November 2016).

Education has progressed greatly in the last few decades in Sāmoa due to the opportunities that studying abroad has provided for Sāmoa. The participants contributed at all levels of the education system, within the classroom at primary, secondary and tertiary level, with the training of teachers and with the curriculum development.

Contribution to the future of Sāmoa:

The participants have all been through many varied and challenging experiences while studying abroad and starting their respective careers. Sharing this with the next generation to encourage and support them to also succeed was raised by some participants. Most participants found encouragement within their *āiga* and members of the wider family. But with education and the development of a workforce, branching out beyond one's *āiga* became a feature. The concept of the *āiga* was therefore expanded and, as is common in a workplace setting, friendships and comradeships were established. I personally found while working in Sāmoa that some aspects of *fa'a Sāmoa* were taken into the workplace. This is most commonly experienced around food. In New Zealand I eat my lunch in the lunchroom, but in Sāmoa we pooled our money together and someone was sent off to buy *panikeke* (pancakes) for all the staff. When someone had a bereavement, we collected money to give as a *meaalofa* (gift) to the staff member involved. Participants did the same thing within their own workplaces.

When **Hinauri Petana** secured the Chief Executive position with the Ministry of Finance, she knew it would be a stressful job, but she took the advice from her mother Suia when she started the role. "...she [mum] looked at me and said... remember this – be kind to those you meet on your way up, for you will meet them on your way down". It was a maxim I stuck to, and consequently strived to ensure I treated my staff fairly and had an open-door policy to ensure that, in this stressful environment we worked, they felt supported" (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017).

Hinauri encouraged her staff to approach her on any issue of importance to them that they found difficult to overcome and was affecting their work. She believed "...when you instil

confidence in people, you will see them blossom. As a result I was blessed with a team of professionals and staff that worked diligently together to achieve our vision and mission, as we were going into a lot of unknown and uncharted waters with the public-sector reform program, changing our financial system and working to align everything from systems to processes as well as changing legislation to underpin these reforms. It was an environment filled with energy, and excitement but also with some trepidation” (Interview with Hinauri Petana, Canberra, February 2017). Hinauri often received positive comments from visiting missions from the IMF, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank who referred to her Ministry as the ‘best little Treasury in the Pacific’.

A challenge that Sāmoa is facing now is that there are not necessarily enough positions to place scholarship students and gaining employment has become very competitive. Initially scholarship students were only placed within the public sector, but now the Government of Sāmoa recognises that bonds can also be served in other sectors too. **Aida Sāvea** in her role at the University of the South Pacific as a Student Counsellor for the Government of Sāmoa is motivating students about the competitive nature of employment in Sāmoa when they complete their qualifications. She uses her own experiences to relay her message across: “I need to be relevant to kids today. I can draw on my experiences. I’m really careful to remain professional with my students. I genuinely care about their future and if I can use my experiences to challenge and motivate them, then great. The advice varies from academic right through to limiting socialising, and to teaching life skills that includes how to cook. It’s a very rewarding job.

As part of my role, I always ask students, what are you going to do with your qualification when you go back to Sāmoa? Their reply is ‘I don’t know’. I try to provide a career direction for them to start thinking about this while on scholarship. Sometimes it’s more of a social work role.

When I was managing a division in MFAT and I advertised for a position and it was down to two candidates. One had a degree from New Zealand and the other had a degree from NUS. Historically a New Zealand degree holder outweighs a local degree holder. The NUS applicant was the better candidate and I got backlash from the New Zealand degree holder. I had to tell

the unsuccessful applicant that it was down to the way the applicants sold themselves in the interview. The NUS applicant was prepared for the interview and had thought about ways of supporting the division, the New Zealand degree holder had a sense of entitlement and was not prepared” (Interview with Aida Sāvea, Suva, May 2017).

When Aida started in a student counsellor role, many of her colleagues thought it was a step back from her work in negotiating Sāmoa’s position on PACER PLUS within the region. But Aida is determined to help the next generation succeed in their studies as they are the future workforce for Sāmoa.

Contribution through transnationalism

As outlined in this research, Sāmoans living outside of Sāmoa still contribute to the development of Sāmoa as a nation. After she had served her bond in Sāmoa **Malae Aloalii** wanted to move to New Zealand to educate her children. Malae applied for a job in New Zealand and secured an English teacher role at Aorere College in South Auckland. She has been teaching at Aorere College since that time and at the time of this research is serving as a Dean at the school. Malae Aloalii has taught untold diaspora Sāmoans at Aorere College and students enjoy her firm but fair approach to their learning.

Malae’s son **Aloalii Viliamu** is also in the teaching sector. As a young Pacific Island male his contribution to Sāmoan youth in New Zealand has been fraught with challenges: “In 2010, I was working at the airport in quarantine after I finished my maths degree. I decided to go to Teachers College after failing a maths test to get into Police College (I know weird right?). But I’ve found my calling is with young people. I’m now teaching maths at The Manurewa High School. I didn’t want be a teacher, but I know that there are young people that I can reach here. I’ve made it through some difficult times. Some of my students have fathers who are in jail. They themselves are stealing. When I thought of waiting for my father to get off the bus back in Sāmoa and he never came back to get me, it became clear that God was training me for when I entered teaching. I always have extra food in my desk for kids. For now teaching is a platform I can use to empower young men, but I’d like to get into that full-time one day. I was made to help young men. I’m not going to be scared to leave job security when the time comes to go out alone. What has pulled our family through is God” (Interview with Aloalii Viliamu, Auckland, January 2017).

The two New Zealand Sāmoans who are now resident in Sāmoa due to marrying Sāmoan-born husbands have very philosophical views about their contribution to Sāmoa. **Phillippa Matatia's** mother Lili Tuioti was in the first cohort of New Zealand-born Sāmoans to attend University. Lili Tuioti completed a commerce degree and moved into teaching. Phillippa's three other siblings also went through university and all hold degrees like their parents. Like many Sāmoans there is a reverse migration that is taking place where New Zealand-born Sāmoans are returning back to Sāmoa to work and live. "We knew coming back to Sāmoa there were key things we wanted to achieve. We've come back to serve and we've given ourselves four years. For our kids, it's an opportunity to be close to grandparents and family and to learn the language and culture. They will also learn about the difference between their lives and those who are struggling" (Interview with Phillippa Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

Phillippa and her husband Falefata discussed where they would send their children to be educated. Most people in Phillippa's situation send their children to private schooling, but Phillippa and Falefata deliberately decided against that: "I said to my oldest Josh, if you attend these private schools all you're doing is competing with another rich kids. But at Marist Primary School [a state school] kids come from *kua* [the villages further away from town] and their parents are struggling. This will teach you more about life and how to interact with others. I can guarantee you, not everything you learn from Marist Primary School will be good. But filter what's good and leave what's not good. As a result I've seen a big change in attitude for Josh and he is more committed at school. At one point he was being bullied because he's fair-skinned and of course his language barrier. He was dreading going to school and looked forward to the weekend. But that shifted in his second year and now he's the first to wake up and go to school. He is also speaking fluent Sāmoan and we have sore ears listening to his Sāmoan songs" (Interview with Phillippa Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

Ironically the very school that Phillippa's maternal grandmother attended - St Mary's Primary School in Savalalo is now where she has enrolled her daughters: "I can't help but think that my grandmother is rolling in her grave. She left Sāmoa for a better life and now I've come back two generations later to the very thing she escaped. Very little has changed from the time my grandmother was at St Mary's. The classes still have up to 60 students, students are still taught through rote learning, kids aren't encouraged to think for themselves and you don't speak unless you're spoken to. We moved here from NZ where classes are interactive;

students have digital devices; there's interaction; and collaboration. But we've never done anything by the book and we make things up as we go. I've never been motivated by money so, although it's challenging, the benefits for my family outweigh the negatives. I have to remind myself success is not measured by how well you do at school. Everyone thinks it's the proxy for success here in Sāmoa" (Interview with Phillippa Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

For Phillippa moving back to Sāmoa was an opportunity to strengthen her ties back to Sāmoa, culture is important to her and while she grew up in New Zealand as a Maori/ Sāmoan, *fa'a Sāmoa* was deeply rooted in her: "For my kids I want them to have grit, be generous, and have a spirit of service. We felt this same strength growing up in a strong Maori culture. If you're strong in your place in this world you can do anything in this world. If you know who you are and where you're from" (Interview with Phillippa Matatia, Apia, November 2016).

As well as their full-time jobs, Phillippa and Falefata run the Sāmoa Institute of Sports to help develop sports programmes for young people. The young people are taught leadership skills and attend team development training. It is their service to the community.

Temukisa Kupa's parents were amongst the early migrants to New Zealand from Sāmoa. The motivation for moving to New Zealand was to support the *āiga*. Once her parents arrived, they worked and brought over the next wave of immigrants in the hope of providing a better future for all members of the *āiga*. Temukisa is the youngest of her family and was fortunate to enter university in the 1980s. She later moved to Sāmoa to stay when she met her husband Latu Sauluitoga Kupa.: "We were amongst the first New Zealand-born Sāmoan generation, so we experienced many firsts. We were brought up with Maori and there were hardly any Sāmoans. We were good at athletics and popular with sprints. I became a prefect in Form 6 and was deputy head girl in 7th form. I got University Entrance. There were no aspirations to go to university, but dad wanted me to go. My siblings helped me with bus fares and I had my bursary [allowance] to survive.

My first degree is a BA in Anthropology and I graduated in 1985 but I didn't want to go to work. So I went back to enrol into Town Planning. My results from my BA were enough to get into Town Planning. We were the first graduate class in that course. When I finished my second degree I wanted to get some money, so I joined the Justice Department in Henderson and worked as a probation officer" (Interview with Temukisa Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

When Temukisa first moved to Sāmoa she was without work and they moved in with her mother-in-law. She had a great relationship with her mother-in-law and despite the way they lived in Sāmoa being a huge contrast to how she grew up, Temukisa was determined to make it work. In 1994 Temukisa worked as a counsellor at a Christian organisation called Graceland. She found it challenging trying to counsel in Sāmoan. She realised her probation officer experience hadn't prepared her for the next stage. In 1995 Temukisa worked as a training and development officer for the Public Service Commission before going on maternity leave in 1996. Temukisa and Latu have three boys, Abraham, Branham and Joseph. At the time of this research, Abraham is studying Engineering at AUT, Joseph is aiming at studying an Engineering degree in 2018 at Otago. While Branham is doing a Diploma of Management at USP in Sāmoa: "In 1996 we opened a café that we ran for a year and I worked with a consulting firm GHD for a short-term project on the side. I then moved to the Ministry of Communications, and Information Technology and when I left in 2015 I had the opportunity to study towards my Advanced Diploma in Business Management in 2006" (Interview with Temukisa Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Temukisa's last role before moving to KEW was assistant CEO, Policy Development with the: Ministry of Communications, and Information Technology "Once things started to pick up with Latu's company I left the public service and became the General Manager of KEW. In order to strengthen the work of KEW I applied for a Pacific NZ scholarship to do a degree that would enhance the capability of our office. In 2013 I started the course at the University of Auckland and I took the boys with me. It was a challenging time trying to grapple with studies as well as getting the boys enrolled their uniforms and helping to settle them in" (Interview with Temukisa Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

Temukisa successfully completed a Master of Engineering Management (Honours) from the University of Auckland. KEW then moved into regional projects gaining a project in Rarotonga. "When we applied for the project in Raro, I was put down as project director. I was able to put my name forward in that role as I was completing some project management papers at the time as part of my Masters. I think it helped to enhance our profile, not just engineering

itself it's also the management area as well" (Interview with Temukisa Kupa, Apia, November 2016).

The contribution of Sāmoan transnationalists continues today and should not be underestimated. Both Phillippa and Temukisa are passionate about Sāmoa and are among many New Zealand-born Sāmoans who have returned to Sāmoa to help with the development of the nation.

Conclusion

The participants in this research migrated for education with the view of supporting their *āiga* but they got so much more from the experience being able to be a part of developing different sectors of Sāmoa. Strengthening the public sector through trade negotiations, preparing the annual budgets or setting up tourism ventures to support the private sector were among some of the contributions that they made to the development of their country. On an international scale, representing Sāmoa at regional meetings or being the first Pacific person to work for IMF in Washington DC helped to promote their nation. The contribution and giving back to Sāmoa following studying abroad has proved a significant return on funding spent by donors, the Government of Sāmoa and those who privately funded into an overseas education. This contribution continues today not only within Sāmoa, but also internationally.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

'Fa'aau'au le folauga'

Summary

The aim of this research was to discover how migration for education has contributed to the development of Sāmoa as a 'nation'. In doing so the following questions were considered:

- What theories of development, migration and education influence this topic?
- How has *fa'a Sāmoa* (the Sāmoan way) been seen as a resource or constraint in the processes of migration for education?
- How has migration for education influenced outcomes for the 'nation'?

Migration, education and development have experienced many iterations over time, and the changes have been viewed both optimistically and pessimistically. The iterations have been influenced by events such as globalisation and modernity that have affected the ways communities in the developing world have experienced 'growth'. These external influences placed the developed world as the stronger partner in the relationship, dictating the way in which development, migration and education were perceived. While the developed world is more dominant given its resources and geography, the countries of the developing world also have had a contribution to make through their own sustainable livelihoods.

The progression of more recent theories of development such as alternative methodologies, migration through asymmetrical growth, and approaching education for social justice, were developed due to weaknesses identified in earlier approaches. However, it should not be assumed that earlier development strategies based on theories of economics no longer have a place in the developing world.

This research was set in Sāmoa, which historically had its own form of education. Sāmoa adopted western education during the colonial period under both the German and New

Zealand administrations. Sāmoan chiefs were welcoming of this new initiative because they wanted their children to rise up and assume positions within the newly western formed governments and gain self-rule. Migration abroad for education was seen as a means to an end that would lead to the development of Sāmoa. But with migration abroad and introductions to other streams of wealth, many Sāmoans also settled abroad. However, through transnationalism, Sāmoan diaspora are still able to contribute back to Sāmoa as they remained connected through technology and globalisation.

Finding an appropriate methodology that fits with this research was a challenge. Using the popular *talanoa* methodology meant that I needed to stay true to method right through from selecting participants, to the interviews and the analysis of the data. The process of selecting the participants was very fluid. The only condition was that those selected had to have been educated outside of Sāmoa at some point in their journey. The methodology chosen ensured that the research was deeper than just the outcome in the form of a thesis but resulted in deep and lasting relationships. Developing appropriate tools was necessary to capture the essence and stories of the participants, allowing both parties to think, feel and experience the research participants *folauga mo a'oa'oga*.

The construct of the *āiga* instils in its members traditions, cultural norms, customs, respect, morals and *fa'a Sāmoa* that provide them with a solid foundation before they start their *folauga mo a'oa'oga*. The participants took these teachings and learnings with them due to the raised expectations of their *āiga*, but also because of the obligations they put on themselves as a result of their upbringing. When the participants did migrate for education they felt empowered and this cemented their ability to succeed while abroad. Tracing their journey from early education in Sāmoa, their experiences overseas and their life after their return home, helps to understand the challenges the participants experienced and how they were able to overcome obstacles to succeed in their chosen professions.

Key findings:

There are some key learnings that were developed through this research. Carrying out ethical research is essential to ensuring the protection of the subject matters: privacy, safety, health, cultural sensitivities and welfare (VUW, 2018). Gaining human ethics approval before embarking on the data collection process is a good reminder to use culturally appropriate

methodology as the researcher. However, the basic premise that the interviewer/researcher holds the power and ethics are needed to protect the subject seemed to be challengeable in my experience. The interviewees for this study are educated, speak fluent Sāmoan and English and most have engaged in research of this kind before. Two were studying towards their own doctorates at the time. The participants are confident individuals who know their rights and worked in positions of responsibility for all sectors. I found that the power dynamics shifted when we met. I had to get permission from each of them for the interviews to take place and initially, some were not convinced. Throughout the interviews it was clear that at times, the research participants had more control than I over the process. That is also the beauty of *talanoa* though and the honesty of the system. Not recording the interviews was deliberate on my part as I did not want recording devices to obstruct the flow of discussions. It turned out to be a positive move as the participants opened up more freely. There was more work involved in transcribing the agreed text, but it was a necessary step in the process. When agreeing on the final text, I became the vulnerable member of the partnership, as the agreed final was dependent on their sign off. When I began to analyse the data, I needed to pay close attention to the portrayal of participants. As a Pacific researcher I am bonded to the participants well beyond my doctoral journey, and I will be forever reminded if it was not done well.

Talanoa has the potential of being used in a tokenistic manner. I worked hard at avoiding that trap in each step of the process. The way the participants were selected was an organic process. The criteria of migrating for education had to of course be met but I was open to changing the design and being flexible. This is evidenced by my decision to expand the pool of interviewees to both genders (as the original intention was to focus on women alone). This changed when I was introduced to remarkable stories from men in Sāmoa that I believed would add to the richness of the research.

The true essence of *talanoa* does not have a time limit, nor is it constrained by specific questions. The interviews were long but needed to be as they were directed by the participants and I wanted to be respectful of them. The course of the interviews was also dictated by the participants. There was one participant who worked in the scholarships office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade for years. My intention for her interview was to discuss the experiences of her career, but instead we talked about her family background and

discussed nothing about scholarships. I did not see this as a waste of time because this is the nature of true *talanoa* and it gave me an insight into the motivations for why the research participants decided to migrate for education. The participants were therefore in control of their interviews and I became the less powerful of the two in the relationship. However, you could argue that the roles are reversed as eventually I am the interpreter of the data, meaning I am controlling the final content. I appreciate that both these examples of the shift in power was specific to my research alone, but it does raise awareness about what researchers need to consider, and are far stronger than any legal or human ethical process within academic institutions.

I also appreciate my role as a researcher. Because of my personal connections with these people, I was able to engage in a deeper dialogue with each participant. I shared many things in common with each interviewee and had a similar journey. The concept of the researcher being researched is important to note here (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). As a result, a richer story is captured that validates qualitative research as a credible methodology.

The use of stories in an oral culture was also celebrated in this research. However, the journey of 18 research participants is presented in a way that also encompasses theories of economics and science. The stories therefore are evidence that can be used to reinforce all academic disciplines.

The motivation for migration and the strong emphasis on education as a basis for development (Gamlen et al., 2017) has occurred in Sāmoa since the 1920s. The motivation for migration and education at that time were strongly influenced by theories of economics (Kindleberger, 1965) that promoted modernity in order for countries to become developed (Rostow, 1956). Modernisation influenced migration through neo - classical economics (Spaan et al., 2005) whereby migrants moved for employment from their home countries to foster economic opportunities for them and their families, while also meeting a labour shortage for the receiving countries (Kindleberger, 1965). In the field of education, promotion of educational achievement to build human capital worked in tandem with theories of economics, that viewed education as a tool for the development of a country (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1993). The trilateral relationship between education, migration and development helps to understand patterns and processes (Gamlen et al., 2017) observed in Sāmoa.

The promise of modernisation equated to nicer homes complete with the modern conveniences of running water, flush toilets and washing machines, all helping to make life easier; vehicles replaced having to walk everywhere; telecommunications improved connections nationally, and the arrival of the internet connected Sāmoa to the rest of the world. This idea of modernisation was modelled on capitalist economics (Kasser & Ryan, 1993) that promoted the 'American dream' of a home in the suburbs, with a white picket fence, a car in the garage and 2.5 children (Hochschild, 1996). The concept of modernisation worked on the individual becoming successful for sake of the nuclear family. It is a cookie cutter approach that assumes there are infinite resources available for everyone worldwide to live the American dream. These modern ideas were introduced to Sāmoa through the German and New Zealand administrations. They were concreted into the fabric of Sāmoa with the development of a western-styled government and education.

When looking at the literature for the three core components of this research, education in the context of Sāmoa sits comfortably alongside the approach of building human capital which is a functionalist paradigm adopted by Sāmoa and its administrators to further the development of Sāmoa. When education is coupled with migration through asymmetrical growth, the theory and practice meet. The early intention of *matai* was to send away their youth to be educated abroad. It was envisaged they would then return to take positions in the newly formed western governments under the German and New Zealand administrations.

The participants in this research migrated as individuals, were supported through the construct of the *āiga* and, upon the completion of their qualifications, have certainly benefited Sāmoa. They have returned to manage national budgets and administer aid grants and loans, engage in trade negotiations, set up engineering best practice for the context of Sāmoa, further develop educational achievement at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, add value to Sāmoa's tourism industry, represent the interests of Sāmoa at global meetings, and negotiate Pacific regional policies to benefit small island developing states. Their contribution has been enormous, and the cycle continues today with the next generation continuing the dream of migration for education. The return on the investment of migration for education, as a means to an end, is therefore priceless in the context of Sāmoa. But there

are signs that this is tightening as a university degree no longer guarantees a good job with a highly-educated workforce in the government sector.

It could be argued that the research participants represent the elite of Sāmoa, and to an extent this is true, even if they struggle to accept that label. However, elitism is complicated in Sāmoa, and in the context of this research. In elitist societies, there is great pressure to succeed to ensure people remain in higher echelons of society. Of the 18 participants, 15 were born into 'average' families where money was not plentiful, and they understood the value of hard work. The other three, while they were born to families with higher ranking titles, still did not have considerable wealth backing them. The participants had very simple childhoods and these humble beginnings became the part of the motivation for them to migrate for education in order to empower themselves and their *āiga*. The motivating factors to succeed therefore are different. In the case of Sāmoa, it is not based on wealth to reproduce status, but on high expectations from the *āiga* and the participants themselves. Sāmoa is also different to other even more hierarchical countries in the Pacific such as Tonga, where it is difficult for a commoner to become a noble. However, it is theoretically possible for all Sāmoans to join higher status positions in society with a good education and hard work. High ranking positions are not only reserved for the chosen few. The Prime Minister of Sāmoa is a good example of this as he had a basic upbringing and sold food on the side of the road as a youngster to pay for his school fees. Now he is chairing meetings for the United Nations and has been awarded four honorary doctorates for his service to the development of Sāmoa. All the participants have had to work extremely hard to get to where they are, and they still work hard to maintain their new lifestyles. The importance of meritocracy, as opposed to aristocracy, as the basis for status and power in Sāmoan society is a key idea in the discussion of elite status in Samoa. Technically at least, anyone within an *āiga* can hold even the highest titles in the land, competition is effectively embedded in Samoan culture and social organisation, and the importance of competition is central to explanation of the drive to succeed. Competition drove the achievement of the research participants at every level of their life stories.

In the context of this research both education and migration have a place in the theory. For education the motivation was to build human capital, and for migration The New Economics

of Labour Migration (NELM) approach developed by Oded Stark and others in the 1980s (Stark & Lucas, 1988) highlights the position of the family in the decision-making process and acknowledges that household members decide collectively about migration for the benefit of the whole family (De Haas, 2010; Gamlen, 2014a; Spaan et al., 2005). This resonates with the concept of the *āiga*. But what does not fit comfortably is the component of development in Sāmoa. Modernisation has received a lot of criticism over the generations and rightfully so. It has proven to be detrimental as far as issues of environmental degradation and climate change are concerned (Nunn, 2009). New health problems have become rampant in the Pacific with the introduction of processed foods, and more people are dying from non-communicable diseases (Low et al., 2015). The most common critique of modernisation involves the loss of customs and culture that were viewed by the colonisers as holding back progress (Rostow, 1956). Also seen strongly as a negative is the fact that modernisation is strongly masculine (men led the modernisation process) and did little to acknowledge the contribution of women to development (Razavi & Miller, 1995). However, while the critiques of modernisation and theories of economics are absolutely relevant, in the case of the 18 participants there was a real desire to acquire material wealth. Maiava recalls as a young boy talking with his relative and dreaming about one day owning a car and eating nice food like that of other rich relatives and neighbours. The difference is the participants knew modernisation and the cookie cutter approach was very different in a Sāmoa context.

In the case of the participants, it can be argued that culture and heritage were never lost. The reason why this eventuated is because, from a young age, *fa'a Sāmoa* was embedded in their lives and they lived and breathed their culture and heritage every day. They participated in cultural obligations, cooked in open outdoor kitchens, learned how to read and write in Sāmoan, communicated in Sāmoan within the *āiga* and village settings, carried out their responsibilities as sons and daughters at family *fa'alavelave* and learnt how to sit, stand and walk as a Sāmoan. I understood with the research participants, that there was no way, even if they tried, that *fa'a Sāmoa* could ever leave them. This resonates for me as growing up in New Zealand my parents instilled values of *fa'a Sāmoa* in me and that still influences my thinking to this day. As I write this conclusion there is a family visiting from Sāmoa for their son's graduation. This family came to my father's funeral to bring money to help with arrangements for his burial. In my head the right thing to do would be to visit this family to

take food and money to reciprocate their generosity. This makes no sense to anyone else, including my *pālāgi* wife, but culturally it is absolutely appropriate as the practice of giving to visiting families is modelled from cultural practices in our Sāmoan history. The research participants and I are therefore Sāmoan to the core.

What is interesting is while *fa'a Sāmoa* is strong in the participants, they were able to still engage in modernisation. While education was used as a means of building human capital, some of the research participants saw the value of education in raising their awareness, akin to on Freire's call to use education as a liberation tool. Hinauri Petana researched and wrote an essay about the effects of psychedelic drugs after listening to her favourite Beatles song 'Lucy in the sky with diamonds' and Maiava in his final year of high school wrote a paper for the school magazine arguing that GDP is not a good measure of development, as it is based on the average earnings of the affluent and not the poor.

This takes theories of alternative development and post development a step further. I agree that people-centred development is essential for the success of development work, but as is evidenced from the participants, there is also a place for mainstream development theories that push Westernisation and economic growth as the answer to development. However, there is a key difference. The individualistic and masculine nature of modernisation does not fit in the context of Sāmoa. The participants absolutely want to become modern, but this is not for their own benefit but for that of their *āiga*, and it is not at the expense of *fa'a Sāmoa*. Equally the role of women in *fa'a Sāmoa* is significant in its development story. Women have been prominent in the education sector and this has allowed them to take up prominent positions in a variety of sectors as a result. Without their contribution the success of the public sector particularly would not be where it is today. The original intention for the participants to migrate for education was to promote the *āiga* to the next level.

Upon the completion of their studies and entering gainful employment, was the desire to build western style homes, purchase the latest Toyota Hilux, expand business opportunities to create wealth, eat nice western food and frequent restaurants in Apia not solely for their individual satisfaction, but for the benefit of the wider *āiga*. Malae Aloali'i remembers when her uncle returned from scholarship, he hated eating the tinned fish he was used to growing

up, so he made sure that every meal was first class. He went to school, so he could afford to feed his mother steak, lobster and fish and chips. Their success therefore was not theirs alone: it belongs to the wider *āiga* who partake in the benefits long after the education is complete.

Most of the participants are active in family *fa'alavelave*, some giving what could be viewed as excessive amounts of money to the development of their *āiga*. There is a balance between capitalist economics and people-centred development that needs to be acknowledged. Some people in the developing world are afraid to admit there are aspects of modernisation that really works for them, but I engage everyday with consumerism and I too want better and bigger assets to benefit not only my nuclear family but also my extended *āiga*. There is therefore an inextricable link between migration, education and development in the context of Sāmoa where becoming modern is not at the expense of *fa'a Sāmoa*, nor is it masculine led, but in fact modernisation has aided, in the case of the participants, the promotion of *fa'a Sāmoa*. The participants have proven that modernisation and *fa'a Sāmoa* can coexist in a way that works for the Sāmoa context. Sāmoans have therefore engaged with development in a way where they have dictated what works for them in their context and on their terms. The participants are all very modern people, their homes are western, they travel the globe, have the latest gadgets but they are also very Sāmoan in their thinking.

There needs to be more work done in finessing the balance between modernisation and *fa'a Sāmoa* where Sāmoans are not stressed with the burdens of *fa'alavelave*. The relentless pressures put on Sāmoans to contribute to *fa'alavelave* can be overwhelming, but it is up to my generation to adapt this for future generations. Adopting western practices of savings schemes and being wiser with finances can strengthen this model further and remove the pressures of *fa'alavelave* but continue to celebrate the true essence of *fa'a Sāmoa*. I am learning how to do this daily.

The process of modernisation is not just one where Sāmoan people are swept along by global models and tides of change as passive recipients of western-style development. But instead there is active, strategic and deliberate engagement with the modern world in ways which maximise access to its benefits, but simultaneously respect and enhance *fa'a Sāmoa*.

The concept of Sāmoa as a 'nation' has been a feature of this study. Migration in general has led to an exodus of Sāmoans to the point where there are now more Sāmoans residing outside the islands than within. But with the increasing number of Sāmoans abroad - through transnationalism -the Sāmoan diaspora are still able to contribute to Sāmoa as they have remained connected through technology and globalisation.

One of the proverbs used in this research is '*E lele le toloa, ae ma'au i le vai*'. The *toloa* (grey duck) was populous in all parts of Sāmoa, but due to changes in the geography of the wetlands following cyclone Val and Ofa, it is now only found in American Sāmoa as part of a conservation project (Tarburton, 2001). However, the *toloa* is also found in Europe, South America and New Zealand (Gillespie, 1985; Rhymer et al., 1994; Sheppard, 2017) and as long as there is water, the *toloa* continues to survive. The 'water' is the connecting factor for all *toloa*. No matter where in the world it is, the *toloa* will be comfortable if there is water. For Sāmoans residing abroad permanently, the nation of Sāmoa is this connecting factor. Regardless of where they live, Sāmoa is strengthened by them and continues to develop with them.

The opening phrase of this chapter *fa'aauau le folauga* – continue the journey, was deliberately chosen as the journey for the betterment of the *āiga* and Sāmoa is never ending and will continue through to the next generation. It is now the responsibility of future generations to continue the journey started by our forefathers. They have been given the skills, the knowledge, and the fortitude to progress the nation of Sāmoa. They can take this journey further, *manuia le folauga!*

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent to Interview forms

Appendix 2: Interview questions

Appendix 1: Consent to Interview forms



“MIGRATION FOR EDUCATION AND THE IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT IN THE PACIFIC”

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW

Researcher: Avataeao Junior Ulu, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences,
Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

- I have had the research explained to me clearly and understand the project. I have had the opportunity to ask questions, and any questions I had were answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to take part in a semi structured interview.

I understand that:

- I have the ability to withdraw any information from the study up until one month after my interview.
- The information I have provided will be destroyed 10 years after the research is finished.
- I understand that the only way my name will be used is if I give explicit permission for this.
- I understand my interview will not be audio recorded however, the researcher will take notes and I will have the opportunity to review these notes following my interview.
- I understand that the results will be used for a PhD thesis and a summary of the results may be used in academic articles and/or presented at conferences.
- I understand that this data will be stored in a secure manner.
- I consent to information or opinions which I have given will be attributed to me in any articles on this research: Yes No
- I would like a summary of my interview: Yes No
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report Yes No

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Email address: _____



“MIGRATION FOR EDUCATION AND THE IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT IN THE PACIFIC”

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?

My name is Avataeao Junior Ulu and I am a Doctoral student in Development Studies (Human Geography) at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This research asks whether different types of education in the Pacific Islands region lead to emigration and how this might contribute to either positive or negative development outcomes. It seeks to question which strategies for education (by level, gender and curriculum), and associated aid policies promote higher levels of emigration. Furthermore, it explores how these forms of education and migration then relate to different conceptions of desirable development by individuals, communities and governments in the region. Drawing together a cross-disciplinary approach spanning migration, development and education, and several case studies from across the Pacific region, it will employ a mix of methods to review a range of both institutional and individual experiences. It aims to provide recommendations for aid and development policies.

How can you help?

If you agree to take part, I will interview you in a public place or somewhere you feel most comfortable such as your place of work or study. I will ask you a minimum of 20 questions and the interview will take approximately one hour. There will be follow on interviews should you agree, if we require more time. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study up to one month after the interview. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed.

What will happen to the information you give?

Given the nature of the research and to capture a rich story about your contribution to the development of Sāmoa, this research is not confidential. However the interviews will not be audio recorded but the researcher will take notes throughout the talanoa session. You will be given the opportunity to review the researcher notes following your talanoa session to ensure accuracy of the conversation. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed 10 years after the research ends. Ethics approval has been granted

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my PhD thesis. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations, and academic reports and articles.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- withdraw from the study up until one month after your interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Student:

Name: Avataeao Junior Ulu

Email address: Junior.Ulu@vuw.ac.nz

Supervisor:

Name: Professor John Overton

Role: Professor

School: Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences

Phone: +644 463 5281

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convener: Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 5480.

Appendix 2: Interview questions



“MIGRATION FOR EDUCATION AND THE IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT IN THE PACIFIC”

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

State: If you do not want to answer any of the questions please feel free to say “pass” and we will move on to the following question.

Section 1: Personal Information

1. Full name, birth place, village for both parents
2. What is your social class?
3. What was history of education in your extended family?

Section 2: Education in your country of birth

4. Where did you undertake your formative education? Did you have options for schools to attend in your area?
5. What religious group did/ do you belong to? Did this impact on you furthering your education?
6. How proactive were your immediate and extended family in your education?
7. What pressures did you face as a young person to pursue further educational opportunities?
8. Did you always intend on studying abroad?
9. Did you plan your career, or did it evolve?
10. Where and what did you study abroad (list both undergrad and post grad qualifications and dates of study)?
11. Did you and your family plan for you to return to your country of birth at the completion of your studies?
12. How many of your family members travelled away for educational opportunities?

Section 3: Education abroad

13. Did your formative education prepare you for tertiary studies abroad?
14. What challenges did you experience and how did you overcome them?
15. Scholarships are awarded to the top academic students, were you able to maintain your grade point average?
16. What opportunities (both positive and negative) presented themselves as a result of your studies abroad? Did circumstances change for you as a result of these opportunities?
17. Were you successful in your studies abroad?
18. Did you return to your country of birth following your studies abroad? Why or why not?

Section 4: Post studies

19. What employment opportunities were available to you upon returning to your country of birth?
20. Did you experience reverse culture shock returning to your country of birth? Where did you live, back with your family, with your partner, or on your own?
21. What obligations were you expected to fulfil for both family and/ or church upon returning to your country of birth?
22. How did your studies abroad influence (both positively and negatively) on your “world view” and returning to your country of birth?
23. Did your perceptions of your family, culture, religion change as a result of your studies abroad?
24. What challenges and opportunities did you experience in the workplace returning to your country of birth?
25. Did your family name, money or social status influence your career opportunities upon returning to your country of birth?
26. Did you leave again for post graduate studies? Where and how long after your undergraduate? Did you return to your country of birth, why/ why not?
27. What is the impact of your western style of education on the development of your country of birth?

28. How has/ hasn't your western style education helped the development of your family and country of birth?
29. Has your western style of education given you opportunities or more pressure, have you gone into debt as a result?
30. Was your opportunity to study abroad positive or negative, why/ why not?

Section 5: Living abroad

31. Did you leave your country of birth and move abroad after serving your bond? Why and where did you go?
32. Explain your career to date since leaving your country of birth?
33. Is there a Sāmoan or Tongan community in your new home and have you become involved in this community? Why or why not?
34. What obligations do you have in your new home? How different is life for you now?
35. What obligations do you have to your family/ church living abroad? Do you send remittances back to your country of birth?
36. Do you have any intention of returning to your country of birth? Why or why not?
37. How is your western style of education contributing to your new home?

Section 6: The next generation

38. What aspirations do you have for your children in terms of education? Has your own education influenced your direction for your children?
39. How has your culture changed as a result of a western style of education?
40. Do your children share the same values as you on education?
41. Do you have any suggestions for your country of birth in relation to migration for education and the impact on development?
42. Do you have any further comments?

Thank you very much your kind contributions