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**A PARTICIPATORY MODEL OF RURAL POVERTY IN SAMOA**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of

**Doctor of Philosophy  
at Lincoln University  
NEW ZEALAND**

By

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**Lincoln University  
NEW ZEALAND**

**2006**

**Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Ph.D.**

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The aim of this research was to gain a greater understanding of the nature of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor, which could lead to recommendations on strategies for alleviating poverty. More specific objectives of the research were to develop a participatory definition of rural poverty in Samoa, to determine the causes of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor, to identify the strategies that the rural poor in Samoa use to manage poverty, to identify the constraints identified by the rural poor in Samoa to moving out of poverty, to identify the interactions between causes of rural poverty in Samoa, strategies used to manage poverty and constraints to moving out of poverty, and to identify some solutions to moving out of rural poverty, and to make recommendations on how poverty can be reduced in Samoa that may help in the design of appropriate poverty-reducing strategies. This aim and its objectives were achieved by developing and analysing a participatory model of rural poverty in a Samoan context. This was done using a qualitative research method known as grounded theory.

Poverty in Samoa was defined by the poor as not including food poverty and there is no shortage of normal staple foods. However, there may be a temporary shortage of food in periods of natural disasters or inability to access special foods. Poverty can also be associated with a lack of household assets and community facilities, and lack of ability to meet a range of obligations including village, social, cultural, family and church obligations. Lack of income, income earning ability and savings was also defined by the poor as a dimension of their poverty. Entry into poverty occurs because of events related to personal circumstances, events related to social obligations and external events (such as natural events or economic events). There appears to be an event that pushes people into poverty which is reinforced by other events. Although people fall into poverty, at some point they reach the safety net that protects them from the worst effects of poverty and stops their situation getting worse. This safety net includes getting support from others, temporary employment and semi-subsistence activities. These activities stop their situation getting worse.

Some people remain poor and do so because they are unable to get enough money from others to build up their financial reserves, they are unable to get a well-paying job and are unable to build up a small business from semi-subsistence activities enough to get them out of poverty, or to build up financial reserves, because their obligations are too great. For some, these factors can be compounded by an attitude toward poverty, a lack of participation in decision making; isolation and lack of power and voice.

Some poor people are able to get out of poverty by building up a business from semi-subsistence, getting money from others and building up their savings, reducing their social obligations, using family resources strategically, temporary work and education. Associated with these strategies was a very strategic attitude towards poverty, where they use family resources strategically and have a positive attitude to their situation.

Some people, who were poor, had got out of poverty, but then become poor again. They had been able to get out of poverty because they managed to earn enough income (and build up income earning assets) to support the family and meet their obligations. Thus, they were able to accumulate their reserves. They did this by building up a business from semi-subsistence, etc), getting money from others and savings, and using family resources strategically. Even though they were able to get out of poverty because of these strategies, certain unexpected events could then push them back into poverty. The events that push them back into poverty are those identified previously events that first pushed people into poverty. These were events associated with personal circumstances, events related to social obligations as well as external natural and economic events.

A process of capital accumulation emerged from the participatory model that had been developed. This included building up reserves (through getting money from others, money from employment and building up a business) and then depleting reserves (through obligations, consumption and investment). This process of accumulating reserves could be disrupted by further poverty-inducing events.

Recommendations for moving out of poverty included recommendations for individuals and families, recommendations for communities and villages, and recommendations for the national government and the international community. Solution for moving out of poverty depends on the circumstances of the individual and is likely to vary for different groups of people.

Key words: Poverty, Definition of Poverty, Causes of Poverty, Poverty Constraints, Solutions to Poverty, Samoa.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere and deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Sandra Martin, Associate Professor of Agribusiness for the close supervision, guidance and constant support, which she had provided through the course of the study and thesis preparation. Her constructive suggestions and directions made this study a success.

I am also thankful to my Associate Supervisor, Dr. Gilbert Nartea, Senior Lecturer in Finance, for his constructive comments and encouragement especially in the beginning of this study. Special thanks go to Mr. Stewart Pittaway, the Manager of Lincoln International Limited for his constant support, and to Dr Dick Martin for his helpful advice.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to the Agriculture and Life Science Division at Lincoln University for accepting me and to the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) for a scholarship.

My special thanks goes to the poor people of Samoa from all its four inhabited islands, Upolu, Savaii, Manono and Apolima for their willingness to share their important time and information regarding the nature and the reality of poverty in Samoa. Also, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), for accepting me and coordinating the field work with village mayors and local communities.

Hopefully, the insights that they have provided will be beneficial to rural development research relating to poverty-reducing strategies and policies to alleviate poverty in Samoa, the Pacific, and elsewhere.

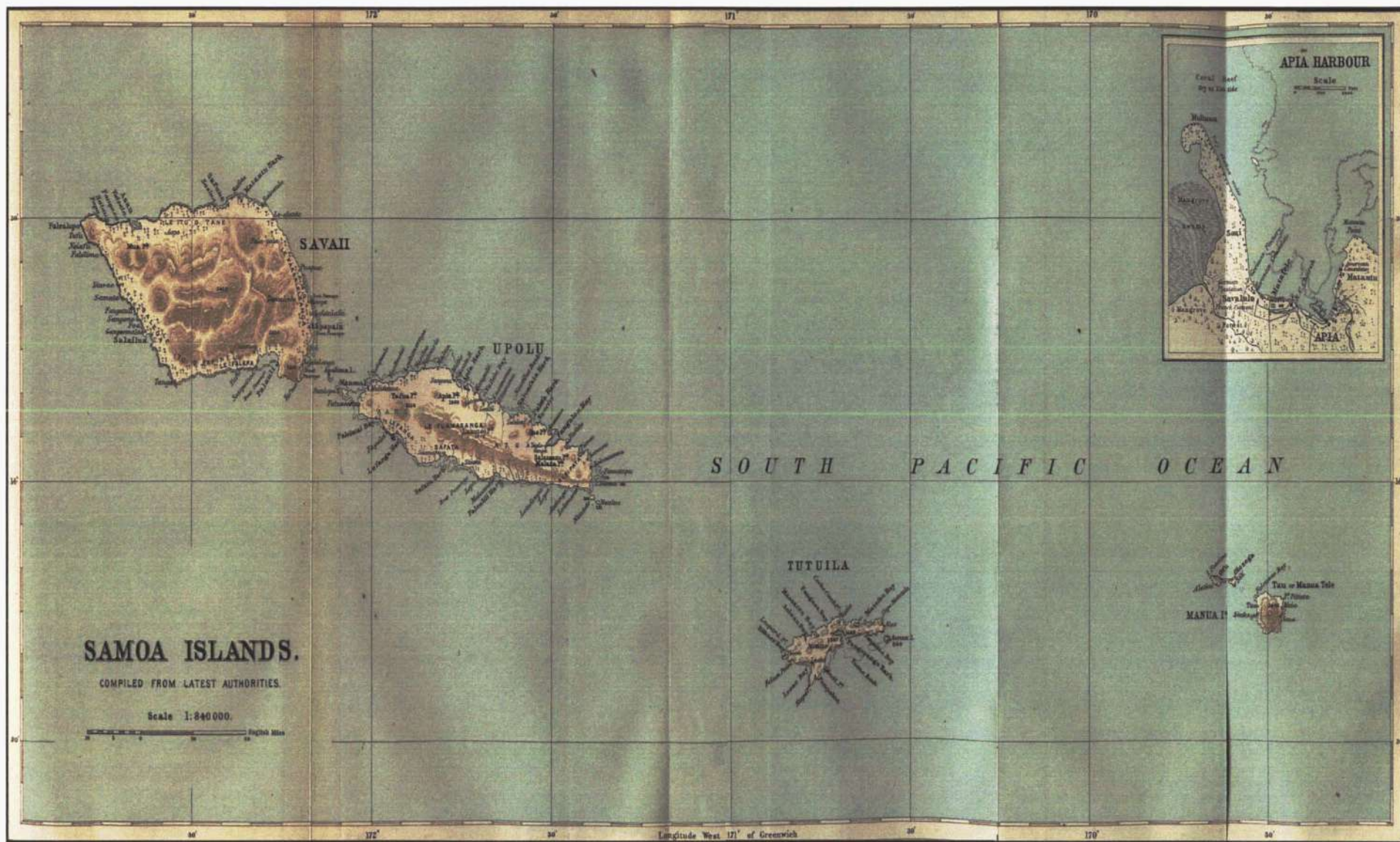
My special appreciation also goes to Mr. John Lay, the former Head of Farm and Horticultural Management Department and also Professor Brian Jordan, the present Director of Agriculture and Life Science Division, Associate Professor Bruce McKenzie, the Manager of Agriculture Group, Professor Keith Woodford, and Associate Professor Peter Nuthall for all the assistance rendered during the duration of my course of study. To all the staff of Agriculture and Life Science Division, the librarians and the computer consultants from the Information Technology Services (ITS), I thank you all for all your help.

My sincere thanks also go to Pat Quarles, Rachel Watson, and Elizabeth Burt and most especially to Wendy Brook for doing such a wonderful administrative support to me and to my postgraduate students. Likewise, my thanks also go to the Student Learning Centre, especially to Catriona Cameron for help.

I owe this thesis to my parents, Tuilaepa Suavi Falanaipupu and Meloma Toluono – Tuilaepa, sisters (Olitloto, Oliana and Litala) and brothers (Suavi, Faalili, Muliaga and Setu) and also, my children (Suavi, Malifa and Olitoto) and my wife, Telesia. I also dedicate this thesis to you for your sacrifice; constant support and encouragement without which, this dream would never have turned into a reality. Thanks for sharing my frustration, anxiety, sadness and anger and accepting many years of study abroad.

Finally, I would like to thank all my families and friends for your support. To all people of the Samoan community, Christchurch, I would also like to thank you for your help throughout my study in New Zealand.

# MAP OF SAMOA AND THE STUDY AREA



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## **Abbreviations and Acronyms**

<b>ADB</b>	Asian Development Bank
<b>ANZ</b>	Australian and New Zealand Bank
<b>BP</b>	Becoming Poor
<b>BPA</b>	Becoming Poor Again
<b>CBOs</b>	Community Based Organizations
<b>CD</b>	Community Development
<b>CCCS</b>	Congregational Christian Church of Samoa
<b>DBS</b>	Development Bank of Samoa
<b>DFID</b>	Department of International Development
<b>FSDA</b>	Farming Systems Development Approach
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agricultural Organizations
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Products
<b>GNP</b>	Gross National Products
<b>GOP</b>	Getting Out of Poverty
<b>GOS</b>	Government of Samoa
<b>GSA</b>	Gender Sensitive Approach
<b>GT</b>	Grounded Theory
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>HPI</b>	Human Poverty Index
<b>IRDP</b>	International Rural Development Project Approach
<b>LTP</b>	Long-term Poor
<b>LVG</b>	Less Vulnerable Group
<b>MAF</b>	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
<b>MIA</b>	Ministry of Internal Affairs
<b>MWA</b>	Ministry of Women Affairs
<b>NGOs</b>	Non Governmental Organizations
<b>NPF</b>	National Provident Fund
<b>NUS</b>	National University of Samoa
<b>NZAID</b>	New Zealand Aids for International Assistance
<b>PPAs</b>	Participatory Poverty Assessments

RM	Remaining Poor
SBEC	Samoa Business Enterprises Centre
SES	Statement of Economic Strategy
SN	Safety Nets
SOP	Staying Out of Poverty
STA	Samoa Tourism Authority
TLB	Taro Leaf Blight
UNDP	United Nations Development Programs
USP	University of the South Pacific
VBDP	Village Based Development Project Approach
VAGST	Value Added Goods and Services Tax
VG	Vulnerable Group
WSTEC	Western Samoa Trust Estate Corporation
WIB	Women in Business
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organization
YMCA	Youth with Mission for Christ

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Research Rationale

Despite some progress being made in alleviating poverty from the world economies and people's lives, poverty remains a global problem and a controversial issue in many countries (World Bank, 1990, 2001; UNDP, 1998; ADB, 1999d, 1999e, 2004). People in different countries define and even measure poverty differently based on their own local political, social and economic contexts. This has led to the emergence of different definitions and measurements of poverty and its multiple dimensions (Shepherd, 1998; Chambers, 1983, 1997; World Bank, 2001), which have, in turn, led to the formulation of a range of different poverty-reducing strategies (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Recent research on poverty reduction has focussed on how to define and measure poverty so as to gain a greater understanding about its nature and causes, since this may help in the design of appropriate areas of action and policies to alleviate poverty (World Bank, 1990, 2001; ADB, 1999e, 2004, Chambers, 1997; Robb, 1999, Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

As noted above, poverty has been defined and measured in different ways. This has been over time and between countries, and each of these definitions favours different strategies for alleviating poverty. For example, when poverty is defined as lack of income and consumption, growth-promoting strategies have focused on increasing per capita income to alleviate poverty (Shepherd, 1998; Robb, 1999; UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001). When poverty is defined as poor health, malnutrition, illiteracy and lack of access to social services, social development strategies have focussed on improving human development outcomes such as health and nutritional status and educational attainment through the provision of better social services to poor people (UNDP, 1998; Shepherd, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). The improvements in these areas are thought to lead to higher income and reduced poverty.

More recently, vulnerability and powerlessness definitions of poverty lead to an emphasis on specific poverty-reducing strategies such as target programs for income generation and employment creation and safety nets (Salmen, 1995; Chambers, 1987, 1997; Morduch, 1999; Robb, 1999; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; World Bank, 1990, 2001). These strategies can be used by

the poor as coping mechanisms to improve their access to credit as well as their borrowing and saving abilities. This is thought to lead to higher incomes, social development and environmental sustainability, which will reduce poverty. These definitions of poverty rely on the poor themselves to define their own situation. This approach is designed to learn how individuals from various social groups assess their own poverty and existing poverty-reducing strategies, how various survival strategies operate, and which government instigated poverty-reducing strategies people prefer and are prepared to support (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Chambers, 1997; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). These trends have been reinforced by the concept of sustainable development. This multi-faceted approach seeks to achieve broadly based growth to alleviate poverty in the context of sustainable development.

Poverty is considered to be a problem in Samoa and a range of government-led development strategies and policies have been put in place to reduce and alleviate poverty. Since its independence from the New Zealand Administration forty years ago, the Government of Samoa (GOS) has pursued a range of economic policies and strategies to improve the livelihood of its people and to reduce poverty, as part of its economic development. In doing so, it has tried various economic approaches and explored several options to alleviate its poverty (ADB, 1980). Because Samoa is largely a rural society and economy, these approaches have tended to focus on rural poverty.

These approaches include the trickle-down development approach of capital accumulation to pursue economic growth (including the inward-looking policy of self-sufficiency) during the 1960s, integrated rural development programs, price stabilisation programs, incentive schemes and subsidies in the 1970s, crop diversification and agricultural commercialisation in the 1980s, and market reform from the 1990s until now (ADB, 1980; O'meara, 1986; Fairbairn, 1991, Burrows et al, 1991; GOS, 1995, 1998). In doing so, Samoa has followed trends in development thinking that moved from the trickle-down development approach of capital accumulation with strong government intervention to a distributional approach of integrated rural development to a multi-dimensional approach of sustainable development (ADB, 2000; GOS, 1993, 2000, 2005).

There are also concerns that the more recent macroeconomic reforms have not alleviated poverty in Samoa, despite the transition to a free market economy. Indeed, it has been argued that implementation of macroeconomic policies to achieve economic stability could exacerbate

poverty and income inequality (ADB, 2000). Adverse consequences on local people's lives are said to have resulted from the introduction of Value Added Goods and Services Tax (VAGST), and the removal of government incentives and subsidies, etc (Johnson and Dhal, 1997; ADB, 2000).

Samoa also remains vulnerable due to its isolation and remoteness from the world markets, which in turn, affects the national economy and people's lives. For example, its small size and few natural resources make local people vulnerable to unexpected external economic shocks and natural disasters (Wright, 1960; ANDEC et al, 1990; Fairbairn, 1991; Burrows et al, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997; GOS, 1995, 1998, 2000). Its small population makes its vulnerable to high emigration, which can then be detrimental to sustainable growth and impede agricultural and rural development (Burrows et al, 1991; Fairbairn, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997; ADB, 2000). Recent studies by aid agencies in the Pacific (including Samoa) also suggest that Pacific people have been deprived by poverty of opportunity (ADB, 1999d, 1999e, 2004).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that Samoa's inadequate physical and social infrastructure, inefficient public institutions, poor governance and corruption could contribute to rural poverty, isolation, physical weaknesses, vulnerability and the powerlessness of local people (Burrows et al, 1991; Fairbairn, 1991; Maiava, 2001). It has also been argued that its strong traditional social systems, such as customary land tenure system, social and cultural activities, could contribute to keeping some local people poor and vulnerable because of their lack of participation in the consultation process employed in rural development programs (Burrows et al, 1991; O'meara, 1994; Johnson and Dhal, 1997; Maiava, 2001).

Therefore, although some progress has been made over the past four decades in alleviating rural poverty and improving local people's lives, it still remains an issue in Samoa and is a high priority on the development agenda (GOS, 1995, 1998, 2000; ADB, 2000).

In contrast to this view, that poverty is an issue in Samoa, there is also evidence to suggest, it might not be a large problem by world standards. For example, Samoa performs well in terms of per capita income and human development and the country has strong social support system that involve cooperating and sharing that can support the poor (ADB, 1999d, 1999e). However, as noted above, its vulnerability to isolation and remoteness from markets, its small size and

population, and few natural resources, suggest that the country has limited capacity to deal with unexpected external economic shocks and natural disasters (ADB, 1980; Fairbairn, 1991; Burrows et al, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997; Tisdell, 2000). Thus, this vulnerability appears to be an important dimension of rural poverty in Samoa.

Given that vulnerability has been identified as a dimension of rural poverty that is very relevant to Samoa, which fits neatly with current thinking on poverty, there exists scope for investigating this concept further in the Samoan context. This approach stresses the participation by the poor in this process, an approach that is reinforced by the concept of sustainable development.

## **1.2 Research Aim and Objectives**

The general aim of this research is to gain a greater understanding of the nature of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor. By doing this, recommendations on strategies for alleviating poverty can be made, with such strategies reflecting the perspective of the poor. More specific objectives of the research are:

- (1) To develop a participatory definition of rural poverty in Samoa.
- (2) To determine the causes of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor.
- (3) To identify the strategies that the rural poor in Samoa use to manage poverty.
- (4) To identify the constraints identified by the rural poor in Samoa to moving out of poverty.
- (5) To identify the interactions between causes of rural poverty in Samoa, strategies used to manage poverty and constraints to moving out of poverty.
- (6) To identify some solutions to moving out of rural poverty, and to make recommendations on how poverty can be reduced in Samoa that may help in the design of appropriate poverty-reducing strategies.

At an implicit level, these objectives are a mix of research questions and policy questions. The research questions are concerned with why people become poor and stay poor or emerge from poverty, and the fundamental forces behind these, while the policy questions focus more explicitly on how to improve their situation.

The aim and its objectives will be achieved by developing and analysing a participatory model of rural poverty in a Samoan context.

### **1.3 Outline of Thesis**

In Chapter 2, a review of some theoretical perspectives on poverty is presented. In particular, it outlines trends in development approaches to poverty reduction; for example, there has been a shift from the trickle-down development approach to the integrated rural development approach to a market reform strategy. Conventional definitions and measures of poverty are also discussed, and the reasons outlined for the recent shift towards a more participatory approach to defining and measuring poverty are outlined. This more participatory approach recognizes that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, and also, that there are different types of poverty such as chronic or transient poverty. Different strategies for reducing poverty are also discussed, and how recommended strategies have changed over time. This includes the more recent perspectives that emerge from the concept of sustainable development. This chapter establishes the importance of context in understanding poverty, as well as the importance of a participatory approach when studying poverty.

In Chapter 3, poverty is discussed in the Samoan context. It is concluded that, although some progress has been made over the past decades in alleviating poverty and improving local people's lives, poverty still remains a problem and an issue in Samoa, and is a high priority on the development agenda. Much of this development effort is focused at a national level, and so a greater understanding of poverty at individual and family level may offer insights that can help to identify more targeted solutions to moving out of poverty.

In Chapter 4, a suitable research method that can be used to achieve the research objectives is identified. The method chosen is Grounded Theory, which is a general qualitative method. It is argued that this method can be called participatory in its approach. This study had both policy

and research objectives and this method seemed capable of achieving the aim and objectives of the research, including both the research and policy objectives.

In Chapter 5, the results will be presented and in Chapter 6, a participatory model of poverty in Samoa is outlined. The Results Chapter (Chapter 5) is used to develop the model; that is, the categories that are presented in Chapter 5 are linked into the model in Chapter 6. These categories are: what is poverty in Samoa, becoming poor (causes of poverty), safety nets, remaining poor (constraints), getting out of poverty (strategies to exit poverty), staying out of poverty (strategies to remain out of poverty), and becoming poor again (causes of further poverty). These groups of poor people were identified in the model. These were the long-term poor, the less vulnerable group and the vulnerable group.

In Chapter 7, the final research objective (solutions and recommendations for moving out of poverty) is focused. This chapter begins with description of a process of capital accumulation that emerged from the participatory model of poverty in Samoa. This describes a process of building up reserves and then depleting them. This process of capital accumulation is then used to derive recommendations for moving out of poverty. These recommendations related to individuals and families, communities and villages, and government and the international community.

More specific recommendations are then derived for the three different groups of poor people. The research results and the model are then placed in the context of the existing literature on poverty. This discussion shows that this study supports many findings from the literature, but also extends and links some of the previous findings. This shows how this study adds to the literature; in particular, it shows how causes of poverty, constraints to moving out of poverty, strategies for alleviating poverty, and the interactions between these, differs for the three groups identified in this study.

Finally, in Chapter 8, the research is summarized, research limitations and suggestions for future research outlined, and the contribution of this research is outlined.

It is concluded that the research will help policymakers and aid agencies in Samoa to design strategies for reducing poverty that are more likely to be successful since they have been identified by the poor themselves. This study also provides a general understanding of poverty,

and in particular, vulnerability for other countries in a similar situation to Samoa, such as other small Pacific Island countries and worldwide.

## **CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON POVERTY**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The aim of Chapter 2 is to review some theoretical perspectives on poverty. The first section of this chapter (Section 2.2) discusses poverty in its general development context. Definitions of poverty and how these have changed over time are discussed in Section 2.3. This is followed by a description of measurements of poverty (Section 2.4). Strategies to alleviate poverty are discussed in Section 2.5, and finally, in Section 2.6, the concept of sustainable development and similar approaches is mentioned.

### **2.2 Poverty in its General Economic Development Context**

Poverty in its development context has been an area of interest and concern to different academic disciplines for a long period. The study of poverty appears to have evolved after World War II, when many nations were confronted with famine, low income and the need for reconstruction (Chambers, 1983; Lea and Chaudhri, 1983). In the 1940s and 1950s, poverty reduction was, therefore, a principal objective of development work with economic growth being pursued as a strategy designed to ensure equitable access to resources and skills and more employment opportunities for the poor (UNDP, 1998; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001). In the 1950s and 1960s, many countries continued to pursue economic growth as a strategy for reducing poverty and many viewed large investments in physical capital as the primary means of development (Seers, 1979; Todaro, 1992; UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Crafts, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001).

The reasoning for this was based on trickle-down development approaches and theories of capital accumulation that were linked to increasing the level of productivity and per capita income (Todaro, 1992; Crafts, 2001; Meier, 2001; Thomas, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001). Therefore, it was argued that achieving economic growth was a necessary condition for poor countries to reduce poverty.

However, this was proved not to be the case, and it was argued that the reason for this was because the trickle-down effects of growth could take many years to reach the people at the

grassroots level (Yusuf and Stiglitz, 2001; Crafts, 2001; Thomas, 2001). It was also observed that most developing countries did not possess adequate physical infrastructure and public institutions, and had low human resource development and few natural resources to facilitate economic growth (Todaro, 1992; UNDP, 1998; Basu, 2001; Crafts, 2001). As a result, economic growth policies became associated with increased numbers of poor people, greater income inequality, higher unemployment, rural-urban migration and social unrest in poor countries (Todaro, 1992; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Although a large number of Third World nations did achieve growth targets, the level of living of many of their people did not improve, which suggests that something was wrong with this view of poverty (Todaro, 1992, p. 99; Seers, 1979, p. 3 cited in Todaro, 1992).

Therefore, there was an awareness that this development approach did not eliminate the absolute poverty of the poorest. It was also argued that it marginalised rural populations, and could also lead to environmental degradation in developing countries (Shepherd, 1998; Selman, 1998; Chambers, 1995, 1997; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Tisdell, 2000; Thomas, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001).

In the 1970s awareness grew that physical capital was not enough, and that health and education was also important. It was argued that improvements in health and education are important, not only in their own right, but also because they could promote growth in the incomes of poor people (Todaro, 1992; World Bank, 1990, 2001). Second generation development economists (Meier, 2001; Adelman, 2001; Yusuf and Stiglitz, 2001) argued that development in all societies should have three objectives. These were (a) to increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and security; (b) to raise levels of living through higher incomes, more jobs, better education; and (c) attention to society values, both cultural and human. They argued that this would not only enhance material well being, but also generate greater individual and national self-esteem, and expand the economic and social choices of individuals and nations. As a result, they saw three core values of development, these being (a) life-sustenance, (b) self-esteem and (c) freedom, which were said to represent common goals sought by all individuals and societies (Goulet, 1971, p. 23; Todaro, 1992; Shepherd, 1998; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001). These second-generation economists also argued that the participation of target beneficiaries in development activities should be increased (Salmen,

1995; Todaro, 1992; Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996; Chambers, 1993, 1997; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001; Basu, 2001).

Following the global recession of the early 1980s, the emphasis in economic development thinking started to shift again; this time towards pursuing a market reform strategy, which was then thought to assist in the reduction of poverty. The main aim of these market reform strategies was to pursue broadly based growth through the introduction of structural adjustment programs and trade liberalization. This was to be done in the context of sustainable development and social progress, and result in equal opportunities to all citizens (Shepherd, 1998; Todaro, 1992; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001). These market oriented policies were said to promote the level and efficiency of investments through public sector reform, privatization of public enterprises, opening up all sectors of the economy, deregulation, decontrol of economic activities, rationalization of tariffs, liberalization of trade policies, foreign exchange reforms and financial reforms (UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; ADB, 2000; Yusuf and Stiglitz, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001; Tisdell, 2000).

However, although this approach has been associated with some progress in reducing poverty, income inequality still remains a concern in poor countries (Shepherd, 1998; UNDP, 1998; ADB, 1999e, 2004; Yusuf and Stiglitz, 2001; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Lightfoot and Ryan, 2001). The implementation of reform programs appears to have been taken longer than anticipated. As well, most developing countries do not have adequate physical and social infrastructure, having weak public and local institutions and low human resource development. All of this means that it could take longer for poor people to share in the benefits of economic reforms (Meier, 2001; Thomas, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001). Reducing state intervention in economic activities through privatization, abolition of price stabilisation programs, incentive schemes and subsidies may also make poor people more vulnerable to unexpected external events, such as natural disasters and economic shocks. This can occur because of the absence of specific policies that protect the poor and vulnerable from any adverse effects of the market reform (Shepherd, 1998; UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; ADB, 2000; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001; Crafts, 2001).

In conclusion, thinking on how to reduce poverty in a general sense has changed over the years and this has meant changing policies for alleviating poverty. By and large, different countries have experienced the same problems, but in their own local political, social and economic

contexts (UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; ADB, 2000; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). This means that while it is important to understand these general trends, it is also critical to understand the particular context in which poverty occurs.

### **2.3 Definitions of Poverty**

Poverty is not easy to define and people in different countries define poverty differently based on their own local political, social and economic contexts (Shepherd, 1992; Chambers, 1983, 1997; World Bank, 1990, 2001; UNDP, 1998; ADB, 1999e, 2004). Thus, poverty tends to be debatable globally and it is a controversial issue in many countries, since its presence or absence can be argued based on different definitions of poverty, with these different definitions describing different people as poor (World Bank, 1998).

An early definition of poverty emerged in the 1900s, when Rowntree defined poverty in York, England, as a socially acceptable amount of money, estimating the budget required to obtain the minimum necessities for household members (Rowntree, 1910 cited in Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Using the nutritional content of various foods and their prices as a basis, he concluded that 15 shillings would provide the minimum budget for food for a family of six for one week. Adding an allowance for shelter, clothing, fuel and sundries, he arrived at a poverty line of 26 shillings for a family of six, which translated to a poverty rate of almost 10 percent in York (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). He also introduced the concept of 'secondary poverty'; that is, (those living in 'obvious want and squalor', but not below the minimum income/expenditure level (Callan and Nolan, 1991, p. 245).

This concept of a poverty line defines poverty on the basis of per capita income or per capita consumption. Per capita income gives an indication of what people might be able to buy, whereas per capita consumption is a refinement of this, and focuses on what they actually buy to meet their basic necessities. From these definitions, a measure of poverty was derived, known as the "dollar-a-day" poverty line. This "dollar-a-day" poverty line suggests that people who earn less than \$1 a day fall below the poverty line and are considered as poor (UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; ADB, 1999e; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Baulch and McCulloch, 1998).

This poverty line approach has been used to measure poverty in various countries and at various times. However, what is thought to constitute poverty can vary from country to country. For example, when it was used to compare poverty in India and USA, it was found that the U.S. poverty line was 10 to 20 times as high as India's, depending on household size. For these same reasons, the poverty line will also change over time within countries as average incomes rise and views about what is the minimum necessary for subsistence change (World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

However, there are other problems with this definition of poverty. It does not allow for differences in the cost of living between rural and urban people within a country at one point in time. For example, in Indonesia, urban migrants face higher prices for housing and food staples than they do in rural areas (Ravallion and van de Walle, 1991). Similarly, it fails to allow for differential access to goods and services. For example, two households that are equally poor according to the dollar-a-day definition could have quite different levels of well being depending on their access to free or heavily subsidized goods and services (Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

Furthermore, the poverty line measure cannot distinguish between those people in transient (temporary) poverty and those people in chronic (more permanent) poverty. Both groups could be considered to be in poverty, using this definition, but the types of programs that could best assist each of them are likely to be different (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). In addition, this measure does not consider intra-household allocation of expenditure, since the poverty line assumes all household members are treated equally. However, whether specific members of a household are in poverty depends on how households allocate their income or food to their members (Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Meier and Squire, 2001). Another researcher, Sen (1976), also highlighted the unsatisfactory features of this traditional poverty approach, and argued that any definition of poverty should take into account not only the number of people below the poverty line, but also the depth of their poverty.

Poverty line approaches based on style of living indicators also face problems. Callan and Nollan (1991) argue that poverty is not unidimensional, but multidimensional; for example households can be 'food poor' but not 'housing poor', so it is difficult to see how these different facets of poverty can be 'put together' or serve as a basis for a cut-off between poor and non-poor (Callan and Nollan, 1991, p. 256).

Because of these problems, relying on per capita income or per capita consumption measures of poverty alone to inform poverty-reducing strategies can be very misleading. As a result, in the 1980s analysts turned to an alternative definition of poverty that included measures of living standards such as nutrition, health and education (World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). They supplemented the income or consumption-based measure with the Human Development Index (HDI); the Human Poverty Index (HPI) and other social measures that incorporated social indicators such as longevity, literacy and living standards, thereby defining poverty in terms of human development. That is, malnutrition, illiteracy and disease were identified as characteristics of absolute poverty, and it was argued that this poverty could be alleviated by raising nutritional and health status, education levels and access to social services. In turn, an improvement in social well-being would then lead to higher income, longer lives and higher educational attainment (UNDP, 1998; ADB, 1999d, 1999e, 2004; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

Proponents of these social indicators of poverty argue that income may be important to the improvement of social indicators, but there is no guarantee that improving income will improve these outcomes (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). As a result, Sen defined poverty in terms of capabilities (Sen, 1981, 1984). Capability means the freedoms people enjoy that permit them to lead to the kind of life they value, such as social functioning, better basic education and health care and longevity (Sen, 1999, 2001). The arguments in favour of this capability approach are that, firstly, poverty can be characterised by capability deprivation, and capabilities are intrinsically important, whereas low income only indicates financial incapacity. Secondly, low income is not the only influence on capability deprivation. Thirdly, the impact of income on capabilities will vary among communities, families and individuals. There is also a connection which leads from capability improvement to greater earning power. This points to the importance of people being well prepared if they are to take advantage of economic opportunities (Sen, 1999, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

Unfortunately, problems were identified with these measures as well (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). For example, the HDI ranks countries at a national level. Because of this focus on the average, the HDI yields little information about the poor and the realities of their poverty within a country. Although governments will be interested in the life expectancy of all their citizens, special attention on poverty requires an emphasis on those who can expect to live fewest numbers of

years. Hence, national averages do not allow ranking of households within countries and therefore cannot be used to distinguish the poor from the non-poor (Salmen, 1995; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

Because of the deficiencies in both income based and social indicator measures of poverty, which both fail to identify the realities of poverty and separate the poor from the non-poor within a country, there has been a paradigm shift during the 1990s towards an alternative approach to defining poverty (Salmen, 1995; Robb, 1999; Chambers, 1993, 1997; Holland and Blackburn, 1998). This involves asking the poor people themselves what constitutes poverty and what poverty means for them in whatever dimensions they choose. This new approach has identified further dimensions of poverty, including vulnerability/risk and powerlessness/voicelessness, which have not been captured in conventional measures of poverty (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001).

A concern about risk and volatility of income can be expressed as a feeling of vulnerability. Descriptions by the poor of how market fluctuations, seasons, and crises affect them shows an understanding of poverty as a state that is not just of having little, but also of being vulnerable to losing the little that these poor people have (Holland and Blackburn, 1998). It is argued that this vulnerability has two sides: the external side of exposure to shocks, stress and risk; and the internal side of defencelessness, meaning lacking the ability or resources to cope with losses (Salmen, 1995; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Outside sources of risk can include irregular rainfall, epidemics, crime and violence, the structural vulnerability of homes, and civil conflict, all of which make people vulnerable to poverty (Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Chambers, 1997).

It has been argued that reducing risk and vulnerability can help the poor get out of poverty, and having the poor included in poverty-reducing programs can increase their voice (Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996). For example, reducing their vulnerability means the poor are able to take advantage of higher-risk but higher-returning opportunities, such as long-term investment in their children's education. In addition, giving the poor voice can reduce their sense of isolation. If the poor can express their concerns about any projects and programs that help them, they will then more actively participate in those poverty-reducing projects and programs (Narayan and

Nyamwaya, 1996; Chambers, 1997; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Robb, 1999; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

The powerlessness/voicelessness dimension of poverty refers to a lack of political power. Some see this lack of voice and political rights as the most fundamental characteristic of poverty (Chambers, 1995, 1997; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). The marginalised group tend to have no resources and power and because they are powerless, they are unable to make their voices heard. This means that governments may carry out projects without consulting the communities that were meant to benefit from them, and so they have little say in how to improve their situation (Salmen, 1995; Chambers, 1993, 1997; Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996; World Bank, 2001).

This more recent definition of poverty identifies many dimensions to poverty and stresses the interactions between them. Chambers (1983) describes these dimensions and interactions as a deprivation trap, which is also described as the vicious circle of poverty that includes poverty, physical weaknesses, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness. All these components then interlock as shown in Figure 1.

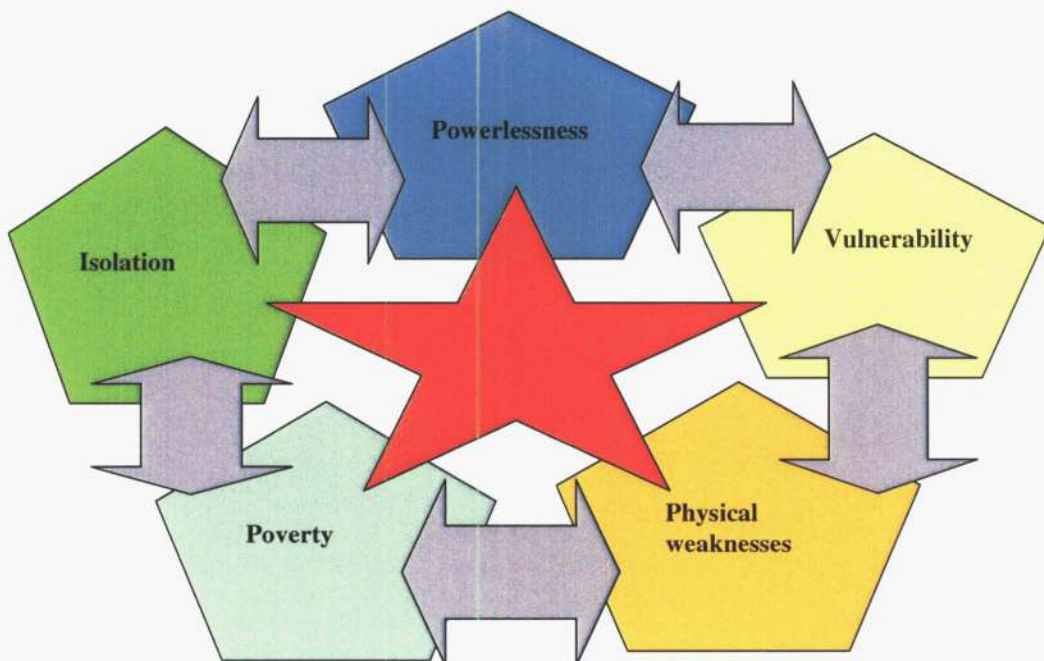


Figure 1: Deprivation Trap

Source: Chambers, R (1983). Rural Development: Putting the Last First

As illustrated in Figure 1, Chambers (1983) suggests that poverty contributes to physical weaknesses (through lack of food and malnutrition). This, in turn, leads to low income (or further poverty) because of low productivity of weak labour. This low income exacerbates poor health. Poverty also contributes to isolation, because the poor are unable to pay school fees, to buy a radio, to find a job, etc. Isolation, in turn, sustains poverty; for example, services do not reach those who live in remote areas, and those who are illiterate find it difficult to get loans. Isolation also links to physical weaknesses; for example, remote households cannot access adequate community facilities, which can then lead to poorer physical health. Vulnerability also links to other clusters. It relates to poverty through the sale of productive assets; to physical weaknesses because those who are weak are unable to meet contingencies and so become more vulnerable. Powerlessness also contributes to poverty through the exploitation by the powerful and lack of access to resources from the state; for example, those without power are unable to dispute wage or interest rates, and so are unable to improve their condition.

Chambers (1983) suggests that three of the clusters in Figure 1 (poverty, isolation and physical weaknesses) and their linkages are relatively well accepted and understood. However, he claims that the other two clusters (vulnerability and powerlessness) are less well understood. That is, the links between voice and development outcomes to reduce poverty and between vulnerability and development outcomes to reduce poverty are not well understood a view that is supported by Kanbur and Squire (2001) and the World Bank (2001).

In addition to the more recent emphasis on dimensions of poverty such as vulnerability/risk and powerlessness/voicelessness, there has been a growing awareness of different types of poverty. For example, poverty has been described as absolute or relative. Absolute poverty is defined as extreme lack of food (starvation, malnutrition, famine), extreme lack of income (less than \$1 a day), whereas relative poverty is lack of income to buy the food and other basic needs, lack of access to basic services, lack of freedom and opportunities (World Bank, 1990, 2001). Likewise, people may be income-poor, but not destitute, as they can access semi-subsistence safety nets (World Bank, 1990, 2001; ADB, 1999d, 1999e, 2004; Tisdell, 2000). In this vein, Jazairy et al (1992) have identified four types of poverty, (i) lack of wealth, (ii) material deprivation associated with isolation in marginal areas, (iii) overcrowding poverty related to population pressure, and (iv) traumatic poverty caused by events such as war, drought, famine and ineffective government responses to these (also cited in Shepherd, 1998).

Poverty is also often classified as chronic poverty or transient poverty. The chronic poor may find themselves unable to improve their situation because of reasons such as illness, while others may fall into poverty because of temporary shocks, but they then are able to exit poverty (Baulch and McCulloch, 1998). In industrial countries, it has been observed that while some people remain below the poverty line year in and year out, other people seem to move into poverty because of temporary shocks and their situation can then improve a couple of years later, before their circumstances are reversed again, and they are once again below the poverty line (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Hence, there are those in chronic poverty, but also those who are vulnerable to transient poverty.

In summary, definitions of poverty have changed over time, with poverty now being considered a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Current definitions of poverty stress the importance of self-definition by the poor, and include dimensions of vulnerability/risk and voicelessness/powerlessness. As well, recognizing that there are different types of poverty, such as chronic or transient poverty, adds to this multi-dimensional understanding.

## **2.4 Measurements of Poverty**

Each of the different definitions of poverty discussed in Section 2.3 has different methods of measuring poverty, which are discussed briefly below.

### **2.4.1 Income Based or Consumption Measures of Poverty**

The per capita income definition of poverty can be measured by income earned by the general population (usually real GDP/population), which is the real income earned by each person per annum. Per capita consumption can be measured by estimating the budget required by each household for daily food and other basic necessities; for example, household income or expenditure on food, shelter, clothing and so on. These measures are then used to draw a poverty line that is expressed by purchasing power parity (PPP) dollars and/or household expenditure per person. Poverty is measured as the number of the poor below the poverty line using data on household incomes or on expenditure (UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Baulch and McCulloch, 1998; Callan and Nollan, 1991).

There is an argument over whether income or expenditure should be used to measure poverty accurately (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Most analysts seem favour household expenditure because it is easier to measure, and it also has a conceptual advantage, as households can smooth consumption, whereas their incomes can vary over time (UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001). For example, Anand and Harris (1993) studied poverty in Sri Lanka and found it more accurate to measure poverty using the household total expenditure rather than using income, and also that a household total expenditure per capita is less variable. They argued that household food expenditure is an even better indicator than total household expenditure (Anand and Harris, 1993).

As noted in Section 2.3, these measures of poverty are only concerned with marketable goods and services (van de Walle and Nead, 1995), not the allocation of expenditure within a household (Hadda and Kanbur, 1990) and so cannot only deal with differences in household size (how many persons in a household) and composition (how many adults, children, women, men) (Lanjouw and Ravallion, 1995).

Some analysts use two poverty lines to enable them to measure the level of poverty of those who are below and above the poverty line. This is to get round the problem of the deprivation of those living just above the poverty line, which is often almost as severe as that of a person just below it. For example, the World Bank (1990) study used two poverty lines, one identifying the poor and the other the extreme poor.

#### **2.4.2 Human Development Measures of Poverty**

As mentioned in Section 2.3, social definitions of poverty have been designed to overcome the limitations of income or consumption-based poverty measures. These include the Human Development Index (HDI), the Human Poverty Index (HPI) or other social measures that have been developed by the UNDP. These measures are based on definitions such as nutrition, life expectancy, under 5 mortality and school enrolment rates (UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001). For example, the HDI concentrates on three aspects of human deprivation: longevity, literacy and living standards. Longevity is measured by the percentage of people who die before age 40, literacy by the percentage of adults who are literate, and living standards are measured by a combination of the percentage of the population with access to health services, the percentage

of a population with access to safe water, and the percentage of malnourished children under age 5 (Glewwe and van der Gaag, 1990; Appleton and Song, 1999; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

### **2.4.3 Participatory Measure of Poverty (Participatory Poverty Assessments)**

As noted in Section 2.3, recent studies on poverty have stressed participation by the poor, which involves asking them what constitutes poverty for them. A technique known as participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) is often used to diagnose the nature and causes of poverty by asking the poor for their own assessments of local situations (Robb, 1999; Salmen, 1995; Chambers, 1997). This measure utilises an open-ended, interactive, qualitative analysis that allows poor people to describe what constitutes poverty by whatever dimensions they choose (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). These participatory surveys are designed to learn how individuals from various social groups assess their own poverty and existing poverty-reducing strategies, how various survival strategies operate, which government interventions they prefer and they are willing to adopt. Each PPA is different, reflecting the country context, time available and information needs of policymakers (Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996; Chambers, 1993, 1997; Robb, 1999; World Bank, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Salmen, 1995). This methodology will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Vulnerability and powerlessness definitions of poverty, which are associated with these participatory approaches, are more difficult to measure and this cannot be done in a precise quantitative way, and it is also necessary to measure them over a period of time (Holland and Blackburn, 1998). This length of time over which vulnerability is assessed is important because it can help in determining how the poor can cope with uncertain situations (Salmen, 1995; Chambers, 1997; Holland and Blackburn, 1998). Data on household assets (physical, human and social capital) as well as data on safety nets (perceptions of sources of emergency assistance, participation in formal safety nets and access to credit markets), and links to informal networks can be used to measure vulnerability (Chambers, 1997; World Bank, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Vulnerability can also be measured by the functioning of markets and the economic policies that determine the opportunity and the range of activities that a household can use to manage risk. Likewise, vulnerability to non-income risks can be measured by the prevalence of these risks (crime, natural disasters, etc). While some of this information on vulnerability is

gathered from household surveys, most of them need to be gathered with PPAs (World Bank, 2001; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Chambers, 1997; Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996).

Powerlessness and voicelessness definitions of poverty are usually elicited through small group discussions. Poor people can discuss the range of institutions important in their daily lives and then identify the criteria that are important in rating these institutions. For example, criteria include trust, participation, accountability, ability to build unity, responsiveness, respect, fairness and caring, and listening and loving. Poor people can also define these criteria in clear and simple terms before scoring institutions using listing and ranking criteria. Issues of governance, accountability and voice can be measured by indicators of civil liberties, political rights, transparency of the legal system, and the existence of independent media (Chambers, 1985; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Robb, 1999; ADB, 1999e, 2004; World Bank, 2001, p. 21).

From these participatory methods, it can be learned how individuals from various social groups assess their own poverty and existing poverty-reducing strategies, how various survival strategies operate, and which government poverty-reducing strategies people prefer and are prepared to support. The findings from such participatory studies can then be used to refine or refocus conclusions drawn from conventional poverty assessments (Holland and Blackburn, 1998). These PPAs also focus attention on the process of engaging stakeholders, generating their involvement, and so they increase local ownership of strategies to reduce poverty and build commitment to change (Robb, 1999).

## **2.5 Strategies to Alleviate Poverty**

By their nature, each of the different definitions of poverty discussed in Section 2.3 implies different strategies for reducing poverty. Not surprisingly, income and consumption definitions of poverty lead to an emphasis on growth-promoting strategies. This outcome arises because the only way in which per capita income can increase is for GDP to increase at faster rate than population. The emphasis is, therefore, on economic growth (Chambers, 1983; 1995; World Bank, 2001; UNDP, 1998; ADB, 1999e, 2004; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Crafts, 2001).

There is a lot of literature on this topic, such as Solow's decomposition model (Adelman, 2001; Crafts, 2001), Kuznet's Curve Model (Kuznets, 1955; Todaro, 1992; ADB, 2000; Kanbur and

Squire, 2001, Crafts, 2001), Rostow's "Stage Growth" and Gerschkron's "Backward Growth" Theory (Meier, 2001: Crafts, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001), Demographic Transition Theory (Yusuf and Stiglitz, 2001; Meier, 2001). All these theories have focussed on increasing income and accumulating assets as economies grow, and broad economic growth is considered to be a primary strategy to alleviate poverty.

However, some analysts noted that economic growth strategies may increase income inequality. For example, it has been argued inequality worsens as the rural labour moves out of agriculture sector to take advantage of growth in other sectors (Todaro, 1992; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; ADB, 2000). More recent studies have also noted that income inequality can increase as the economy grows (Deninger and Squire, 1998; Clarke, 1996; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). These studies found that there was a link between inequality and growth and it was argued that researchers should investigate growth, inequality and the links between them, when looking at the role of policy in alleviating poverty. That is, from a policy view point the focus should be on how policies can influence both growth and inequality (Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

This growth approach has been extensively criticised by second generation of development economists. They argue that it fails to alleviate poverty in developing countries due to institutional problems, inadequate infrastructure, market failures, or too much government intervention (Todaro, 1992; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Crafts, 2001; Basu, 2001). They question whether income expansion can help the poor's lives as the economy grows or whether, as discussed above, it leaves the poor behind (Todaro, 1992; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001).

The subsequent human development definitions of poverty led to an emphasis on strategies to improve human development outcomes such as education, nutrition and health. These strategies are focussed on improving the nutritional and health status and educational attainment of the poor by putting in place sufficient investment in social sectors of the economy. There are thought to be linkages between improvements in these areas and improvements in income, and therefore, a reduction in poverty. For example, a well-nourished person can work more hours, thereby earning, consuming, saving more and so ensuring future nourishment and work capacity. Similarly, those with primary education can take a higher-paying job, allowing their children to attend school (Kanbur and Squire, 2001). In addition, improving the nutritional and health status

of the poor is thought to have positive impacts on wages and productivity. That is, improving human development is thought to improve the economic position of people (Strauss and Thomas, 1997; World Bank, 1990, 2001; UNDP, 1998).

There seems to be some evidence to support this. For example, in most East Asian countries, investment in human capital such as education and health was thought to accelerate their recovery after the crisis (Shepherd, 1998; Thomas, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001). In Peru, a study of 891 households during 1994 to 1997 found that higher education of a household head increases growth in expenditure per capita in subsequent years (Chong and Henschel, 1999). Likewise, in Vietnam, where household heads had no education, expenditure per capita declined, but increased for household heads with primary education and this increase was three times for those with secondary education (Glewwe, Granolati and Zamman, 2000).

In their turn, vulnerability and powerlessness definitions of poverty led to an emphasis on a different group of poverty-reducing strategies, such as target programs for income generation and employment creation, as well as safety nets to ensure that the growth benefits of economic development are shared by all sections of the population, especially the poor. Target programs, such as borrowing and insurance schemes, can also be used by the poor as coping mechanisms to deal with shocks, stress and risks (Salmen, 1995; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Chambers, 1997). This emphasis on target programs and safety nets can also improve the access of the poor to credit, and increase their ability to save. It is argued that these things can smooth consumption and lead to higher incomes improved human development (Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

Powerlessness/voicelessness dimensions of poverty also imply particular approaches. The poor are powerless and voiceless due to lack of civil and political rights that leads to lack of participation in decision making process, which, in turn, prevents them for taking advantage of certain activities that could improve their situation (Chambers, 1997). Programs that engage stakeholders, such as private sector, non-governmental organisations and local communities in the development process can increase the voice and participation of the poor in the design of poverty-reducing strategies (UNDP, 1998; Robb, 1999; Salmen, 1995). Involving local people in the consultation process gives them greater ownership of these programs and projects, and can lead to a range of desirable outcomes (Kanbur and Squire, 2001; Chambers, 1993, 1997; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996).

Likewise, recognition that poverty can be chronic or transient has led to the realisation that different policies are appropriate for different types of poverty (Jalan and Ravallion, 1998; also cited in Kanbur and Squire, 2001). Recognition of these different types of poverty has led to a realization that different policies are appropriate for different types of poverty. For example, Jalan and Ravallion (1998) point out that the situation of those in chronic poverty can be improved by policies (such as education, land reform or pensions for the elderly people), while those in transient poverty would benefit from measures (such as safety nets, credit and insurance schemes) to support them during hard times (Jalan and Ravallion, 1998; Kanbur and Squire, 2001; World Bank, 1990, 2001).

## **2.6 The Concept of Sustainable Development**

In previous sections, different views of poverty have been discussed. This section will highlight growing concerns with respect to several issues that could perpetuate poverty, and consider alternative strategies to alleviate poverty from the point of view of the concept of sustainable development.

Historically, there has been a longstanding awareness of issues surrounding poverty in the context of agricultural and rural development with some of the early studies of poverty being in this category (Chambers, 1983; Macdonald, 1982; Lea and Chaudhri, 1983). These studies emerged as part of a conventional rural development approach to assessing the impact of foreign aided projects and programs on national growth, and in particular, the impact on target beneficiaries' lives (Shepherd, 1992; Chambers, 1995). Attempts were made to ensure that projects and programs would be socially, economically, financially and ecologically sustainable in order to meet the needs of local communities, particularly disadvantaged groups and the poor (Chambers, 1987, 1993, 1997; Shepherd, 1992, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; UNDP, 1998).

These studies were, in turn, followed by studies on poverty in the context of community development, which highlighted the paradigm shift to more bottom-up development approaches in the 1980s and 1990s. The intention was to increase community involvement in the development process, and so the whole community development is seen as a strategy to reduce poverty (Christensen and Robinson, 1989; Popple, 1997; Rothschild, 1990; Donovan, 1993).

This community development approach allowed local people to have greater influence in project and program design, implementation and the evaluation process. This approach recognizes the important role of stakeholders, other than the state in alleviating poverty. Some of these stakeholders, such as NGOs, were thought to have a good reputation of addressing gender issues and working with ethnic minorities to alleviate poverty and improve their social well-being, and so it was argued that their participation is valuable in helping reduce poverty (Shepherd, 1992; 1998; Chambers, 1987, 1993; Rothschild, 1990; Moser, 1989, 1993; Burkey, 1993).

It has been widely recognized that women, in the past, been marginalized by development, and so to ensure that women are included in rural development, approaches designed to increase their participation have emerged. Two examples of this are Women in Development (WID) and Gender-Sensitive (GS) Approaches. The WID approach focuses on women, as a separate part of the community, in order to strengthen their roles, voice and participation in the development process as target beneficiaries. However, other studies (Moser, 1989, 1993) have found that while the WID approach focuses on meeting women's practical needs, it does not necessarily change their relationship with men in a society. For example, women specific programs and projects are often small-scale and welfare oriented rather than focussed on developing the whole community (Rothschild, 1990; Moser, 1989, 1993; Burkey, 1993; Glick and David, 1997; Chambers, 1993, 1997).

The Gender Sensitive Approach (GSA) is a tool that is used to investigate the gender needs of both women and men. The GSA aims to incorporate women in rural development programs and supports the role of women in strategies to alleviate rural poverty (Moser, 1989, 1993; Catherine et al, 1996). It aims to improve the women's status, legal rights and control of resources within the household and the community, and to reduce gender inequity through the promotion of employment creation and income generation opportunities (Moser, 1989, 1993; Rothschild, 1993). Supporters of this approach argue that measuring the gender relations within the household is helpful for designing poverty-reducing strategies (Narayan, 1999). The gender perspective introduces the topic of human rights into the poverty debate, and gender and human rights issues are now considered important in rural development and development agencies (Shepherd, 1992; Chambers, 1993, 1997; World Bank, 1990, 2001).

The concept of sustainable development is an integral part of these bottom-up development approaches. This concept has since further been promoted worldwide to tackle poverty, and it is thought that the study of poverty in the context of sustainable development may help in the design of appropriate poverty-reducing strategies (Selman, 1998; DFID, 1999). In general, this approach aims to promote equitable growth based on three pillars: (a) economic development; (b) social development and (c) environmental protection (ADB, 1999e, 2004; World Bank, 1990, 2001; DFID, 1999). It is thought that these three outcomes could be achieved by improved access to social services; a supportive and cohesive social environment; secure access to and better management of natural resources; and better access to basic infrastructure (ADB, 1999e, 2004; UNDP, 1998). This approach also promotes access to financial resources; and a policy and institutional environment that supports multiple livelihood strategies and improves equitable access to competitive markets (Selman, 1998; Shepherd, 1992; Chambers, 1997; DFID, 1999; ADB, 1999e, 2004).

Hence, sustainable development stresses a holistic, people-centred approach focussed on sustainable livelihoods, local participation, empowerment and emancipation of women and children (Chambers, 1998; Shepherd, 1992; DFID, 1999). It stresses social justice, environmental sustainability, and inclusiveness of target beneficiaries in any consultation process (Shepherd, 1998; Chambers, 1997). Material progress, (such as growth of incomes, wealth, and poverty alleviation) is complemented by attention to cultural, spiritual and ethical values as well, along with a balanced relationship between human beings and their environment (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Osti, 1997; Shepherd, 1998; Chambers, 1993, 1997; World Bank, 2001). As a result, it is thought that this approach will improve the livelihoods of the present generation without undermining the needs and priorities of future generations (Sargent et al, 1991; DFID, 1999; Yusuf and Stiglitz, 2001; Meier and Stiglitz, 2001; Selman, 1998).

This multi-dimensional approach of sustainable development has much in common with the vulnerability/voicelessness approaches discussed previously (World Bank, 1990, 2001; DFID, 1999; Chambers, 1997; ADB, 1999e, 2004). The sustainable development approach stresses natural resource management, redistribution of resources, and the provision of safety nets for the poor, and also encourages the voice and participation of the poor in expressing their views on ways of sustaining their livelihoods (Osti, 1991; Chambers, 1993, 1997; Christensen and Robinson, 1989; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Thomas, 2001; Yusuf and Stiglitz, 2001).

## 2.7 Summary and Conclusion

The study of poverty in its economic development context has been an area of interest for a long period, and poverty reduction is viewed as one of the principal objectives of development. Initially, economic growth was pursued as a strategy for reducing poverty and large investments in physical capital were viewed as the primary means of development. However, this is proved not to be the case because the trickle-down effects of growth could take many years to reach the poor, and many developing countries did not have adequate physical infrastructure, public institutions, human resource development, or the natural resources to facilitate economic growth. It was then recognized that health and education were also important in alleviating poverty, not only in their own right, but because they can also promote growth in incomes of poor people. More recently, there has been a further paradigm shift, where it was argued that pursuing a market reform strategy could reduce poverty by freeing up economies. While some progress has been made in reducing poverty in poor countries over time through these different approaches, it still remains a concern.

Poverty is not easy to define and people in different countries tend to define poverty differently based on their own local political, social and economic contexts. Poverty has been defined as lack of income (measured by per capita income), using a “dollar-a-day” poverty line as a measure. Because of limitations to this approach, social measures of poverty have also been developed. These define and measure poverty in terms of human development, using the HDI and HPI and other social measures. However, there are also some problems with these measures.

Because of the deficiencies in both income based and social indicator measures of poverty, there has been a paradigm shift towards an alternative approach to defining and measuring poverty. This new approach recognises and identifies (through PPA’s) other dimensions of poverty, including vulnerability/risk and powerlessness/voicelessness which cannot be captured in conventional measures of poverty. It recognises poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, where there are interactions between its various components. More recent literature also acknowledges that there are different types of poverty, such as chronic or transient.

These different definitions and measures of poverty have been associated with different strategies to reduce poverty. For example, income definitions have been associated with growth policies,

social definitions with health, nutrition and education, vulnerability and powerlessness definitions with target programs and safety nets. The concept of sustainable development, which stresses a multidimensional approach, has much in common with this view.

Therefore, material reviewed in this Chapter suggests that if we want to understand the nature of rural poverty in Samoa, then we need to understand the Samoan context. This is because the recent thinking suggests that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon where people can be poor in one dimension but not in another; for example, they can be housing poor but not food poor. Poverty can also be a temporary phenomenon, where people can move in and out of poverty over time. It can also be more permanent. In both cases, there will be many interactions between the dimensions of poverty and so there is a need to understand the Samoan context of poverty in greater detail.

## **CHAPTER 3: THE STUDY AREA AND POVERTY IN SAMOA'S CONTEXT**

### **3.1 Introduction**

As noted in the previous Chapter, recent research on poverty has focussed on how poor people define and measure poverty in their own local context, which then leads to the formulation of various poverty-reducing strategies and policies in the local context. Therefore, this Chapter establishes the context within which the participatory model of poverty in Samoa will be developed. Section 3.2 gives a general background to the Samoan context, Section 3.3 describes poverty in the Samoan context and includes the level of poverty in Samoa, poverty of opportunity and vulnerability, and economic policies to reduce poverty. Finally, Section 3.4 gives the brief conclusion to the Chapter.

### **3.2 General Background**

#### **3.2.1 Geographical Background**

Samoa consists of two main islands, Savaii and Upolu, with eight small inhabited islands including Apolima and Manono. It is located in the middle of the Pacific, 80 miles from its nearest neighbour, American Samoa (Refer to the Map of Samoa and Appendix 4). Samoa is a small country, physically isolated from the main centres of the world population and trade by thousands of kilometres of ocean. The main islands are of volcanic origin, and the total land area is 2,830 km<sup>2</sup>, with Savaii, the largest island, having an area of 1,700 km<sup>2</sup>. The other main island, Upolu, has an area of 1,100 km<sup>2</sup>, on which Apia, the capital is located. Since the land area is small and the islands are close together, the exclusive economic fisheries zone is also small at approximately 116,500 km<sup>2</sup> (Burrows et al, 1991; Fairbairn, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997).

The climate of Samoa is tropical with abundant rainfall, and humidity averaging 80 percent. Average monthly temperature ranges from 22 to 30 degrees Centigrade with very little seasonal variation. The two major seasons are the wet and dry seasons. The wet season extends from

November through April, and the dry season from May to October. Annual rainfall averages 2,880 mm, although there is some variation, and the north-west receives less rainfall than the south east (GOS, 1999, p. 1). Samoa lies in the path of the South Central Pacific's hurricanes, and two of these, Ofa in February 1990 and Valerie in December 1991 recently caused loss of life and damage to land, farms, infrastructure and the economy (Burrows et al, 1991; Fairbairn, 1991).

Agriculture is the main activity, but the soils are fragile. This fragile soil structure makes the islands vulnerable to environmental damage by soil erosion. The lands are suitable for growing crops and raising livestock and subsistence agriculture remains the mainstay (Burrows et al, 1991; Stanley, 1996; Johnson and Dhal, 1997; Tisdell, 2000, p. 75). However, the land tenure system can prevent people from accessing credit. About 80 percent of total lands are under customary land ownership and cannot be sold or used as collateral except for crown lands under the Samoa Trust Estate Corporation (ADB et al, 2000; GOS, 1990; 2000; Burrows et al, 1991).

Other natural resources are the sea and land which support the livelihoods of local people, and natural resources with tourist potential that provide alternative income generation activities and employment creation opportunities. Samoa has been described as the cradle of Polynesia, and the islands are endowed with notable scenery and landscape, historic sites, unique forests and wildlife, which along with its traditional culture means it has tourist potential (Stanley, 1996; Johnson and Dhal, 1997; GOS, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2005; ADB, 2000).

Population is estimated to be 186,000, of which 70 percent live on Upolu Island, where Apia accounts for roughly 38,000 people. Population growth is high at 2.5 percent annually with a rapid rise in the young population of 15 years or below. However, high emigration (particularly to New Zealand) reduces the population growth rate to 1-2% annually (GOS, 2005). There is an estimated population of 175,000 Samoans in New Zealand, a similar number to those living in Samoa, and these people contribute substantially to the country's situation through remittances (Johnson and Dhal, 1997; Tisdell, 2000). Burrows et al (1991, p. 19) noted that unemployment is not a problem because of the high emigration, and more land is available, despite the rapid population growth rate. However, it has been noted that the shortage of labour adversely affects agriculture and rural development (Fairbairn, 1991; Burrows et al, 1991; ADB, 2000; Tisdell, 2000).

### 3.2.2 Social Background

Samoa has strong traditional institutions, especially the Samoan way of life "*faa-Samoa*". Samoa society is based on the extended family "*aiga*" system headed by a (chief) matai who is accountable for its welfare, especially in relation to customary lands (O'meara, 1986). There is often more than one matai per village. In 1996, 320 villages had a total population of 18,000 matais, which is 56 matai per village and one matai for every nine citizens (Stanley, 1996). Each village has its own council "*fono*", headed by a paramount chief who exercises the supreme authority over the extended family and all low ranking chiefs. The Fono controls village life and the national government is viewed as an extension of this system (Stanley, 1996; Johnson and Dhal, 1997). Each village has a village mayor (*pulenuu*) which is a government representative. This position is, however, appointed by government on recommendation from the village council and is usually rotated within a group of influential matai. The *pulenuu* is not usually an influential person in a village but just an agent of leading chiefs who have the legitimate authority to undertake any decision (O'meara, 1994). In the past, only a tattooed man could become a talking chief (that is, have authority to talk in particular cultural events), for example during the kava ceremony, but today others are eligible. Any final decision comes from a paramount chief and high chiefs, and untitled men and women are not allowed to speak during the village fono (Stanley, 1996).

The country has a legislative assembly of 49 members of parliament, elected by those 21 years and over. However, only matai (with customary title passed by land and kinship) can be elected as parliamentarians, except for two seats that are filled by individual voters. The Prime Minister is elected by parliament and he/she appoints twelve cabinet members (GOS, 1999: p. 3). There is a Head of State who endorses the law on the advice of Parliament. Samoa's political system is seen as stable (GOS, 1999).

Samoans live under a communal system and collective action is rewarded more than individual effort (Johnson and Dhal, 1991, p. 10). There is a heavy involvement of village people in social and customary activities, such as marriages, funerals, church buildings and religious occasions (Fairbairn, 1991). Any proposed development activity must be sanctioned by a village council, and any development activity that works through village mayors "*Pulenuu*" without the support of the village council, is unlikely to be successful (O'meara, 1994, p. 20).

There has been criticism of the social system because it is thought to inhibit individual effort and economic growth. However, the system of social sharing and collective decision-making can also provide strong social support (Johnson and Dhal, 1997, p. 20).

Samoa is dominated by its village system. Samoans live in 320 villages and families share their work and food. Thus, all people have a place to live and a sense of belonging. Each household has its own open house "*fale*". These are built on a stone platform with mats covering the floor. Mats and blinds are used as a shield from storms (Stanley, 1996). Most food is grown in village gardens and cooking is done in an earth oven. In the village situation, women work together in the committee house "*fale komiti*", making traditional handicrafts and sleeping mats (O'meara, 1994).

Each village has one or more churches and the pastor's house is a largest residence. Being a church minister is considered a well-paying job as compared to a public service job. Salaries for pastors are collected from monetary donations and kind from church members. Some villages have regulations that require the villagers to attend the church services and choir practices (Stanley, 1996). It has been argued that a heavy involvement of villagers in church activities reduces their opportunities of taking advantage of various economic activities. As a result, some people move to other denominations or migrate to urban areas (O'meara, 1994).

### **3.2.3 The Economic Setting**

Over the past decades, agriculture has played an important role in promoting economic growth. Agriculture (including forestry and fisheries), was the largest sector of the economy. It contributed 50 percent of GDP and employed 60 percent of the labour force (Fairbairn, 1991). It also provided a livelihood for 85 percent of the population and supported the manufacturing sector (Burrows et al, 1991; Leonard and Ooi, 1995).

However, in the last decade, agriculture's share of GDP has declined. Total export earnings from agriculture decreased by 30 percent due to falling market prices for its traditional export crops in the 1980s, cyclone damage, taro leaf blight disease and African Snail plague in the 1990s. Thus, low agricultural production reduced the foreign exchange earnings, but also affected both subsistence consumption and domestic sales (Burrows et al, 1991).

Export crops include coconuts, cocoa, banana and other root crops and vegetables. These are grown commercially by semi-subsistence farmers, with few fully commercial producers. Farming systems are closely linked to the traditional social system and are essentially agro-forestry systems, based on root crops (taro, taamu, yams, taro palagi), which are grown under coconuts and other trees, such as banana, breadfruits, cocoa and coffee for food and cash. Root crops are intercropped with vegetable under a fallow system (Burrows et al, 1991).

The village economy is important to sustain the livelihoods of the rural population. As a result, in the past decades, the revitalization of the village economy has been one of the key elements of Samoa's development strategy to alleviate poverty. Following the natural disasters, the GOS has promoted economic activities in villages as alternative income sources for rural communities. These are in the areas of handicraft production, small-scale agro-processing, tourism and processing and sale of products and by-products of primary commodities by individuals or community-based organizations in villages. The development of the village economy through a partnership involving government, NGOs, village mayors and communities themselves is designed to improve the well-being of the communities and ensure that they receive the benefits of national development efforts (GOS, 1995, 1998, 2000; 2001; 2005).

Fisheries, manufacturing and tourism are also important sectors of the economy (GOS, 2000). In the late 1990s, commercial fishing grew at 4 percent annually with subsistence fishing's contribution estimated at 2-3 percent annually (ADB, 2000). In late 1995, fishing activity began to recover after cyclones and then rose strongly to 8 percent through 1997 and 1998 (GOS, 2000). There has been recent strong growth in fishing production with high fish exports, increased commercial fishing and increased cash earnings for village households. Deep-sea fishing is thought to have potential but there is a limit to its expansion (ADB, 2000; GOS, 2000). Fisheries can play a dual role of supplying the domestic fish requirements and reducing a dependence on imported fish products. Village management plans have been introduced along with new legislation to avoid over-fishing and restock inshore areas. Aqua-culture fishing is another means of alternative food sources and income source for villagers (King and Faasili, 1996; Kallie, 2001).

Tourism is another key sector of the economy. Tourism has been growing rapidly and now plays an important role in the economy (Johnson and Dhal, 1997; GOS, 1995, 1998, 2000; Alailima; 2001; Fairbairn, 1991; Burrows et al, 1991).

Manufacturing makes a small contribution to the economy and is focused on exports. Before Yazaki Samoa came to Apia in 1991, manufacturing was limited to food processing. Yazaki now employs 3,200 workers, and manufacturing has increased in importance (Johnson and Dhal, 1997). Other opportunities for industrial development include processing of tropical fruits, wood and fish. Scope also exists for developing coconut by-products, such as cooking oil and carbonated charcoals (GOS, 1993, 2000, 2005; ADB, 2000).

### **3.2.4 Conclusion**

Agriculture is an important part of the Samoan economy, but its geography makes it vulnerable to natural disasters, such as cyclones, environmental degradation (soil erosion) and crop pest/disease outbreaks. It is also isolated and remote from its markets. Its small size and few natural resources also increase its vulnerability. Its small population is associated with high emigration, which can impede agricultural and rural development. Its strong traditional social systems and customary lands tenure system can provide security but could also make it difficult to grasp new opportunities.

## **3.3 Poverty in Samoa**

In this Section, the extent of poverty in Samoa is considered more specifically. The level of poverty in Samoa is discussed (Section 3.3.1), poverty of opportunity and vulnerability is discussed in more detail (Section 3.3.2) and economic policies to reduce poverty are outlined (Section 3.3.3).

### **3.3.1 Level of Poverty in Samoa**

The situation of local people in small Pacific island countries is not as desperate as those in many Asian economies and those in transition to market economies. They have relatively high per capita income, social development and strong social support systems. For example, Samoa,

Tonga and Cook Islands have per capita income, of US\$1,200, US\$1,500 and US\$1,675 respectively (ADB, 1999e), and it is estimated that less than 10 percent of their total population are poor (ADB, 1999e).

In Samoa, about 50 percent of rural households live on more than US\$5 a day or US\$1,825 per annum (UNDP, 1997; ADB, 1999e), which, by international standards, is relatively high. In addition to its relatively high per capita income (US\$1,200 in the 1990s), Samoa is considered as having medium human development based on the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI)<sup>1</sup>. Samoa has a HDI value of 0.59, ranking 5<sup>th</sup> among 12 other Pacific countries as shown in the Appendix 1, Table 1 (ADB, 1999e; Lightfoot et al, 2001).

The ADB (1999e) also shows that Samoa has high social development, with an adult literacy rate of 96 percent, which is attributed to a high school enrolment despite high school dropouts at village level. Since the 1970s, there has been a growth in Samoa's literacy rate because of a significant increase in government expenditures on education. The literacy rate has increased from about 70% in the 1970s to 90% in 2000 (ADB, 1999e, 2000; GOS, 2000). Female literacy, in particular rose from 65% in the 1970s to 80% in 2000 as shown in the Appendix 1, Table 2 (ADB, 1999e). Samoa has the highest combined gross enrolment ratio (CGER) among Pacific island countries, averaging over 80 percent and slightly more women are enrolled than men (as shown in the Appendix 1, Table 3). The levels of adult literacy and CGER are consistent with Samoa's high HDI ranking.

Samoa also has high life expectancy at birth of 71 years and a relatively low infant mortality rate of 22 per 1,000 live births (GOS, 1999, 2000). About 90 percent of the total population have access to safe water (ADB, 1999e), and there has been a decline in the number of people per doctor (GOS, 2000). The ADB (2000) reports the current ratio to be about 3,150 patients per doctor and 95 percent immunisation coverage. The reproductive health of women is also an indicator of poverty. Fertility rates in Samoa declined in recent years, with a contraceptive prevalence rate of 30% (ADB, 1999e) (as shown in the Appendix 1, Table 3).

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<sup>1</sup> The HDI is based on three factors: (i) longevity, as measured by life expectancy at birth; (ii) educational attainment, as measured by a combination of adult literacy (2/3) and the combined gross enrolment ratio (1/3 weight); and (iii) standard of living, as measured by GDP per capita (adjusted for purchasing power parity). Countries with a HDI value of below 0.800 and above 0.500 are classified as having medium human development. (ADB, 1999e).

### **3.3.2 Poverty of Opportunity and Vulnerability**

Despite scoring highly on income, education and life expectancy, the Pacific Islands and Samoa have been described as having poverty of opportunity. This is caused by their isolation and remoteness from the world trading centres, few natural resources, small size and population, their limited capability to deal with external economic shocks, their susceptibility to natural disasters and their strong traditional social systems (ADB, 1999e). As with their Pacific neighbours, Samoan people share this poverty of opportunity, despite their strong social support system of cooperating and sharing and their well-designed production systems to cope with economic shocks and natural disasters.

Therefore, although poverty is a problem worldwide, by some measures, poverty is not an issue in the Pacific and Samoa. However, it appears that some aspects of poverty may be a problem in Samoa. Therefore, an issue arises of how to define and measure poverty so that more clarity can be gained on what is meant by poverty in Samoa.

It has been argued that vulnerability is a feature of poverty in Samoa. According to Johnson and Dhal (1997), Samoan people can experience transitory poverty, caused by natural disasters such as drought, tidal waves, cyclones, and disease epidemics, which can push entire communities below the poverty line. Authors argue that those are short-term phenomena that require emergency relief (Johnson and Dhal, 1997; Fairbairn, 1991; Burrows et al, 1991).

Hard-core poverty has also been observed in Samoa, and is thought to be the result from a community that is vulnerable to economic shocks and inequitable distribution of growth benefits among the population (ADB, 1999e). It is argued that this type of poverty cannot be resolved by the direct support and assistance but requires an improvement in the economic and social situation (ADB, 1999e, 2004; Tisdell, 2000; Fairbairn, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997).

The recent ADB study states that, because many people are supported by a mix of traditional subsistence activity and modest cash income activities and remittances, the definition and interpretation of poverty can be difficult in Samoa. However, they argue that there are two main groups that are likely to be vulnerable to poverty. These are “urban villagers with limited lands for subsistence production” and “rural villagers with limited opportunities for earning cash”.

They also point out that other vulnerable groups include young people, particularly those with less formal education; women-headed households; the elderly; and disabled people (ADB, 2000, p. 7).

In summary, despite scoring highly on income, education and life expectancy, the Pacific islands and Samoa have been described as having poverty of opportunity. This is caused by their isolation and remoteness from the world trading centres, few natural resources, small size and population, their limited capability to deal with external economic shocks, their susceptibility to natural disasters and their strong traditional social systems (ADB, 1999e, 2004).

### **3.3.3 Economic Policies to Reduce Poverty**

Since Independence forty years ago, Samoa has pursued a range of economic policies to improve the livelihoods of its people and reduce poverty. In this section, these policies are discussed and poverty in Samoa is placed in this economic context.

#### **3.3.3.1 1962 to the late 1970's**

Following Samoa's Independence from the New Zealand Administration in 1962, the Government of Samoa (GOS) followed the same growth path of developed (industrial) countries during the 1950s and 1960s. It adopted the trickle-down development approach of capital accumulation to pursue economic growth as a strategy for reducing poverty and other related issues (ADB, 1980). The GOS also adopted an inward-looking policy of self-sufficiency and self-reliance by investing in the agriculture sector and developing new primary industries in order to increase the level of productivity and per capita income (ADB, 1980). In the 1970s, the GOS continued to focus on achieving high economic growth as a key strategy to ensure poverty reduction, equality and high employment growth, and to increase employment creation and income generation opportunities for rural communities (ADB, 1980; Fairbairn, 1991). Simultaneously, the First Five Year (1965-70) Development Plan was also drawn up, with a strong government control in all development activities in order to guide economic performance.

However, the adoption of these policies resulted in an inefficient economy and difficulties associated with the lack of markets, technical knowledge and skills of producers (ADB, 1980; Fairbairn, 1991). Moreover, the growth effects of such an approach did not trickle-down to those

at the grassroots level as had been expected. This was reported to be due to inefficient state institutions, poor physical and social infrastructure and weak economic and political institutions, characterized by poor governance and corruption, all of which led to a marginalization of the rural poor (ADB, 1980).

The result was that Samoa experienced low economic growth of less than 1 percent per annum and low productivity over the period of 1965 to 1970 (ADB, 1980). This poor performance led to migration of rural labour to urban areas for employment and better quality of life. However, this then led to urban unemployment and social unrest, as well as impeding agricultural and rural development (O'meara, 1986).

### **3.3.3.2 Late 1970's to early 1980's**

Because of these drawbacks, government-led development efforts to stabilize the economy and alleviate poverty in Samoa shifted from a trickle-down growth approach from the late 1970's to the early 1980's. As part of the national anti-poverty strategy, the GOS launched both national agricultural development programs and integrated rural development programs to introduce new technologies to local producers (Fairbairn, 1991). The aim of this approach was to increase agricultural production to meet the world market demand for traditional export crops (coconut, cocoa, coffee, banana and taro) and to sustain national food security and household income (ADB, 1980; Burrows et al, 1991).

As part of this initiative, the GOS introduced its price stabilization programs and incentive schemes, including the introduction of government subsidies as part of the national anti-poverty strategy. This support included livestock cattle projects, fisheries projects, a crop suspensory loan scheme, an access road scheme, and a crop bonus scheme. In addition, physical and social infrastructure and institutions were put in place; for instance, the establishment of district hospitals and rural health centres and the construction of village schools in rural areas. Public roads were further extended to remote areas in order to widen the distribution of assets and economic power and improve incomes (ADB, 1980).

During this period, increased foreign export earnings resulted in a high growth rate of 1-5 percent per annum from the mid to late 1980s, which, in turn, created more wage-employment and self-employment and income generation opportunities for small producers (Fairbairn, 1991). Despite

this, these programs, which were implemented and administered by government agencies, were judged to be unsuccessful in reducing poverty. Reasons given for this were institutional problems, social rigidities and coordination failures (Fairbairn, 1991). These programs were centrally planned by foreign consultants and funded by government subsidies through foreign aid and loans (O'meara, 1986). It has been suggested that this led to bias in their planning and decisions since they were focussed on their deadlines and the lending policies of aid agencies rather than the needs of the target beneficiaries, who were not consulted (Dunlop, 1993).

In another example of failure, village development projects were entitled to subsidized loans of 5 percent from the Development Bank of Samoa (DBS<sup>2</sup>), but these were short-lived, reportedly due to a mismanagement of funds and strong traditional social systems (ADB, 1980). Although the government subsidies led to the establishment of village societies in order to widen the distribution of integrated rural development program benefits throughout the country, they appeared to only benefit those who were directly involved. Local initiatives established by incentives from the program and government subsidies disappeared when the program was ended (O'meara, 1994). Consequently, schemes were discontinued because of their inconsistencies with government policies that led to inefficient use of resources, over supply of produce and lower prices received by producers (ADB, 2000).

Criticisms were also made of the new technologies introduced by government officials who were blamed for bringing inappropriate technologies that discouraged community participation and benefited only 'progressive' (rich) farmers. It was argued that officials failed to consider the cultural importance of animals in traditional ceremonies, feasts and diets, when large quantities of imported exotic animals were slaughtered for special occasions rather than sold at market values (Maiava, 2001).

Corrupt government bureaucrats and politicians were accused of suppressing the voice and participation of local communities in decision making process, which was said to be a result of poor governance and corruption. As a consequence, it was said that the poor remained isolated, vulnerable and powerless/voiceless (Fairbairn, 1991). This vulnerability and powerlessness/voicelessness may have been exacerbated by the strong village authority that controls both village and family affairs. In Samoa, the village council (fono) has a big influence

and has the authority to force everyone to be involved in social contingencies rather than commit to participating in productive activities (Burrows et al, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997).

### **3.3.3.3 Early 1980's to 1995**

In the early 1980s, the country was confronted with a global recession that resulted in an unstable economy. This recession led to falling export earnings, unemployment, budget deficits and increased foreign debt (Fairbairn, 1991). As part of the national development strategy, the GOS again sought to put in place more investment in the agriculture sector and primary agro-based industries to increase production for export markets and sustain national food security. Crop diversification technology was introduced as part of the national disaster campaign and agricultural commercialization was promoted to increase production of new economic varieties and traditional crops for niche markets, which was a priority of the Sixth (1985-90) and Seventh Five Year (1990-95) Development Plans (Burrows et al, 1991; GOS, 1995).

However, increasing production of traditional crops proved to be uneconomic due to low world market prices and uncontrollable external events (Burrows et al, 1991). Moreover, economic growth (1-2 percent per annum from the early to mid 80s) was also sluggish and this was said to be due to poor management of agriculture, inefficient stated-owned enterprises, ineffective government policies and strategies that limit international trade, as well as development options and high inflation that victimised low-income communities (Fairbairn, 1991).

In the early 1990s, government-led efforts at alleviating poverty received a further setback with two consecutive cyclones (Cyclone Ofa in February, 1990 and Cyclone Valerie in December, 1991) that devastated the infrastructure, agriculture, housing, and caused loss of human life. Government-led rehabilitation work, estimated to cost SAT<sup>3</sup>\$170million, along with low exports, worsened the government's budget deficits and led to a poor balance of payments and increased foreign debt (Johnson and Dhal, 1997). However, the influx of foreign aid and personal transfers (remittances) (SAT\$30 million annually from 1992 to 1997), from Samoa expatriates accelerated the government's cyclone recovery efforts (Fairbairn, 1991; GOS, 1993, 2000; ADB, 2000).

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<sup>2</sup> DBS is formerly known as Development Bank of Western Samoa

<sup>3</sup> SAT is the Samoan dollar or Tala Samoa, which is a local currency, US\$1 is approximately equivalent to SAT\$3.

The impact of these cyclones illustrated the vulnerability of Samoa to particular shocks. It has been noted that its small size with its total land area of 2,830km<sup>2</sup>, and its small exclusive economic zone (approximately 116,500 km<sup>2</sup>) and fragile soil structure make the islands vulnerable to environmental disasters, particularly as a result of cyclones and soil erosion in the rainy season (Wright, 1960; ANDEC et al, 1990; Burrows et al, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997).

During this period, it became clear that its small population of 172,000 persons was another source of vulnerability despite high population growth. This was compounded by high emigration, particularly to New Zealand. In 1990, New Zealand had a population of 150,000 Samoans compared to 170,000 living in Samoa (Johnson and Dhal, 1997). It has been argued that this low population base is detrimental to sustainable economic growth and adversely affects the agriculture sector and rural village development because of limited highly paid jobs in rural areas in Samoa (Burrows et al, 1991, p. 19).

A further example of vulnerability to shocks was the devastation of the taro industry in 1993 by taro leaf blight disease. Taro was one of major export crops and a staple food in Samoan diet, earning foreign exchange of approximately SAT\$18 million annually from the 1970s to the early 1990s (GOS, 1995). Taro leaf blight disease severely affected foreign exchange earnings and the livelihoods of local people (Burrows et al, 1991; GOS, 1995; ADB, 2000).

As part of its national anti-poverty strategy, the GOS had continually promoted crop diversification technology and agricultural commercialization through the development of new viable crops for export and sustained national food security in case of natural disasters. In 1994, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forests, Fisheries and Meteorology (MAFFM) launched a Farming Systems Project to promote the FAO's Farming Systems Development (FSD) Approach to increase farm productivity and rural household incomes. The main objective was to promote the development of viable crops, in which local people can cope with the risks of having low income and food shortage during pest/disease outbreaks and cyclone seasons. One of its objectives was to increase the voice and participation of local people in the consultation process due to the perceived failure of the World Bank's Training and Visits (T&V) System to recognise the diversity of clients in rural communities (AIDAB, 1995). It was reported that project failed to achieve its objectives due to little voice and participation by local communities in the consultation process, especially women and young people (Dunlop, 1993).

In 1995, the crop bonus scheme was reinstated as part of the national anti-poverty strategy to increase agricultural production and rural household incomes. It is argued that schemes increased the reliance of small farmers on government subsidies but did not appear to increase the agricultural production for exports and sustain the national food security (Burrows et al, 1991, ADB, 2000). Its main focus was on cash crops grown by men but not on crops that are grown primarily by women, which limit their active participation in productive activities (O'meara, 1994).

It was later judged that this scheme and the previous bonus schemes showed little success. There were difficulties in implementation, and limited benefits in terms of economic growth, but there was improved livelihood for low-income people (Burrows et al, 1991; Fairbairn, 1991). According to the ADB (2000), these schemes were inconsistent with government's later reform policy of improving its role in economic development activities, such as the removal of incentives and subsidies and of promoting the principles of good governance, characterized by accountability and transparency within the public sector to ensure the economic stability and sustainable livelihoods.

#### **3.3.3.4 1996 to the present**

Following the general election in 1996, the present government (Human Rights Protection Party) came into power with a mandate to pursue a free market economy as a strategy for stimulating growth, which in turn, was expected to reduce poverty and improve local people's lives (GOS, 1998). The GOS officially launched the macroeconomic reforms and restructuring through the implementation of public sector reform, privatization of public enterprises and economic diversification (Johnson et al, 1997; GOS, 1998, 2000; ADB, 2000). The main aim was to reduce the government intervention in economic activities, while promoting the participation of the private sector and other stakeholders in policymaking.

The structural adjustment programs and trade liberalization were introduced to stimulate the economy and reduce poverty (Fairbairn, 1991). In its pursuit of free trade, the GOS joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) and adopted an outward-looking policy of reducing tax and removing tariff barriers on exports and imports (with the exception for local fresh food items) (ADB, 2000).

In 1998, the GOS launched further reforms, including financial reform, introducing new legislation that removed the credit ceiling and interest controls, and foreign exchange controls as well as reforming marketing boards, price stabilization schemes and subsidies (GOS, 2000). In 1999, the GOS launched the land reform to address the issue of an insecure land tenure system. However, customary lands cannot be sold or even used as collateral or mortgaged, except for crown land under the Samoa Trust Estate Corporation (ADB, 2000). In 2000, law reform was introduced to provide the legal environment that encourages local and foreign investment.

The GOS also replaced the Five Year Development Plan (DP) with the Statement of Economic Strategy (SES) to encourage the local community's commitment and ownership of its future development activities (GOS, 1998). In 1999, the GOS launched the public sector reform to promote the principles of good governance, accountability and transparency through the introduction of the new budgeting system and strategic sectoral planning. This was aimed at improving the effectiveness and efficiency of public institutions in delivering services to the general public (GOS, 2000). As part of its decentralisation strategy, the GOS has devolved some of its functions and responsibilities by downsizing the public sector and reducing its intervention in economic development activities (GOS, 1998, 2000; ADB, 2000).

However, there are doubts about whether the strategies have been successful in alleviating poverty, and the adverse consequences of poverty on local people's lives. The tax reform has reduced the income tax, but it has been argued that treats taxpayers unfairly; for example, commercial agricultural producers and fishermen are exempted from paying taxes but the local business community pays higher taxes than anticipated (ADB, 2000; Johnson and Dhal, 1997). It was thought that the introduction of 10% Value Added Goods and Services Tax (VAGST) has the potential to aggravate poverty and inequality despite the reduction in income tax (ADB, 2000). It has also been argued that the removal of government incentives and subsidies could adversely affect the lives of low-income households who rely on subsidies (Burrows et al, 1991). With financial reform, more credit is being released to the private sector, but concern has been expressed as to whether it can reach the poorest of the community or improve their ability to save (ADB, 2000). In addition, it is thought that the government could find it difficult to control the financial market, especially local informal lending institutions, and has been argued that such institutions could raise the transaction and information costs, which may reduce the access of

low-income people to credit and their ability to save and take advantage of high-returning investment opportunities (ADB, 2000).

Following the launching of the financial reform, more loans have been disbursed through a multi-agency network comprising commercial and development banks, small credit schemes and non-government organisations (NGOs). The private sector and NGOs take a leading role in promoting micro-financial enterprises for rural communities, especially women and unemployed youths (GOS, 1998). For example, the Women in Business (WIB) has the scheme to work together with village women groups in oil processing, handicrafts, etc as a source of income and employment opportunities. In 1998, the Ministry of Women Affairs (MWA) launched its micro-credit scheme to promote self-employment activities (such as vegetable gardens, handicrafts, weaving, etc) especially for unskilled women and school leavers (GOS, 2000). The Small Business Enterprises Centre (SBEC) also provides small credit to rural communities and educational programs on small business skills to establish their own business as a source of employment opportunities (GOS, 2000).

As part of the national anti-poverty strategy, government and non-governmental agencies also launched village based development projects. For example, the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture (MYSC) launched its rural youth program on self-employment to provide basic skills to rural youths, especially those from poor families. The Youth with Mission for Christ Association (YMCA) has also run its own agricultural youth training for unemployed youth as a wage and self-employment program to dissuade them from migrating to urban areas and the social upheavals associated with this (Burrows et al, 1991). The MAFFM has included income generation skills as a major component of agricultural development projects and programs to educate rural communities, especially women and other vulnerable groups, thereby improving their livelihoods (GOS, 2000). In 2000, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) launched its village-based development project (VBDP) to revitalise the village economy. This aims at creating rural employment, mobilising community assets to benefit vulnerable groups and support rural development activities. The aim is to solve emerging social problems and improve health (GOS, 1998, 2000).

### 3.4 Summary and Conclusion

Although poverty in Samoa does not appear to be severe by international standards, Samoa remains vulnerable to external events, such as economic shocks and natural disasters, because of its isolation from world markets, small size and few natural resources. Its small population is associated with high emigration, which impedes agricultural and rural development. Thus, Samoa performs well on many measures of poverty but seems to suffer from poverty of opportunity and vulnerability.

Samoa has followed a range of economic policies since Independence that impact on poverty. It followed a trickle-down development approach to economic growth during the 1960s, an integrated rural development project approach in the 1970s, and then shifted to crop diversification and agricultural commercialization during the 1980s. More recent initiatives stress the importance of a macroeconomic reform strategy to reduce poverty. In addition, village based development projects and programs have been implemented to alleviate poverty and social problems.

Although some progress has been made over the past four decades in alleviating poverty and improving local people's lives, poverty still remains a problem and an issue in Samoa, and remains a high priority on the development agenda. Much of this is focussed at a national level, and so a greater understanding of poverty at the level of individuals and families may offer insights that can help to identify more targeted solutions to moving out of poverty.

## **CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Chapter 2 covered theoretical perspectives on poverty, including definitions and measurement of poverty, while Chapter 3 outlined the Samoan context of the study. In this Chapter, alternative research methods are evaluated, a suitable research method is chosen and the research mechanics are described. In Section 4.2, the research problem is restated. Research methodology is discussed in Section 4.3, and the choice of a qualitative research method is justified. In Section 4.4, a qualitative method, participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) is discussed along with the reason of why it was considered. In Section 4.5, the grounded theory method is then discussed, along with the reasons why it has been chosen for this research. Finally, the actual research mechanics are outlined in Section 4.6.

### **4.2 The Research Problem Restated**

The type of research methodology chosen for a particular study will depend on the research aim and objectives. Therefore, the research problem will be restated.

As noted in Section 1.2, the general aim of this research is to gain a greater understanding of the nature of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor. By doing this, recommendations on strategies for alleviating poverty can be made, with such strategies reflecting the perspective of the poor. More specific objectives of the research are:

- (1) To develop a participatory definition of rural poverty in Samoa.
- (2) To determine the causes of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor.
- (3) To identify the strategies that the rural poor in Samoa use to manage poverty.
- (4) To identify the constraints identified by the rural poor in Samoa to moving out of poverty.

(5) To identify the interactions between causes of rural poverty in Samoa, strategies used to manage poverty and constraints to moving out of poverty.

(6) To identify some solutions to moving out of rural poverty, and to make recommendations on how poverty can be reduced in Samoa that may help in the design of appropriate poverty-reducing strategies.

It was stated in Section 1.2 that the aim and objectives will be achieved by developing and analysing a participatory model of rural poverty in a Samoan context.

Therefore, this research aim and its objectives requires that the research method used must be a participatory one where the definition of poverty used is derived in a participatory way, and that causes, strategies and constraints to moving out of poverty and the interactions between them show the perspective of the poor in Samoa. The method must also allow the researcher to develop a participatory model of rural poverty in Samoa.

### **4.3 Choice of Research Methodology<sup>4</sup>**

According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975), research methodology refers to the process, principles and procedures adopted to research problems and to seek answers. Sarankos (1993) noted that the choice of research methodology and methods of field data collection depends on the study's objectives and information required to achieve these objectives. The aim and objectives of this research were restated above in Section 4.2.

Glassner and Moreno (1989) state that there are two different theoretical perspectives in social science: phenomenology and positivism. They note that the positivist researcher uses more quantitative methods, while the phenomenologist tries to understand the phenomena being studied through qualitative methods. Although these two approaches can overlap each other, Glassner and Moreno (1989) argue that they have distinct differences.

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<sup>4</sup> Some authors make a distinction between 'research methodology' and 'research method', while others seem to use them interchangeably. In this Chapter, the terms are used in the way that the authors cited use them.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), research methods are a set of procedures and techniques to gather and analyse data. They note that methods can be broadly classified into two main areas of qualitative and quantitative methods, and these methods can be used alone or in conjunction with each other according to the research question.

Quantitative research methods tend to be deductive, in which hypotheses are tested for acceptance or rejection. Quantitative methods as used in such studies also tend to use survey questionnaires that collect information in the form of numerical values and attributes, and use statistical analysis to analyse this data (Sarankos, 1993). Data are collected through statistical sampling process (such as random sampling), and the results are representative for the population sampled. Patton (1990) noted that this requires a statement of specific research hypotheses and specifications of variables before data collection begins.

On the other hand, qualitative research methods are used to gain an understanding of a phenomenon from the perspective of a target population, rather than through hypotheses for testing. Rather than using structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, group interviews, participant observations, semi-structured interviews and personal documents are methods used to collect 'data' (Chambers, 1991; Kumar, 1994). Some research problems are more suited to qualitative methods; for example, research that attempts to understand the meaning or nature of people's experience with particular problems, or when little is known about the problem being investigated (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Patton (1990), in his book on qualitative evaluation and research methods, describes the inductive approach as being oriented towards exploration, discovery and inductive logic. The researcher begins with specific observations and then builds towards general patterns of understanding.

Even though the in-depth interviews can be expensive and time consuming, qualitative research methods can put researchers in natural settings and allow very in-depth investigations of respondents' opinions, beliefs and attitudes. They are very flexible, and allow the researchers to investigate newly emerging matters more deeply during the interviews (Casley and Kumar, 1987, 1988). However, they have been criticised as not being representative (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

In rural development and poverty research, participatory methods have become popular (Barrow, 2000; Chambers, 1994). These participatory methods use both quantitative and qualitative approaches (World Bank, 1998, 2001). Qualitative approaches for this type of research have been used when it has been important to get information that is best described in words, such as descriptions of situations, events and people's attitudes, perceptions and circumstances (CIMMYT, 1980; Chambers, 1991; Kumar, 1994).

Given the aim and objectives of this study, it was decided that the phenomenological approach using qualitative research methods (rather than a positive one using quantitative research methods) was appropriate. This is because the research aim and objectives requires an understanding of the causes of rural poverty, the strategies that these poor people use to manage poverty, their constraints to moving out of poverty, and interactions between these. The research questions are a mix of research questions and policy objectives. This has to be done in a participatory way.

#### **4.4 Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPA)**

The aim and objectives of this study have emerged from recent theoretical thinking on poverty, so it would seem that the research method that accompanies this thinking, participatory poverty assessments (PPA's), would be a suitable research method for this study. Therefore, this research method will now be assessed.

As noted in Chapter 2, recent studies on poverty have stressed participation by the poor, which involves asking them what constitutes poverty for them. The technique known as participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) is often used to diagnose the nature and causes of poverty by asking the poor for their own assessments of local situations (Robb, 1999; Salmen, 1995; Chambers, 1997). This measure utilises open-ended, interactive, qualitative analysis that allows poor people to describe what constitutes poverty by whatever dimensions they choose (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). These participatory surveys are designed to learn how individuals from various social groups assess their own poverty and existing poverty-reducing strategies, how various survival strategies operate, and which strategies they would like government to adopt (Chambers, 1997; Salmen, 1995; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

Issues and themes to be covered in PPA research are predetermined by establishing the set of questions; for example how people define poverty, how they perceive security, risk, vulnerability, opportunities, social exclusion, crime, conflict and so on. How households and individuals cope with a decline in well-being and how these coping strategies, in turn, affect their lives are also covered. A checklist of a detailed list of issues to be covered is then prepared (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Robb, 1999).

There are different methods of collecting data and different collection methods are recommended for different questions. PPAs use a variety of methods to collect information, which combine both visual (mapping, matrices and diagrams) and verbal (opened interviews, focus group discussions) techniques, with the objective of defining the experience of individuals, households, groups and communities (Chambers, 1997; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; World Bank, 2001; Robb, 1999).

The selection of the site (project area) and sampling within this site are predetermined, and the sample is not representative. About 10 sites (communities) in a specific country will usually be selected. An attempt is made to understand some aspects of the diversity that exists within a country not to get representative information. The sites are chosen to reflect two to three of the most dominant poverty groups in a country (Robb, 1999; World Bank, 2001).

At each site (community), it is recommended that eight focus groups are held with groups of poor men, poor women and poor youth and with other key poverty groups identified in the community. Results from discussions with these different focus groups in a country may vary, and it is stressed that these differences should be brought out (Robb, 1999).

PPA identifies the poor within a community by asking members of the community who are the poor; for example, old women, low status social groups, disabled, etc. Children are also considered, since they are special groups who often have different perceptions and priorities from adults (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Baulch and McCulloch, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001).

The PPA method is usually conducted by a team that has a gender balance to address the issue of gender relations (Robb, 1999). This allows the researchers to talk to women groups, who are often ignored by government officials and local village elites.

The writing up of results is quite prescriptive (Robb, 1999). There are suggested report formats that include the site name, background (description of site), study process (names of facilities, duration (fieldwork dates), number of groups/individuals met and issues covered.

Poverty (ill-being) is identified and can be analysed by focus group discussions, ranking and trend analysis. Causes and impacts of poverty can be analysed by using causal-impact analysis visual outputs. Problems and priorities of the poor can be analysed by focus group discussions, listing, scoring, ranking and trend analysis. Institutions, which are important to the lives of poor people, can be ranked by different groups using criteria that include people's definitions of these institutions. Gender relations can be analysed by listing, scoring and trend analysis. The analysis can be done with the poor who can also suggest strategies for alleviating their poverty (Chambers, 1997; Salmen, 1995; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Robb, 1999).

The PPA's are used in poverty assessments (PAs) and other related work to generate policy-relevant conclusions in a manner which can complement the results of more conventional economic and social analysis, which means that results have more policy relevance and impact (Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Robb, 1999). PPAs are also used for international comparative studies to monitor the progress of foreign-aid anti-poverty programs and projects aimed at reducing poverty worldwide (World Bank, 2001; ADB, 1999e, 2004; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

In the context of this study, a PPA could cast light on what poverty means from the perspective of the poor. It uses a systematic participatory research process that directly involves the poor in defining poverty, determining the causes of poverty and identifying the strategies to manage poverty with the objective of influencing policy. As the outcome of PPAs, intended beneficiaries would have some control over the research process.

While PPA allows both researchers and poor people to identify the interactions between causes of poverty, strategies used to manage poverty and constraints to moving out of poverty, these linkages may not be explicit. PPA is also not used for model development, and follows a very prescribed process in identifying the causes of poverty and problems facing the poor, so as to formulate solutions. Hence, PPA can be used to identify solutions to problems and to construct recommendations as identified by the poor themselves, but this does not emerge from an explicit model of poverty. As such, it would not be the best method to use in this study, which aims to

develop a participatory model of poverty so as to gain a greater understanding of the nature of poverty in Samoa, as well as to help in the design of appropriate poverty-reducing strategies. Because of these limitations and because its primary focus is on policymaking and it cannot be used to answer research questions as well, it was decided that PPA would not be used for this research.

#### **4.5 The Grounded Theory Method**

Grounded theory is a qualitative research methodology that is widely used in social science research. Unlike PPA's, it is not specific to poverty analysis. This qualitative research methodology uses a systematic set of procedures to develop inductively derived theory that is grounded in data that has been systematically gathered and analysed through the research process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

This grounded theory methodology was initially developed in 1967 by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss and published in their book 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The authors outlined the underlying logic behind grounded theory and the techniques used in grounded theory. Since this work then have a number of further publications on grounded theory that have some minor differences in terms and procedures that are used, but they basically suggest the same procedures and approach towards this qualitative analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

It can be argued that grounded theory is participatory, since the phenomenon under investigation is examined from the perspective of the individuals most directly involved. For example, subjects are free to tell their own story without the imposition of external assumptions by the researcher. That is, any theory that emerges from the research is grounded in the experience of those for which the topic being investigated (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Miles and Huberman, 1984). This methodology can be used by a wide range of researchers, as the procedures are not restricted with regard to discipline. Strauss and Corbin (1998) also suggest that grounded theories can influence the understanding of policy makers or their direct action. However, it could also be argued that it is not entirely participatory because respondents are not able to influence the policy outcomes, every effort was made to include respondents in the process (see Section 4.6.4), and so, it is

argued that the approach can be classified as participatory once the research has been done. There is some validity to this.

With grounded theory, the researcher does not start with any theory or hypothesis, although he or she may have some understanding about the existing theories from the literature (Corbin, 1994). Instead of beginning with a theory, the research begins with an area of research and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge. As the researchers conduct the field research, categories and themes relating to them emerge, and they eventually link up to form a framework, which is the theory or the model (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). That is, categories are not pre-determined before the research begins.

It was originally argued that the researcher should not read anything prior to the research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) but later writers argued that this was unrealistic (Patton, 1990; Babbie, 1998). Some grounded theory proponents now argue that the researcher should read literature, because this will give the researcher a greater “theoretical sensitivity” to the issue; however, the researcher should then enter the research setting with as few preconceived ideas as possible (Mason, 1996). However, Babbie (1999) comments that what has previously been learned must shape the search for new generalities. Regardless of how much sensitization occurs, once the theory is developed, the researcher can then go back to the literature and make comparisons (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1998).

The first step in sampling is to pick a site where entry is possible. This should be a site where there is a high chance that the phenomenon being studied will be present and where respondents will take freely to the researcher (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Miles and Huberman, 1984).

After this, a process of sampling, interviewing and analysis occurs, which follows a prescribed process. The first respondent (or respondents if the unit of analysis suggests there should be more than one) will be chosen and the researcher will interview this respondent. The researcher should have few preconceived notions and conduct a loose interview or interviews in a way that draws information out on the topic (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Babbie, 1998).

Once this first interview is done, data analysis begins with coding that breaks the interview down into tentative emerging categories (or emerging themes). Tentative 'hypotheses' may then be set up (although these 'hypotheses' are not the same as those in quantitative research (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This analysis can be done manually or using computer programs, such as NUDIST software (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). If it is done manually, emerging categories can be recorded in the Left Hand margin and comments or emerging themes relating to these categories can be written in the Right Hand column of the page.

Once this has been done, 'theoretical' sampling is then used to choose the next respondent. That is, the next respondent is chosen to challenge the emerging themes from the first case, and the interview format may be a little more precise to reflect this. This interview is then coded to see if the same categories emerge and any themes are noted, and refined if necessary. Once this has been done, the next respondent is again chosen using 'theoretical' sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1984).

This process of sampling, interviewing and analysis is repeated, and each time, the emerging themes are challenged. After going through this process a few times, categories become established, themes have emerged, and interviewing may become a little more directed. The process will continue until it reaches the saturation stage, whereby new categories no longer emerge and all categories are well-developed and no new information emerges (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Once this stage has been reached, no further sampling occurs. The categories are then linked to build a model of the phenomenon being studied.

Grounded Theory was investigated as a research method for this research when it was concluded that a PPA was unsuitable. It is an inductive social science research method, and because of this, it can be considered a participatory method that can be used to elicit what poverty means and local people's perceptions toward poverty, the causes of poverty, strategies used by the poor to manage poverty, and constraints to moving out of poverty. It has less preconceived notions on these issues than PPA's.

Additionally, grounded theory as a method is likely to give more insight into interactions between causes of poverty, strategies used by the poor and constraints to moving out of poverty because

the researcher is free to explore these interactions more deeply. Finally, the method itself is designed to create a model by linking together of all the categories.

In summary, PPA has been developed specifically to analyse poverty for policymaking, and is a good policy tool. However, its policy focus makes it less suitable for an academic study of the type proposed in this research. On the other hand, Grounded theory is a more general qualitative method, which can be called participatory in its approach. It is less likely to be suitable for policy purposes, and it is very time-consuming. However, policy is not the primary focus of this research although policy implications that emerge from the study are important. Grounded theory would seem capable of achieving the aim and objectives of the research. Therefore, it was concluded that it was a suitable research method for this study.

## **4.6 Research Mechanics**

### **4.6.1 Sensitization and Site Selection**

The researcher read the literature on poverty, including poverty in its economic development context, alternative definitions and measurements of poverty, strategies to alleviate poverty and the concept of sustainable development and associated approaches (as reported in Chapter 2). In addition, the researcher also read extensively on poverty in the Samoan context and past development strategies adopted by the government and local communities to reduce poverty (as reported in Chapter 3). The researcher is also a Samoan with personal experience of poverty in the Samoan context, since he is from a rural village of Samoa that has experienced some degree of poverty. Therefore, the researcher has had a lot of theoretical sensitization prior to undertaking the empirical research.

In this regard, it is important to outline the circumstances of the researcher in greater detail. The researcher was born at Lepa village on the eastern coast of Upolu Island and grew up in a poor family there. He lived with his parents and studied at the Lepa Primary School and then continued his studies at Aleipata Junior High School until he finished his Form 5 class. At the same time, the researcher worked on the farm to support the family as part of his expected service and obligation to his parents. He was able to experience first-hand the impact of the strong social system on local people's lives, participating in his family obligations, special village social and

cultural ceremonial occasions and church activities, and was able to observe the impact of this on his family.

The researcher was fortunate to have the opportunity to continue his studies in Apia and sat the NZ School Certificate. Subsequently, he continued his studies at the University of the South Pacific (USP), School of Agriculture in Samoa and then worked for the Ministry of Agriculture, Forests, Fisheries and Meteorology (MAFFM). His education continued with a Masters Degree in International Rural Development at Lincoln University in New Zealand. On leaving MAFFM, he was employed with the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) as Assistant Secretary prior to undertaking his PhD study in New Zealand. The researcher was bestowed with a matai title of a high talking chief in his village, in recognition of his service to his family, the church and the community.

Since the researcher is a Samoan matai with the respect that comes from his title, the entry to the society for field work was much easier than it might be otherwise, and the acceptance of the researcher and the research topic by local people was not a problem. However, the potential disadvantage of this '*faamatai*' system is that low status women might be reluctant to talk to the researcher. However, this did not seem to be the case, and the researcher found the reverse. He was able to talk to low status women and they seemed to open up to him, and this appeared to be because of his status in the society as a high chief. In addition, the female supervisor spoke to a respected female matai in Samoa on this matter, which confirmed that the researcher's status was more likely to be an advantage than a disadvantage.

Interviewees were selected from rural areas and came from each of four inhabited islands of Samoa (Upolu, Savaii, Manono and Apolima). The focus was on rural areas where the majority of poor people live and who have faced the realities of poverty in recent years. Upolu Island is the second largest island but was most populated island, Savaii is the biggest island, and Manono Island and Apolima Island are quite isolated and lacking in resources (for example; the mode of transport is (through small boats) (Refer to the Map of Samoa in Appendix 8).

The researcher was in Samoa for the field work for 2 months and 3 weeks from 12<sup>th</sup> June to 25<sup>th</sup> August 2002. The supervisor was also there for 10 days when the analysis of the first 10 interviews was done.

Selection of villages was made by the researcher in consultation with Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) staff, the village mayors (pulenuu) and US Peace Corps community development officers who worked in rural villages to facilitate their programs and projects. The researcher met with MIA staff, US Peace Corps and the chosen village mayors to inform them about the project. During the meeting, an attempt was made to identify villages that were vulnerable to external events such as economic shocks and natural events and social events. Secondary data on those villages was also selected prior to the field work. The source of this secondary data was the Village Based Development Project, administered by the MIA. In addition, the interview with an US Peace Corps office was conducted to gain further knowledge and information relating to particular villages. Eight villages were selected, three of which were from Savaii Island, one from Apolima and Manono Island, and four from Upolu Island.

#### **4.6.2 Entry to the Site and Selecting Participants**

Once a village had been selected, the researcher traveled to the chosen village to meet the village council with the help of the village mayor (pulenuu). The researcher met the village council for a kava ceremony, which is a culturally appropriate way to seek formal approval for the study to be conducted in the village. This is part of the participatory process. During the kava ceremony, the researcher was able to communicate with village chiefs and orators in the traditional way used to welcome visitors.

This provided a unique opportunity for the researcher and the village council to talk about the project and so gain approval for the work. This was then followed by an exchange of gifts both in kind and in cash. For this research, the researcher gave some cash to village matais for the kava ceremony and for their formal acceptance for the study to be conducted in the village.

After the kava ceremony, the village council and local village groups were debriefed about the project aim and objectives, which allowed the village people to discuss the project in detail. During this village meeting (fono), they were asked to identify likely participants for the research; in particular, poor people and those thought to be vulnerable to poverty, and those who had been poor, but were no longer so.

The researcher then approached the identified participants and asked if they were prepared to be interviewed. If they said yes, then the interviews would begin immediately.

This process of identifying participants might seem to be a breach of privacy, but this is looking at it through Western eyes. It is not seen this way in Samoa and that the interviewees would have felt no pressure at being identified during the village meeting, and would not have felt under an obligation to participate. In Samoa, local people are living together within the household and the community in a communal way and interact closely each other as part of their social support system of sharing and cooperation. Thus, they are free to share their ideas and information on how to improve their own and others situation.

#### **4.6.3 The Interviewing and Debriefing Process**

Interviews were conducted in Samoan in an unstructured form, using a checklist of loose questions, which covered the issues emerging from the literature (such as the causes of poverty, strategies used by the poor to manage poverty, constraints to moving out of poverty, and interactions between causes of poverty, strategies and constraints to moving out of poverty. The questions in the checklist are detailed in Appendix 2. Interviewees were encouraged to talk freely and continued until they had no more to say. Each interview took over one hour and it was recorded on a dictaphone.

A self-debriefing was conducted while in the village to summarize ideas that really struck the researcher. This was both written and taped to capture the important issues. The purpose of this debriefing was to capture first impressions. The self-debriefing also consisted of checking whether a range of issues thought to relate to poverty were covered adequately during the interview. The researcher also managed to talk to others such as a village mayor or other key persons to get a better feel for general poverty issues raised by the respondents. This was done carefully and in very general terms in order to preserve confidentiality and not to disturb relationships between respondents and the village council. In the first village, the researcher also spent three days to observe the poor and the non-poor and to gain some personal insight into the realities of poverty in a local context.

Before leaving the village, a wrap-up meeting was held with the village council, including the respondents, to debrief them in a very general sense of what the researcher had found out. This was done in a very general way, avoiding divulging anything that was personal to the respondents and unknown by others. While this might also seem to be a breach of confidentiality in Western eyes, this is not so in a Samoan sense, since everyone in the community is living together and are free to share and to express their thoughts, feelings and opinions on poverty with each other. This debriefing was culturally appropriate and would have been expected by the village. It was designed to avoid any conflicts between the village council and respondents and was part of the protocol between the researcher and the village that was established during the fono. It also allowed the respondents to be formally acknowledged and thanked for sharing their personal information on poverty. The village was also informed that the researcher might come back if any additional information was needed. In addition, the village was thanked for the food, hospitality and accommodation. This process also enhanced the participatory nature of the research.

#### **4.6.4 Sampling**

The main aim of the research is to develop a participatory model of poverty in a Samoan context that would alleviate poverty. In the first village, the researcher interviewed people who were poor, and then those who had been poor but no longer poor. Five couples were selected from those who are currently poor in order to understand the nature of poverty within the household and the village. A decision was made that the interviews should begin with those who had experienced poverty for a long period in order to gather initial information and insights, and to familiarise the researcher with any new emerging issues. The background of interviewees is detailed in Table 1 (and expanded further in Appendix 3).

Overall, eight households (consisting of couples and children) were interviewed in the first village. Interviews were transcribed and tentatively analysed. Categories began to emerge, and after about six interviews, the categories had firmed up and after this point, they remained fixed for the rest of the study.

After analysing these interviews from the first village, the researcher applied 'theoretical' sampling and identified a set of criteria for interviews to be done in the second village.

Table 1: Summary of Background Information of Respondents

Respondent No.	Household Size (people)	Household Type/Number	Household Assets	Some Details of Respondent
1	4 adults, 4 children	3 small thatched houses	No bed, wood-cooking, no TV set, fridge, radio, safe	Old sick blind man; middle aged lady living with him; elderly, F2 education; long-term poor
2	2 adults, 4 children	1 semi-traditional house, 2 small thatched houses	1 safe, few cups, TV set, radio, electricity, no fridge, no tap, 1 bed, 2 stool, 1 table,	Middle Aged Couple, Primary School; long-term poor
3	3 adults, 8 children	1 semi-traditional house	1 box of clothes, no TV set, radio, fridge, safe for cups and plates,	Old widow (pensioner), F2 education; long-term poor
4	2 adults, 6 children	1 half thatched house, 1 small thatched house	1 bed, 1 safe, no electricity, no TV set, radio, freezer, 1 PC toilet, water tank, no tap, 1 copra drier,	Middle Aged Man and Wife, F5 education; long-term poor
5	2 adults, 5 children	1 semi-traditional house	electricity, no freezer, 2 canoes,	Old Man and Mentally Ill Life, F5 education; long-term poor
12	4 adults, 6 children	1 semi-traditional house	1 bed, 1 safe, 2 canoes for sale, 1 canoe for fishing, 1 TV set, radio, no fridge,	Old Mentally Ill Man and Wife, F4 education; long-term poor
19	2 adults, 5 children	1 small thatched house, 1 shack	1 safe, no safe, no bed, radio, fine mat,	Old Man and Middle Aged Wife, F2 education; long-term poor
7	2 adults, 9 children	1 semi-traditional house, 1 small thatched house	1 bed, 2 boxes of cloth, electricity, 1 TV set, radio, freezer, safe, fine mat,	Middle Aged Man and Physically Sick Wife, F2 education; had been poor more than once
8	2 adults, 13 children	1 semi-traditional house	Electricity, 1 bed, 1 freezer, TV set, video, stereo, 1 van, 1 PC toilet	Middle Aged Man and Wife, F5 education; had been poor more than once
9	2 adults, 6 children	1 semi-traditional house	Electricity, 1 TV set, stereo, no freezer, 1 cooling machine, 1 safe with more cups, 1 bed to store mats and fine mats	Middle Aged Man and Wife, F4 education; had been poor more than once
11	8 adults, 10 children	1 semi-traditional house, 2 small thatched houses	No bed, 1 box of clothes, electricity, 1 TV set, radio, no fridge, wood cooking,	Middle Aged Widow, F2 education; had been poor more than once
14	2 adults, 6 children	1 Samoan style iron roof house	1 TV set, radio, 1 bed, 1 box of clothes, 1 kerosene electricity, wood cooking,	Middle Aged Man (Seasonal Worker), F5 education; had been poor more than once
15	2 adults, 10 children	1 semi-traditional house, 3 small thatched houses	1 bed, 1 safe with cups and plates, 3 boxes of cloth, no TV set, stereo, no freezer, electricity, 1 latrine, 1 water tank,	Old Resilient Man and Sick Wife, F4 education; had been poor more than once
16	2 adults, 6 children	1 small semi-traditional house	electricity, 1 TV set, radio, video, no freezer,	Middle Aged Man and Wife, F5 education; had been poor more than once

Table 1: Summary of Background Information of Respondents (Continued)

Respondent No.	Household Size (people)	Household Type/Number	Household Assets	Some Details of Respondent
17	2 adults, 6 children	1 semi-traditional house, 1 small thatched house	1 bed, 1 safe, 1 radio, no TV set, no freezer, b/knives, 1 w/tank, latrine,	Middle Aged Man and Wife, F6 education; had been poor more than once
18	2 adults, 5 children	1 semi-traditional house	1 freezer, 1 kerosene oven, radio, TV set, 1 bed, 1 safe, 1 empty w/tank, no tap, 1 PC toilet,	Middle Aged Man and Wife, F5 education; had been poor more than once
20	2 adults, 5 children	1 old western design house	1 bed, 1 safe, 1 w/tank, no tap,	Young Man and Wife (School Leavers), F6 education; had been poor more than once
21	2 adults, 4 children	1 old western design house	1 freezer, stereo, 1 TV set, 1 bed, 1 safe, 1 d/table, 1 w/tank,	Old Widow, F2 education; had been poor more than once
22	2 adults, 6 children	1 semi-traditional house, 1 small thatched house	1 PC toilet, no TV set, radio, freezer, safe, 1 bed, 2 w/tanks, b/knives,	Middle Aged Man and Wife, F4 education, had been poor more than once
23	3 adults, 4 children	1 semi-traditional house, 1 small thatched house	1 PC toilet, 1 bed, 2 boxes of cloth, 1 TV set, radio, no freezer, tap	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F4 education; had been poor more than once
24	2 adults, 5 children	1 semi-traditional house, 1 small thatched house	1 f/toilet, shower, 1 TV set, stereo, video, 1 freezer, 1 telephone, 1 bed, 1 safe, 1 kerosene oven,	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F2 education; had been poor more than once
26	2 adults, 8 children	1 small semi-traditional house, 1 Samoan style house, 6 tourist beach fale	1 bed, 1 safe, 1 kerosene oven, 2 taps, 1 TV set, radio, telephone, 1 f/toilet, shower, 6 tourist beach fale, 1 van,	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F5 education; had been poor more than once
27	4 adults, 5 children	1 western design house, 3 tourist houses	1 bed, 1 f/toilet, 3 boxes of cloth, 1 TV set, radio, tap, freezer	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F5 education
6	2 adults, 8 children	1 semi-traditional house, 2 small thatched houses	1 safe, 1 TV set, video, freezer, radio, telephone, 2 PC toilets, no tap, 2 w/tanks, 1 car,	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F2 education; had been poor but now no longer so
10	2 adults, 3 children	1 western design house, 1 semi-traditional house	1 TV set, stereo, 1 freezer, 1 kerosene oven, 1 f/toilet, 1 car, b/knives,	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F5 education; had been poor but now no longer so.
13	2 adults, 5 children	3 western design houses, 1 semi-traditional house	6 cars, 1 tractor, TV sets, stereo, fridges,	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F2 education; had been poor but now no longer so.
25	2 adults, 10 children	1 western design house, 1 big guest house, 1 Samoan house, 6 tourist beach fale	1 TV set, radio, fridge, freezer, 1 telephone, tap, 2 f/toilets, shower, 1 shop, 6 tourist beach fale, 2 cars,	Middle Aged Couple (Small Business Operator), F5 education; had been poor but now no longer so.

This process of sampling, interviewing and analysis was then repeated. Some categories began to saturate after 14 interviews in 2 villages on Upolu Island. The next set of interviews was conducted in 3 villages on Savaii Island, 2 villages on Upolu Island, and one village on Manono and Apolima Island. Information on these villages is detailed in Appendix 3 and 4.

The unit of analysis was either the individual or a couple, with the interviewees themselves choosing whether to be interviewed alone or as a couple. When interviewed as a couple, the presence of the other person did not seem to be a disadvantage.

A total of 27 respondents (where couples interviewed are considered a single respondent) were interviewed. At that point, all categories had emerged, stabilised and been saturated; that is, no new significant data emerged and categories were well developed in terms of their dimensions. Categories by that stage started linking up with each other and it became clear that a model would emerge.

#### **4.6.5 Interview Questioning**

Interviews began in an unstructured way, using a checklist of loose questions. For example, they included questions such as: "Can you tell me about your situation? Has it always been like this? How do you think your situation get to be like this? Do you expect things to improve? How do you manage your situation? etc. Questions are further detailed in Appendix 2. Respondents were also asked for their life history, household composition, major events or shocks in their lives, and their hopes and aspirations for the future. As noted in Section 4.6.4, as the study progressed, interviews and questioning became progressively more focussed on categories still to be saturated.

After visiting the first village, the researcher went back to the MIA office in Apia to conduct the data analysis. The researcher spent a few days, (2-3) transcribing and translating the interviews conducted in Samoa into English. After the transcription and translation of interviews, data analyses began with tentative coding and these were conducted manually during the field work. The data were broken into categories and these categories were recorded in the Left-Hand margin of the translated interviews with some comments or emerging themes with respect to them being made in the Right-Hand column.

After tentative coding, the interviews conducted in the first village were cut and pasted by category, and then memoing was done to summarize the emerging themes. The researcher looked for similarities and differences among respondents and tried to identify variations between them. These emerging categories were analyzed to uncover relationships between them. Everything pertaining to a specific category was put into its own file with comments. These memos were dated, entitled with category being discussed, and anchored to field notes. This memoing helped the researcher move from data to a more conceptual understanding, and developing key categories allowed the relationships between them to emerge, which was necessary for the model-building that had to occur later.

The supervisor was in Samoa for the first round of interviews, and debriefing was conducted with the supervisor to discuss these. After discussion with the supervisor, a discussion was had on theoretical sampling of the next set of respondents, and the next village and criteria for selecting the participants was worked out. After the supervisor went back to New Zealand, this process continued, but was conducted by email, fax and phone.

Because of time constraints in the field, after the first set of interviews, the researcher did not translate the interviews and as the categories moved closer to saturation, the researcher did not transcribe the interviews, but just noted the important points.

#### **4.6.6 Analysis**

In Section 4.6.5 (Interview Questioning), the process of analysis that was conducted in Samoa was discussed, along with how this related to sampling and interviewing. Transcription and translation, coding into categories, memoing the categories, and saturation of the categories was described in this Section. As noted there, some interviews were not translated while in Samoa and others were neither transcribed nor translated there. In these cases, notes on important points were taken. These were later interviews that focussed on saturating categories.

To validate the emerging results, key informants were selected and the tentative research results discussed with them. It was proposed that if they were not satisfied, then another round of interviewing would have to be conducted. However, that did not happen and the informants

confirmed the emerging results from the study. Once these results had been verified by the key informants, the researcher returned to New Zealand.

Once the researcher got back in New Zealand, all remaining interviews were transcribed and then translated into English. All interviews were cut and pasted into categories in relation to their emerging properties and dimensions, and then put them in a different file with some comments (memoing). Results were then written up where the categories became the headings of the sections in the Results Chapter (Chapter 5). For each point that the researcher made, he searched for representative quotes to illustrate the points.

After the results had been written up, the Results Chapter was used to develop the model; that is the categories were linked into the model in Chapter 6. Finally, the model chapter was used to determine the solutions and recommendations for moving out of poverty (Chapter 7).

## CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH RESULTS

### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the study. Each of the Sections presents the results for a particular category that emerged during the grounded theory. These are what is poverty in Samoa (Section 5.1), becoming poor (causes of poverty) (Section 5.2), safety nets (Section 5.3), remaining poor (constraints) (Section 5.4), getting out of poverty (strategies to exit poverty) (Section 5.5), becoming poor again (causes of poverty again) (Section 5.6) and staying out of poverty (Section 5.7)<sup>5</sup>.

### 5.1 What is Poverty in Samoa?

The research results suggest that poverty in Samoa is not characterized by lack of food, as a result of abundant natural resources (land and sea) that local people have access to. However, there may be a temporary shortage of food in periods of natural disasters, such as cyclones and crop pest/disease outbreaks. However, people who currently perceive themselves as poor see themselves as lacking household assets, community facilities and the ability to meet obligations, such as special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions, church financial activities, family obligations and so on. Poverty is also perceived by them as a lack of income and income earning ability. These results are discussed in detail in this section.

#### 5.1.1 Absence of Food Poverty

Respondents showed no concern about lack of food. They made reference to the abundant resources of the land and sea, which could sustain them. Some mentioned that there were a variety of crops that are grown wild in the bush that they can rely on. Others saw themselves as self-sufficient and self-reliant because of a daily food supply from the sea such as fish, seashells, seaweeds, sea cucumbers, crabs, clams and so on. Others mentioned domestic livestock (pigs and chicken) that could be used for food.

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<sup>5</sup> The author has kept the original grammar so as to retain the “flavour” or “voice” of the original respondents.

*“Suppose that food’s finished, then I’ll search for food in the bush like wild yams, giant taros, etc., so there’s a lot of foods there. Because I can find a big taamu and when I return home, it won’t be finished. Yams and others are found too as they’re grown on riverside” (Respondent 2).*

*“Normally we get fish from sea as my kids are fishermen. They can fish using a rod or spear fishing at night to catch fish and others. Everyday, we eat fish and other seafood. We don’t need anything from the shop except something like sugar or herring, fried with laupele to change the diet” (Respondent 3).*

*“We’ve everything, we have a few pigs, we have some chickens, so why are we poor?” (Respondent 1).*

However, a temporary shortage of food might occur in periods of natural disasters such as cyclones and crop pest/disease outbreaks. For example, some indicated that there was a shortage of food after a cyclone because all fruit tree crops such as breadfruits, coconuts, cocoa, banana and so on were uprooted and destroyed.

*“There’s a temporary shortage of food in times of natural disasters like the cyclones and crop pest/disease outbreaks. However, people managed to have something to survive” (Respondent 2).*

*“After the Cyclone Ofa and Valerie, there’s a shortage of food but fortunately we managed to get some taro and to dig up the wild yams from the bush to feed ourselves apart from government food distribution program” (Respondent 3).*

Some of those who are currently poor also tended to see their poverty as being associated with the loss of a major food and income source (taro) during the recent crop pest/disease outbreak of Taro Leaf Blight (TLB) disease.

*“We’re still poor, especially with the arrival of TLB disease. We no longer have our local taro even though we have a new taro variety” (Respondent 5).*

*“We used to sell more taros to the market before the TLB disease but after that, it’s nothing. Yeah, still I’m getting some taro from our taro plantation but just only for family food” (Respondent 2).*

However, temporary food poverty was alleviated by the availability of both state-provided safety nets and other non-governmental agency food aid. For some, free gifts (food) helped them a lot to manage their situation in periods of uncertainty.

*“After the cyclones, we’d received some food aid. Approximately, we’d got 4 bags of flour, 4 bags of rice and 2 cartons of herrings, then distributed them to all church followers and other low-income families” (Respondent 2).*

*“There’s a government food distribution program where we’d also received some foodstuffs” (Respondent 3).*

Although there was no shortage of normal basic staple foods, respondents could still feel impoverished because they could not access “special foods” (meaaai lelei) such as tinned fish, mutton flaps and so on. For example, some said that they consumed the staple foods when they could not afford to purchase items like tea, sugar and salt. In particular, when there is an abundance of obligations, they are unable to buy special foods.

*“What I’m saying, most of the weeks, we’ve no tea to drink and then we bring coconuts to drink. Sometimes, we’ve no salt and then we eat the coconut meat with cooked taro, banana or breadfruits” (Respondent 2).*

*“Other times, it is almost the whole month that we’ve no special foods like tinned fish, but just only boiled taro and banana (saka) with coconut cream” (Respondent 2).*

*“When we returned home from strainer harvesting at night, there’s no sugar, salt, etc. And that’s the exact situation in which we lived before” (Respondent 6).*

### 5.1.2 Lack of Household Assets

When considering their situation, respondents tended to see their poverty as being associated with lack of household assets. Examples they mentioned included having no freezer, bathroom, flush toilet or water tank.

*“I’m one of the village high chiefs with a big matai title but you see, there’s a lot of things missing from this family. There’s no freezer and the safe’s got no door and windows” (Respondent 2).*

*“This family has no bathroom or even flush toilet but only the latrine is still being used” (Respondent 1).*

However, the level of household assets that respondents thought justified their classification of themselves as poor tended to vary. For some respondents, it was basic, as illustrated in the quotes above, while others focused on consumer items such as TV and stereo that some might consider luxuries.

*“Just only this iron-roofed house, wood-cooking kitchen, small fence wire that’s been used to grow food crops, a few breadfruit trees are grown nearby. But we’ve no such things as TV set or radio” (Respondent 3).*

*“I haven’t listened to the parliament session in this period and I don’t know what’s happening. We’ve a radio which isn’t brought here but no TV set” (Respondent 1).*

*“We’ve got the electricity but no freezer, TV set or radio” (Respondent 5).*

The perspective of some who used to be poor, but were no longer so poor, was a bit different. Such respondents tended to focus more on the type of house that they (or their parents) lived in when they were considered poor rather than smaller household assets such as a fridge or freezer. For example, some said that they lived in houses that were in poor condition, such as small thatched houses (‘faleoo’) with their parents, when they were poor. Some saw their current

situation as being much improved in terms of having partially open-ended iron-roofed houses as compared to their past situation.

*“We’d a small house here; its floor’s covered with stones, coconut leaves and then followed by sleeping mats. It’s rough and not flat enough to sleep” (Respondent 6).*

*“Although our house isn’t yet complete, I’m delighted that at least we’ve an iron-roofed house as compared to where my parents used to live” (Respondent 6).*

*“We never lived in such places before. In fact, we used to live in small thatched house but at this time we can listen to the raindrops on rooftops” (Respondent 9).*

These respondents also tended to consider the lack of ‘luxury’ assets like owning a car as being an indication of their poverty. This luxury asset was also linked to a lack of income earning ability, which is considered further in Section 5.1.5.

*“In those times, there are no cars. Nobody has got a car in the village, so we had to walk down to the next village when travelled to Apia. If there is farm produce, then we had to carry them at night and slept there to catch the bus” (Respondent 8).*

*“I talked to my family. The only thing that I really wanted was just a car to help our farm as I think about, when taking produce to the market, the especially high payment for transport. Because if the market isn’t good, then all the money will be spent on transport, and thus, I lose more money” (Respondent 8).*

In summary, being poor was associated with lack of household assets. However, respondents who had been poor but were no longer so focused more on bigger assets than those who were currently poor. However, some respondents who are currently poor in terms of assets aspired to very little, and were very accepting of their current situation.

*“I’m telling you I’m not poor in such things. I’ve faith because I’m strengthened by the heavenly father. I’m not hungry and thirsty. I don’t need any clothes or even any money” (Respondent 1).*

### 5.1.3 Lack of Community Facilities

The perception that respondents had of their poverty extended to lack of community facilities for those who were currently poor. In particular, there was reference to poor water facilities and latrines. For some, the lack of access to adequate community facilities (tap water supply and flush toilet) aggravates their poverty.

*“We struggle to fetch water from downstream and the road is rough. People go down and return with a heavy load of water” (Respondent 2).*

*“Latrine is quite far from here and the road is bad and rough” (Respondent 1).*

However, the level of community assets that respondents thought justified their classification of themselves as poor tended to vary. For some respondents, it was very basic, as illustrated in the quotes above, while others felt that inadequate facilities, such as no water tank and having no tap water constituted poverty.

*“Empty big bottles have been used to fetch water from the pool due to no tap water supply” (Respondent 1).*

*“That man is lucky as he requested to have a water tank for his sick daughter. I’d also requested a water tank to solve this problem but got nothing” (Respondent 2).*

*“Still I’ve an old water tank, donated by my sister’s European friend in 1970, while she lived here with her husband before we came. But until now, it’s unhygienic for drinking” (Respondent 2).*

Some of those who had been poor, but were no longer, also focused on community facilities. They too mentioned the lack of water supply facilities when they were poor, such as lack of tap water supply.

*“We used to fetch water from the pool using empty big bottles. Meanwhile, now we’ve got the water from our cooling water machine but still we need to look for a good clean stream to fill our plastic bottle” (Respondent 9).*

The perspective of those who were no longer poor was a bit different to those currently poor respondents in other respects. While the currently poor mentioned how far away the latrines also was, better off respondents were not concerned about the distance, but tended to focus more on the type of toilet that they had used with their parents when they were considered poor rather than the distance to the latrine. For example, some respondents indicated that they had got only latrines (*faleuila eli*) that were standing behind their houses when they were poor. Some described their current situation as being much improved over their past situation in terms of having good facilities like a Peace Corps toilet.

*“When my parents asked for a Peace Corps toilet ‘falepisikoa’, then I built it, so that is the evidence of how poor we were in the past. I don’t want to hide that we were very poor” (Respondent 6).*

*“We used to have latrines that were dug far away from here because of the awful smell but meanwhile now, we’ve got a Peace Corps toilet and a shower. Unfortunately, there is still no tap water” (Respondent 8).*

Some respondents also saw their poverty as being associated with lack of other community facilities, such as tar-sealed roads and electricity. They considered that lack of access to such state-provided facilities contributed to their poverty.

*“That’s an issue for our parliamentarian because he’d come to look at his constituency and see whether everyone has access to tar-sealed road, electricity, TV and other things like that to improve the village economy” (Respondent 4).*

*“There’s no communication and contact with others. Perhaps it might be due to our isolation from the main tar-sealed road and others as well, so it would be a real problem” (Respondent 3).*

*“I believe that my family is still poor in terms of not enough money and other things. You see, it’s about 5 years since I’ve applied to connect the electricity to my house. Then, the EPC gave me a total bill of \$2646, which is too much. Thus, we’re poor because we can’t afford such big things” (Respondent 4).*

Some respondents linked the lack of public roads with being poor, saying that this factor contributed to their failure with various farm development activities.

*“Unfortunately, there’s no future from those developments pursued by my parents to help us. In fact, at that time, we’re too far away from the place to catch the bus. We carried everything there. That might be the reason why my parents failed miserably to develop our family” (Respondent 8).*

#### **5.1.4 Lack of Ability to Meet Obligations**

Some respondents also discussed their situation in terms of their ability to meet a range of obligations. These included village social and cultural special ceremonial occasions like the ‘received-and-given’ occasion (taligamalo), village development projects such as schools and church, family obligations such as funerals (maliu), bestowal of matai titles (saofai) and weddings (faaipoipoga), church financial activities such as the church offerings (meaalofa faalelotu) and other related events.

*“Yes, when those things come together at the same time, then it’s so frustrating. I’m angry, sad and anxious because I don’t know how to cope with such a situation” (Respondent 2).*

Respondents also mentioned the risk of losing scarce financial resources and income earning assets to meet a high demand of church financial obligations, which could interfere with household consumption needs and priorities.

*“Sometimes, money is got from taro sale but at the same time, we also need to pay pastor gifts on Sunday and make the women group’s donation. Then I figure it out, all*

*money is spent to meet these church activities but how we can live next week. Those are things that I think mean we are poor at this time” (Respondent 8).*

*“My definition of poverty is something that can cause troubles in the family. Say, when my wife asks me for church women group’s donations but there’s nothing. Where can I find it? Or maybe, we have money, but it isn’t enough, and if we take it to do those things but what about the kids food, etc” (Respondent 9).*

Some respondents mentioned that the high cost of living made it more difficult to meet social demands, such as the imposition of heavy fines when breaking the village rules or taboos.

*“At this time, the price of goods is skyrocketing. If you’ve no pigs, then you’ll sell a sack of taro but may be just only \$100 can afford 1 carton of herrings, insufficient to pay the whole fine. That’s why I call it poverty, I’m still poor because of not enough money to do this” (Respondent 9).*

### **5.1.5 Lack of Income and Income Earning Ability**

Poverty was also associated with a lack an ability to earn income by respondents. This situation, lack of income and income earning ability, meant it was not possible to accumulate bigger household assets (strong house).

*“If you look for a poor family in this village, I feel ashamed to tell you that my family’s very poor because there’s no other income source to get something” (Respondent 2).*

*“Maybe you see this small thatched hut (faleoo) because my husband feels hot inside the shack. There’s a change in terms of easy access to foods but that’s the only thing. Lack of money’s still a matter to us” (Respondent 19).*

Some respondents mentioned lack of ability to find a highly paid job, lack of remittances, or being unable access their monthly pension as constituting their poverty.

*“Yeah, I think that I’m poor, because nobody has a job and it’s rare to get any money from my son. That’s why I’m poor since nobody has a job” (Respondent 3).*

*“Well, still I’ve got some shillings from my pension but my nephew withdraws and uses it, so the only thing that I want is money for my offerings” (Respondent 1).*

This particular perception of poverty also extended to lack of cattle, which is an income earning asset for people in rural areas. Lack of cattle was also associated with lack of land.

*“We have some chicken and a few pigs, 4-5 sows, but no cattle” (Respondent 3).*

*“We have a few pigs but no cattle, except those families on Upolu Island who are able to raise the cattle because of enough lands” (Respondent 21).*

Some respondents who had been poor, but were no longer, also tended to focus on lack of income earning assets. They associated poverty with the lack of cattle which is considered to be not only ownership of possessions, but also a symbol of status in Samoa.

*“When my parents died, there is nothing. There is no car, no cattle, nothing except this iron-roofed house” (Respondent 6).*

*“There is no cattle of my family except one cow from one old man of our church congregation when his cattle destroyed our land especially crops, and that’s where we find a cow” (Respondent 9).*

*“We had a few cattle but when my parents and my husband’s parents died, then we killed them all, (for the funeral)...Meanwhile, now we’ve only the empty fence” (Respondent 7).*

As noted in Section 5.1.5, ownership of a car was associated with income earning ability. Some respondents mentioned the ownership of a car is a key to the success of other family business enterprises such as shops, farms and so on.

*“When the shop is empty, then we fill a pick up truck with taros and speed up to the market” (Respondent 6).*

*“There has been a change, especially as we’ve got the car. So now when we’ve no money, then our car will take some taro, coconut, banana, etc to the market” (Respondent 8).*

Lack of savings or ability to save was also associated with poverty. This was particularly mentioned by those who were no longer poor. For example, some associated the risk of losing more household income (money) and income earning assets (taro) to their strong social system, which made it difficult for them to improve their situation. They noted a lack of ability to save and lack of income to run the family, to support children’s education (school fees) and to meet obligations such as church, village and family obligations.

*“There is a very little amount of money that we manage to save. It is being used to rely on, so we’re still poor in terms of income” (Respondent 9).*

*“We spend all money from the children’s jobs to meet obligations, to pay school fees and to make our food, but can’t save any money” (Respondent 22).*

### **5.1.6 Summary**

Poverty in Samoa was not viewed by the respondents as lack of food because of abundant natural resources (land and sea) that people have access to through their social system of sharing and cooperation. However, there may be a temporary shortage of food in periods of natural disasters such as cyclones and crop pest/disease outbreaks. Despite their vulnerability to food poverty because of these unforeseen circumstances, there are safety nets available that stop their situation from getting worse. In addition, a lack of special foods is associated with being poor. In particular, when there is an abundance of obligations, those who are poor may be unable to buy special foods, but there is no shortage of staple foods.

However, poverty in Samoa is associated with a lack of household assets and community facilities, but there seem to be variations among respondents in the type of assets that were

thought to constitute poverty. For example, people who are perceived as poor see themselves lacking in household assets such as a freezer, bathroom, flush toilet, water tank and other consumer items such as TV and radio. Those who are considered no longer poor saw their previous poverty as lacking in bigger assets such as strong (brick walled) house, and lack of luxury assets such as a car. In addition, people who are perceived as poor also see themselves lacking in community facilities. These include lack of access to adequate community facilities such as tap water supply; and lack of access to adequate infrastructure such as electricity, tar-sealed road, and institutions such as schools and hospitals.

Poverty is also viewed by respondents as lack of ability to meet a range of obligations that include special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions such as the 'received-and-given' occasion (taligamalo), village development projects such as schools and churches, family obligations such as funerals (maliu), bestowal of matai titles (saofai) and weddings (faaipoipoga), church financial activities such as the church offerings (meaalofa faalelotu) and other related events.

Lack of income, income earning ability and savings is also perceived by respondents as characteristic of their poverty. For example, the lack of ability to find a highly paid job, lack of remittances and/or being unable to access to a monthly pension were seen to constitute poverty. Lack of income earning assets was also seen as evidence of poverty; for example, lack of cattle is associated with a lack of money. Likewise, not owning a car is associated with income earning ability. Poverty is also viewed by respondents as being associated with a lack of ability to save. As a result, they are losing household income and income earning assets to educate children and to meet obligations, thus making them poor.

## 5.2 Becoming Poor – Entry into Poverty

### 5.2.1 Introduction

The research results indicate that several events were identified by respondents that plunged them into poverty. There appears to be an initial event that pushes people into poverty, which is then often reinforced by other events. These events were those related to personal (family) circumstances, those related to social obligations, and those related to external events. These external events could either be natural events or economic events.

### 5.2.2 Events Related to Personal (Family) Circumstances

A number of events related to personal (family) circumstances were identified as plunging respondents into poverty. These were marriage to the poor, illness, death, and poor personal behavior of family members.

(a) Marriage. Marriage was identified by some respondents as the event that first plunged them into poverty. Marrying a person from a poor family made them poor because they are now part of a family that lacks household assets and income.

*“This is 60 years of my life and that is the number of years that I’ve been experiencing poverty because my husband has got nothing and his family’s poor. I’m from one village but come here because of him” (Respondent 11).*

Some had a fall in income after they married because they were obliged to look after their parents when they were alive and were also vulnerable to their strong social system of sharing and cooperation. Therefore, they could not get enough income to meet their own needs and priorities until their parents died.

*“Since I’ve been with my husband, we lived with his parents, whilst he got a job. But when he got paid, we had nothing. We gave all money to his parents to meet our church, village and family obligations. They distributed but when they died, he lost his job, so we’re poor” (Respondent 14).*

Marriage to an old and sick person also made people poor. For example, marrying an older man made one respondent's family poor because he could no longer earn enough income for the family.

*"We've made some progress but the thing is that I'm younger than my husband. He's old; he turns 65 years this year and then gets his pension. He's tired of doing any farm work unlike the situation in which he was before"* (Respondent 19).

(b) Illness. Illness was identified by some respondents as another event that had plunged them into poverty. Illness led to a loss of income. One female respondent indicated that illness of her husband led to a lack of income to run the family, support children's education and meet obligations. Thus, when the key family supporter got physically or mentally ill, the whole family struggled to survive as a result.

*"That's another thing, my husband's illness, because fish is our main income source to educate our kids, but now they have gone overseas. He no longer goes fishing because he's ill"* (Respondent 12).

Illness also led to an inability to look after small business enterprises (shops), which resulted in a loss of income. One respondent noted that, when the key family member got ill, the family had no time to run their small business enterprises because they needed to give constant support to the income generator (breadwinner) to keep him comfortable.

*"We had a shop to support my dad but when my husband was sick, then we went to hospital in Apia for 3 months. And then we left the shop to my kids but they had no business skills, and thus the shop's closed, there's nothing"* (Respondent 21).

(c) Death. Death was identified by some respondents as being another event that had plunged them into poverty. Death of parents led to a loss of family resources that had been used for earning income, and livelihood support and security in terms of income.

*"Since the beginning, we were good when my dad was alive. There was nothing to worry about in terms of income because we'd enough to support our family. We'd a*

*shop but when he died, then it's gone too. At that time, I used to ask him for my bus fares as he had a big farm but now there's nothing" (Respondent 2).*

Death of a spouse could also mean loss of job and income. This was because family members relied on the spouse for family support and security in terms of income and had no other source of income available.

*"I've 3 sons who attended school when we lived with my husband in American Samoa. Others worked in the cannery but when he died, then we all returned home here. That's when I began experiencing poverty. Nobody helped me to raise my kids and the family when they were young" (Respondent 3).*

(d) Personal Behavior. Poor personal behavior, such as theft was seen by one respondent as being another entry into poverty. The respondent indicated that commitment of a crime (stealing money from employers) led to a loss of job and income.

*"I used to work for a few companies in Apia for years. I prepared morning tea and afternoon tea. I'd also done their banking, depositing/withdrawing money from a bank, but I got fired when I pinched [stole] from them" (Respondent 1).*

Drinking was seen by other respondents as being another event that had plunged them into poverty. One respondent noted that drinking led to damage to the car which was used to transport their produce to the market, and thus they could no longer take any produce to the market.

*"Yeah, we got a car from our kids abroad to help our family, especially our farm but it's broken because of his beer. He had a car accident, so there's nothing for the market" (Respondent 7).*

### **5.2.3 Events Related to Social Obligations**

A number of events related to social obligations were identified as plunging respondents into poverty. Examples of these were funerals and the bestowal of matai titles.

(a) **Funerals.** Funerals were seen by some respondents as being social events that had pushed them into poverty. Funerals led to a loss of income and income earning assets, such as fine mats, pigs, chicken and cattle, which were necessary for the funeral feasts (lauava), funeral singings (maotaosilagi), funeral parades (auala), funeral guests (malo) and exchange of kindness and love among people (fefaaaliga o alofa). These put a drain on them and they could not earn enough income to support the family and meet their obligations as a result. In particular, when some respondents were confronted with multiple funerals, they noted that there could be a huge loss of income and income earning assets, such as cattle, pigs and chicken.

*“We had got more cattle, but when my parents and parents-in-law died that’s where we finished slaughtering our cattle. Now we’ve got only few pigs and the empty cattle fence” (Respondent 7).*

(b) **Bestowal of Matai Titles.** Bestowal of matai titles was seen by some as another social event that had plunged people into poverty. This led a loss of family resources such as income and income earning assets. The reason for this is that, when the family members were bestowed with a high chief (matai) title, the family would then be expected to provide more cash and kind to meet special family social and cultural ceremonial occasions.

*“At this time, there’s a huge change. Say the bestowal of my matai title cost \$3000 plus fine mats, pigs, cattle and foods to feed the whole village and your relatives and friends. So it’s a big event that makes you sick” (Respondent 12).*

#### **5.2.4 External Events**

A number of external events were identified as plunging respondents into poverty. These were natural events such as cyclones, reinforced by tidal waves, crop pest/disease outbreaks, especially taro leaf blight (TLB) disease, drought and bush fire, as well as economic events such as low market prices, and changes in government policies and inflation.

## (a) Natural Events

(i) Cyclones. Cyclones, such as the unexpected arrival of two consecutive cyclones of the early '90s, Cyclone Ofa in 1990, and Cyclone Valerie in 1991, led to a loss of houses or damage to houses. Some respondents said this was a natural event that had pushed them into poverty. Such respondents said that they were traumatized by these losses. Although some respondents lost their modified-traditional<sup>1</sup> houses during the cyclones or had them damaged, they were able to rebuild or repair them because of remittances (personal transfers) from their children abroad. However, because they were built in the same style again, they were still vulnerable to these natural disasters.

*“I was worried about those cyclones when they struck, because I’d got another iron-roofed house like this destroyed by strong winds” (Respondent 3).*

*“My house was damaged by Cyclone Val, and nearly collapsed. Although it’s already fixed with leftovers, it isn’t straight. Its foundation is broken, and used as the kitchen, because other houses were blown away” (Respondent 2).*

*“During the cyclones, windows were broken inside the house. Thus, I want to build the new house but have no money. So we’re worried and fearful because the house is damaged by two cyclones but it’s still standing” (Respondent 21).*

Those respondents who had western design houses were not so vulnerable to the damage of cyclones. Because these respondents had more income, they had been able to build their western design houses.

*“We don’t worry about those things because if something happened, then we just pray. But there’s nothing to worry because nothing’s destroyed except the pastor’s water tank hanging on our house. The Church was damaged but our house was fine, nothing bad except a mango tree fell on the roof” (Respondent 13).*

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<sup>1</sup> Semi or Modified-Traditional House is a partially open-ended iron-roofed house which is built with both local and imported building materials.

Other respondents did not lose their houses during cyclones, but lost domestic livestock such as pigs and chicken. This made it difficult for them to support the family and meet obligations. Respondents also lost income earning assets such as crops and domestic livestock during cyclones. This reduced their ability to earn income.

*“Our house didn’t fall down during the cyclone but we were worried and the whole village stayed in the church. Even our pigs and chicken had been wiped out”* (Respondent 9).

*“The country was in grief, shock and suffering except public servants and those who had got many things. But when the cyclone arrived, everything was destroyed, my house, toilet, pigs, chicken and crops, etc”* (Respondent 8).

(ii) Tidal Waves. Tidal waves were identified by some respondents as another natural event that had pushed them into poverty. Some had lost income earning assets such as tourist beach houses (fales), but had loans to repay on those beach houses. They then found that they could not earn any income from this small business enterprise. For others, tidal waves caused damage to their houses because they built their houses and lived close to the sea, but did not have community facilities such as a seawall to protect them from these natural forces. In addition, they could not earn enough income to build new western-design houses further inland because the construction of that type of house was costly. They thus remained vulnerable to these natural disasters.

*“We’d got a second loan to buy timbers for our beach fales and then we built 5 houses but were all wiped off by tidal waves. Since then, there are only 3 houses left but the other 2 are gone, so we’re wasting this loan”* (Respondent 27).

*“We’re still worried so that’s why I made several requests during the village mayors’ meeting to build a seawall because we’re surrounded by the sea. Our house was in a big mess. Its door and windows were broken because of tidal waves, while its foundation has collapsed into the sea”* (Respondent 21).

(iii) Crop Pest/Disease Outbreaks (TLB disease). Crop pest/disease outbreak, especially the arrival of taro leaf blight (TLB) disease, led to the loss of income earning assets such as taro. This

resulted in a lack of income and a temporary shortage of food and was seen by some respondents as being another natural event that had plunged them further into poverty. Although they had managed to make some progress after the cyclone devastation, they were struck again by the unexpected arrival of TLB disease in 1993. Taro is a main source of staple foods and income, so those who had lost their taro farms when the TLB disease struck lost their income. Despite the availability of substitutes, some respondents could not afford to develop the new taro variety, thus worsening their situation.

*“I used to sell taros to local market before TLB disease struck, but when it struck, that’s when I realized that money has been decreasing” (Respondent 2).*

*“Likewise, the arrival of TLB disease. We no longer have a local taro although we’ve got another new resistant taro variety. Anyway, we’re still eating taro but getting no money from it” (Respondent 5).*

(iv) Drought and Bush Fire. The respondents saw drought and bush fire as being other natural events that had pushed them into poverty. This led to a loss of their crops such as coconut, cocoa, banana, taro, taamu, yams and so on, which resulted in a temporary shortage of foods and lack of income. Some respondents could not earn sufficient income from their taro farms when their crops were stunted by drought, which led to insufficient income to support the family. Other respondents who live at the western side of Savaii Island lost crops such as coconut, cocoa, banana, taro, taamu, yams and so on when fire destroyed them.

*“We have made some progress, but unfortunately there is a drought again. Most of the time, we earn money because the new taro variety is good. At that time, we earned more but at this time, we get only \$100 from 2 sacks of taro because there are more taros in the market and it is a dry season” (Respondent 24).*

*“We had coconut farm whereby others asked for coconuts but gave us shillings. We had a cocoa plantation because, in those days, there’s a bonus that motivated us to work hard. But the land was burnt in 1983 and again in 1998, and it destroyed all farms” (Respondent 16).*

**(b) Economic Events**

(i) Low Market Prices. Global recession, especially the recession of the late 1970s, was identified by some respondents as being an external economic event that had plunged them into poverty. The respondents indicated that they were affected because the recession led to low market prices for major export crops such as coconut, cocoa and banana. This led to a loss of income because they relied heavily on their farm income for livelihood support.

*“There’s no change. Because I used to harvest more coconuts we have a coconut drier standing there to dry copra. We relied on copra income but later its price dropped until now. Thus we refuse to do it” (Respondent 4).*

*“Even the price of copra’s decreasing, so nobody’s interested in collecting coconuts because we don’t know where to sell them” (Respondent 2).*

(ii) Changes in Government Policies and Inflation. Changes in government policies, such as the introduction of value-added goods and services (VAGST), was seen by some respondents as being another external economic event that had pushed them into poverty. This led to higher inflation, which meant that they could no longer afford to buy imported goods because these goods are expensive.

*“Seemingly, it wasn’t too bad in those days but nowadays, it’s worse because the price of things is too high. This means that poverty isn’t too bad in the past but now, it’s worse” (Respondent 27).*

*“To be honest, poverty that I face is worse than before. In fact, I am poor because of the low wage when I had a job as compared to the current wage. If you get \$100/week, then it’s nothing because the cost of things is rising” (Respondent 2).*

*“That’s why a shop was closed recently when the VAGST was introduced. But I didn’t want to close, so I went to Apia to ask about these changes and then I figure it out, I’ll pay more tax to the government every year” (Respondent 6).*

### 5.2.5 Summary

Poverty in Samoa was identified by respondents as being caused by multiple events, which included events related to personal (family) circumstances; events related to social obligations, and external events such as natural events and economic events. Events related to personal (family) circumstances included marriage, especially when married to poor, old and sick spouses. Illness had also pushed respondents into poverty which meant they were unable to earn income. Death of key family members had also pushed them into poverty. The death of a spouse led to a loss of income where family members relied entirely on them for livelihood support. Finally, some respondents had also been pushed into poverty because of poor personal behavior, such as theft and drinking. For example, stealing money from employers led to a loss of job and income, while drinking led to damage to the car, which was used to transport their produce to the market, and thus, it resulted in a lack of farm produce sale.

In addition to these personal circumstances, respondents tended to be pushed into poverty by events related to social obligations, such as funerals and the bestowal of matai titles. Funerals led to a loss of income and income earning assets such as fine mats, pigs, chicken and cattle, and this was particularly when they were confronted with multiple funerals. The bestowal of matai titles had also pushed them into poverty because of the obligations associated with this.

Respondents also tended to be pushed into poverty by external events, such as natural events. For example, cyclones caused loss or damage to larger household assets, such as houses, and they could not earn enough income to build a new house. Cyclones also caused the loss of income earning assets (crops), which led to a temporary shortage of food and lack of income. Tidal waves also pushed them into poverty by destroying small businesses (tourist beach houses), which led to the risk of poor loan repayments because they built their houses close to the sea. Such tidal waves also caused damage to their houses because they live close to the sea but did not have community facilities such as a seawall to protect them from these natural forces. Because of lack of income, they could not build new western design houses further inland because it was very costly.

Although some respondents managed to make some progress after the cyclones and tidal waves, they were pushed further into poverty by crop pest/disease outbreaks, especially the unexpected

arrival of TLB disease, which led to a loss of income earning assets (taro) and a temporary shortage of foods. Furthermore, drought and bush fire were events that led to a loss of crops, resulting in a temporary shortage of foods and lack of income to support the family, children's education and to meet obligations.

Finally, some respondents had also been pushed into poverty because of economic events such as global recession. For example, the recession of 1970s led to low market prices for major export crops which led to a loss of income because they relied on their farm income for livelihood support. In addition, they had been pushed into poverty by changes in government policies especially the introduction of VAGST, which led to higher inflation and higher prices, so they could no longer afford to buy imported goods because they are expensive.

## 5.3 Safety Nets

### 5.3.1 Introduction

The research results suggest that there is a range of safety nets, which poor people in Samoa had adopted to cope with their situation. These safety nets stop their situation from getting worse. These safety nets are getting support from others, temporary employment and semi-subsistence from the land and sea.

### 5.3.2 Getting Support from Others

Getting support from others included support from the village (by begging, wandering and participating in special village social and cultural occasions), family support and remittances, and state aid.

#### (a) Support from the Village

Begging and wandering around the village, could give access to money, special foods and other basic necessities and so, was a traditional safety net used by poor people. Some actively begged for money and special foods from their relatives, while others wandered around the village. Both these coping mechanisms stopped their situation from getting worse.

*“Our family’s very poor because I couldn’t find anything to support my parents-in-law. And then I relaxed<sup>1</sup> and returned to my parents. Because my dad’s a Catholic, Priest at the next village [will] bring something for them” (Respondent 13).*

*“When my mother died, then it’s just only three of us. My dad’s unable to go fishing to earn money because of his bent leg. Unless he visited other families, then he got money to buy his cigarettes and our food” (Respondent 21).*

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<sup>1</sup> In Samoa, the term Relax means the situation where Samoans feel they cannot do anything to improve their situation, so they have just a rest.

*“The reason why I’m poor like this is because I’m sick and not working. So I’m just lying down and I can’t move to do anything. But this young man and his wife bring the produce from the bush and then take them to the market to sell and then we get some help” (Respondent 1).*

Participating in special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions was also adopted by some respondents as another traditional safety net to cope with their situation. Respondents indicated that it was possible to get money by participating in special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions, such as received-and-given ceremony (taligamalo).

*“When my mum died, it’s just only three of us but my dad couldn’t go fishing to earn money because of his bent leg. Unless he attended the village events like kava ceremony when guests arrived, then he got his money” (Respondent 21).*

#### **(b) Family Support and Remittances**

Having access to family support and remittances was seen by some respondents as being another safety net to cope with their situation.

*“I’m sick (blind), so I can’t work. I need some money but can’t get it and then I relax because this family’s empty-handed. But my nephew and his wife work hard to look after me and a sick lady. So they take their produce and other things from the bush to the market to get shillings” (Respondent 1).*

*“Yeah, we’re poor when my husband got sick but there are a few shillings from our kids overseas and then we’ve got something to survive” (Respondent 12).*

#### **(c) State Aid**

Pensions were regarded by some respondents as being another social protection safety net to deal with their situation. Some respondents indicated that they could no longer do any hard work because they were physically or mentally ill, but were able to get a pension, which stopped their situation getting worse.

*“I’m a blind man of 80 years old and I cannot find any job or money but the only hope for help is the pension from the government, which comes every month for elderly people. And that’s where I get some help” (Respondent 1).*

*“We’re poor because my husband’s sick and nobody’s got a job, so we’re no longer able to do something, except our monthly pension” (Respondent 12)*

Government food aid and cash support, which gave access to food and income after natural disasters, was seen by some respondents as being another social protection safety net. This allowed them to cope with a temporary shortage of foods, and lack of income after natural disasters. This state intervention helped stop their situation from getting worse.

*“There’s a government food distribution program where we’re able to get some foods. We got some flour and money after the cyclone” (Respondent 3).*

*“During the cyclones except the local government assistance in which the government distributed the foods but there’s no other program apart from that” (Respondent 2).*

*“Bush was burnt in 1993 and then again in 1998. It destroyed all farms and the village, but we had got financial assistance from abroad” (Respondent 16).*

### **5.3.3 Temporary Employment**

Working on temporary jobs and for richer families was a way that some respondents coped with falling into poverty. Others had found temporary jobs with relatives within the village.

*“Like watching a hanging bridge which is run by a weekly shift and then he’s got his chance to work” (Respondent 19)*

*“At that time when we weren’t poor I used to ask my dad for my bus fares whilst I played cricket in Apia because he’s strong to work on his farm. But nowadays, if I*

*want to go playing cricket, there's no money unless I work for other families"* (Respondent 2).

*"As the days went past, his father died, then it's just only two of us and kids in our family. He's got no permanent job but only a temporary carpentry job from another village man. But that job's only available for sometimes to meet our family activities"* (Respondent 14).

#### **5.3.4 Semi-subsistence from Land/Sea**

Semi-subsistence from the land and sea included semi-subsistence farming, fishing and selling of fish, eating the local staple foods, and developing alternative crops.

##### **(a) Semi-subsistence farming**

Raising domestic livestock, such as pigs and chickens, and mixed cropping, provided income to run the family, support children's education and meet obligations and acted as a safety net to stop their situation getting worse. Mixed cropping gave them staple foods, and stopped them falling further into poverty. This activity was possible because of their access to communal resources (land).

*"Yeah, we finished slaughtering our cattle but still have pigs and chicken to meet those things"* (Respondent 7).

*"My husband's developing his taro plantation with other crops like banana, yams, coconuts, and pigs and chicken. We can earn more income from our farm when selling them to the market"* (Respondent 7).

*"And thus, I decided to stay home and developed a taro plantation and served my parents"* (Respondent 20).

Developing a banana plantation and harvesting/selling strainers and coconuts was another alternative income source, which was adopted by some respondents as a safety net to cope with the loss of food crops and assets, such as taro.

*“When taro’s wasted, then we continued developing the banana but just only the wild plaintain has grown well, whilst the European banana variety wasn’t successful. They’re sold to the market at low price where we’re able to buy soap, sugar and other basic things but not useful things for the family” (Respondent 9).*

Harvesting and selling strainers<sup>1</sup> and other things that are grown in the bush provided an alternative income source for some respondents, and was a safety net they could use when there was a temporary shortage of foods and lack of income, because of unexpected events such as natural disasters as cyclones.

*“We harvested the strainers because I’ve got many kids. Suppose that they go harvesting the strainers, then they can go today and tomorrow. We kept harvesting them and developed our taro plantation until now. Taro’s alright, then we stopped developing it. We no longer do it because TLB disease struck” (Respondent 8).*

Harvesting and selling coconuts could also provide a reasonable income to support the family. This was adopted by some respondents as a safety net to cope with the loss of taro. These respondents said that they managed to harvest and sell the coconuts, while investing in the development of new resistant taro varieties.

*“Yeah, when TLB disease wiped off our taro plantations then we returned to coconut harvesting and other things to find something to alleviate poverty while developing the new taro varieties. Now our situation is better when there’s a change” (Respondent 8).*

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<sup>1</sup> Strainers are plants which are grown wild in the bush. Local people harvest and sell them to local markets. They are used for extracting coconut cream from the coconut and they can also be used to wash dishes, clothes and in the shower.

### **(b) Fishing and Selling of Fish**

Fishing and selling of fish gave access to income and special foods. Some respondents adopted this safety net because they could not earn enough income from the farm because of lack of lands for farming and lack of remittances.

*“When I returned home, then I realized that my dad hadn’t got any job but he just went fishing and then I followed the traditional fishing techniques of my parents and ancestors, so there’s no change”* (Respondent 4).

*“Catching of crabs at night is good. He earns more money when he catches more crabs but if not, then, that’s the only thing God grants”* (Respondent 12).

*“We normally get fish from the sea because my kids are fishermen, they use their spear to catch the fish, seashells, crabs, seaweeds, etc, so we don’t need anything from the shop unless we need something like sugar or tin of fish. We can fry with laupele leaves to change our diet”* (Respondent 3).

### **(c) Eating the Local Staple Foods.**

Eating the local staple foods was adopted by some respondents as a traditional safety net by those who seemed to have been poor for a long time, and also by others when there was a temporary shortage of food and lack of income because of natural disasters such as cyclones.

*“During the cyclones, we managed to get some taro and then dug up the wild yams from the bush to eat”* (Respondent 3).

*“In those times, even the wild root crops grown in the bush like taro, taamu, our village brought them to eat despite the fact they weren’t used before. We brought and scratched, then squeezed out its fluid and then cleaned and cooked the flesh in an oven. We had no tea but brought coconuts to drink”* (Respondent 8).

#### **(d) Developing Alternative Crops**

Growing alternative crops, which gave access to income from multiple sources, was adopted by some respondents as a diversification strategy to cope with the risk of losing particular crops during natural disasters such as the cyclones. These alternative crops included taamu, yams, pineapple and so on.

*“We’re lucky because we grow other crops like taamu, yams and others to survive when the cyclone struck. We sent them to market for cash and those are the major crops which we grow for cash and food” (Respondent 20).*

*“Pineapple helped develop my family after the cyclones because my pineapple plantation’s already in existence before cyclones, so there’s nothing that happened. Cyclone just gone above while pineapple is down below, so they just move aside and no disease” (Respondent 10).*

Developing their mixed cropping farm was also adopted by some respondents as a safety net to cope with unexpected economic events such a global recession. For example, when there was a low market price for major export crops and the harvesting and selling of coconuts was risky, the mixed cropping farm could provide alternative income. Respondents also indicated that they could earn alternative income and access to staple foods by growing crops, such as taamu, banana, cocoa, coconuts and so on, when crop pest/disease outbreak devastated major crops such as taro.

*“I used to collect coconuts and carried them here but all of sudden, the money’s all gone. Therefore, I said to myself, it’s better to do a farm and it would be better to change another way of doing the farm” (Respondent 6).*

*“Luckily, we work on taamu here, so when TLB disease struck, people of Salega district worked on taro because that’s a crop grown by our village” (Respondent 20).*

*“In times of TLB disease, such things occurred recently we’re unfamiliar with them but those who’ve got many things live happily because only taro’s destroyed, so a*

*person who worked on farm if taro wasn't good, then he'd be successful with banana and cocoa" (Respondent 10).*

### 5.3.5 Summary

Respondents managed to adopt several safety nets that stopped their situation from getting worse once they had become poor. These safety nets included getting support from others such as support from the village (by begging, wandering and participating in special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions), family support and remittances and state aid; temporary employment; and semi-subsistence from land and sea.

Getting support from others included begging, wandering around the village, participating in special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions. This allowed them to get food and other necessities. Having access to family support and remittances also helped their situation. Social protection safety nets (state aid) provided by the government such as the pension, also helped them cope with their situation, especially those who could not work. Government disaster relief, such as the government food aid and cash support, allowed them to cope during natural disasters such as cyclones and bush fires, when a temporary shortage of foods and lack of income occurred. This aid stopped their situation from getting worse.

In addition to getting support from others, respondents also used temporary employment as a safety net, working on temporary jobs and for richer families within the village. These jobs arose from family and community networking.

Respondents also adopted the safety nets as semi-subsistence from the land and sea. This included raising domestic livestock such as pigs and chicken, and developing their mixed cropping farm. Developing a banana plantation, and harvesting and selling strainers and coconuts, also gave access to other alternative income sources, and acted as a safety net to cope with the loss of other crops such as taro, when there was a temporary shortage of foods after natural disasters. Fishing and selling fish also gave access to income and special foods, and was adopted by respondents as a safety net. Eating local staple foods was another traditional safety net that was used when there was a temporary shortage of foods after cyclones.

Respondents also managed their situation by developing alternative crops. This crop diversification strategy gave them a buffer after natural disasters and economic shocks such as global recession. For example, when the cyclones and TLB disease struck, they were able to earn enough income and had access to staple foods.

## **5.4 Remaining Poor**

### **5.4.1 Introduction**

The research results suggest that those who remain poor do so for a number of reasons. They are unable to get sufficient money from others, to get a well-paying job, to build up a small business from semi-subsistence activities to get them out of poverty or to build up financial reserves because obligations are too great. These factors are compounded by their attitude towards poverty, their lack of participation in decision making, their isolation and their lack of power and voice.

### **5.4.2 Insufficient Money from Others**

Those who remained poor received insufficient money from others to build up financial reserves because family members did not give the expected support. This was associated with changes in the lifestyles of relatives and volatile family ties, lack of opportunity to send children abroad, and also not using remittances that were required to best advantage.

Lack of adequate family support and remittances was seen by some respondents as being a constraint that might keep them poor. They indicated that they cannot improve their situation because there is a reduction in the flow of remittances from abroad or the level of remittances is not high enough to improve their situation. Therefore, the remittances can only be used to smooth consumption rather than investing in income earning assets.

*“It’s \$300, that’s a maximum, and then it’s dropped to \$200. But it’s rare unless there’s a social event or special days like White Sunday, Easter and Christmas Day, then they send money” (Respondent 14).*

*“I kept observing that scenario that there’s no change in my family. It’s unfortunate. Remittances were important. There’s nothing valuable to us, but they’re only used to meet obligations and then they are gone, thus, we’re poor again” (Respondent 6).*

Changes in the lifestyles of their relatives abroad and volatile family ties was seen by some respondents as another constraint that makes it difficult to get out of poverty. The respondents indicated that they managed to send their children abroad but did not get the level of remittances they expected. This has increased their vulnerability to the risk of low income making it difficult to support the family and meet obligations.

*“However, my plan is to find ways to send one of my kids abroad for help later. Fortunately my son went to NZ but there’s nothing from him, as my brother used all his money. It’s about 14 years I’ve got no money from my son”* (Respondent 8).

*“It’s rare to get any money from them because her kids get married and they run their own families. Also, they aren’t my real kids and they’re my wife’s kids from her first marriage”* (Respondent 2).

Some respondents said that they did not have the opportunity to send their children abroad for the future benefit of the family because their relatives overseas could not bring these children there, or they had no family members overseas.

*“I praise those families who get the blessings from their kids abroad. They’ve cars and others. But I’ve sisters and brothers abroad when they came here, then I asked them to take my kids abroad, so they’d find their own future there. Yet I don’t know why or whether they change their minds”* (Respondent 4).

*“We’re still trying to develop our family but there are a lot of things. If we get the money, then we save it. But when there’s a financial obligation, then it’s gone. Also there’s nobody abroad to get any financial help”* (Respondent 11).

Not using remittances to best effect was seen as being another constraint that meant they had insufficient money to improve their position. One respondent said that some people had received remittances from their relatives abroad, but spent these remittances on consumption rather than thinking about the future.

*“Another person once got the money and then misused it but he/she can't think that tomorrow is another day and the following day. Such person always thinks about just only one day to use the money” (Respondent 8).*

### **5.4.3 Inability to Get a Well-Paying Job**

Some respondents were unable to get a well-paying job. There are a number of reasons for this. The first is an inability to work because they are old and/or sick.

*“I'm sick; I cannot do any work. People assume that I'm okay, but if I try to work, then suddenly I feel unconscious. I'm not fully recovered because I still feel pain on my side and that's a problem which I'm facing” (Respondent 2).*

Lack of education was a second reason seen by some respondents as being another problem to find a better job.

*“We're still poor because nobody's got a job; maybe because of a lack of education” (Respondent 27).*

Withdrawal from school, which led to a lack of education, was identified by some respondents as being another contributing factor to inability to get a highly paid job. The respondents said that children are taken from school to support relatives. Others withdrew their children from primary schools because they wanted children for their livelihood support and security.

*“My grandson used to attend school but he no longer goes to school because nobody looks after me. So he goes searching for something to get the money for my church offering and other family activities” (Respondent 3).*

Children were also taken from school because their parents cannot afford to support their studies.

*“I believe we can't afford to pay their fees because there aren't enough shillings. Suppose that they attend school, then they might get jobs to help the family. But at this time, we can't afford the fees of two boys, only one boy” (Respondent 24).*

Withdrawal from school sometimes occurred because of other unexpected events such as illness and urban migration by other family members.

*“I finished my school at Year 4 in 1953 because of my illness. I had a headache and then I was admitted at hospital, and then I quit school but only attended the pastor school” (Respondent 15).*

*“I attended school but there are few people in my family. It’s just only my parents because another brother has gone to Apia town. Then I said to my parents, it’s bad for me to attend school and you feel hungry. Thus, I stayed home to do a taro plantation to serve my parents” (Respondent 20).*

Some withdrew their children from school early because their children refused to go to school or did not seem to have the ability to cope with further education. One respondent claimed that some parents withdraw their children from school because there are no village rules to force them to educate their children.

*“He can’t do any school work and then refused to attend school. Basically, he told me, he’s incapable of pursuing any high level of education. Maybe, he’s mentally weak and not being resilient but still I could pay his fees” (Respondent 4).*

*“It’s said that this is only village where people don’t know how to write their names and to read books. Also there’s no village rule to force parents to send their kids to school” (Respondent 9).*

Working on low paid jobs was seen by some respondents as being another contributing factor to their poverty. The respondents indicated that they send their children to urban areas for more employment opportunities but they can only find casual jobs to meet their consumption needs, which is insufficient to invest in any family developments.

*“We’re still poor because my kids can’t find any good jobs because they’re stupid, so that’s the only thing that they’ve been doing since then. They just work in a factory and then find some money to meet our daily needs” (Respondent 11).*

A third reason for the inability to get a well-paying job was that jobs were not available. Some respondents said that putting factories in urban areas made it difficult to get a job in rural areas, thus keeping them poor. Thus, their isolation contributed to their inability to improve their situation.

*“There’s nothing because we’ve got no jobs to earn money in order to help us. Suppose that there’s a company here, then we might go working to have another source of income”* (Respondent 9).

*“We’re still poor because nobody in our family’s got a job except other relatives who live in Apia. That’s why our family’s poor”* (Respondent 27).

#### **5.4.4 Inability to Build Up a Small Business from Semi-subsistence**

Inability to build up a small business was another reason why people remain poor. There were a number of reasons for this.

(a) Inufficient ‘Reserves’ from Semi-subsistence. Insufficient reserve from semi-subsistence was seen by some respondents as being a constraint to build up a small business. For instance selling strainers and other things that are grown wild in the bush provided some income but this was not sufficient to shift these respondents out of poverty. These respondents said that they could not save money from this.

*“That’s the only way that we solve poverty at this time, harvesting the strainers. But we don’t harvest them to get many dollars; just only \$50 or \$60 to live on that day and meet village/church obligations, but nothing to save to get out of poverty”* (Respondent 5).

(b) Inability to Access to Credit. The inability to access to credit was identified by some respondents as being factors contributing to their inability to build up a small business. This was compounded by illness. For example, one respondent indicated that they withdrew from micro credit schemes because they can no longer perform any hard work to meet loan repayments for

their small business. Another respondent regretted their decision to get small loans from micro credit schemes because they found it difficult to repay because of their obligations.

*“I am incapable of paying any more loans at this time because of my illness. But I want to run a pancake business. Even my husband struggled to harvest strainers to pay the loan, and that’s why we don’t want any loan” (Respondent 5).*

*“That’s the situation, in which we’re now. But the reason why I’m sad we have a loan is there are many things that a bank needs and there’s little chance to pay it back due to many obligations. But the loan interest is still growing” (Respondent 23).*

Tough lending policies were seen by some respondents as being another factor that denied their access to credit. Some cannot get loans from local banks because they do not have any freehold lands to secure their loans and it is difficult to find personal guarantors for loan securities.

*“Let assume that a bank asks me whether I can bring my land to secure a loan. But if not, then I’ve to look for at least 5 persons to secure the loan. But after one week, I can’t even find one person” (Respondent 4).*

*“For me, I refuse to ask someone for a pay slip to secure my loan. But still I think of having a loan. Suppose that there are 10 canoes, but then I don’t know whether it’s possible to secure any loan with new canoes” (Respondent 12).*

Customary land, which cannot be used as collateral, was seen by some respondents as being another factor contributing to their lack of access to credit. They cannot run any small business on their own lands or even sell or lease them for commercial purposes because all lands belong to the village authority.

*“Assuming that a bank asks for a land to secure the loan, that’s the cause of being poor because lands cannot be used to secure any loan. So I can support any legislation that allows the sale of customary lands in the future” (Respondent 4).*

*“I want to sell or lease my 37 acres land, so I can get some money to build a new house but cannot do it because it belongs to all kids of our parents” (Respondent 2).*

Lack of knowledge and lending skills was seen by some respondents as being another contributing factor to their lack of access to credit for small business. Such respondents indicated that they are not keen at loans because they lack knowledge and lending skills to manage the loan.

*“Yeah, I’m scared of getting any loan from the bank because I don’t understand about how we can use the loan and how we can pay it back” (Respondent 4).*

(c) Poor Business Skills. Inability to access credit was compounded by having poor business skills. This meant that respondents might not use loan funds properly. For example, some respondents used loan funds to meet obligations or for consumption.

*“That’s what I believe. I have got a loan but I feel that it isn’t worthwhile because of too many things like village social and cultural occasions, family obligations and church activities while the interest of a loan’s already gone up” (Respondent 23).*

*“I got a loan \$1000 and then bought a kerosene oven which cost \$460 and that was the only money from the loan was used appropriately to run a chip business, but the rest was spent on my mother-in-law’s funeral” (Respondent 24).*

*“My loan was spent to build our tourist beach fales but, for other[s], once they get the money, then it doesn’t go straight to repay the loan but go to buy the mutton flaps and other things. But they forget their loan repayments” (Respondent 26).*

One respondent commented that other group members have been withdrawn from micro credit schemes because loan staff themselves misused the loan of one of their group members, who was then left with a loan repayment problem.

*“That’s why she’s a loan repayment problem because a loan officer borrowed her \$200 to meet her family obligation but never paid it back. So that’s why others have pulled off because of dishonest loan officers” (Respondent 27).*

Putting pressure on people to participate in micro credit schemes was seen by some respondents as being another contributing factor to the risk of having a loan arrear, thus contributing to the failure of small business.

*“May be the loan officer and our group leader are unhappy but it isn’t us because they’re the one who came to urge us. They said that loan is beneficial to poor people and that’s why we join the scheme. Actually, they look for other people to make up the number of groups but I don’t want to join it” (Respondent 27).*

*“I didn’t want any loan, but I was asked by the SBEC’s<sup>9</sup> former general manager and then I felt excited, but at this time we need to pay back the loan but no money. There are many of us who have a problem with loan repayments” (Respondent 24).*

*“Yeah, at that period, when he was the general manager; that’s where I got my loan. Yeah I applied for a loan because he knew my business well” (Respondent 23).*

(d) Inadequate Resources. Other resources may be inadequate, such as a lack of family labor, inadequate distribution of land and poor land and inadequate capital resources. These were seen by respondents as being other factors that limit their ability to build up a small business.

Lack of family labor as a result of urban migration was seen by some respondents as being a contributing factor to their inability to run a small business. Others can no longer earn enough income from their farms because they are old and physically weak.

*“We used to harvest coconuts but other family members have already left for good, so it is just only two of us and kids who live in our family” (Respondent 18).*

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<sup>9</sup> SBEC stands for Small Business Enterprises Centre.

*“He is tired of doing any farm work, unlike in the past where he used to sell our farm produce to the market but now he is getting old and weak. But sometimes we have a verbal confrontation because he isn’t working to earn money” (Respondent 19).*

Inequitable distribution of lands was seen by some respondents as being another factor contributing to the lack of land for farming. The respondents said that they cannot develop larger farms to generate income because land distribution among people is inequitable, which forces them to run their subsistence farms for consumption only.

*“I believe there’s no other development that I can do due to land shortage. We haven’t got any big land to do our farm, so there are no crops for sale” (Respondent 11).*

*“He can work on our farm but there are just only few coconuts, cocoa and banana that are grown there for our food because the land’s small to rely on for a big development; even our land where his brother lives inland, it’s small” (Respondent 14).*

Other respondents say that they can only invest in less profitable farm enterprises, such as raising pigs and chicken to meet their consumption needs, but not in high profitable farm enterprises such as cattle farming because there are not enough lands for farming, particularly those on small islands, such as Manono Island.

*“We have got a few pigs and no cattle except those families who live on Upolu Island. So we’ve got just only a few pigs and chicken on Manono Island” (Respondent 21).*

Poor quality land was identified by some respondents as being another contributing factor to their inability to run a small farm business. The overuse of land for farming, which leads to low crop yields, was seen by some respondents as being a problem that contributed to keeping them poor. As a result, they can only produce enough for home consumption, not for sale.

*“Farms here are only for food because if we sell them, then there’ll be a shortage of food. Thus, we might buy these staple foods from market again. Crops are stunted due to the overuse of lands that lead to poor soil fertility” (Respondent 21).*

*“I believe that there’s only one piece of land inland, but perhaps is smaller than this land where we live. So land is too small and soil isn’t fertile to grow any crops for sale but only banana and others for home consumption” (Respondent 11).*

Another reason for poor quality land was the physical characteristics of the soil, which was seen by some respondents as being a problem that stopped them from investing in other farm enterprises. Some respondents said that they cannot grow vegetable crops such as beans, cabbage, pumpkins and so on because of poor soil.

*“Another thing’s that land is so small, which’s unsuitable for vegetable gardens. There are a lot of things that we should develop but those are circumstances because it’s waste of time. This island has stony backyards except other families can shovel few spaces to grow vegetable because that’s another prominent development” (Respondent 21).*

*“But land isn’t good for farming because it’s rocky and stony” (Respondent 23)*

Inadequate ‘capital’ resources, such as fences, was seen by some respondents as being another contributing factor to their inability to build up a farming business. Some have lost their root crops because roaming pigs destroy them because there are no pigsties (saouli) to contain the pigs.

*“In those days, this village had a pigsty, but meanwhile it’s been used for farming, so people are raising their pigs outside and that pigs are running freely and destroying crops” (Respondent 22).*

*“Unless we’ve a pigsty because there’re many houses nearby so our pigs might destroy their crops. That’s a situation. We have some pigs but they aren’t enough” (Respondent 19).*

(e) Unavailability of Profitable Markets. Unavailability of profitable markets, which leads to low profits, was seen by some respondents as being another constraint to expanding their small business.

According to some respondents, lack of (or collapse of) markets was a factor contributing to the early collapse of their small business and poor loan repayment. Some have received small loans from micro credit schemes to run their small business, but cannot generate enough profits because of not having secured markets for their products. Others face the risk of having loan arrears because they cannot sell their products regularly and have to rely on rare social events as a big market for their products.

*“Yeah, I believe that’s another reason of why our business fails is because there’s no market that we can sell our chips unless a family needs some chips as a gift for their relatives abroad when travelling to NZ” (Respondent 24).*

*“I got \$1000 loan but my business is now stuck because there are no specific days for high sale because it depends on the market. In fact, other days I go there to sell my products but the market isn’t good while loan interest’s still growing” (Respondent 23).*

*“My kids are paying my loan and it hasn’t yet paid off. You remember, unless there are some pigs so that people can come and buy them to meet their obligations, but ... we’ve got a few medium-sized pigs but no social events” (Respondent 9).*

Oversupply of produce or market glut, which leads to low prices for farm products, was also seen by respondents as being another contributing factor to the failure of their small business. This is made worse when coupled with isolation from the markets, which means high transportation costs.

*“Assuming that we take our produce to the market, but the price is low so it isn’t good that’s another problem. If we take our produce, then we’ll pay more for the bus, but if we go there, day’s unprofitable, and then it is a waste of time” (Respondent 19).*

*“Yes, that’s another thing like coconut and cocoa. Our cocoa plantation is fairly good, but there is no market, so we just dry them on sun. If you look at the market, it’s full of cocoa so most people can carry their cocoa back home unsold” (Respondent 17).*

(f) A Village Environment Hostile to Small Business. A village environment hostile to small business, such as the ban on small business imposed by a strong village authority was another constraint to building up financial reserves. Some respondents said that they do not have the opportunity to invest in any income generation activities because of their village rules. In addition, they cannot run their business within the village because local village elites are concerned about land confiscation by outsiders if they can somehow lease or buy the village lands for their business.

*“Perhaps that is another aspect, like I am trying to run my small business but it has been prohibited. So that is another circumstance because if I try to run it, then it might be stopped because of our village rule”* (Respondent 12).

*“We can’t run any shop or even food stall inside the village because there is a concern about the protection of village lands from foreign investors. We’re trying to change this rule but can’t do it because the elderly are scared of being cursed”* (Respondent 13).

#### **5.4.5 Obligations to Be Met**

Another factor which can stop respondents from getting out of poverty, and so they remain poor, is because their obligations are too large to allow financial reserves to build up. Reasons for this can be: meeting family obligations; educating children; meeting special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions, and meeting church obligations.

(a) Meeting the Family Obligations. Meeting the family obligations was seen by some respondents as being a factor contributing to the loss of their income and income earning assets, making it difficult for them to exit poverty. Money is used to meet their consumption needs rather than investing in any development activities.

*“That’s another reason of why we are poor because of many obligations. Say if one portion of family budget goes there to meet those things, another portion is for shopping, then you realize that the cost of living is too high”* (Respondent 9).

*“We normally spend the money from our children’s jobs to meet our family obligations and to prepare our food” (Respondent 22).*

(b) Educating Children. Educating children was seen by some respondents as being another problem that stopped their exit from poverty. They said that they have been unsuccessful with their business because they do not have enough money to invest in it. This was because money is being spent on their children’s studies. Their attitude seemed to be that investing in education, which is worthwhile for the family in the long run, created problems in the short-run.

*“I believe that delivering my chips to Apia can’t earn much profit because my kids attend school. That’s why our kids can’t go selling chips but leave the school and we also spend more money on their studies” (Respondent 24).*

*“Yes, there are goods in my shop but that is why it’s closed every time because there’re only few people in the family. Kids attend school and we pay their fees, so I don’t know how to keep an eye on shop, family and beach sales” (Respondent 26).*

(c) Meeting Special Village Social and Cultural Ceremonial Occasions. Meeting special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions could lead to a loss of income and income earning assets and was seen by some respondents as being constraint that affects their business. Some respondents said that they remain poor because they spend more money on their social obligations than on developing their farms.

*“Our social system (culture) is the main reason for remaining poor in Samoa because it’s strong but also the cost of living is too high as compared to the past. So we spend more money on these things but do not develop our taro plantations” (Respondent 2).*

*“That is why we are still poor because money isn’t enough to meet church donations, village events and other emergencies as we can’t save any money” (Respondent 9).*

*“We have two sons who are working on sea (fishing boat). Perhaps this week we might get some money from them to serve my matai title and meet our village, church*

*and women committee's activities. In fact, all the money can only meet our daily needs but not big things (Respondent 4).*

*"We have got a few pigs because of too many social events; that's when we kill them all but still there is a plenty of staple foods" (Respondent 18).*

(d) Meeting Church Obligations. Meeting church obligations was seen by some respondents as being another factor contributing to the difficulty in building up their financial reserves and small business. These respondents said that they meet church obligations because of their faith and vulnerability to discipline from their strong village authority which exerts pressure on them to donate. This is reinforced by the announcements of church offerings. Some respondents said that they have tried to meet their church financial obligations because they feel ashamed and embarrassed if they do not make any donations. Meeting these obligations can then lead to lack of money to run their small business.

*"Seemingly, church offerings is a sign of faith because that's my parents' religion; they are Catholic Church followers. But if someone can't make any offering, then he/she'll be reported to the village council. Assume that you can't make it, then matai will report you to the village council, then you may be fined or expelled" (Respondent 12).*

*"There are many church events. I feel that's why we are poor because we can get some money from selling fine mats, but at the same we must donate at least \$30 every Sunday, say \$20 for pastor's gift, \$10 for Auuso. But still we try to meet these obligations, because perhaps God might help us in many ways" (Respondent 14).*

*"If I can't make those church donations and pastor gifts, then by the end of the year, my name will be declared, saying that I have got nothing to donate. It's a shame and embarrassing because the church is full of village people. That's why people move to other religions, but also no money to run our food sales" (Respondent 11).*

#### 5.4.6 Attitudes and Behavior

The attitude towards poverty of some of those who remained poor had particular characteristics. These were lack of motivation, over-reliance on government assistance, and personal behaviour, such as drinking, possession of illegal drugs, swearing and breaking the village rules. It is not clear whether such attitudes result from hopelessness associated with being poor, or contribute to becoming poor, or both. However, such attitudes seem to be a contributing factor in remaining poor.

(a) Lack of Motivation. Lack of motivation was seen by some respondents a reason that might keep them and others poor. Some withdraw their children from high schools because of their attitude (the children's), to education. Others said that while begging can stop their situation from getting worse, it can exacerbate over-reliance on others for support, and so keep them all poor.

*“But now, our son works on farm. He was at Ulumasao College and we struggled to send him to school but he wasn't keen to study. Then we pulled him off from the school because he just rode on bus to/from Salelologa town”* (Respondent 18).

*“It isn't good because some people keep relying on others for livelihood support. For example, if I continue searching for salt from my neighbour, then his salt will also be finished. As a result, he will be poor too so we're all poor. And thus, poverty is getting worse”* (Respondent 5).

*“There's no hope that he can be changed because he wants to live in the same situation and keep relying on us, his sisters for help”* (Respondent 6).

(b) Over-reliance on Government Assistance. Over-reliance on government assistance, for example the pension and crop bonus scheme, was seen as another psychological factor contributing to poverty. For example, while the pension was seen by some respondents as being an effective state intervention to help the sick, disabled and elderly, it can worsen their family members' over-relying on this pension as a source of support for the wider family. The pension was misused by others to support the wider family and meet obligations rather than improving the situation of the person receiving the pension.

*“I haven’t got any medical help from the hospital but perhaps, if I’ve the opportunity to go there, then probably I’ll get some relief. I asked my nephew and his wife to take me to the hospital because I want to see the doctor. In fact, I cannot stop this water coming out. But seemingly they don’t care about me, maybe because of no money, but still they sign my monthly pension” (Respondent 1).*

Participating in a government program, such as the crop bonus scheme, was seen by some respondents as being an effective state intervention to increase crop production and to give access to income. This enabled them to minimize the risk of losing income earning assets (crops) after natural disasters. However, it also seemed to encourage an attitude of over-relying on government assistance as a major source of funding to develop their farms.

*“I had got the bonus for my kava and coconut seedlings but it was stopped. However, they start bearing fruits, but we don’t know why government stop it. Now I need the money to start a taro plantation but there’s nothing” (Respondent 2).*

(c) **Personal Behavior.** Poor personal behavior, such as drinking and possession of illegal drugs, drinking kava, swearing and breaking the village rules, was seen by some respondents as being other factors contributing to their poverty.

Drinking and possession of illegal drugs was seen by some respondents as contributing to the loss of their small business. Some respondents said that they have lost their family resources because a family member’s personal behavior of drinking, along with their lack of financial skills. Another respondent mentioned fines because of illegal drug cultivation.

*“Another thing where we spend more money is his beer. We spend more shillings on his beer because he’s a heavy drinker. If he goes to Apia to sell our handicrafts, worth \$400, then he’ll return just only \$100. That’s why we are still poor” (Respondent 2).*

*“If he goes to sell his strainers to the market in Apia, then he’ll finish \$100 to drink beer but doesn’t think about his struggling with strainer harvesting. Everything is from a poor mind of not thinking properly” (Respondent 6).*

*“He was fined with 20 sows and a big fine mat when he was caught with a marijuana tree standing inside his house but couldn’t afford it. So he is now off from the village council” (Respondent 6).*

Drinking kava was also seen by respondents as being another factor contributing to household poverty. For example, this can lead to lack of communication between parents and their children, which can lead to a shortage of staple foods and lack of income.

*“If you see those people who are drinking kava, they can drink kava until night. Nobody can go home in times of family evening services until 11pm, so there’s no instruction for their kids to do the taro or banana plantation or even go fishing, so they haven’t got enough food” (Respondent 8).*

Swearing and breaking the village rules was seen by some respondents as being another contributing factor to the difficulty in building up financial reserves and so keeping them assetless. One respondent said that they have not only been banned from participating in village affairs and community development activities, but also lost their income and income earning assets when paying their fines.

*“Yeah, the village council has expelled me when I had a verbal confrontation with a pastor during our rugby practise. Then they penalized me with 15 sows; if not, then I’ll be banned from all village activities. So I am now outside of the village council, but still I live in my house” (Respondent 2).*

Others are aware of the risk of breaking their village rules, which means they can be ostracized from the village. Some are aware of the risk of not meeting their village obligations because they are still vulnerable to their strong village authority. For example, if they get fined, they can then lose their income and income earning assets to pay these fines.

*“He was expelled by the village council when he made negative comments during the court case. Also, he cast his vote to a different candidate. The village council is very strict with its rules; if you’re expelled, then you’re gone for good” (Respondent 14).*

*“Suppose that you cannot meet those obligations, then you’ll be fined; but then if you don’t pay the fine, then you’ll be expelled from the village” (Respondent 18).*

*“If there’re village financial donations, then nobody will refuse so we can’t ignore those donations. Sometimes, if there’s a big donation, say \$100 or \$200, we’ll then try to make it because if not, then we’ll be fined by the village council or even expelled” (Respondent 12).*

#### **5.4.7 Compounding Factors**

The discussion so far shows that those who remain poor earn insufficient income to build up financial reserves. In addition, financial reserves tended to be used up because of obligations that had to be met. This is coupled with the attitudes and personal behaviour that seemed to be associated with their poverty. However, their situation is also compounded by other factors, such as isolation from decision making and those in power, which leads to lack of voice, and from community facilities (schools and roads), and credit facilities and markets.

(a) Lack of Participation in Decision Making. Lack of participation in decision making was seen by some respondents as being a factor contributing to their social isolation and lack of voice. They then linked this to their poverty. Some do not participate in village decision making and community development activities because they have not been consulted by their male counterparts (government officials and local village elites).

*“No, we are not involved in any program. In fact, it is just only men but not women or even the whole village because nobody comes to ask me whether I want to join those programs. I don’t know, that might be the reason of why we’re still poor because we are isolated from others” (Respondent 3).*

Others have never been involved in any community development activities and government-led development programs and projects because they live away from the rest of the community or in distant marginal areas. This physical isolation results in a lack of participation in local decision making processes that keeps them voiceless.

*“I think that is the cause of being poor because we are isolated from others unlike those who live close to the main road. It is just only men who are involved in a fish reserve. When the officers come, cars will go straight there but not us”* (Respondent 3).

(b) No Relationship with Those in Power. Having no relationship with those in power, which was reinforced by the attitude of not wanting to ask for help, was seen by some respondents as being another contributing factor to their isolation and lack of voice. Some do not have any contacts with their parliamentarians except in periods of natural disasters because they are isolated from development centers. Others have never received any assistance from government or villagers to support the family because they still live in remote areas.

*“I don’t know that man or anyone else except the time of bushfire where we had got some shillings and food”* (Respondent 16).

*“Our member of parliament never comes to our village since he has been elected as a parliamentarian”* (Respondent 22).

*“There is no help from others because there is no contact with them. Perhaps, it might be because we are far from main road and others, that’s a problem”* (Respondent 3).

(c) Isolation from community facilities. Isolation from community facilities was also seen by some respondents as being another factor contributing to their poverty. Some respondents withdraw their children from school because they cannot afford to send them to school because of the distance they had to travel.

*“I think that the school is far from them because it is hard to walk from the coast. I know that’s the problem because of their isolation, except one family has a car that brings their kids to school everyday. It means that those who leave there can’t say excuse to the car owner for a ride today, tomorrow to that family in order to send their kids to school”* (Respondent 6).

*"I attended a pastor school and primary school but now it's located inland near the main road, so I can't go there because it's too far" (Respondent 3).*

(d) Isolation from Credit Facilities and Markets. Isolation from credit facilities and markets was seen by some respondents as being another contributing factor to their poverty. Some respondents cannot sell any crops to local markets because of their physical isolation, which means high transportation costs. Others do not participate in micro credit schemes because they are isolated from development centers; for example, those who live on Manono Island.

*"Cocoa is another income source for the country but now as you can see, it's rare to harvest them. This is because Apia is too far and there is no truck coming around to buy cocoa. If we take them to the market, then we'll pay for everything" (Respondent 17).*

*"No, I just heard about it (micro credit scheme), saying that they try to cover all villages but since then they haven't come here. Perhaps, they have done their services in other villages, but not here" (Respondent 21).*

#### 5.4.8 Summary

The research results showed that there were a number of reasons why some respondents remained poor. They are unable to get sufficient money from others, to get a well-paying job, to build up a small business from semi-subsistence activities to get them out of poverty or to build up financial reserves because obligations are too great. These factors are compounded by their attitude towards poverty, their lack of participation in decision making, their isolation and their lack of power and voice.

Those who remain poor earn insufficient income from others to build up financial reserves. Reasons for this include lack of family support and remittances because of unexpected changes in the lifestyles of their relatives abroad, volatile family ties, and a lack of opportunity to send children abroad. Poor use of remittances can also make it difficult to build up reserves. These people also remain poor because of their inability to get a well-paying job. This may occur because they are unable to work because of illness and their lack of education. Lack of education may be due to early withdrawal from school, which may be (coupled with parents' attitude of

over-reliance on their children for livelihood support), an inability by parents to pay the school fees; and the children's attitude to education. Withdrawal from school also occurred because of illness and urban migration plus a lack of village rules to force parents to educate their children, thus leading to illiteracy and lack of ability to find a better job. In addition, jobs may be unavailable in rural areas.

Those who remain poor also did so because of their inability to build up a small business. There were a number of reasons for this. These were insufficient reserves from semi-subsistence; inability to access to credit (being unable to meet loan criteria or repayments) lack of assets to offer as security and lack of knowledge about loans), poor business skills, (such as poor use of loan funds, and forcing people to participate in micro credit schemes); inadequate resources, such as lack of family labor, inequitable distribution of lands, poor quality land, inadequate capital resources; the unavailability or collapse of markets, and village environment that was hostile to small business.

In addition, financial reserves tended to be used up because of large obligations that had to be met (such as meeting family obligations, educating children, meeting special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions and church financial obligations). This was reinforced by pressure to meet these obligations, such as the announcement of church offerings.

Their poverty was associated with a particular attitude, such as lack of motivation, and over-reliance on government assistance and personal behavior (such as drinking, possession of illegal drugs, swearing and breaking the village rules).

The situation of those who remained poor was compounded by isolation and lack of voice. They were isolated from decision making and those in power thereby leading to lack of voice. They were also isolated from community facilities (schools and roads) and their lack of household assets (cars) lead to high transportation costs. Isolation from credit facilities and markets made it difficult for them to produce and sell their products, and so improve their situation.

## **5.5 Getting Out of Poverty**

### **5.5.1 Introduction**

These were people who were able to get out of poverty. The research results suggest that such people managed to adopt a range of strategies, that were both short-term strategies and long-term. They were able to build up a business from semi-subsistence, getting money from others and build up their savings, use family resources strategically. Associated with these strategies was a particular attitude towards poverty.

### **5.5.2 Building up a Business from Semi-Subsistence**

Respondents who are able to get out of poverty seemed to be able to build up a business from semi-subsistence. For example, they might sell coconuts to accumulate income. They might then move to developing their farm further, cultivating alternative crops as a source of income and risk reduction strategy. Associated with this, they might raise domestic livestock, which further increases their self-sufficiency and self-reliance. As their wealth improved, some respondents are able to build up cattle herds.

Alternative ways to build up a business from semi-subsistence was utilizing the resources of the sea or to add value to their products by further processing and selling them (such as cooking food and making handicrafts).

The ability to build up a small business was assisted by access to credit and other inputs. In addition, their access to markets also helped the process.

#### **5.5.2.1 Type of Business Enterprises**

Selling coconuts was adopted by some respondents who were able to get out of poverty as an initial income generation strategy. They indicated that they worked together with their children to harvest and sell coconuts to local villagers, local companies and shops, which enabled them to support the family and meet obligations.

*“In those days, the only thing that helped us was coconut. I used to assist my kids in carrying coconuts here. I picked up coconuts, piled and de-husked them and then my kids carried them to the shop later” (Respondent 8).*

*“I used to rely on the wealth of a coconut industry. I was very optimistic that I would continue to get some financial support from selling copra” (Respondent 4).*

*“Meanwhile, we get some money from other things. Also, my kids are asked to gather coconuts and pile them in front of the house, so village people can come and buy them to feed their pigs” (Respondent 2).*

Some respondents indicated that they shifted from selling coconuts to developing their farm. Some had moved inland to less vulnerable areas, in order to develop their semi-subsistence farms further.

*“And then we went and lived in the bush because there were no kids at that time, just only two of us tried to develop our farm, and then we began selling produce” (Respondent 13).*

*“And that is why I have been successful because I have got a lot of things because I took my produce to the market in Apia and then I sold coconuts, banana, taamu and other things like that. Thus, my family has changed and even my mind about things that I develop” (Respondent 10).*

Other respondents noted that they were able to generate enough income from their semi-subsistence farms because they were able to sell their farm produce to both local and export markets.

*“We used to export more boxes of banana whilst the market price for banana was high overseas. We had got a big banana plantation over there. We had got more money to support the family” (Respondent 9).*

*“When taro was good, then we got a car. Villagers were surprised of where I got a car, but it was from a Samoan taro. It costs \$18,000” (Respondent 6).*

Developing new crops was adopted by some respondents as another way to generate income. These respondents indicated that they managed to shift from producing major export crops to other alternative crops, such as pineapples, which are less vulnerable to natural disasters.

*“That’s why I develop a pineapple plantation because of many crops that I had done before but I got nothing from them. Then [I] started a pineapple, then I realized that money was better. That’s why I afforded to build this house. They weren’t destroyed during the cyclones unlike banana, pawpaw, cocoa and coconut” (Respondent 10).*

Others earned income by redeveloping their taro farms when new resistant taro varieties became available.

*“We just develop a new taro. Now we earn some money to pay the school fees of our kids, electricity bills, meet the church and village activities and buy other things to support the family like sugar and other basic necessities” (Respondent 9).*

Some respondents have become more self-sufficient and self-reliant by raising domestic livestock, such as pigs, which both increases their wealth and provides food if necessary.

*“It’s true that kids can bring the benefits to this family. If they can’t get any fish from sea, then we’ll eat the pig. That’s what I believe God’s blessing come through our kids because we have enough pigs, so we aren’t poor in anything that supports my family” (Respondent 8).*

*“Pigsty has been developed again because that’s one of my small family business enterprises at the moment” (Respondent 6).*

Some respondents were able to build up their income and assets to such an extent that they could raise cattle as a way of further improving their situation. In one case, a respondent was willing to

sell one asset (the car) in order to build up another asset (the cattle herd). Others lacked the resources to fence their land, but overcame this by tethering their cattle.

*“As the days went past, a car was found, but sometimes I thought that I needed some cattle because that’s my thinking from God. One day, I sold the car to run the cattle farm, so now there are more blessings due to hard working”* (Respondent 6).

*“We have got 3 cattle with a hope to run a cattle farm, but they aren’t enough to start a cattle farm but our land is more than enough”* (Respondent 17).

*“We have more lands to graze our cattle, but meanwhile they aren’t grazing inside the fence until we get the barbed wires, so they are still tied with ropes”* (Respondent 24).

Some respondents were able to generate income from cattle farming because they have illegal access to government leasehold lands. This was because they have a strong relationship with those in power.

*“We have a cattle farm inland’ and there is a European house where my kids live permanently there. Cattle are sold and people come buy them”* (Respondent 13).

While some respondents built up a business from semi-subsistence by developing their farms, others used the resources of the sea, particularly if they had little land for farming because it was not available or inequitably distributed. Selling fish was adopted by these respondents as another small business to generate income and get them out of poverty. Some relied on selling fish to local market and within the village as a small business to support the family and educate their children especially those who live on smaller islands do not have enough lands for farming. Others integrate fishing with developing the farm as their strategy to exit poverty.

*“We were poor but I went fishing and then brought things to sell in front of our house near the main road. That’s where we had got the school fees of our kids and their lunches”* (Respondent 13).

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<sup>1</sup> This is an illegal use of public lands by a few powerful people for their own benefits, which the rest of the village do not have access to.

*“Just only my son-in-law is a fisherman of our family because fishing is the main development of Manono Island. He’s the only one who helps us” (Respondent 21).*

*“There are many ways that we can eliminate poverty from our family. We have our plan: my kids go fishing at night to catch the watery shrimps, then my wife will sell them to the market in Apia while we are working on our farm in the morning” (Respondent 8).*

Further ways of developing a small business from semi-subsistence, particularly for those without access to lands, were adding value by preparing and selling cooked foods, and making and selling handicrafts. One respondent worked full time on their small business by selling cooked foods to the local market because they do not have enough land for farming, and lacked education to find a job. Another respondent planned to operate a similar business within their own village, which would allow them to generate income for the family.

*“However, only business that we try to develop at the moment like the sale of cooked food but there’s nothing else” (Respondent 11).*

*“I am applying for a \$3000 loan, yeah; it goes up to run a small restaurant. We can sell them to earn more money because it isn’t enough to run a shop” (Respondent 27).*

Selling handicrafts was adopted by some respondents as an alternative small business to increase income. Some managed to generate additional family income by weaving and selling handicrafts, such as fine mats, to local markets and through radio advertisements. This is especially useful when there is an influx of obligations, and they are unable to cope with their commitments, while also supporting their family.

*“We are poor but still God helps us with things to do, showing us things that we can rely on. Like I can weave a fine mat and then take it to sell and then we get the money, so those are things” (Respondent 14).*

*“Another way to reduce poverty is to work hard in order to earn income, weaving materials like fine mats and sleeping mats. If there are many sleeping mats, cost \$100 for each bundle but a big fine mat worth more” (Respondent 24).*

*“We can also sell our handicrafts like weaving of mats and fine mats. And if a fine mat can't be sold, then it'll be used for social/cultural activities” (Respondent 22).*

Others earn alternative family income by carving and selling their handicrafts, such as canoes and axe handles because they could not earn enough income from their farms. One respondent indicated that she and her husband had improved their income and elevated their status by making handicrafts such as carvings, and then moving on to screen printing.

*“I don't know because there are just only our kids who live abroad except my son and his wife are living here with. As in fact, he normally carves his canoes and then he takes them to sell to the market” (Respondent 12).*

*“Suddenly, one man came here and showed to my husband on how to carve the axe handle and then we began carving the axe handles from the bush and then sold them to the market in Apia and thus we had got the money to educate our kids. Now, they have been successful with their studies” (Respondent 18).*

*“My family started with selling coconuts, strainers and other things like breadfruits to the market. Then we got money but we were still in a low status. And then I started doing the wood carving and then we elevated to another level. Since then I can no longer do wood carving but make the designs for printing clothes” (Respondent 23).*

Some respondents were able to integrate a small handicrafts business with a farming operation. For example, some opted to develop their pandanus plantation, which can then be used for fine mats, which have symbolic cultural significance. This helped them build up their stock of fine mats, which they could then use to earn income. It also provided a productive role for women within the household.

*“I always talk to my wife, ‘you can do this, you know to meet those things; [because] I don’t want to disturb her because a woman can develop a pandanus plantation and then harvest it to meet our village, church and family social activities” (Respondent 8).*

Another respondent opted to integrate improving the pandanus population with another farm operation, such as building up the stock of pigs. This respondent was able to improve their income and to accumulate their income earning assets, such as pigs, by developing their pandanus plantations to provide the raw materials for weaving. Payment for the pandanus was then made in pigs, thus increasing their wealth.

*“You see, our pandanus farm has also been advertised within the village. If anyone needs the pandanus leaves for weaving the fine mats and sleeping mats, then they can bring a live pig to pay. That’s why we have got many pigs” (Respondent 6).*

#### **5.5.2.2 Access to Credit and Other Inputs, and Markets**

Having access to micro credit schemes for small business also allowed some respondents to get out of poverty. Such respondents said that they received loans to start their small business by participating in micro credit schemes. This allowed them to generate sufficient income and assets from farming activities, such as crops, raising pigs and growing taro.

*“Scheme’s good for those who know how to plan, but not good for those who misuse it. But for me, I spent my loan to build a pigsty. I bought the fence wires and since then, it has almost been paid off. Now I’ve many pigs and they’re ready to sell” (Respondent 9)*

*“Well, our first loan was about \$750 and it had been secured by our taro plantation and then we bought the spade, bush knives and knapsack sprayers to use for our taro plantation. Then we managed to pay it off because during the week, we took some taros to the market to find some money to pay back the loan” (Respondent 27).*

Participating in government incentive schemes was regarded by some respondents as another effective government intervention to gain access to crop planting materials and special grants for small business. Some could increase their crop production after cyclones because they were

motivated by state incentive schemes. Others have been successful with their tourist beach houses (fales) because they got special grants from government and loans from micro credit schemes.

*“Yeah, we have got the cocoa and coconut plantations where other people come and ask for coconuts and cocoa and then they give us some shillings and that’s where we have got our money, simply because we worked hard in those days to grow them during the government bonus scheme” (Respondent 16).*

*“When taro was gone, then we looked for other developments to support our family like the tourism business and then we applied for a financial assistance from the government and then we got it from STA<sup>11</sup> and a loan (\$20,000) from SBEC to build a shop and our beach fales. Now it looks awesome” (Respondent 25).*

Establishing market contracts, which creates stable market opportunities for their farm products, was adopted by some respondents as a strategy to help them get out of poverty. Respondents said that they can generate enough profit from their semi-subsistence farms by signing market contracts with local markets such as hotels, restaurants, hostels and hospitals. Some manage to get small loans from local hotels through their market contracts. Others earn income from their farm enterprises by signing market contracts with local entrepreneurs to sell their products.

*“Suppose that I am poor, then I’ll go to the hotel to withdraw some money, then I’ll pay it back with my pineapples because if I sell them to the hotel, then they’ll deduct my loan repayment” (Respondent 10).*

*“We have got enough cattle, pigs, taro, banana, taamu, pawpaw, etc, so everything is found in our farm. They are sold to local market. We have the contracts with local hotels and those are the things of why my kids are wealthy” (Respondent 13).*

### **5.5.3 Getting Money from Others and Savings**

Those respondents who were able to get out of poverty seemed to be successful in getting money out of others. They were also able to build up their savings and reduce their social obligations.

### 5.5.3.1 Getting Money from Others

Receiving local family support and remittances from relatives abroad through family networking, which gave access to income, special foods and other basic necessities, was seen by some respondents as being a strategy that could help them to get out of poverty. Respondents indicated that this strategy allows them to earn a reasonable income and have access to special foods.

*“Seemingly, our family isn’t too bad because I feel that there’s a time that we have received the spiritual blessings. Like for example, I’m surprised of someone coming with the money, saying that ‘here’s your gift from your family in Apia, and then thanks that person who loves me” (Respondent 21).*

*“There’s a lot of ways, channel the blessings to me from my kids. While I relax, all of sudden, I got a phone call from abroad, ‘dear mum go checking your money that’ll be sent over tomorrow; then I feel happy to do this thing and that thing” (Respondent 21).*

Some respondents did not just wait for financial support from relatives but actively asked for such support; for example, by contacting relatives abroad.

*“Assuming there’s a time that we do need some money, then we’ll call his sisters and brothers abroad. But nevertheless, they remember those ceremonial days and then they’ll send over some money” (Respondent 14).*

*“We have got some money from my sister-in-law in NZ; if there’s a social event, then we’ll inform them and thus they’ll send over some money to help us” (Respondent 10).*

Some respondents went further still, travelling abroad to collect money from children.

*“It was about 14 years, I didn’t get any money from my son’s job since his departure; then I tried to look for an opportunity to find my son in NZ. Later, I had got a chance to go abroad and talk to him and now I have got the house and car” (Respondent 8).*

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<sup>11</sup> STA stands for Samoa Tourism Authority

*“I went to visit my 4 daughters in American Samoa and wander around there during the Independence Day celebration, and then I got the money from my kids that built this house” (Respondent 15).*

In summary, they receive adequate financial support from family and from overseas remittances, and will ask for this support if it is not given, and even travel overseas to get it.

### **5.5.3.2 Savings**

Saving money was adopted by some respondents as a long term investment to provide more income and to accumulate household assets. Savings were built up and then used to support the family, invest in assets, and generate further income.

*“Since the beginning of our family, we started with taro farming, then we managed to save some money. We put the money in the bank, no matter how small it is but that’s an idea because my mind goes to do something that will benefit the family like cars. That’s how we develop our family” (Respondent 6).*

*“Later, we had a conflict with other family members on that side of the village; then we moved here to develop this land. But luckily, we had got our saving of \$4000 that had been used to build our house” (Respondent 9).*

*“That’s another thing. I’m the one who earn shillings to do things because it takes 1-2 months that we can save money unless a kid gets sick, then we use money. But if there’s no special food, it doesn’t matter, so we eat a taamu” (Respondent 20).*

*“Each couple has a personal saving and there’s a lot of money. Our family has a separate bank account to save farm income” (Respondent 13).*

Saving remittances was also adopted by some respondents. Some were able to generate enough income by saving a portion of their remittances from abroad which helped them run the family,

support their children's education and meet obligations. Others built up their income earning assets (crops) and family income by saving their remittances from abroad.

*"Assuming that they send the money, say \$300, so \$50 can be put in the bank"*  
(Respondent 14).

*"Suppose that my son in American Samoa sends his money, then my husband says, 'you buy the weedicide for our taro plantation, then I'll bring it and other basic things like sugar but the remainder you put in our bank account'"* (Respondent 6).

### **5.5.3.3 Reducing Social Obligations**

Changing religion was adopted by some respondents as a strategy to reduce church obligations. They indicated that they can save more money when they change their religion because this relieves the pressure from church and their strong village authority.

*"Minor churches like the Assembly of God don't have many donations unlike those big churches at this time"* (Respondent 17).

*"For us, SDA Church followers, it disallows to bring such matter to the village council. The church has certain limits for its followers to donate because it's an offering. We aren't forced but depend on a person's own right"* (Respondent 12).

### **5.5.4 Using Family Resources Strategically**

Respondents who were able to get out of poverty seemed to use family resources strategically. They used their family resources to work as a team, and had a strategic approach to work and education by the family.

#### 5.5.4.1 Use Family Resources to Work as a Team

Using family resources to work as a team was adopted by some respondents to help them get out of poverty. Such respondents have been successful with their small business by working together as a team, where men work at farming and fishing while women contribute with handicrafts.

*“I’m telling you the truth, I’m sick of having a bent leg, so the only work that I can do is the weaving, stitching thatches and other minor tasks, while my husband’s strategy is taro farming” (Respondent 7).*

*“There’re many ways to develop the family because in the meantime, we can’t do any other developments. But seemingly, a development looks promising is the weaving, so we are still weaving and selling them, because this family has three girls, so that’s the only way” (Respondent 21).*

*“Say, if I go fishing or carving the canoe, then my wife will stay home to prepare a good meal. So when I return home, food is ready because no matter how painful it is but it’s over when you come, everything’s fine. But when I come and family isn’t good then my mind feels sad, so that’s why I explain the essence of being working together” (Respondent 12).*

#### 5.5.4.2 Temporary Work and Education

Some members of the family can earn income by migrating for casual work in urban areas, and this strategy was adopted by some respondents as a way for the family to get out of poverty. These respondents indicated that they can earn sufficient income from their children’s jobs in urban areas when they could not earn enough money from their farms after natural disasters. This allowed them to minimize the risk of losing income earning assets (crops) and income.

*“My daughter’s a teacher at Kindergarten in Apia, while our son’s a driver at the Heavenly Water Company; his wage isn’t too bad and he gets paid every week” (Respondent 7).*

*“Since then God still loves us; my kids start working, my boys are working as taxi drivers in Apia, while one boy is working at quarry” (Respondent 6).*

Temporary work by some family members also alleviated the family situation and helped them out of poverty.

*“Our family relies on our children’s jobs, like our eldest daughter works at ANZ Bank in Apia and another one is a teacher to meet social events. Also, we have got some money from the hanging bridge for tourists as my son works there” (Respondent 18).*

*“We have our son who works for Mormon Church in our village. He looks after the garden and earns \$70 a week, so apart from him nobody works in Apia” (Respondent 9).*

Educating children was adopted by some respondents as a long-term investment to improve their personal capabilities in order to find better jobs. This increased the support for the family over time and helped to raise family income. Some saw educating children as being the key to a successful future because education can create more opportunities for them, and minimize the risk associated with little land for farming.

*“Since then, God still loves us, my kids have got jobs to work on; my daughter is a teacher in one village” (Respondent 6).*

*“That is the strategy that must be adopted to get out of poverty because that’s what our ancestors said, ‘the best farm’s children’s education’. Suppose that kids are successful with their studies, then that’s the future success of a family or if there’s a farm or not, then rely on children’s education” (Respondent 21).*

While some invested in their children’s education, others withdrew children from their tertiary studies to invest in other young children’s education, which helped them further improve their family’s income earning abilities in the future.

*“When my daughter was withdrawn from NUS<sup>1</sup>, then she worked in ANZ Bank to pay her sister’s school fees at Teachers College. Now, she also finishes her study and works as a teacher in the next village” (Respondent 18).*

*“And then, I had decided to stay home and to go fishing with my dad in order to educate my old brothers and sisters who now find better jobs” (Respondent 12).*

### **5.5.5 Attitude to Poverty**

Related to the strategic use of family resources was a particular attitude to poverty. Those respondents who were able to get out of poverty had a very positive attitude to their situation. They thought very strategically about their situation, built good relationships within their families, and used the assistance provided by outside agencies in a positive way. These are discussed below.

Thinking strategically was adopted by such respondents as a psychological strategy to improve their self-confidence and self-reliance when planning their family developments. They said that they handle problems by thinking logically when they are confronted with them. Some saw their situation as improving because they had a good attitude and thought of all possible options to support the family. They also put in place contingency plans for unforeseen circumstances, such as social events and natural disasters, which then allowed them to deal with such situations.

*“We don’t relax and sleep well at night, when the day has gone and the night comes. Then I start thinking during the night if there’s something happen in my family tomorrow. If it’s tonight, then I’ll think of what should be done. So we can either go to do a taro plantation or fishing” (Respondent 8).*

*“Likewise, suppose that I plan the wedding for this year but all of sudden, the cyclone strikes; so before that assigned day for the wedding, everything will then be ready and thus there’s nothing to worry about” (Respondent 6).*

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<sup>1</sup> NUS stands for National University of Samoa

These respondents also had a particular attitude to consumption and saving, which then improved their situation. Rather than buy expensive foods, they eat the staple foods.

*“That’s how my family began, because if we get the money, then we’ll put it in the bank. But if we had a salty coconut cream only, then it’s like that, but unlike those big business people when they’ve got many things, then they’ll eat a corned beef”* (Respondent 6).

These respondents built good relationship with their children through conducting their family evening services, because that is a unique opportunity for them to communicate with their children, which can change their children’s social behaviour. They advise their children to work hard on their studies in order to find better jobs and so improve their vulnerable situation.

*“Every night, I talk to my kids, ‘look my life’s poor because I have got no job and our family development’s low but there are many of you. ‘See, if you want to expand our taro plantation but in the morning, you go there, how can you do it?’ That’s how we treat them. We can’t leave them alone because they are the camera. I mean that if you go first, then they’ll follow, but if you leave them first then there’ll be nothing”* (Respondent 8).

*“My only advice to my kids, ‘you see how difficult things that we’re doing, so we prioritize your education to move out of poverty’. So they are keen to do their studies in order to find their own future”* (Respondent 19).

These respondents also see government as a motivator. For example, participating in the crop bonus scheme was seen by them as being an effective state intervention that allowed them to increase their income. They argued that the scheme motivated them to work.

*“We have got the coconut plantations and that’s where we have got some shillings. Also, we have got the cocoa plantation because in those days, there’s a government bonus scheme that motivated us to work hard”* (Respondent 16).

This attitude also extended to special government financial grants, which were adopted by some respondents as another effective state intervention to provide more funding to invest in their small business.

*“When taro’s wiped off by TLB disease, then we searched for other developments to support the family and thus we looked at tourism business. And then we applied for funding and then we got it from SVB and SBEC offices. So it’s getting better”* (Respondent 25).

*“Suppose that you spend your money to develop your tourism business, then you’ll get a refund of 50% of total expenditures. For instance, for my beach fales, I spent \$10,000 and then I got a refund of \$5000, then I used to buy the iron roofs to cover my dining house”* (Respondent 26).

Praying for guidance by putting their faith to God’s will was also adopted by some respondents as a spiritual strategy to have the blessings, courage, physical and mental strength to confront their situation. Rather than looking to God to solve their problems, they looked to him to show them how to solve their problems themselves.

*“Our strategy to alleviate poverty’s to pray because God shows us different ways like our kids; that’s what we need is to bless them. I know God has many ways of blessings. They have got jobs and few opportunities from other families who love us to send them abroad. That’s our idea is to pray and then God bless them”* (Respondent 7).

*“Another thing, I always pray to God to show me the way in order to solve this problem. Perhaps those are strategies that God has shown to me to improve my family”* (Respondent 8).

### **5.5.6 Summary**

Those who are able to get out of poverty seemed to be able to build up a business from semi-subsistence. For example, they might sell coconuts to accumulate income. They might then move to developing their farms further, cultivating alternative crops as a source of income and risk

reduction strategy. Associated with this, they might raise domestic livestock, which further increases their self-sufficiency and self-reliance. As their wealth improved, some respondents are able to build up cattle herds.

Alternative ways to build up a business from semi-subsistence was utilizing the resources of the sea or to add value to their products by further processing and selling them (such as cooking food and making handicrafts).

The ability to build up a small business was assisted by access to credit and other inputs. In addition, their access to markets also helped the process.

Those respondents who were able to get out of poverty seemed to be successful in getting money out of others. For example, some were able to earn a reasonable income and have access to special foods and other basic necessities by getting money from others, such as receiving local family support and remittances from abroad, contacting their relatives abroad if there is a social event, and traveling abroad to collect money from children in order to build up their income and assets. They were also able to build up their savings and reduce their social obligations. For example, some were able to generate enough income by saving money and remittances as a long-term investment to support the family and reduce obligations, while others were able to save money to smooth consumption and reduce obligations but nothing to invest.

They also got out of poverty by using family resources strategically. For example, they used family resources (people) to work as a team, and family members work on temporary jobs in urban areas and within the village to improve their situation. They also educated their children strategically. Some stayed at school as a long-term investment to improve their personal capabilities in order to find better jobs, while others were withdrawn from school to support the family in the short term.

Their attitude to their poverty also assisted them to think strategically, which improved their self-confidence and self-reliance when planning their family developments. For example, they put in place contingency plans to deal with any unforeseen circumstances, saving money, by eating staple foods rather than consuming more expensive foods, and by building good relationships with children through family evening services. They also saw government schemes as a

motivator that gave them access to farm inputs, money and funding to invest in small business. They also prayed for guidance by asking God to show them how to improve their situation.

## 5.6 Becoming Poor Again

### 5.6.1 Introduction

Some respondents were poor, had got out of poverty, but then became poor again or recognized that they were very vulnerable to becoming poor again. These people were able to get out of poverty in the ways observed in Section 5.5. They managed to earn enough income (and build up income earning assets) to support the family and meet their obligations. Thus, they were able to accumulate their reserves. They did this by building up a business from semi-subsistence (such as coconuts, farm production, domestic livestock, cattle, fishing, adding value/crafts, etc); having access to credit and (other inputs) and markets; getting money from others and savings; reducing social obligations; using family resources strategically (working as a team, temporary work, education, and attitude to poverty).

But they then became poor again for some of the same reasons that were observed in Section 5.2. That is, their personal circumstances change (through illness, death), there were sudden changes in social obligations (e.g. funerals, bestowal of matai titles) and external events such as natural disasters (cyclones, tidal waves, crop pest/disease outbreaks, bush fire) and economic events (loss of markets, credit, etc).

### 5.6.2 Unexpected Events Related to Personal (Family) Circumstances

Despite working well as a family, having a positive attitude to their situation and using resources strategically, the personal circumstances of these respondents could change (through illness, death), which could make them poor again. For example, some had been well-off in terms of income and assets, but were concerned about illness and physical disability, which could push them back into poverty.

*“In my mind, I don’t worry about anything if I have got nothing. But I’m worried because if I get sick, then my body is weak because I’m getting old, but also if she gets ill too because she still feels pain on her leg occasionally” (Respondent 15).*

*“Yeah, but everything depends on our strength because if we get sick, then it will be a waste of time to do all these things” (Respondent 6).*

Others were also concerned about how their family members would cope if they died unexpectedly.

*“We advise our kids, they should build a new house, but don’t rely on this old house. Our strength is not the same because we won’t be together forever in this world. We are getting old and then die, but they don’t know how to survive” (Respondent 18).*

*“In case, if I die suddenly, I have already talked to my kids about our farm. I told them that they should not abandon it, because they said to me to abandon it because I’m weak and old, but they never know what happens” (Respondent 10).*

### **5.6.3 Unexpected Events Related to Social Obligations**

Even though these respondents made an effort to reduce their social obligations, a sudden increase in these (e.g. funerals, bestowal of matai titles) could mean that they cannot continue their move out of poverty, and so become poor again.

*“We used to have many cattle inside our cattle ‘fenced’ farm, but when our parents died, then we finished killing them all. If you see it, there are no cattle but it’s just only the empty fence, so we need the money to restart it” (Respondent 7).*

*“Yeah, the bestowal of new matai cost thousands of dollars if it’s only you. But if there are many matai, then each matai will donate, say \$2000-\$3000 plus 1 large pig or beast, 2-5 cases of tinned fish, 20 loaves of bread, 20 pounds of biscuits, 5 packets of cookies, 2-3 bottles of jams, 1 large teapot of cocoa, 50 taros or breadfruits, 20 fine mats, 1 large fine mat for the nofo. It’s costly but if your family helps you, then you will be lucky; but if not, then you will be broke (mativa masaesae)” (Respondent 9).*

#### 5.6.4 Unexpected External Natural and Economic Events

Even though such respondents were steadily building their business up from semi-subsistence, a severe external event could destroy their business; for example natural events such as the cyclones, tidal waves, crop pest/disease outbreaks, bush fire, as well as economic events (such as loss of markets, credit, etc). If their savings/money from others is not enough to support them, then they can slide back into poverty.

*“Our family was in a better position while our shops successful, but it’s bankrupted when destroyed by strong winds. Since then, it hasn’t been rebuilt. Yeah, then we used the goods but it’s solely funded by money from our relatives abroad” (Respondent 22).*

*“Tidal waves were strong that washed away our 2 beach fales, but left just only 3 fales. And then young men brought them over here. But now we don’t know, perhaps the next tidal waves could wash them all away” (Respondent 27).*

Some respondents indicated that their vulnerability to natural disasters (crop pest/disease outbreaks, bush fire) could lead them losing income and income earning assets, and so push them back into poverty.

*“Now our situation’s getting better because there’s a change when new taro varieties are available. But we can be poor again, if the TLB disease strikes back and wipes off the new taros” (Respondent 8).*

*“Perhaps, maybe it isn’t too long and then we are informed about the fire, and then we go and whip with banana leaves. But it doesn’t help because of no water, so it could destroy all our crops” (Respondent 18).*

Although they can generate more profits from their small business enterprises (such as tourist beach fales), respondents showed concern about future risks to their business, such as wars and terrorism that could affect their market (tourists). They also showed concern about the impact of micro credit schemes’ existing lending policies on their business.

*“A good time of the year is the middle, yeah. During the winter over there in those countries, then people will run away to tropical countries. That is a time where we have got many guests because the flights are full, but unlike in times of wars, there were no tourists due to flight problems” (Respondent 25).*

*“Yeah, business is great but we are still fear and worried about those cyclones, tidal waves or even terrorists because the impact could be catastrophic” (Respondent 26).*

*“That’s the problem because the grace period for those loans is too short and then we start paying back the loan. In fact, other developments need more money and time to run and then start earning some profits, but there isn’t enough time to pay it off. The bank must give us more time because it depends on business. This kind of business isn’t supposed to earn more money regularly” (Respondent 25).*

### **5.6.5 Summary**

Some respondents were able to get out of poverty through various means. These were building a business from semi-subsistence (such as coconuts, farm production, domestic livestock, cattle, fishing, adding value/crafts), having access to credit, (and other inputs) and markets, getting money from others and savings, using family resources strategically (work as a team and having a positive attitude to poverty).

However, they remained vulnerable and were aware that their personal circumstances could change (through illness/death) and that could make them poor again.

Even though they also try to reduce their social obligations, there may also be an unexpected increase in these social events, which means they cannot continue their move out of poverty and, so they can then become poor again. Moreover, although they are building their business up from semi-subsistence, severe external events, such as natural events (cyclones, tidal waves, crop pest/disease outbreaks and bush fire) and economic events, such as loss of markets, and difficulty in accessing credit, might cause them to slide back into poverty.

## **5.7 Staying Out of Poverty**

### **5.7.1 Introduction**

There were some respondents who had been poor, but got out of poverty, and have managed to stay out of poverty. They were able to get out of poverty for the reasons outlined in Section 5.5. They were able to earn sufficient income (and build up assets) to support the family and meet their obligations. Thus they were able to accumulate their reserves. They did this by building up a business from semi-subsistence (such as coconuts, farm production, domestic livestock, cattle, fishing, adding value/crafts, etc); having access to credit (and other inputs) and markets; getting money from others and savings; reducing social obligations; using family resources strategically (working as a team, temporary work, education, attitude to poverty).

They then managed to stay out of poverty for the following reasons: their personal circumstances remained favourable and social obligations remained under control; their business had been built up sufficiently to be self-sustaining and withstand shocks, and they have access to family resources (because savings have been built up and they are able to rely on adequate money from others) to maintain their situation if their circumstances worsened.

### **5.7.2 Favorable Personal Circumstances and Controllable Social Obligations**

The personal circumstances of these respondents remain favorable and their social obligations are under control. For example, they are self-sufficient and self-reliant in terms of income and income earning assets, and these can cover their social obligations. Because of the accumulation of their financial reserves and household assets, they do not consider their strong social system to be a potential cause of poverty because they can meet these obligations and they are rare. Respondents who had been able to save more money had got more income and income earning assets when they had been successful with their small business. This allowed them to reduce their vulnerability to their strong social system and thus accumulating their reserves.

*“That’s what I believe, others blame our culture where we have gone through for years. This family never misses any guests everyday and every week, but still God*

*loves us because not only those things from shops can cater for the guests. No, we have got other things like pigs, chicken, so it isn't too large" (Respondent 6).*

*"Assuming that there's an event, then we will meet yeah, with my kids and then we might use our family saving in the bank. But if our saving isn't used, then we are rich in pigs, chicken and cattle, thus, our saving's untouchable" (Respondent 13).*

*"There's no poverty from doing those things; that's what I know because it's rare to have them; village occasions are rare" (Respondent 10).*

*"Yes, my bank book has been deposited inside the fence because if there's a social event tomorrow, then we'll just look for a beast for that occasion (faalavelave<sup>1</sup>) and then it'll be taken to meet it. But still there's a plenty of cattle to rely on" (Respondent 6).*

*"While cattle are roaming inside the fence, you start counting from here, that beast worth one thousand dollars or more, that beast is how much, so that's our bank book, which has been saved there. Thus, I don't worry about anything" (Respondent 6).*

### **5.7.3 Sustainable Business Enterprises and Accumulated Financial Reserves**

These respondents have built up their businesses and were capable of earning considerable income from them. Such businesses could be tourist ventures or well-diversified farm businesses.

*"That's what we have got now. We can earn few shillings a week, say \$400 or \$500, so we get few shillings every week. But also in other weeks, we get more shillings, say \$1000 or more. If a tourist spends a night here, then he/she'll pay, say \$50 a night. But if there are, say 4 people, then it will be \$400" (Respondent 25).*

*"My shop can support my tourist beach fales and pay my kids' school fees, so when tourists come and sleep, then it'll answer everything that I need, so I can meet the*

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<sup>1</sup> The term *faalavelave* literally means "entanglement," and Samoans use it to refer to any problem, disturbance, or trouble, including social ceremonies.

*loan repayments for this month. I'm no longer struggling to pay the electricity, telephone bills, etc we now live like those in town areas" (Respondent 26).*

*"Our land is with cocoa and it takes 2 days or even the whole week to harvest them and then they are delivered to the market by our cars. Likewise, another land's located further inland. Our family has a separate bank account to save farm income. And each couple has their own personal saving and there's a lot of money. There's no more struggling, so even our kids, when they are grown up, then they'll enjoy and harvest the success of their parents' sweat and struggling" (Respondent 13).*

They also had access to significant savings that can reduce their vulnerability to unforeseen circumstances.

*"We have got savings in the bank that have been withdrawn to do these things. But we are still saving our money in the bank to survive and to meet obligations. And we also distribute our money consciously" (Respondent 10).*

*"We have got a saving \$8000 in the bank and then we withdrew \$3000 to buy a second car, but now we have got \$2000 from our taro sale on Monday this week. It's deposited in the bank, so it's about \$7000 in our saving account" (Respondent 6).*

Because of their sustainable business enterprises, those who are able to stay out of poverty manage to cope with the adverse consequences of external events such as devastating cyclones. They are in a position to generate sufficient income from other alternative farm enterprises, such as root crops. Others manage to stay out of poverty by raising domestic livestock, which makes them less vulnerable to these unforeseeable circumstances.

*"After cyclones, perhaps, it took only 6 months to maintain those things being destroyed during the cyclone; then banana, cocoa and taro were recovered to get food. In times of TLB disease, those who work on farm, when taro's bad, then they had been successful with banana and cocoa" (Respondent 10).*

*“Yes, all our crops had been uprooted and destroyed but it’s just only few months and then they would be recovered. Also, we have got a lot of pigs, chicken and cattle in our farm inland, so we are successful and rich” (Respondent 13).*

#### **5.7.4 Summary**

Those who were poor, but got out of poverty and have managed to stay out of poverty were able to do so for a number of reasons. Their personal circumstances remain favorable and their social obligations are under control. Their business has been built up sufficiently and they have access to family savings. As a result, they are able to withstand the impact of external events.

#### **5.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the results were presented. A number of categories were discussed. These were what is poverty in Samoa, becoming poor (causes of poverty), safety nets, remaining poor (constraints), getting out of poverty (strategies to exit poverty), staying out of poverty (strategies to remain out of poverty), becoming poor again (causes of poverty again). As dictated by the grounded theory method, these categories must now be linked to form a participatory model of poverty for alleviating poverty in Samoa. This is done in Chapter 6.

## **CHAPTER 6: A PARTICIPATORY MODEL OF POVERTY IN SAMOA**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter constructs a participatory model of poverty in Samoa. It is built on the results that were presented in Chapter 5. Consistent with the grounded theory method, the various categories that emerged are linked together to form the model. In Section 6.2, the participatory model and its elements are presented, while in Section 6.3, the variations in the model are then discussed.

### **6.2 A Participatory Model of Poverty and Its Elements**

This section provides a brief outline of a participatory model of poverty and its elements. This participatory model of poverty in Samoa emerges from the field data, and reflects the nature and reality of poverty in this participatory context. The categories that emerged through the application of the grounded theory method have been linked to form a participatory model of poverty in Samoa.

These categories are the definition of poverty (what is poverty in Samoa?) (discussed in Section 5.1), becoming poor (entry into poverty) (discussed in Section 5.2), safety nets (discussed in Section 5.3), remaining poor (constraints) (discussed in Section 5.4), getting out of poverty (strategies for moving out of poverty) (discussed in Section 5.5), becoming poor again (re-entry into poverty) (discussed in Section 5.6), and staying out of poverty (strategies for staying out of poverty) (discussed in Section 5.7). From the linking of categories, it was clear that poverty was a dynamic process, so this feature was incorporated into the model.

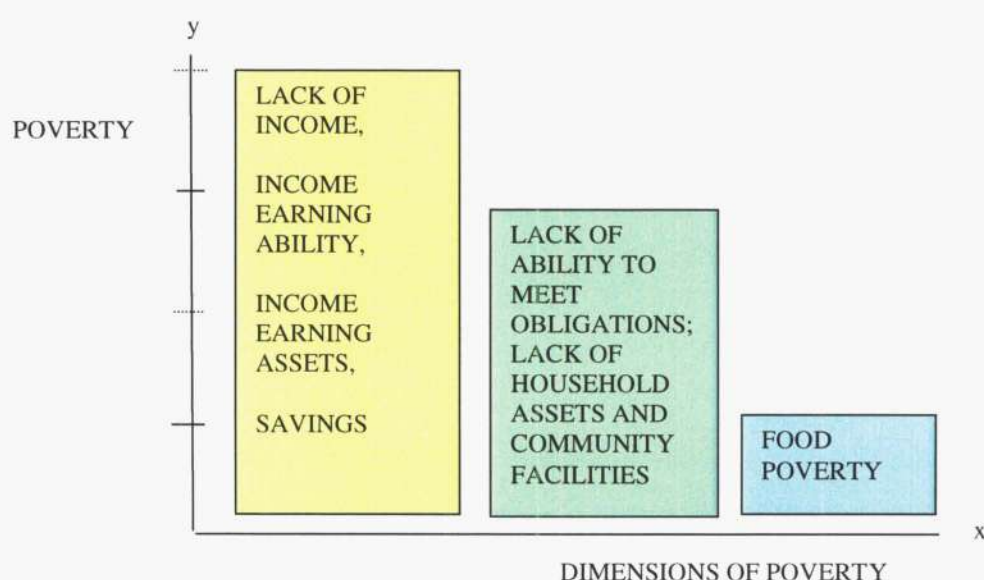
#### **6.2.1 Definition of Poverty (What is Poverty in Samoa?)**

As a result of abundant natural resources (land/sea) that people have access to through their social system of sharing and cooperation, poverty in Samoa is not food poverty; that is being unable to access food staples. Thus, there is no shortage of normal staple foods. However, there may be a

temporary shortage of food in periods of natural disasters (such as cyclones, crop pest/disease outbreaks, drought and bush fire).

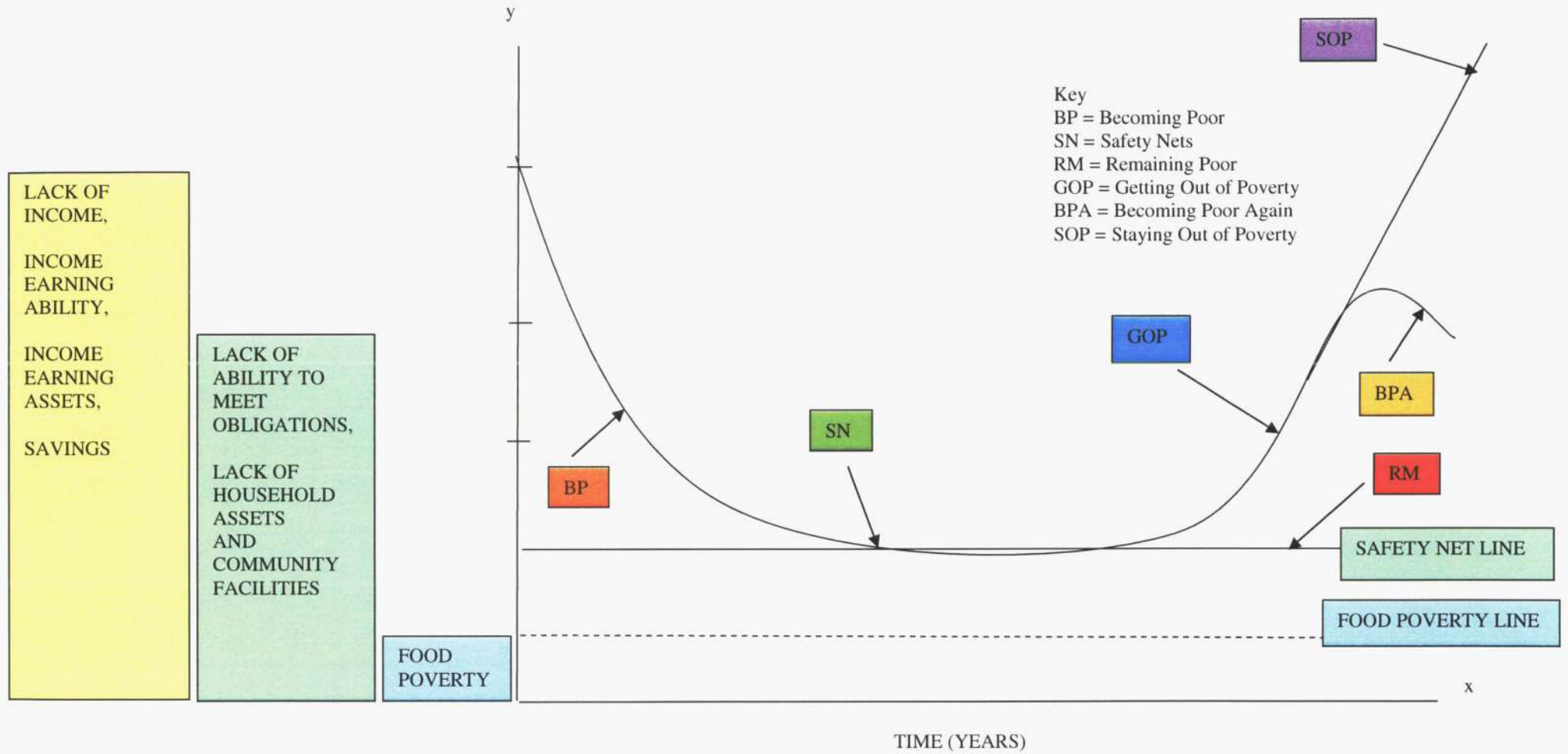
Poverty in Samoa can be associated with a lack of household assets and community facilities. These can range from smaller household assets, other consumer items and community facilities such as tap water supply, electricity, tar-sealed road, and so on, to bigger assets such as a strong house and more household luxury assets such as car.

FIGURE 6.1: PARTICIPATORY DEFINITION OF POVERTY IN SAMOA



Poverty is also viewed as a lack of ability to meet a range of obligations that include special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions, such as the 'received-and-given' occasions (taligamalo), village development projects such as schools and churches, family obligations such as funerals (maliu), bestowal of matai titles (saofai) and weddings (faaipoipoga), church financial activities such as church offerings (meaalofa faalelotu) and other related events. In particular, there is a risk of losing scarce financial resources (money) and income earning assets (crops, livestock, fine mats, etc) to meet these social obligations.

FIGURE 6.2: PARTICIPATORY MODEL OF POVERTY FOR ALLEVIATING POVERTY IN SAMOA



Although there is no shortage of normal staple foods, (as discussed above) people can still feel a sense of impoverishment if they cannot access special foods during times when they have an abundance of obligations, when these special foods (such tinned fish, mutton flaps, etc) are expected.

Lack of income, income earning ability and savings is also characteristic of their poverty. For example, the lack of ability to find a highly paid job, lack of remittances and/or being unable to access a monthly pension are seen to constitute poverty. Lack of income earning assets is also seen as evidence of poverty; for example, lack of cattle is associated with a lack of money and land. In particular, when there is an inequitable distribution of land and little land for farming. Likewise, not owning a car is also associated with lack of income earning ability. Poverty is also viewed as being associated with a lack of ability to save. If household income (money, remittances, children's salaries, etc) and income earning assets (crops, livestock, fine mats, etc) are insufficient to run the family, to support children's education and to meet obligations such as family, village and church obligations, then people can consider themselves to be poor.

This definition of poverty in Samoa, or how poor people define poverty based on their experience, is shown in Figure 6.1. Food Poverty is shown as a bar that begins at the origin of the graph. Lack of household assets and community facilities is shown as another bar that begins at the origin but also extends above this food poverty, and so on. That is, there is an overlapping in the ranges of different dimensions of poverty, and a poor person could lack household assets, community facilities, an ability to meet their obligations, as well as lack income, income earning ability, income earning assets, savings, etc. However, as people become less poor, they may have adequate household assets, and have access to community facilities and be able to meet their obligations, but still lack income, income earning ability, income earning assets and savings necessary to improve their situation further. This depiction of poverty is shown on the (y) axis in Figure 6.2.

### **6.2.2 Poverty is Dynamic**

Although not discussed as a specific category in Chapter 5, it is obvious that poverty in Samoa is a dynamic process. The range of categories shows that people can become poor, continue to remain poor after this, or to get themselves out of poverty. Over time, they may either become

poor again or manage to stay out of poverty. This dynamic nature of poverty over time is shown as the (x) axis (Figure 6.2).

### **6.2.3 Becoming Poor – Entry into Poverty (What Pushes Them into Poverty?)**

Entry into poverty occurs because of events related to personal circumstances, events related to social obligations and external events (such as natural events or economic events). There appears to be an event that pushes people into poverty which is reinforced by other events. Personal circumstances such as marriage into poor families, illness that leads to physical and mental disabilities, death of key family members and particular personal behavior (such as theft and drinking) can lead to people becoming poor. These personal circumstances reduce their income and income earning ability, making it difficult to support the family and meet their obligations. People also become poor because of events related to their social obligations. These social obligations can force people to make financial donations and/or sell their household assets to meet their obligations. This leads to a loss of savings and income earning assets (crops, pigs, chicken, cattle, fine mats, etc). This is especially a problem when they are confronted with multiple funerals and their family members are bestowed with a high chief (matai) title.

Moreover, people become poor because they are vulnerable to external natural events such as cyclones, tidal waves, crop and pest/disease outbreaks, drought, and bush fire. These natural events can reinforce each other. These external natural events can lead to a loss of bigger household assets (houses), income and income earning assets (crops, domestic livestock, small tourist beach houses, shops, etc), and may result in a temporary shortage of foods and lack of income and income earning ability to support the family and meet their obligations. They also become poor because they are vulnerable to external economic events such as a global recession (low market prices) and changes in government policies (such as the introduction of the value-added goods and services tax (VAGST), which leads to higher input prices. These economic events can lead to a loss of income because they rely on their farm income for their livelihood support. In addition, they can no longer afford to buy imported goods because they are expensive.

This process of becoming poor is shown in Figure 6.2 by the arrow (BP), which denotes the events that push people into poverty. People will enter poverty, and their well-being will fall until they hit a safety net.

#### **6.2.4 Safety Nets (What Stops Their Situation Getting Worse?)**

Although people fall into poverty, at some point they reach the safety net. This safety net protects them from the worst effects of poverty and stops their situation getting worse. This safety net includes getting support from others, temporary employment and semi-subsistence activities. Getting support from others occurs by begging, wandering around the village, and participating in special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions, having access to family support and remittances through family networking, and state aid such as a pension and government disaster relief. Temporary employment can include working on temporary jobs and for richer families through community networking. Semi-subsistence activities include the use of communal resources (land and sea) to gather food, and gathering and eating readily available staple foods. Semi-subsistence farming includes raising domestic livestock (such as chickens and pigs), developing their mixed cropping farm, developing their banana plantations, selling strainers and coconuts, selling fish and developing alternative crops. These activities stop their situation getting worse.

These safety nets are shown as a line above the food poverty line, where people have access to some household and community facilities. This allows them to stop their situation getting worse by adopting their own safety nets as well as social protection safety nets provided by the social support system in the state. In the model, these safety nets (SN) are shown as a line above the food poverty line, which is above the horizontal (x) axis (Figure 6.2).

#### **6.2.5 Remaining Poor (What Stops Them Getting Out of Poverty?)**

People who remain poor do so because they are unable to get enough money from others to build up their financial reserves, they are unable to get a well-paying job and are unable to build up a small business from semi-subsistence activities enough to get them out of poverty, or to build up financial reserves, because their obligations are too great. For some, these factors are compounded by their attitude towards poverty, their lack of participation in decision-making, their isolation and their lack of power and voice.

Those who remain poor receive insufficient money from others to build up financial reserves because they lack adequate family support and remittances. This is associated with changes in the

lifestyles of their relatives abroad and volatile family ties, lack of opportunity to send their children abroad and also not using remittances that are received to best advantage. This can increase the risk of low income, making it difficult to support the family and meet obligations.

They also remain poor because they are unable to get a well-paying job. This may occur because jobs are unavailable in rural areas, and they are unable to work because of illness or disability and lack of education.

This lack of education may be due to withdrawal from school because of parents' reliance on their children for livelihood support, an inability by parents to pay school fees, the children's attitude to their education, and lack of village rules to force parents to educate their children. Thus, lack of education leads to low literacy, and lack of ability to find a better job. In addition, jobs may be unavailable in rural areas.

Those who remain poor also do so because of their inability to build up a small business from semi-subsistence. They may have insufficient reserves from their semi-subsistence activities, an inability to access credit (because they are unable to meet loan criteria or repayments, lack of assets to offer as security and lack of knowledge about loans), poor business skills (such as poor use of loan funds), inadequate resources (such as lack of family labor, inequitable distribution of lands, poor quality land, inadequate capital resources), the unavailability or collapse of markets, and a village environment that is hostile to small business. In addition, their financial reserves can be used up because their family and social obligations are too large (such as meeting family obligations, educating children, meeting special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions and church obligations).

Their poverty may be associated with a particular attitude, such as lack of motivation to improve their situation and apparent over-reliance on government assistance (pension, crop bonus scheme) along with particular personal behavior (drinking, possession of illegal drugs, swearing and breaking the village rules). This means that they do not build up their financial reserves enough to improve their situation.

However, the situation of those who remain poor can also be compounded by other factors, such as isolation from decision making and those in power and from community facilities (schools and

roads), and credit facilities and markets. For example, being isolated from decision making and those in power will lead to lack of voice and support, and increase their vulnerability to natural disasters and isolate them from the social and political system. Their isolation from community facilities such as schools and roads, and their lack of assets (such as cars) can lead to high transportation costs, withdrawal from school and then an inability to find a highly paid job. Physical isolation from credit facilities and markets can make it difficult for them to produce and sell their products, and so improve their situation.

The situation of those who remain poor is shown in Figure 6.2 by the arrow (RM). That is, these people continue along the safety net line over time. Although they can stop their situation from getting worse by adopting a range of safety nets, there are a number of constraints that keep them poor.

#### **6.2.6 Getting Out of Poverty (How Do They Get Out of Poverty?)**

Some poor people are able to get out of poverty because they manage to adopt a range of strategies that can be both short-term and long-term. They are able to get out of poverty by building up a business from semi-subsistence, getting money from others and building up their savings, reducing social obligations, using family resources strategically, temporary work and education. Associated with these strategies was a particular attitude towards poverty.

Those who are able to get out of poverty seem to be able to build up a business from semi-subsistence. They engage in activities such as selling coconuts to accumulate income, and then move to developing their farms further, cultivating alternative new crops as a source of income and a risk reduction strategy. Associated with this, they might raise domestic livestock, such as pigs and chicken which further increases their self-sufficiency and self-reliance. As their wealth improves, they are able to build up cattle herds. Others in this category (such as those who have got little land for farming on smaller islands and those who face the problem of an inequitable distribution of lands on bigger islands) can get out of poverty by selling fish and engaging in added value businesses; for example selling cooked foods and handicrafts to the market and within the village.

These people seem to be able to access credit from micro credit schemes, which can allow them to start their small business, and so generate sufficient income and accumulate assets. Participating in government incentive schemes (crop bonus scheme and special government grants for small business) also assisted some people to gain access to crop planting materials and special grants for small business, allowing them to increase their crop production and to invest in other alternative small business. This enables them to increase their income and accumulate their household assets, and thus build their reserves. Establishing market contracts, which create stable market opportunities for their farm products, was also adopted by some people as a market strategy that helped them generate income from their semi-subsistence farms.

Those who are able to get out of poverty also seem to be successful in getting money from others. In addition, they are also able to build up their savings and reduce their social obligations. For example, receiving local family support and remittances from relatives abroad through family networking allowed some people to increase their income, gain a better standard of living and accumulate assets. These people were very active in seeking financial support from relatives abroad. They are also careful in how they use their remittances. They use them to support, cover children's education, meet obligations or accumulate household assets. They also try to save them or use them to generate further income. Changing religion was also adopted by some of these people to reduce church obligations, which allows them to save more money.

Those who are able to get out of poverty also seem to use family resources strategically. For example, they use family resources to work as a team and had a strategic approach to work and education by the family. In some cases, men work at farming and fishing while women contribute with handicrafts. Some family members also migrate to urban areas for casual work to help support the family. Temporary work by some family members also helped the overall situation after natural disasters. In some situations, particular children were withdrawn from school to help provide immediate family support. Others continued their education as a long-term investment to improve their personal capabilities in order to find better jobs. This increases the family support over time and helps raise family income.

Related to this strategic use of family resources is a particular attitude to poverty. Those who are able to get out of poverty have a very positive attitude to their situation. They think strategically

about their situation, build good relationships within their families and use the assistance provided by outside agencies in a positive way.

Thinking strategically can improve their self-confidence and self-reliance when planning their family developments. For example, they put in place contingency plans for unforeseen circumstances, such as social events and natural disasters, which then allow them to deal with such situations. They also have a particular attitude to consumption and saving, which can help to improve their situation. Rather than buy expensive foods, they are prepared to eat staple foods.

They build good relationships with their children through their family evening services, advising them to work hard on their studies in order to find better jobs, and so improve their situation. They also view government schemes as a motivation to work hard and provide more funding to invest in their small business. They also have a particular attitude to prayer. They pray for guidance to enable them to confront their situation; that is, rather than looking to God to solve their problems, they look to him to show them how to solve their problems themselves.

In the model, this rise out of poverty is shown by the part of the line denoted by the arrow (GOP) in Figure 6.2.

### **6.2.7 Becoming Poor Again (What Pushes Them Back into Poverty?)**

Some people, who were poor, had got out of poverty, but then become poor again. They had been able to get out of poverty because they managed to earn enough income (and build up income earning assets) to support the family and meet their obligations. Thus, they were able to accumulate their reserves. They did this by building up a business from semi-subsistence, etc), having access to credit and (other inputs) and markets, getting money from others and savings, and using family resources strategically. Although they are able to get out of poverty because of these strategies, certain unexpected events could push them back into poverty.

The events that push them back into poverty are those identified previously events that first pushed people into poverty. These were events associated with personal circumstances, events related to social obligations, as well as external natural and economic events.

Therefore, despite working well as family, having a positive attitude to their situation and using resources strategically, their personal circumstances could change through illness and death, which could make them poor again. For example, illness and physical disability could push them back into poverty. In addition, they could become poor again because they are vulnerable to a sudden change in their social obligations. Even though they had made efforts to reduce their social obligations, an unexpected increase in these (such as funerals and bestowal of matai titles) could stop their move out of poverty, and they could become poor again.

Moreover, some people could become poor again because of external events, such as natural events or economic events. Even though they are steadily building their business up from semi-subsistence, severe external events could destroy their business; for example, natural events (such as the cyclones, tidal waves, crop pest/disease outbreaks and bush fire) as well as economic events (such as the loss of markets) and difficulty in accessing credit). They may find that their savings and money from others is not enough to support them, and they can then slide back into poverty.

In the model, this slide back into poverty is shown by the arrow (BPA) in Figure 6.2.

### **6.2.8 Staying Out of Poverty (What Makes Them Stay Out of Poverty?)**

Some people who were poor, but got out of poverty, have managed to stay out of poverty. This is because their personal circumstances remain favorable and their social obligations are under control. Their businesses have also been built up sufficiently to be self-sustaining and withstand shocks, and they have access to family resources. This is because savings have been built up and they are able to rely on adequate money from others to maintain their situation if their circumstances worsen.

Such people are self-sufficient and self-reliant in terms of income and income earning assets, and these can cover their social obligations. Because of the accumulation of their financial reserves and household assets, they do not consider their social system to be a potential cause of poverty because they are able to meet these obligations. Their savings, income and income earning assets reduces their vulnerability to unforeseen personal circumstances and the demands of their social system.

The business interests of such people have been built up sufficiently; they have access to family resources. Their savings have been built up and they are able to rely on adequate money from others. As a result, they are also able to withstand the impact of external events – either natural or economic. For example, their resource base will not be destroyed if an external event occurs, which buffers them from the impact of these events.

In the model, the process of staying out of poverty is shown by the arrow (SOP) in Figure 6.2.

### **6.2.9 Model Dynamics**

As shown in Figure 6.2, people might be operating at a position that might have some elements of poverty associated with it (such as a lack of income earning ability, etc). An event or series of events then pushes them into poverty. Their situation worsens until they reach a safety net. They will stay on this safety net line for a period. Some of them will be unable to improve their situation and so remain poor. However, others can improve their situation and get out of poverty. However, further events could push others back into poverty again, while others remain out of poverty. Thus, poverty is a dynamic process, where events that cause poverty, strategies to get out of poverty, and constraints to getting out of poverty all interact with each other. These interactions will be explored in the next section.

## **6.3 Variations on the Model**

### **6.3.1 Introduction**

Figure 6.2 shows that people become poor for a variety of reasons, and then hit a safety net. Their path then seems to suggest that they fall into three groups. For example, the long-term poor fall into poverty and then hit the safety net. These people then continue to live along the safety net line, and remain poor over time. The situation of these long-term poor is shown in Figure 6.2 by the arrows (BP), (SN) and (RM).

A second group, the less vulnerable group fall into poverty and hit the safety net. They then live along the safety net line for a period, before moving out of, and remaining out of poverty. The

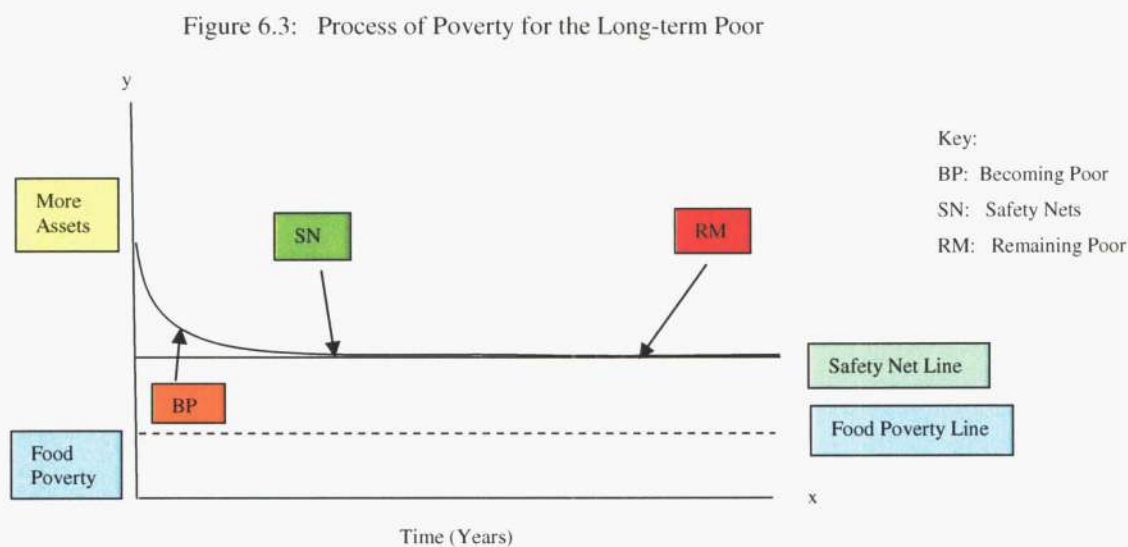
situation of this less vulnerable group is shown in Figure 6.2 by the arrows (BP), (SN), (GOP) and (SOP).

A third group, the vulnerable group falls into poverty, hit the safety net, and then live along the safety net line for a period before moving out of poverty. However, they may fall back into poverty. The situation of the vulnerable group is shown in Figure 6.2 by the arrows (BP), (SN), (GOP), and (BPA).

The grounded theory method is not a method that allows different groups to be compared in a way that has any statistical meaning. However, the model of poverty derived from the results makes it possible to hypothesize about the likely circumstances of the three groups that have been identified. This is done in Sections 6.3.2, 6.3.3 and 6.3.4. In the case of each group, the likely situation that is hypothesized is compared with the circumstances of the respondents that seem to fit into these groups.

### 6.3.2 The Long-term Poor

The long-term poor fall into poverty and then hit the safety net. They then continue to live along the safety net line, and remain poor over time. The situation of this group is shown in Figure 6.3 by the arrows (BP), (SN) and (RM) below.



Section 6.2.3 described how people become poor. In that section, three sets of events were identified. These were personal circumstances, social obligations and external events (such as natural and economic events). It was observed that the long-term poor (LP) experience events related to personal circumstances (such as illness, death and personal behavior, etc). They can also experience a number of events, which are a combination of personal circumstances, social obligations and external events; that is a lot of different events. It is also possible that someone in this group may have heavy social obligations (social events) and if they have little family support, and experience a natural event, they could then remain poor long-term.

Section 6.2.4 described the variety of safety nets available to those who become poor. Personal events (such as illness, age, disability) are an important factor that made this group poor, and their safety nets include getting support from others (such as begging, wandering and participating in special village social and cultural occasions), family support and remittances, or government support, such as pensions (or government food aid and cash support when they are hit by natural events such as cyclones). If they are physically able, they gather semi-subsistence from natural resources (land and sea), including eating the local staple foods to cope with their vulnerability to natural disasters (e.g. cyclones). These safety nets will stop their situation getting worse.

Section 6.2.5 described why people remain poor, which is the situation of this group. Those who remain poor do so because they are unable to get enough money from others to build up their financial reserves, they are unable to get a well-paying job, and are unable to build up a small business from semi-subsistence activities enough to get out of poverty.

It was shown that inability to get money from others occurs because of lack of adequate family support and remittances in association with changes in the lifestyles of relatives abroad and volatile family ties, lack of opportunity to send their children abroad and not using remittances to best effect. The inability to get a well-paying job can occur because of inability to work because they are old and/or sick. A further reason for not being able to get a well-paying job is that jobs may not be available in rural areas.

Lack of education can also lead to an inability to get a well-paying job. This can occur because of withdrawal of children from school because parents are unable to support their studies. This can

also occur because of illness and urban migration by other family members. Education can also be disrupted by children's attitude to schooling, their inability to cope with further education, and the absence of compulsory education (no village rules to force them to educate their children).

The inability to build up a business can happen because of insufficient reserves from semi-subsistence, an inability to access credit, poor business skills, inadequate resources, the unavailability or collapse of markets and a village environment that is hostile to small business.

Financial resources are also used up because family/social obligations are too large. These include meeting the family needs, meeting special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions, and meeting church obligations.

Their poverty can be associated with a particular attitude, such as lack of motivation and over-reliance on government assistance along with certain personal behavior. This means that they do not build up their financial reserves enough to improve their situation.

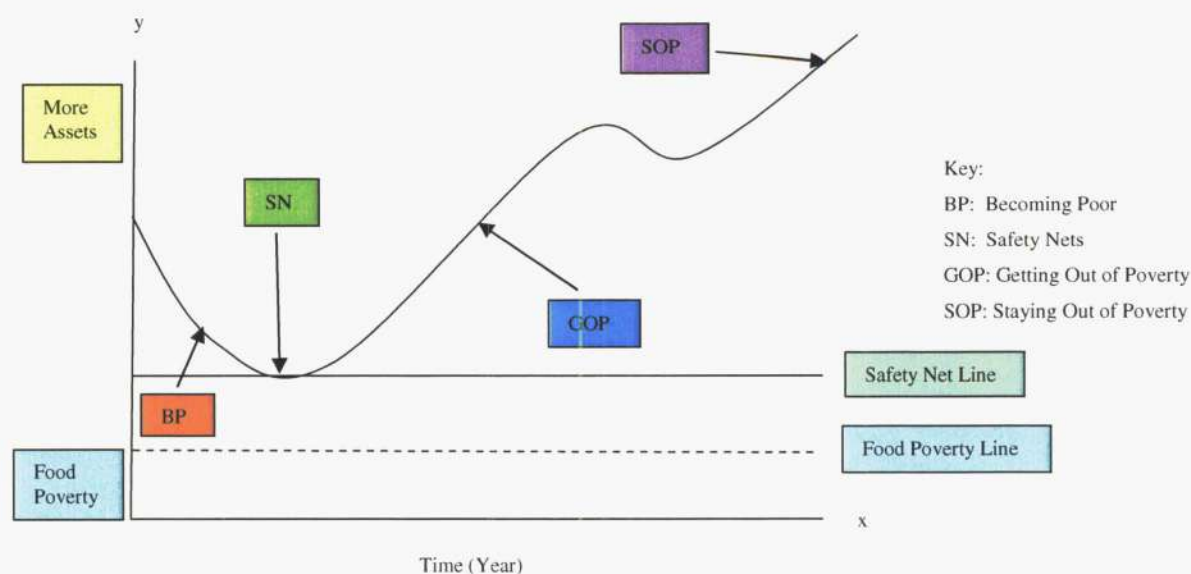
However, their situation can also be compounded by other factors, such as isolation from decision making, and those in power, and from community facilities (schools and roads), credit facilities and markets. For example, being isolated from decision making and those in power will lead to lack of voice and support, and increase their vulnerability to natural disasters and isolate them from the social and political system. Their isolation from community facilities (such as schools and roads) and their lack of assets (such as cars) can lead to high transportation costs, withdrawal from school and then an inability to find a highly paid job. Physical isolation from credit facilities and markets can make it difficult for them to produce and sell their products, and so improve their situation. Thus, they are likely to remain poor because a lot of these factors are present.

In conclusion, severe poverty-inducing events, or a lot of poverty-inducing events push this group into poverty. However, they hit the safety net and then continue to live along the safety net line, so their situation does not worsen. However, there are many factors that make it difficult to get out of poverty. The cause of poverty and these constraints interact to keep them poor.

### 6.3.3 The Less Vulnerable Group

The less vulnerable group falls into poverty and hits the safety net. They then continue to live along the safety net line for a period, before moving out of, and remaining out of poverty. The situation of this less vulnerable group is shown in Figure 6.3 by the arrows (BP), (SN), (GOP), and (SOP) below.

Figure 6.3: Process of Poverty for the Less Vulnerable Group



Those in this vulnerable group become poor because of external events (such as natural disasters and economic shocks). If there is an external event, they will slide temporarily into poverty.

Social events can also push them into poverty, but they do not seem to experience personal events of a severe nature (e.g. illness, age, disability). As a result, the less vulnerable group slide temporarily into poverty but are then able to emerge from it. They do not experience so many poverty-inducing events.

This group uses the same safety nets as those used by the long-term poor. These are getting support from others and gathering semi-subsistence from the land and sea. These safety nets stop their situation getting worse.

Unlike the long-term poor, the less vulnerable groups tend to remain poor temporarily. They face fewer constraints to moving out of poverty. They do not face the factors that compound poverty,

such as isolation from decision making and those in power, and from community facilities (schools and roads) and lack of credit facilities and markets. They are more likely to have voice.

Section 6.2.6 described the situation of this group in the discussion on getting out of poverty. The less vulnerable group are able to get out of poverty by building up a business from semi-subsistence, getting money from others and building up their savings, reducing social obligations, using family resources strategically, temporary work and education. Associated with these strategies seem to be a particular attitude towards poverty.

Those who are able to get out of poverty seem to be able to build up a business from semi-subsistence. Section 6.2.6 showed that those respondents in this study who did this engaged in activities such as selling coconuts to accumulate income, and then moved to develop their farms further, and cultivate alternative new crops as a source of income and a risk reduction strategy. Associated with this, they raised domestic livestock, such as pigs and chicken which further increased their self-sufficiency and self-reliance. As their wealth improved, they were able to build up cattle herds.

Those people who emerge from poverty are able to access credit from micro credit schemes, which can allow them to start their small business, and so generate sufficient income and accumulate assets. Participating in government incentive schemes can also assist them to build up a small business. Establishing market contracts, which create stable market opportunities for their farm products, is also adopted by such people as a market strategy to help them generate income from their semi-subsistence farms.

Those in this group are successful in getting money from others, such as receiving local family support and remittances from relatives abroad (through family networking), and by saving money and reducing social obligations. They also use family resources strategically; for example, using family resources to work as a team, migrating for temporary work to urban areas, and educating particular children as a long-term investment to improve their personal capabilities so they can find better jobs in the future and so support the extended family.

Related to this strategic use of family resources, there is a positive attitude to poverty (such as thinking strategically about their situation), and a positive attitude to consumption and saving (for

example, rather than buying expensive foods, they would be more likely to eat the staple foods). They also build good relationships with their children, see government incentive schemes as a motivation to work hard and to have more funding to invest in their small business, and praying for guidance. Such short-term and long-term strategies move them out of poverty.

When this group is moving out of poverty, they will still be vulnerable to events that could push them back into poverty, such as personal circumstances and external events. But as they move further out of poverty, they build up buffers to insulate themselves. For example, savings and assets can be used to buffer personal and social events, and particular practices (for example, growing root crops and raising cattle) can insulate them from external events.

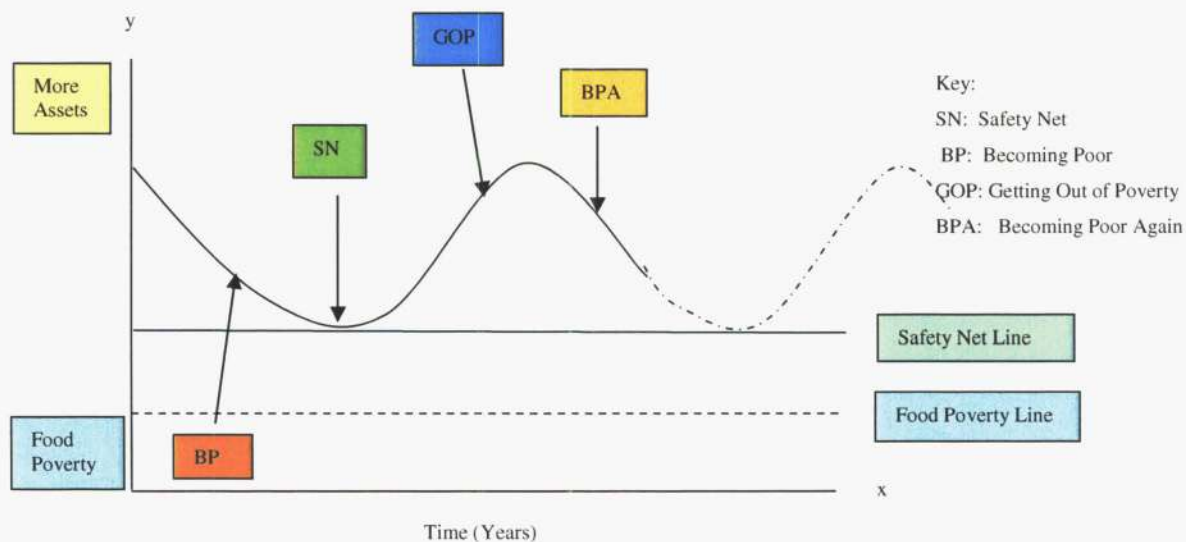
If personal circumstances remain favourable and their social obligations are under control, those in this group will be able to stay out of poverty. Their business will become sustainable and strong enough to withstand external shocks. If their circumstances worsen, they can rely on their savings and adequate financial support from family. Accumulation of their financial reserves and household assets enables them to meet their social obligations. Thus, more savings, income and income earning assets will reduce their vulnerability to unforeseen circumstances, the demand of their social obligations and the impact of external events – either natural or economic. If an external event does occur, their resource base will be relatively secure.

In conclusion, this group becomes poor because of external events, rather than personal events, and they experience fewer poverty-inducing events. Once they hit the safety net line, they are able to access natural resources and gain financial resources from family. Combined with a particular attitude and fewer constraints, they appear to be able to then emerge from poverty. The nature of the causes of their poverty, the likelihood of fewer constraints and their ability to utilize a range of strategies interact to move them out of poverty.

#### **6.3.4 The Vulnerable Group**

The vulnerable group falls into poverty, hits the safety net, and then lives along the safety net line for a period before moving out of poverty. However, they then fall back into poverty again and this process can repeat itself. The situation of the vulnerable group is shown in Figure 6.3 below by the arrows (BP), (SN), (GOP), and (BPA).

Figure 6.3: Dynamic Process of Poverty of the Vulnerable Group



This vulnerable group lies between the long-term poor and the less vulnerable group. It has elements of both these groups.

In Section 6.3.2, it was suggested that the long-term (L/T) poor become poor because they face many poverty-inducing events and these include personal events and severe poverty-inducing events. In Section 6.3.3, it was suggested that the less vulnerable group (LVG) become poor because of fewer poverty-inducing events, and these include external events, such as natural events and economic events. It was found that the vulnerable group lies between the other groups, and those in this group face less events and less severe events than the long-term (L/T) poor, but they face more events and more severe events than the less vulnerable group.

This group uses the same safety nets as those used by the other two groups (the long-term poor and the less vulnerable group). These are getting support from others, working on temporary jobs and for richer families, and gathering semi-subsistence from the land and sea. These safety nets stop their situation getting worse.

Those in the vulnerable group are able to move out of poverty, but are not able to sustain this. They fall back into poverty, and this process can then repeat itself. In an attempt to try to understand this process, a comparison is made between the situation of the long-term poor (who

remain poor) and the less vulnerable group (who are able to emerge from, and stay out of, poverty), as well as looking at the situation of the respondents who were in this group.

In Section 6.3.2, it was reported that one reason the long-term (L/T) poor tend to remain poor is because of inability to get money from others. This can occur because of lack of adequate family support and remittances, in association with changes in the lifestyles of relatives abroad and volatile family ties, a lack of opportunity to send their children abroad and not using remittances to best effect.

The inability to get a well-paying job also contributes to their situation. This can occur because they are old and/or sick. A further reason for not being able to get a well-paying job is that jobs may not be available in rural areas. The inability to get a well-paying job can also be associated with lack of education. This can occur because of withdrawal of children from school because parents are unable to support their studies. This lack of education can also occur because of illness and urban migration by other family members. Education can also be disrupted by children's attitude to schooling, their inability to cope with further education, and the absence of compulsory education (no village rules to force them to educate their children).

The inability to build up a small business from semi-subsistence is another reason for remaining poor. This can occur because of insufficient reserves from semi-subsistence, an inability to access credit, lack of knowledge and lending skills, poor business skills, inadequate resources, unavailability or collapse of markets, and a village environment that is hostile to small business.

Financial reserves can also be used up because social obligations are too large. These include meeting family needs, educating children, meeting special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions and meeting church obligations that make it difficult to get out of poverty.

The poverty of some long-term poor can be associated with a particular attitude, such as lack of motivation and over-reliance on government assistance along with certain personal behaviour (such as drinking beer and kava, and breaking the village rules, which can then lead to a loss of income, assets and household food poverty). This means that they do not build up their financial reserves enough to improve their situation, which makes it difficult for them to get out of poverty.

However, it was thought that the poverty of the long-term poor can also be compounded by a range of factors, such as isolation from decision making, and those in power, and from community facilities (such as schools and roads), credit facilities and markets, and so those in this group have voice. Therefore, the long-term poor remain poor because of many constraints and the presence of compounding factors.

Unlike the long-term poor, the less vulnerable group tend to remain poor only temporarily. As a result, they face fewer of the constraints to moving out of poverty that were identified for the long-term poor. Thus, they do not face so many of the factors that compound poverty and they have voice.

It was found in Section 6.3.3 that this less vulnerable group adopts a range of strategies to get out of poverty. These are building up a business from semi-subsistence, getting money from others and building up their savings, reducing social obligations, using family resources strategically, temporary work and education. Associated with these strategies was a particular attitude towards poverty.

They can get out of poverty by building up a business from semi-subsistence. They begin with semi-subsistence (such as selling coconuts) and as their income grows, they then move onto other activities that can improve their income further. They can access credit from micro credit schemes and they participate in government incentive schemes. They are also able to access markets for their farm products.

It was thought that this group are successful in getting money from others, by receiving local family support and remittances from relatives abroad through family networking. They also save money from remittances, and reduce their obligations. They also use family resources strategically; for example, family works as a team. For example, some members might migrate for temporary work to urban areas, and some children can be educated to provide future family income.

This group also has a positive attitude to poverty (such as thinking strategically about their situation) and they also build good relationships with their children. They adopt both short-term strategies and long-term strategies to get out of poverty.

The situation of the vulnerable group lies between that of the other two groups; that is, they face fewer and/or less constraints to moving out of poverty than the long-term (L/T) poor, but they face more and/or more severe constraints than the less vulnerable group. However, what was particularly noticeable with this group was the importance of too many social events (such as funerals, bestowal of matai titles, etc) as events that contributed to their poverty.

This group struggles to build up a business from semi-subsistence because they have insufficient reserves, and appear to find it difficult to access credit and markets. This indicates some lack of voice through isolation from credit and markets and also some isolation from those in power. However, they are less likely to remain poor because of an inability to get a job or to get money from others. They seem to have a more positive attitude to their situation than the long-term (L/T) poor, but are not quite as positive as the less vulnerable group.

This group seems to see family resources less strategically than the less vulnerable group. They seem to focus more on short-term rather than long-term strategies. For example, they withdraw children from school as a short-term investment, without realising the long-term implications of this. In addition, the family did not seem to work together as a team towards a long-term strategy in the same as way families in the less vulnerable group did.

In summary, even though their personal and family circumstances may be favourable, the social obligations of those in this group are large, and they then face difficulty in building up their businesses because of this lack of reserves, which is further compounded by their isolation.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

From the model, three different groups were identified, which had different circumstances. The long-term (L/T) poor are pushed into poverty by severe poverty-inducing events or a lot of poverty-inducing events. They hit the safety net, and they then continue to live along this safety

net line, so their situation does not worsen. There are many factors that make it difficult for them to get out of poverty, and these are compounded by isolation and lack of voice.

The less vulnerable group (LVG) become poor because of external poverty-inducing events rather than personal events, and experience fewer poverty-inducing events. Once they hit the safety net line, but they are able to access natural resources and gain financial resources from the family. Combined with a particular attitude and fewer constraints, they are able to emerge from poverty and remain out of poverty.

The vulnerable group (VG) face fewer poverty-inducing events and less severe events than the long-term (L/T) poor but more events and more severe events than the less vulnerable group. It is interesting to note that the respondents in this group in this study face strong social obligations. Once those in the vulnerable group enter poverty and hit the safety net, they use the similar safety nets as those used by the other two groups. This vulnerable group are able to move out of poverty, but are not able to sustain this because of their inability to build up reserves. They then fall back into poverty, and this process can then repeat itself.

The vulnerable group (VG) have less success in building up a business from semi-subsistence, and are unable to access credit and markets. In addition to this isolation, they lack voice; that is, they are isolated from those in power. But they remain poor because of an inability to get a job or inability to get money from others. Although they have a more positive attitude than the long-term (L/T) poor, they are less positive than the less vulnerable group. Likewise, they use family resources less strategically than the less vulnerable group with a focus more on short-term rather than long-term strategies. Thus, this group will find it difficult to remain out of poverty and so they are vulnerable to events that push them back into poverty once again.

The differing situations of these three groups suggest that there should be different policy implications for each of them. That is, a particular policy might be helpful for alleviating poverty for one group but not for another. In the following chapter, a process of capital accumulation and depletion based on the participatory model is presented and from this, policy recommendations are derived.

## **CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS AND DISCUSSION**

### **7.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 6, a participatory model of poverty in a Samoan context was developed. This answered research objectives 1-5 (See Section 1.2). What remains is to identify solutions to moving out of poverty in order to achieve objective 6, and to comment on the wider research implications of the study.

To allow this to be done, the model that was developed in Chapter 6 will be analysed as a process of capital accumulation (Section 7.2). From this, a set of recommendations to improve the situation of the poor will be developed, thus meeting objective 6 (Section 7.3). The research will then be discussed in the context of previous literature in Section 7.4, and the research implications commented on.

### **7.2 The Process of Capital Accumulation**

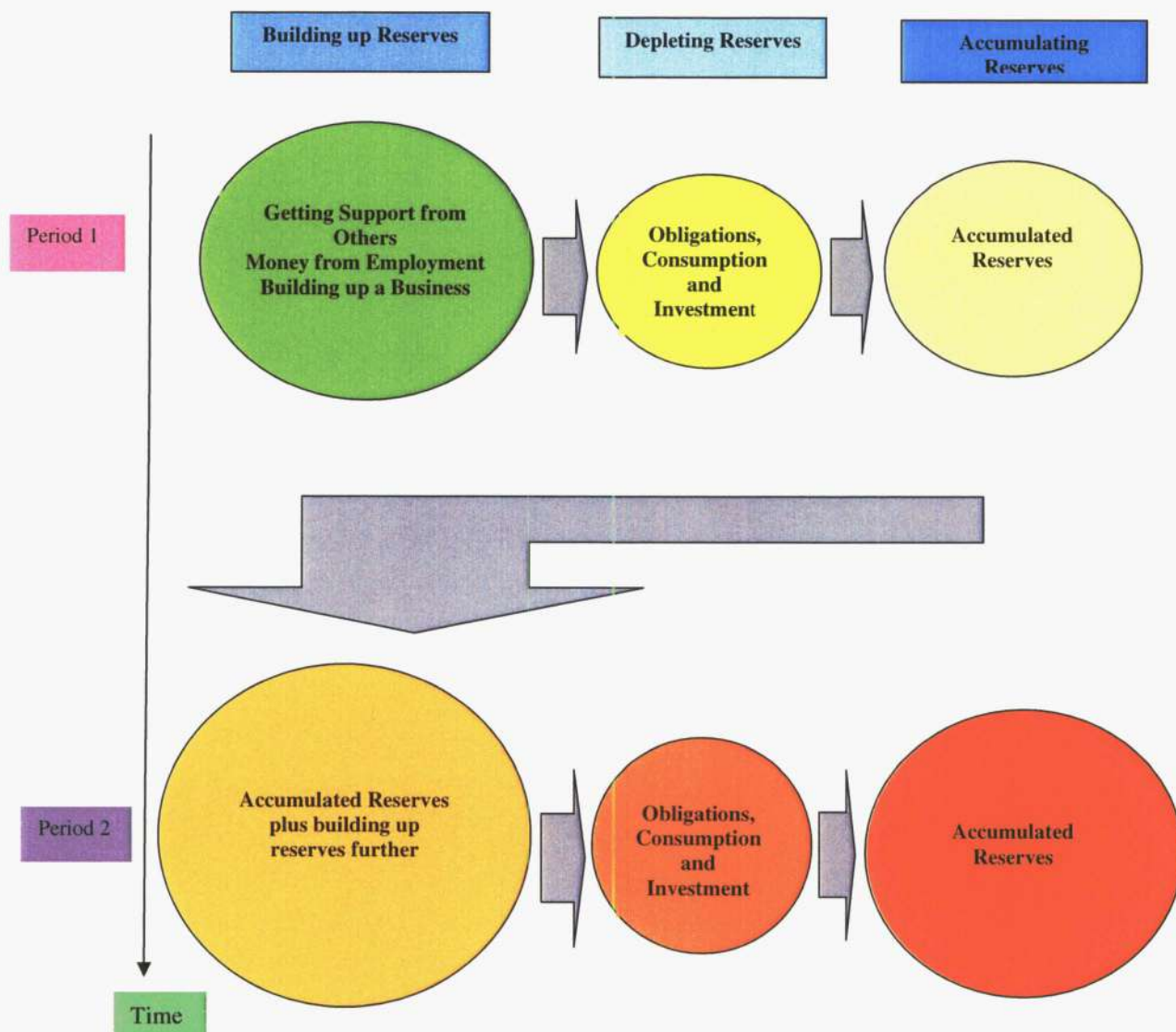
#### **7.2.1 The Process of Capital Accumulation for the Less Vulnerable Group**

This section describes a process of capital accumulation that emerges from the participatory model of poverty described in Chapter 6. Figure 7.1 indicates a process of capital accumulation that occurs for two periods, Period 1 and 2, where each period has three stages. These three stages are each represented by circles. Circle 1 shows building up reserves during a time period, Circle 2 represents depleting reserves during this same period, and the Circle 3 shows accumulated reserves at the end of a period. Although only two periods are shown in Figure 7.1, this process of capital accumulation will continue over many periods.

In Period 1, poor people in Samoa go through the process of capital accumulation. They accumulate reserves by getting support from others, receiving money from employment and building up a business. These reserves can then be depleted by their obligations and their consumption needs, and some of the reserves may also be used for investment. What remains at

the end of the period are their accumulated reserves. In the following period, these accumulated reserves are further built-up, and then depleted, and so on.

Figure 7.1: Process of Capital Accumulation for the Less Vulnerable Group



The process begins with an event (or events) that push them into poverty. Once they have hit the safety nets, they then begin the process of building up reserves. As noted above, they build up reserves by getting money from others, getting money from employment and/or building up a business.

Getting money from others requires strong family and social networks in order to receive local family support and remittances from relatives abroad. Getting money from employment requires

the ability of family members to get work. That is, they must be physically and mentally able, they must have enough education to get a job, jobs must be available where they live, or they must migrate to find work.

Building up a small business requires access to credit and markets, available labour (probably from family) and access to physical resources, (such as land) in order to build-up profitable small farm enterprises (such as cattle and domestic livestock and alternative crops). Building up a business also requires an enabling environment for small business within the village and adequate business skills to operate a business. If a small business is to be sustainable, then the natural resources of the land and sea must be conserved.

This process of building up reserves can be assisted by using family resources strategically. Building up reserves over time requires team work and the support and contribution of family members in different ways. Some family members may work to build up reserves at the present time, while others are educated so they can contribute at a later date. Therefore, building up reserves requires an attitude of thinking strategically, building good relationships within families and using the assistance provided by the outside agencies in a positive way in order to increase income and assets.

Although reserves are being built up, they can then be depleted by obligations and consumption and investment. Having to meet large obligations and consumption needs will deplete reserves permanently, while investments may deplete reserves temporarily, but can then build up reserves further in the future and assist in moving out of poverty.

For example, reserves can become depleted by consumption of special foods, rather than relying on staple foods and saving money for further investment. In addition, financial reserves can be depleted by meeting family obligations (such as funerals (*maliu*), bestowal of matai titles (*saofai*), and weddings (*faaipogaga*)), and meeting special village, social and cultural ceremonial occasions (such as received-and-given occasions (*taligamalo*)), village development projects, (such as schools and church), and church obligations (such as church offerings (*meaalofa faalelotu*)).

Financial reserves can also be depleted in the short-term by investing household income in their children's education as a long-term investment, and in investing reserves in income earning assets (such as crops, livestock, fine mats, cars, etc). These investments will, however, increase reserves in future periods.

While this process of building up, depleting and accumulating reserves is occurring, further poverty-inducing events, such as unforeseen personal circumstances, social events, and external events (such as natural disasters or economic downturns) may occur. This will again deplete their accumulating reserves and thus, the process of building these reserves begins again.

However, as accumulated reserves continue to grow, the impact of any poverty-inducing event will be lessened. This is because the business interests of such people have been built up sufficiently, and they then have access to extensive family resources. Even though their reserves will be depleted, their accumulated reserves will be sufficiently high so that they are not pushed back into poverty again. Their savings have been built up and they can rely on adequate money from others, and as a result, their resource base will not be destroyed if an external event occurs.

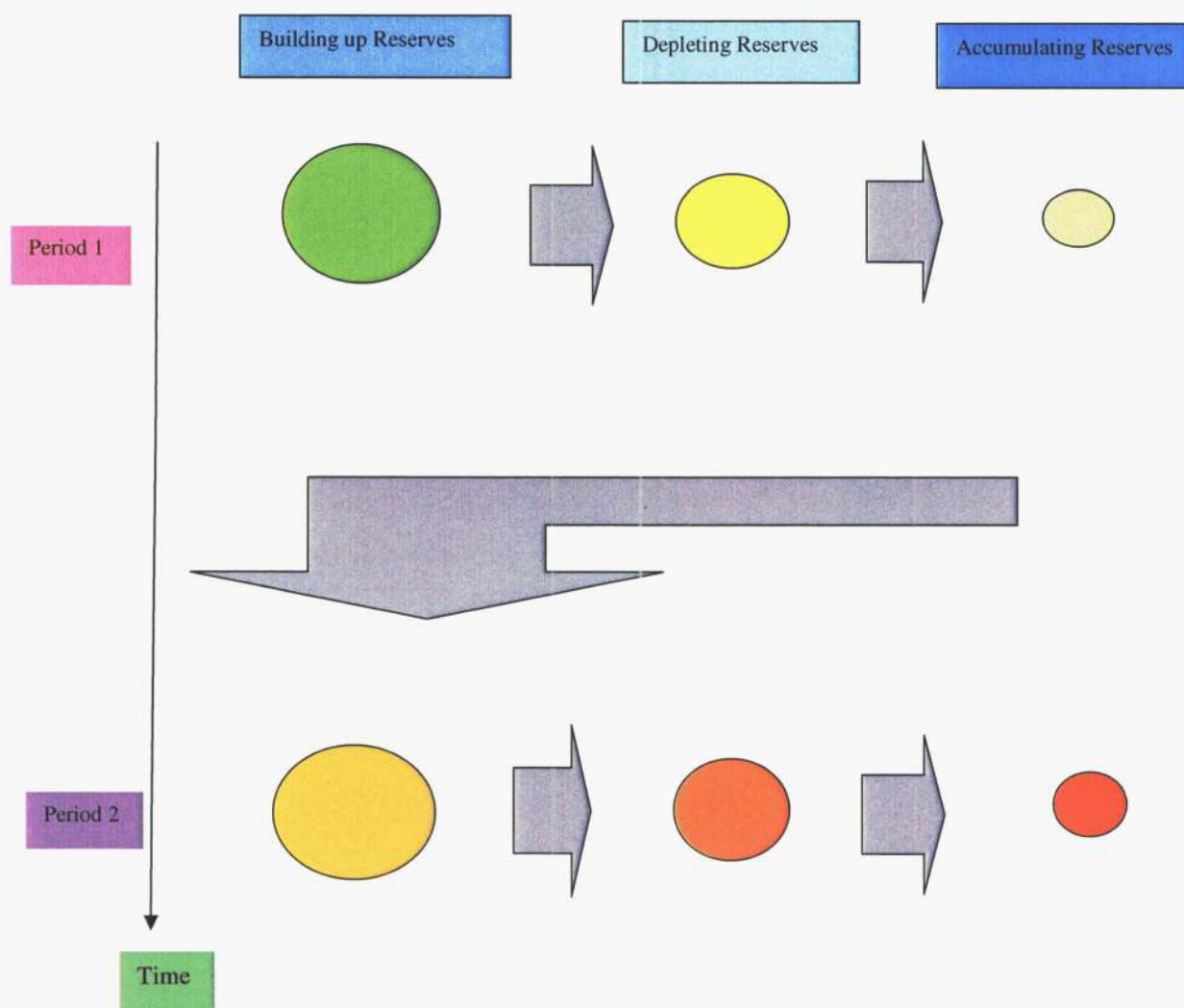
### **7.2.2 The Process of Capital Accumulation for the Long-term Poor**

Those who cannot get out of poverty and remain poor do not follow the process described in Section 7.2.1 because it is disrupted. The capital accumulation process faced by this group is shown in Figure 7.2. These people face many or severe poverty-inducing events and constraints that might keep them poor. Once they hit the safety net, they then find it difficult to build up reserves.

This is because they are unable to get money from others because they have weak family and social networks both in Samoa and overseas. They lack the opportunity to send their children abroad, which in turn, lowers the level of family support from remittances. In addition, they are unable to get a well-paying job because they are old or sick, jobs are not be available in rural areas, or they do not have enough education to get a well-paying job.

Moreover, they find it difficult to build up a business because of inadequate resources (such as land and labour), an inability to access credit, or the unavailability or collapse of markets. They have poor business skills, and face a village environment hostile to small business.

Figure 7.2: Process of Capital Accumulation for the Long-term Poor



This lack of access to resources, credit and markets can be worsened by their isolation, which can be both physical and social. Thus, for all of these reasons, they find it difficult to build up their reserves.

Their small financial reserves can then be depleted because their obligations are too large in relation to the building up their reserves. They might not use their built-up reserves to best effect, spending on unnecessary consumption. Their situation means that they are unlikely to have enough built up reserves for investment.

The situation of some people in this position may be worsened by their attitude, with lack of motivation, over-reliance on government and other assistance, and personal behaviour that makes it difficult to accumulate reserves or depletes them.

Unlike those who are able to get out, and stay out, of poverty, those people who remain poor face many of the above circumstances and be unable to lift out of poverty. Therefore, they remain on the safety net and this stops them from falling further into poverty if they then experience more poverty-inducing events.

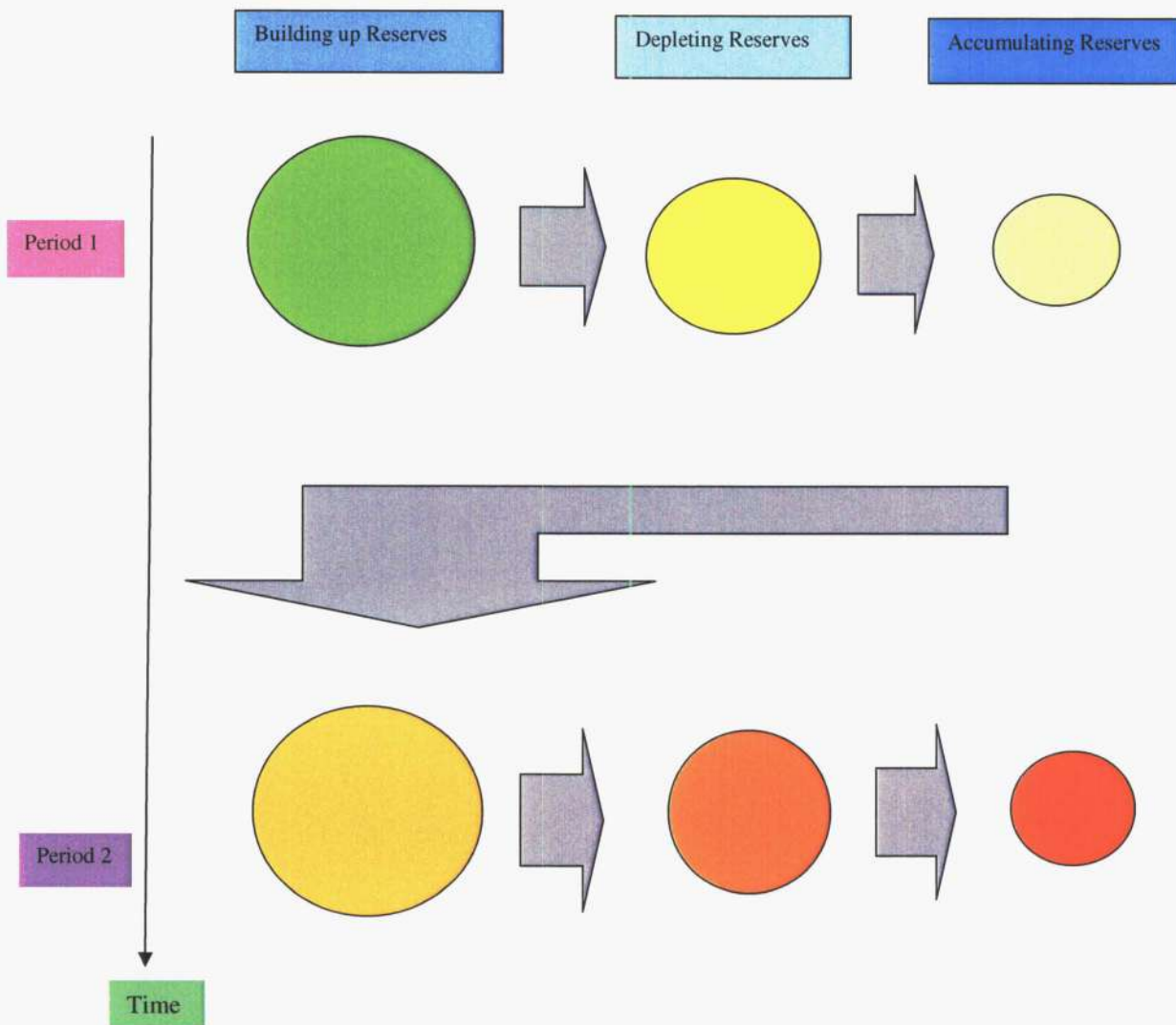
### **7.2.3 The Process of Capital Accumulation for the Vulnerable Group**

Those who emerge from poverty, but then fall back into poverty also have the process of capital accumulation disrupted. This is shown in Figure 7.3. The circumstances faced by this group lie between that of the other two groups; that is, they face fewer and/or less constraints to moving out of poverty than the long-term poor, but they face more and/or more severe constraints than those who are less vulnerable. Once they hit the safety net, those poor people in this group then have to begin the process of trying to build up their reserves.

They are better able to get a job and to get money from others than the long-term poor; that is, that their family circumstances tend to be favourable. However, they have less success in building up a business from semi-subsistence and have less access to credit and less access to markets than the less vulnerable group, who are able to get out and stay out of poverty. Hence, this group struggles to build up a business from semi-subsistence because they have insufficient reserves.

It seems that they do not use family resources as strategically as the less vulnerable group, and use short-term rather than long-term strategies to get out of poverty. For example, they may withdraw children from school as a short-term strategy without realising the long-term implications of this. Therefore, although this group are able to build up reserves from some sources, they are likely to find it difficult to do so from other sources.

Figure 7.3: The Process of Capital Accumulation for the Vulnerable Group



While they are struggling to build up their reserves, they will also be depleting them, it was found that the social obligations of this group are likely to be large, which would then deplete the reserves that they have struggled to build up.

Therefore, this group have some limited success in building up their reserves but these can then be depleted by obligations. This makes them vulnerable to events that can push them back into poverty. This process can repeat itself a number of times as they begin to move out of poverty but then find themselves pushed down again.

## **7.3 Recommendations for Moving Out of Poverty**

### **7.3.1 General Recommendations**

In this Section, a set of recommendations to improve the situation of the poor is presented. These recommendations emerge from the process of capital accumulation discussed in Section 7.2 above. Recommendations that can improve the situation of the poor are broken into three categories. These are recommendations relating to individuals and families, recommendations relating to communities such as villages and recommendations relating to national government and the international community. Once these recommendations have been made, the situation of the different groups identified in the participatory model will be discussed briefly.

Individuals and families need to recognise that they need to accumulate reserves by building them up as much as possible and depleting them as little as possible. In this regard, they should recognise the importance of savings. This can help them to accumulate reserves.

Families can also help their own situation by building strong family and social networks and using family resources strategically. Taking a long-term as well as a short-term view of their situation will assist them. If they can improve the family skills (such as business skills and education), this will also help them to improve their situation. They need to be also aware that personal attitude and behaviour can impact on their poverty.

To help themselves further, families can look at different ways to access resources (for example fishing, value adding, etc). They also need to use the resources they have carefully and conserve them for future generations.

Families can also help themselves by realising that they have to meet their obligations, but they need to do all they can to keep such obligations reasonable. For example, although they should provide a safety net for those who need it (the old and the sick), they need to strive to keep family obligations reasonable, and to do what they can to keep their social and church obligations reasonable.

Communities and villages can also play an important role in reducing poverty. To do this, they need to recognise that village members need an enabling environment to deal with their own situation as well as meeting their communal obligations. Therefore, communities should aim to provide an environment that encourages initiative and small business. In this regard, they can initiate and support village initiatives that can assist small business and encourage and support savings schemes and encourage the conservation of community resources for future generations.

Villages and communities need to recognise the vulnerability of local people because of high village expectations of social obligations, such as family obligations, village social and cultural ceremonial occasions, and church obligations. So villages and communities could put in place some measures that can reduce the vulnerability of people because of these obligations.

Villages and communities need to recognise the isolation and powerlessness of their more vulnerable members, and work to reduce this. In this regard, they can look at how the community can improve access to credit facilities and markets for its members, and support projects and initiatives that create employment and provide training, which can further help the poor.

Communities can also encourage individuals and families to look at how they can improve their own situation rather than looking to others for solutions. For example, they can encourage and support family oriented approaches to personal behaviour. They can also help by reducing social and church expectations so that the reserves of the poor are not depleted so much that they cannot get out of poverty. They can further assist with their communal safety nets for those within the community who are vulnerable.

The national government and international community can also help in the reduction of poverty. The national government needs to recognise that citizens need an enabling environment to deal with their own circumstances, and a government that empowers them to do this. Thus, they should provide a macroeconomic environment that encourages initiative and small business, and an environment that creates employment and growth.

They also need to recognise the isolation and powerlessness of their most vulnerable citizens and attempt to reduce this. They can further contribute by providing good health facilities and health

education including preventative health measures. They can provide further assistance by providing good education and training and encourage families to educate their children.

They can also assist the poor by providing good infrastructure to help reduce their isolation, and credit facilities for the poor along with training for staff in lending agencies to improve their lending skills. Related to this, they can encourage and support savings schemes, and help to improve access to markets by the poor.

The government also has a responsibility to provide equitable access to resources such as land. They should also conserve these resources for future generations and provide training and support for projects on this.

They can also support the efforts of communities by supporting community development projects. As well they can reduce the burden on communities by providing support for the sick and elderly. The Government can also provide support during periods of natural disasters, and can put in place insurance schemes that can assist in these events.

Finally, the international community also has a role to play. As well as aid programmes that are aimed at reducing poverty, it plays a role in reducing poverty in Samoa by providing access for Samoans to jobs in the wider region, and by providing support to the country during periods of natural disasters.

Recommendations relating to individuals and families, to villages and communities, and to national government and the international community have been discussed above. Recommendations for moving out of poverty are also likely to vary according to groups of poor people. These differences emerge from the differences between these groups discussed in Section 7.2.

### **7.3.2 Recommendations for the Less Vulnerable Group**

Those who are able to get out of poverty of, and stay out of poverty, have strong social and family networks, which gives them access to remittances, and seem to be able to get employment. They can gain access to credit and markets and have adequate resources such as land and labour.

They seem to have adequate business skills and face an enabling environment for small business within the village. They think strategically about their situation and make use of assistance by outside agencies in a positive way. They are careful not to deplete their reserves through consumption and obligations, and make investments that can increase their income in the future.

If they are faced with further poverty-inducing events, such as cyclones or changes in government policies, then their resources will be depleted and they will be pushed back into poverty. For people in this situation, support that will be helpful for them will be temporary safety nets that can stop their slide further into poverty. These could be state aid such as government disaster relief or insurance schemes or access to credit to assist them in hard times or remittances from family to overcome temporary setbacks.

### **7.3.3 Recommendations for the Long-term Poor**

Those who cannot get out of poverty and remain poor may face many or severe poverty-inducing events and constraints that might keep them poor. This is because they may be unable to get money from others because they have weak family and social networks both in Samoa and overseas. They may lack the opportunity to send their children abroad, which in turn, lowers the level of family support from remittances. In addition, they may be unable to get a well-paying job because they are old or sick, jobs may not be available in rural areas, or they do not have enough education to get a well-paying job.

They may find it difficult to build up a business because of inadequate resources (such as land and labour), an inability to access credit, or the unavailability or collapse of markets. They may have poor business skills, and face a village environment hostile to small business. This may be worsened by their isolation, which can be both physical and social. Their obligations are also too large in relation to the building up their reserves. They may also not use their built-up reserves to best effect, spending on unnecessary consumption.

If they are faced with further poverty-inducing events, such as social obligations and natural events (cyclones, crop pest/disease outbreaks, tidal waves, drought and bush fire), then their resources will be depleted and they will be pushed back into poverty.

To improve the situation of these poor people, communities and villages can help by providing social support for them. They can also provide an enabling environment to help them to deal with their own situation, and encourage initiative and small business, and support savings schemes. Village and communities also need to recognise the isolation and powerlessness of their more vulnerable members. They can improve access to credit facilities and markets for their poorer members, as well as support projects and initiatives that create employment and provide training.

The national government can assist the long-term poor by providing a macroeconomic environment that encourages initiative and small business, and an environment that creates employment and growth. They also need to recognise the isolation and powerlessness of their most vulnerable citizens and help to reduce this. They should also provide good health facilities and health education and good education and training and encourage families to educate their children. They can also assist this group by providing good infrastructure to help reduce their isolation. They can help to improve access to markets by this group, and also provide credit facilities for them. The government should also provide equitable access to resources, such as land, and conserve these resources for future generations. They can reduce the burden on rural communities and families by providing support for the sick and elderly through pension schemes, and during periods of natural disasters, they can put in place insurance schemes that can assist in these events.

#### **7.3.4 Recommendations for the Vulnerable Group**

Those who emerge from poverty, but then fall back into poverty also have the process of capital accumulation disrupted. The circumstances faced by this group lie between that of the other two groups; that is, they face fewer and/or less severe constraints to moving out of poverty than the long-term poor, but they face more and/or more severe constraints to moving out of poverty than those who are less vulnerable and manage to move out of poverty. It is thought that they are able to get a job and to get money from others than the long-term poor and that their family circumstances are favourable. However, they have less success in building up a business from semi-subsistence, and have less access to credit and less access to markets, than the less vulnerable group who move out of poverty. Hence, they struggle to build up a business from semi-subsistence because they may have insufficient reserves. They also do not use family resources so strategically, and they withdraw children from school as a short-term strategy, and

their social obligations might be large. Therefore, they are vulnerable to events that can push them back into poverty.

Communities and villages can help such people by providing an enabling environment to deal with their situation. They should provide an environment that encourages initiative and small business to help these people. They can initiate and support initiatives that can assist small business and encourage and support savings schemes. Villages and communities also need to recognise the isolation and powerlessness of such people. They can assist them in this regard by improving their access to credit facilities and markets. The national government can also assist this group by providing a macroeconomic environment that encourages initiative and small business and an environment that creates employment and growth. They too need to recognise the isolation and powerlessness of these vulnerable citizens. They can also assist this group by providing good infrastructure to help reduce their isolation. They can help to improve the access of this vulnerable group to markets and provide credit facilities for them. The government should also provide more equitable access to resources such as land to reduce the vulnerability of this group.

### **7.3.5 Conclusion**

This study has derived a set of recommendations that could improve the situation of the poor. No comment is made on how easy or difficult it is to implement such recommendations. For example, it was recommended that the national government could improve the situation of the poor by providing equitable access to resources such as land. This is a difficult recommendation to implement, since it requires land reform. Also, recommending that churches reduce their expectations from their members in terms of their offerings requires a large change in social attitudes. How well the government of Samoa and its communities have succeeded in applying any of these recommendations is also not evaluated, since this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

## **7.4 Discussion of Research Results and the Model**

### **7.4.1 Introduction**

The aim of this section is to discuss the research in the context of previous literature on poverty and the Samoan context. A number of issues that are relevant to the results will be discussed in this regard. The definition of poverty is discussed, followed by events that cause poverty, constraints to moving out of poverty, interactions among causes, constraints and solutions to moving out of poverty and strategies used to alleviate poverty in Samoa.

### **7.4.2 Definition of Poverty**

This study found that poverty in Samoa, as defined by the poor, is not food poverty. This is due to the abundant natural resources (land and sea) that the poor have access to in order to sustain their livelihoods and through their social support system of sharing and cooperation. However, they may have a temporary shortage of food in periods of natural disasters because they are vulnerable to natural events. Despite this vulnerability to temporary food poverty, there are a range of safety nets available that stop their situation getting worse. This finding supports the definition by others, namely that poverty in the Pacific (including Samoa) is 'relative' poverty and 'traumatic' poverty as a result of natural disasters, but not the 'absolute' poverty seen in other countries such as Africa and Asia (World Bank, 1990, 2001; UNDP, 1998; ADB, 1999e, 2004).

However, this study showed that, while, food poverty is not an issue in Samoa, the lack of special foods is associated with being poor. In particular, when there is an influx of obligations, and people are unable to buy special foods, even though there is no shortage of staple foods, they can still feel impoverished because they cannot access special foods. Once again, this finding is consistent with evidence from ADB studies (ADB, 1999d, 1999e, 2004) that poverty in the Pacific including Samoa is not 'absolute' poverty but 'relative' poverty. However, the literature does not seem to mention lack of access to special foods as a dimension of poverty, so this finding brings some new insight to the definition of poverty.

This study showed that the poor in Samoa associated poverty with a lack of household assets and community facilities. These included smaller household assets, other consumer items and

community facilities, such as tap water supply, electricity, tar-sealed roads. Others who had been poor in the past saw their poverty as lack of bigger assets such as a strong house and a car, and lack of community facilities such as poor water facilities and latrines. This finding is consistent with an ADB study that found, in some Pacific countries, almost all water comes from household tanks and/or small streams because of no running tap water supplies (ADB, 2004). This ADB study noted that while these sources might be safe from ground contamination, they are, nevertheless, susceptible to contamination from mosquito larvae, vegetation, climbing animals and birds, if not properly screened. This dimension of poverty in Samoa could impact on the health of the poor. With respect to lack of community facilities, such as tar-sealed roads and electricity, the ADB study (ADB, 2004) noted that poverty of opportunity is important in the Pacific, and a component of this poverty is the hardship that occurs due to inadequate services like transport, water, primary health care and education.

Poverty in Samoa was also defined as lack of ability to meet family obligations, special village social and cultural ceremonial occasions and church obligations. An aspect of this, being unable to access special foods, was discussed above. There does not seem to be much discussion of this dimension of poverty in the literature. Instead, meeting obligations seems to be viewed in the literature as something that increases the vulnerability of the poor and contributes to poverty (ADB, 1999d, 1999e), but does not seem to be recognised as a dimension of poverty in its own right.

Poverty was also associated by the poor in this study with a lack of income and income earning ability, and lack of savings. This and the other dimensions of poverty identified by the poor in Samoa confirms its multi-faceted nature, which has been noted by other writers (van der Gaag, 1990; Jazairy et al, 1992; ADB, 1999e, 2004; Shepherd, 1998). The many different facets of poverty identified by the poor in Samoa confirm how important the dimension of vulnerability is, which has also been noted by other studies (Kanbur and Squire, 2001; World Bank, 1990, 2001).

In summary, this study supports the literature in its definition of poverty by the poor in Samoa. Its poverty is relative to that of more impoverished countries, but there remains poverty of opportunity and vulnerability.

There has also been a growing awareness in the literature of different types of poverty. This includes absolute or relative poverty (discussed above) (World Bank, 1990, 2001; UNDP, 1998). Other authors use a finer classification of poverty types, such as interstitial poverty, material deprivation, overcrowding poverty, and traumatic poverty (Jazairy et al, 1992; also cited in Shepherd, 1998).

Recent studies have also classified poverty as chronic or transient where the chronic poor may find themselves unable to improve their situation because of reasons such as illness and physical disability, while others may fall into poverty because of temporary shocks, but they are then able to move out of poverty (Baulch and McCulloch, 1998). Findings from recent studies (Jalan and Ravallion, 1998; Popple, Sumatro and Prichett, 1999) suggest that movement into and out of poverty is large (World Bank, 1990; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

This research supported the view in the literature that there is chronic and transient poverty. However, it extended the literature since it has identified three potential groups of poor people in Samoa. These were the long-term poor, which is similar to chronic poverty, the less vulnerable group (the transient poor) and a vulnerable group. For example, the people in this vulnerable group might fall into poverty, then be able to move out of poverty for a period, before their circumstances are reversed again.

Therefore, this study has brought new insights by identifying three types of poor people with one group lying between the chronic and the transient poor. This finding has policy implications. For example, Jalan and Ravallion (1998) suggests that the situation of those in chronic poverty can be improved by policies such as education, land reform or pensions for the elderly, while those in transient poverty would benefit from measures such as safety nets, credit and insurance schemes to support them during hard times (cited in World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). This study suggests that the policy implications of different types of poverty is even more sophisticated than this and that, if poverty is to be alleviated in Samoa, we need to understand about the different situation of all three groups of poor people and then try to design the appropriate poverty-reducing strategies and policies to improve the situation of each of these three groups.

### **7.4.3 Events that Cause Poverty**

This study found that entry into poverty for three groups of poor people occurs because of events related to personal circumstances, events related to social obligations and external events (such as natural events or economic events). This finding is supported by the literature, which mentions personal events, social obligations and external events and economic shocks (ADB, 1999e, 2004; UNDP, 1997). However, this study has brought new insights by focussing on how these three sets of events that interact, which can make it difficult for poor people to lift out of poverty. For example, in this study those people who were less vulnerable tended to fall into poverty temporarily after experiencing few events or less severe poverty-inducing events, and these were likely to be external economic shocks and natural events. This group is similar to the transient poor who can move in and out of poverty as reported by other studies (Baulch and McCulloch, 1998; Jalan and Ravallion, 1998; Popple, Sumatro, and Prichett, 1999). On the other hand, the long-term poor appear to experience a number of these poverty-inducing events, or to experience them quite severely. This is supported by Chambers (1983, 1995) and the World Bank (1990, 2001).

The literature notes that local people in Pacific (including Samoa) can find it difficult to move out of poverty as a result of their strong traditional system of sharing and cooperation (ADB, 1999d, 1999e, 2000, 2004; Tisdell, 2000; Tuilaepa and Nartea, 2002; Johnson and Dhal, 1997). This study increased the understanding of this factor by linking this into a process of capital accumulation, where reserves are built up, but then depleted by obligations.

### **7.4.4 Constraints to Moving Out of Poverty**

This study found that there could be many constraints to moving out of poverty. These included personal and family issues, social and community issues, and access to resources and opportunities. Constraints related to personal and family issues included weak family and social networks, being sick or old, large family obligations, too much consumption and too little investment, and personal attitude and behaviour. Constraints related to social and community issues included large social and church obligations, and a village environment hostile to small business. Constraints related to access to resources and opportunities included lack of opportunity to get jobs or send children abroad for jobs, lack of education, lack of business skills, lack of

access to credit facilities and markets (because of isolation and lack of voice) and depleted natural resources.

Many of these factors have been mentioned in the literature as constraints to moving out of poverty. For example, the problem of weak family ties, particularly in relation to remittances, is mentioned by Johnson and Dhal (1997) and Burrows et al (1991). ADB studies (ADB, 1999e, 2004) have also highlighted growing concerns about the impact of social obligations on local people in Samoa.

Constraints related to access to resources and opportunities have also received much attention in the literature, which mentions that people in the Pacific (including Samoa) live in poverty of opportunity and are vulnerable due to lack of access to resources and opportunities for investment and isolation from world markets (ADB, 1999d, 1999e, 2000, 2004; Tisdell, 2000; Johnson and Dhal, 1997; Burrows et al, 1991). It has also been noted that lack of access to resources and opportunity is related to lack of voice and powerlessness (Chambers, 1983; 1997; Narayan and Nyawayya, 1996; World Bank, 2001). The issue of powerlessness is discussed in greater detail below. What this study added to the literature was that it was able to identify all of these factors, emphasise their interrelationships, and then show how they could impede the move out of poverty by making it difficult to build up reserves by depleting them.

#### **7.4.5 Interactions among Causes, Constraints and Solutions**

The literature has talked about a range of factors that interact to keep people poor, such as poverty, physical weaknesses, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness (Chambers, 1983, 1997; Shepherd, 1992, 1998; World Bank, 1990, 2001; Kanbur and Squire, 2001). For example, poverty contributes to physical weaknesses (through lack of food and malnutrition), which in turn, can lead to low income that exacerbates poor health (Chambers, 1983, 1997; World Bank, 2001).

Recent studies have found that poverty and isolation interact. For example, the poor are unable to pay school fees, to buy a radio and to find a job, which further keeps them poor (Chambers, 1983; World Bank, 1990, 2001). This study also found a range of interactions between factors that contribute to poverty, where the long term poor seem to face many constraints that keep them

poor, while those who are less vulnerable face fewer constraints and are able to get themselves out of poverty.

Research has suggested that there should be different solutions depending on the type of poverty. For example, recent studies argue that long-term investment in human and physical assets of the poor, along with the returns to these assets are likely to be more appropriate poverty-reducing strategies for those in chronic poverty (ADB, 1999e, 2004). However, for the transient poor, it has been suggested that they would benefit from measures (such as safety nets, credit and insurance schemes) to support them during hard times (World Bank, 1990, 2001; Jalan and Ravallion, 1998; Kanbur and Squire, 2001).

This study supported this conclusion that there should be different strategies for different groups of poor people. However, it added insights by extending these recommendations and relating them to three groups of poor people rather than two. For the long-term poor, it recommended a much wider range of strategies than the literature, and also recommended a number of strategies to assist small business for those who are vulnerable. The recommendations for those who are able to get out of poverty are the same as those recommended above in the literature.

The literature showed that powerlessness has been associated with poverty. This is due to lack of voice and political rights, and participation of target beneficiaries, especially the poor and vulnerable in aid-funded projects and programs to improve their situation (Chambers, 1983, 1997; Narayan and Nyamwaya, 1996; World Bank, 2001). This study supported these findings, and showed that those who remain in poverty seem to be more powerless than those who emerge from poverty. They do not seem to have the same voice as those who emerge from poverty, and this was found to be a factor that compounded their poverty.

In addition, the literature also found that isolation has been associated with poverty (Chambers, 1983, 1997; World Bank, 1990, 2001). This study shows that those who remain in poverty seem to be more isolated than those who emerge from poverty and they remain poor because of their isolation from community facilities (such as schools and roads), which in turn, leads to lack of education and, as a result, they are unable to get a well-paying job, which can then make it difficult for them to accumulate capital. In this study, those who remained poor were also isolated from credit facilities and markets.

The literature on sustainable development stresses the importance of conserving natural resources and using them wisely (Selman, 1998; ADB, 1999d, 2004; UNDP, 1998; DFID, 1999; Shepherd, 1998). This study supports this approach as it was found that depleted natural resources, was a constraint to moving out of poverty. In particular, those who invest in small farm enterprises (such as crops and vegetable), those who live on smaller islands and those who live on the western side of Savaii Island are vulnerable to depleted resources.

This study also contributes significantly to the sustainable livelihoods literature, particularly the sustainable livelihoods framework which is currently used to guide aid agencies and recipient countries in alleviating poverty worldwide including the Pacific (ADB, 1999, 2000). Such a framework is a policy tool but not a theoretical framework or model to address research issues relating to poverty and its multiple dimensions. It also emphasizes the adoption of a multidimensional approach of sustainable development in alleviating poverty. For example, reducing poverty can be achieved by improving these three pillars of sustainable development, such as equitable growth, social development and environmental protection.

The grounded theory approach adopted in this study can add some understanding to the sustainable livelihoods framework. This framework emphasises the adoption of a multiple-dimensional approach to alleviating poverty. This grounded study supports that approach, and suggests multiple recommendations for alleviating poverty, which apply at the personal/family level, the village/community level, and the national/international level. The insights from this study could be incorporated into a sustainable livelihoods approach.

#### **7.4.6 Strategies Used in Samoa to Alleviate Poverty**

Samoa has tried various approaches to alleviate poverty such as the trickle-down development approach to pursue economic growth as a strategy to alleviate poverty during the 1960s. An inward-looking policy of self-sufficiency and self-reliance by investing in the agriculture sector and small industries was adopted by the government in order to increase the level of productivity and per capita income. However, the adoption of these policies led to a low economic growth and difficulties associated with a lack of markets, technical knowledge and skills of producers (Fairbairn, 1991). In addition, the growth effects did not trickle-down to poor people. This study

has shown that, in this regard; a trickle-down approach could be very difficult because of the constraints faced by the poor.

Because of these drawbacks, there was a paradigm shift to an integrated rural development project approach in the 1970s by introducing price stabilization programs and incentive schemes. In addition, physical and social infrastructure (roads) and institutions (schools, hospitals) were put in place to widen the distribution of growth benefits. However, it was argued that these anti-poverty programs were unsuccessful in reducing poverty due to institutional problems, social rigidities and coordination failures (Fairbairn, 1991; O'meara, 1987; Dunlop, 1993; Burrows et al, 1991). This study confirmed that people can remain poor, physically weak, and vulnerable due to their isolation from community facilities, such as roads, schools and hospitals and their lack of participation in decision making. Those who remain poor can also be isolated from key centres because they may lack transport or a car.

Recent studies showed that two consecutive cyclones affected the government-led efforts at alleviating poverty (Burrows et al, 1991; Fairbairn, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997). However, the influx of foreign aid and personal transfers stopped the situation of those affected from getting worse. These events have led to an emphasis on vulnerability to natural disasters such as cyclones, crop pest/disease outbreaks), and problems associated with small size (Wright, 1960; Burrows et al, 1991; Johnson and Dhal, 1997).

As part of a national anti-poverty strategy, the crop bonus scheme was introduced to increase agricultural production and rural household incomes. However, it was argued that it worsened the over-reliance of small farmers on government subsidies, but did not increase agricultural production for exports and sustain national food security (Burrows et al, 1991; ADB, 2000). The ADB study noted that such schemes were inconsistent with government's current reform policy of improving its role in economic development activities (ADB, 2000). This study found that participation of those who are currently poor and those who are vulnerable to poverty in government incentive schemes (such as the crop bonus scheme) did not seem to improve their situation. However, those able to get out of poverty said that they were helpful.

Following the natural disasters, the market reform strategy was adopted by the GOS through the implementation of structural adjustment programs and trade liberalisation as alternative strategies

for stimulating the economy and reducing poverty (GOS, 1995; Fairbairn, 1991; ADB, 2000). This policy of reducing tax and removing tariff barriers on exports and imports was aimed at increasing the exports and household income. The launching of financial reform also led to the disbursement of more loans to local people especially women and unemployed youth through local banks, micro credit schemes and NGOs (ADB, 2000; GOS, 2000). This study showed that the poor in Samoa, especially those who are able to get out of poverty are able to build up their reserves by having access to credit for small businesses. On the other hand, the long-term poor and those who are vulnerable lack access to credit because of their isolation.

#### **7.4.7 Contribution of this Study to the Wider Literature**

Undoubtedly, this study contributes significantly to sustainable livelihoods literature, the sustainable livelihoods framework in particular, which is currently used by aid agencies as a basis to guide their anti-poverty projects and programs in the Pacific and worldwide. Obviously, such a framework is a practical and policy tool to guide government policy makers, but not theoretical framework or model to look at research issues surrounded poverty and vulnerability. In addition, this study also highlights the importance of the concept of sustainable development in alleviating poverty in developing countries such as the Pacific including Samoa. Reducing poverty can be achieved by achieving three major pillars of sustainable development approach such as equitable growth, social development and environmental protection. For example, natural resources need to be conserved if their small businesses are to be sustainable.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the wider literature by increasing our understanding about different groups of poor people such as the long-term poor, the less vulnerable group and the vulnerable group and their situation (and the impact of obligations) on their everyday lives. For example, the role of obligations (such as family obligations, village social and cultural ceremonial occasions and church obligations) in the process of capital accumulation can be the causes of poverty, safety nets to protect them from the worst effects of poverty and to stop their situation getting worse, and the constraint to moving out of poverty.

## **7.5 Conclusion**

A process of capital accumulation emerged from the participatory model of poverty in Samoa. This described a process of building up reserves and then depleting them. This process of capital accumulation was then used to derive recommendations for moving out of poverty. These recommendations related to individuals and families, communities and villages and government and the international community.

More specific recommendations were then derived for different types of poor people, such as the long-term poor, those who were less vulnerable and able to get out of poverty, and those who were more vulnerable and likely to move into, out of and into poverty again. Discussion of the results in terms of the literature showed that this study supported many findings from the literature, but was able to extend and link them together. This study added to the literature by identifying these groups, rather than the two groups previously identified, and for each of these three groups, showing the events that cause poverty, constraints to moving out of poverty, interactions among causes, constraints and solutions to moving out of poverty, and strategies used to alleviate poverty.

## **CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION**

### **8.1 Introduction**

This final chapter summarizes the research in Section 8.2. This includes its rationale, aims and objectives. The chosen research method is outlined, results briefly presented, comments are made on the model developed and the process of capital accumulation. Brief comment is then made on the recommendations. In Section 8.3, research limitations are discussed, and in Section 8.4, suggestions are made for further research. Finally in Section 8.5, the contribution of the study is outlined.

### **8.2 Summary**

Despite some progress being made in alleviating poverty from the world economy and people's lives, poverty remains a global problem and a controversial issue in many countries. Poverty is also considered to be a problem and an issue in Samoa and since its Independence, the Government has pursued many policies to alleviate poverty.

Although Samoa performs well in terms of per capita income, human development and strong social systems of cooperating and sharing, it has been noted that its people still live in poverty of opportunity and vulnerability, because of their isolation and remoteness from the markets, the small size and population and their few natural resources.

The aim of this research was to gain a greater understanding of the nature of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor. By doing this, recommendations on strategies for alleviating poverty can be made, with such strategies reflecting the perspective of the poor. More specific objectives of the research were to develop a participatory definition of rural poverty in Samoa, to determine the causes of rural poverty in Samoa from the perspective of the poor, to identify the strategies that the rural poor in Samoa use to manage poverty, to identify the constraints identified by the rural poor in Samoa to moving out of poverty, to identify the interactions between causes of rural poverty in Samoa, strategies used to manage poverty and

constraints to moving out of poverty, and to identify some solutions to moving out of rural poverty and to make recommendations on how poverty can be reduced in Samoa that may help in the design of appropriate poverty-reducing strategies. This aim and its objectives were achieved by developing and analysing a participatory model of rural poverty in a Samoan context.

The nature of the research problem suggested that a qualitative research method was appropriate. The advantages and the disadvantages of the participatory poverty assessments (PPA's) were reviewed, but it was decided that this was not a suitable method for this research. A qualitative research method known as grounded theory was then reviewed and it was concluded that this was a good method for this study.

Extensive sensitization of the researcher to issues was conducted by reviewing general literature on poverty, and reading on the Samoan context, which the researcher was also familiar with through personal experience. The researcher spent two months and three weeks in Samoa for the field work as from 12<sup>th</sup> June to 25<sup>th</sup> August 2002. A total of twenty seven respondents from eight villages in Samoa were interviewed using theoretical sampling. Four villages were selected from Upolu Island, three villages were selected from Savaii Island and one village from Manono Island. Analysis was conducted in both Samoa and New Zealand.

The research results yielded a number of categories relating to poverty. These were the definition of poverty by the poor in Samoa, causes of poverty, safety nets, remaining poor, getting out of poverty, becoming poor again and staying out of poverty. These categories were then linked to form a participatory model of poverty in Samoa.

Poverty in Samoa was defined by the poor as not including food poverty because people are able to access to abundant natural resources (land/sea) through their social system of sharing and cooperation. This means that there is no shortage of normal staple foods. However, there may be a temporary shortage of food in periods of natural disasters or inability to access special foods. Poverty can also be associated with a lack of household assets and community facilities, and lack of ability to meet a range of obligations including village, social, cultural, family and church obligations. Lack of income, income earning ability and savings was also defined by the poor as a dimension of their poverty.

Entry into poverty occurs because of events related to personal circumstances, events related to social obligations and external events (such as natural events or economic events). There appears to be an event that pushes people into poverty which is reinforced by other events. Personal circumstances such as marriage into poor families, illness that leads to physical and mental disabilities, death of key family members and particular personal behavior can lead to people becoming poor. Moreover, people also become poor because they are vulnerable to external natural events such as cyclones, tidal waves, crop and pest/disease outbreaks, drought, and bush fire. They also become poor because they are vulnerable to external economic events such as a global recession and changes in government policies (such as the introduction of the value-added goods and services tax (VAGST)).

Although people fall into poverty, at some point they reach the safety net that protects them from the worst effects of poverty and stops their situation getting worse. This safety net includes getting support from others, temporary employment and semi-subsistence activities. These activities stop their situation getting worse.

Some people remain poor and do so because they are unable to get enough money from others to build up their financial reserves, they are unable to get a well-paying job and are unable to build up a small business from semi-subsistence activities enough to get them out of poverty, or to build up financial reserves, because their obligations are too great. For some, these factors can be compounded by an attitude toward poverty, a lack of participation in decision making, isolation and lack of power and voice.

Some poor people are able to get out of poverty by building up a business from semi-subsistence, getting money from others and building up their savings, reducing their social obligations, using family resources strategically, temporary work and education. Associated with these strategies was a very strategic attitude towards poverty, where they use family resources strategically and have a positive attitude to their situation.

Some people, who were poor, had got out of poverty, but then become poor again. They had been able to get out of poverty because they managed to earn enough income (and build up income earning assets) to support the family and meet their obligations. Thus, they were able to accumulate their reserves. They did this by building up a business from semi-subsistence), getting

money from others and savings, and using family resources strategically. Even though they were able to get out of poverty because of these strategies, certain unexpected events could then push them back into poverty. The events that push them back into poverty are those identified previously events that first pushed people into poverty. These were events associated with personal circumstances, events related to social obligations as well as external natural and economic events.

However, other people who were poor, but got out of poverty, have managed to stay out of poverty. This is because their personal circumstances remain favorable and their social obligations are under control. Their businesses have also been built up sufficiently to be self-sustaining and withstand shocks, and they have access to adequate family resources. This is because savings have been built up and they are able to rely on money from others to maintain their situation if their circumstances worsen. Therefore, the results suggested that there were three different groups of poor people in Samoa. These were the long-term poor, a less vulnerable group and a vulnerable group.

The long-term poor fall into poverty when they hit by many or very severe poverty-inducing events. They are more likely to experience events related to personal circumstances, or a combination of the three sets of poverty-inducing events. Once, they hit the safety net, they continue to live along this line, and so their situation does not worsen. However, there are many factors that make it difficult to get out of poverty. Their causes of poverty and these constraints to moving out of poverty interact to keep them poor.

The less vulnerable group becomes poor because of external events, rather than personal events and that they are likely to experience fewer poverty-inducing events. Once they hit the safety net line, they are able to access natural resources and gain financial resources from family. Combined with a particular attitude and fewer constraints, they then emerge from poverty. The nature of the causes of their poverty, the likelihood of fewer constraints and their ability to utilize a range of strategies interact to move them out of poverty.

The vulnerable group become poor because of fewer events and less severe poverty-inducing events than the long-term poor, but more events and more severe poverty-inducing events than the less vulnerable group and that this combination of events push them into poverty. It was

suggested that this group might be more vulnerable to social events. Once those in the vulnerable group enter poverty and hit the safety net, they use similar safety nets to those used by the other two groups. They then move out of poverty, but cannot sustain this. As a result, they fall back into poverty, and this process can then repeat itself.

A process of capital accumulation emerged from the participatory model that had been developed. This included building up reserves (through getting money from others, money from employment and building up a business) and then depleting reserves (through obligations, consumption and investment). This process of accumulating reserves could be disrupted by further poverty-inducing events.

Recommendations for moving out of poverty were then discussed. These included recommendations for individuals and families, recommendations for communities and villages, and recommendations for the national government and the international community. Solutions relevant for different groups were also presented. The research was then discussed in the context of previous literature.

### **8.3 Research Limitations**

There are some limitations related to this research. These relate to the research method, the scope of the research and the conduct of the research.

The research aim and objectives suggested the use of a qualitative method, grounded theory. This method is a good one for building a model but the results that emerge cannot be seen as representative in any statistical sense, and should be seen as more exploratory. It is also not completely participatory in its approach.

From the model, three groups of poor people were identified. These were the long-term poor, a less vulnerable group and a vulnerable group. The circumstances of each of these groups discussed using qualitative data. However, it would be useful to confirm these findings statistically with some further qualitative research. As well, because of the research method used, the links between causes, constraints and solutions for each of these three groups identified could not be strongly drawn because of the method.

A further limitation of this research relates to its scope. It deals with rural poverty only, not urban poverty in Samoa, and so insights by the urban poor were not included. Also, it was restricted to the Samoan context, and it is not possible to conclude that the results apply to other countries.

These were also some limitations related to the conduct of the research. While there were advantages to the researcher being a matai and it was thought that this did not cause problems when interviewing low status women, it is not known whether this was the case, so this is a limitation. Also, the long-term poor opened up readily, those who had been but were no longer poor opened up, but not quite so readily, and those who became poor, got out of poverty but then became poor again were more reluctant to share information. It is not known why this occurred, but it may have limited the information that it was possible to get from those who were vulnerable. A further limitation relates to translation. Translation from Samoan to English is a time consuming exercise, and the languages are very different. The most difficult part is the translation of new concepts into another language without losing its true meaning. This is very challenging task.

#### **8.4 Suggestions for Future Research**

This study finishes with some suggestions for future research. These largely relate to the limitations discussed above.

Different groups were identified by this study using a qualitative method. These were the long term poor, the less vulnerable group and the vulnerable group. It would be useful for further research to focus in more detail on each of these groups to statistically confirm what events made them poor, what safety nets they use, what constraints stop them getting out of poverty, what events could make them poor again, and what strategies they use to stay out of poverty.

Additional research could also be done to increase the understanding of the interactions between events that lead to poverty, constraints to getting out of poverty, and solutions to dealing with poverty in a Samoan or Pacific context. This study has identified causes and constraints, but further work on the interactions between these would make the solutions clearer. This is particularly important for the different groups identified.

This study identified a process of capital accumulation by the poor. This could provide the basis for further research that looks at this process in more depth for different groups of poor people. How this process is disrupted could be examined more closely and solutions to emerging from poverty linked to it.

This study identified a set of recommendations to improve the situation of the poor in Samoa. These recommendations related to individuals and families, to communities and villages, and to national government and the international community. Further research on how these recommendations interrelate would be useful.

Finally, extending this research to different countries in the Pacific and elsewhere in the world would be very helpful.

## **8.5 Contribution of the Study**

This study should help policymakers and aid agencies in Samoa to design strategies for reducing poverty that are more likely to be successful since they have been identified by the poor themselves. Even though it relates to rural poverty in Samoa only, this study may help in the general understanding of poverty, its causes, constraints to moving out of poverty, and solutions that can be used to ease poverty for other countries in a similar situation; for example other small Pacific Island countries and worldwide.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the understanding of different groups of poor people, such as the long-term poor, the less vulnerable group and the vulnerable group. In particular, it stresses the impact that obligations have on the poverty situation of the vulnerable group, which has not previously been identified.

A lot has been written on the poverty in many countries. The many dimensions of poverty have been identified and studied in great detail. A lot of constraints to moving out of poverty have been identified and many strategies for alleviating poverty have been put forward. Often it is difficult to understand how all these components of poverty interrelate. The participatory model of poverty that has been constructed through this research is very holistic. It shows the situation

of the rural poor in one country, Samoa, and how many factors interrelate with each other to contribute to their situation. The process of capital accumulation that emerges from this model gives a clear understanding of their struggle to improve their situation.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Poverty in Samoa

**Table 1: Economic Indicator Statistics of Poverty in Samoa**

Year	1970s	1980s	1990s-200s
Development Progress Index			
HDI	0.49	0.52	0.59
Population and Household			
Population Size	149,500	155,000	176,500
Population Net Growth Rate (Annual average)	0.5	0.5	1.0
Economy			
Real GDP annual growth rate	1.0%	1.2%	1.2%
GDP per capita			
- In real terms	US\$876	US\$580	US\$1,187
- In current prices	US\$982	US\$674	US\$1,416
Sectoral Shares (as % of GDP)			
- Agriculture	32	26	21
- Industry	18	20	23
- Services	50	54	56
Inflation rate	5.3	8.0	0.3
Vulnerability Indicators			
Composite Vulnerability Index (CVI)	4.63	5.24	7.37
Out-migration Significant? Y/N	Y	Y	Y
Remittances Significant? Y/N	Y	Y	Y

Source: Asian Development Bank (1999); UNICEF (2000)

**Table 2. Illiterate population by sex, aged 15 and over, estimated and projections**

Year	Illiterate Population (000)			Percentage of Illiterates (%)		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1970	25	12	13	30.4	28.7	35.2
1975	24	11	13	28.5	26.6	30.4
1985	23	11	12	26.5	24.5	28.6
1995	22	11	11	22.1	20.9	23.5
2000	22	11	11	19.8	18.8	21.0

Source: UNICEF, 2001.

**Table 3. Social Indicator Statistics of Poverty in Samoa**

Year	1970s	1980s	1990-20002
<b>Basic Education</b>			
Adult Literacy Rate	63%	74%	96%
CGER	77%	82%	86%
Expenditure on education (as % of GDP)	3.6	4.2	5%
<b>Primary Health and Nutrition</b>			
Life expectancy at birth	65	68	71
Infant mortality rate	25	24	22
Population with access to safe water	75%	86%	90%
Population per doctor	6,839	5,462	3,150
Reported TB cases (per 100,000 population)	5	3	-
Immunisation coverage rate (DPT)	63%	74%	95%
Expenditure on health			
- As % of GDP	20%	20%	25%
- Per capita	US\$45	US\$48	US\$53
<b>Gender Issues</b>			
Total fertility rate	6.0%	5.5%	4.2%
Contraceptive prevalence	20%	25%	31%
Life expectancy gender gap	4.0	3.0	2.0
Female literacy rate	67%	82%	96%
Female CGER (Combine Gross Enrolment Rate)	68%	75	88%
Women in paid employment (%)	7%	10%	19%
Women in government (# of seats held)	1	2	3

Source: Asian Development Bank (1999); UNICEF (2000);

**Table 4. Political Indicator Statistics of Poverty in Samoa**

Year	1970s	1980s	1990-2000s
<b>Governance</b>			
Public sector (% of formal employment)	35%	38%	40%
Share in government spending			
Education	8.6%	10.0%	14.0%
Health	8.0%	8.4%	10.3%
Agriculture	10.4%	10.5%	3.4%
Published economic strategic plan?	N	N	Y
Democratically elected national government?	Y	Y	Y
Democratically elected local government?	N	N	N

Source: Asian Development Bank (1999); UNICEF (2000);

## **Appendix 2:**

After the process of sensitization, an initial checklist of questions was drawn up as shown below.

### **Initial Checklist**

Poverty Definitions: How do they define poverty? Do they define poverty differently? Why?

Causes of Poverty: What are the causes of poverty? Why do they think they are poor? What are the impacts of poverty on their lives? How long have they experienced poverty?

Poverty Strategies: How do they manage poverty? Is it possible for them to moving out of poverty? Can they get any help?

Constraints: What stops you getting out of this situation? What stops this situation becoming worse? Is that the cause of poverty, strategy or a constraint to moving out of poverty? Why/Why not?

Solutions/Recommendations: What do they think about existing solutions? What solutions do they need? Do they have any suggestions for improvements?

The broad questions in the initial checklist were then refined into a more detailed checklist of possible questions that might be asked. This is shown below.

### **Checklist – Second Stage**

#### Definitions and Causes of Poverty:

1. Can you tell me your situation?
2. Why do you think you are poor?
3. How long have you experienced this situation?
4. What makes your situation worse?
5. Has it always been like this? Why?
6. Are there any changes since when?

7. What are the consequences of these changes in your life?

Strategies Used by the Poor to Manage Poverty:

1. Can your situation be changed? Why/Why not?
2. How do you manage your situation?
3. Is it possible to move out of that situation? Why/Why not?
4. How can you move out of that situation?
5. What do you need to move out of it?
6. Are there any other strategies you use to manage it?
7. When do you expect to move out of that situation?

Constraints/Solutions Identified by the Poor:

1. What stops you getting out of that situation?
2. What stops your situation becoming worse?
3. How can you get out of it? When?
4. Do you get any help? Why/Why not?
5. Where do you get it? How? When?
6. Are they successful/unsuccessful? Why/Why not?
7. How to improve it?

Interactions between Causes, Strategies and Constraints:

1. What do you think about our social system?
2. Is rural-urban migration/emigration good or bad?
3. What is your view about those new government policies?
4. Have you seen any changes in government services over the last 5 or 10 years? Why?
5. Are you involved in development programs? Why/Why not?
6. Is the cause of this situation or strategy for it?
7. Is the selling of your assets good or bad thing to do? Why/Why not?
8. Do you have any relationship with those in power?
9. Is that the cause of your isolation/vulnerability/powerlessness? Why/Why not?
10. Is the investment in education good or bad thing? Why/Why not?
11. Is the withdrawal of your children from the school good or bad idea? Why/Why not?
12. Do you have any problems? Why/Why not?

### 13. What are your needs/priorities/future hopes? How can you meet them?

These stage two questions were then rearranged into conversational language, where a general question was asked followed by a set of prompts. The researcher allowed them to answer the general question and then prompted them further it seemed justified. This field interview format is shown below.

#### **Interview Format**

##### 1. Can you tell me about your situation?

Prompts after they are responded:

- Factual information on household assets
- Do they consider they are poor?
- How they consider they are poor
- Definition of poverty

##### 2. Has it always been like this?

- how long
- better/worse than in the past
- changes in their life

##### 3. How do you think your situation got to be like this?

- causes

##### 4. Do you expect things to improve?

##### 5. How do you manage your situation/cope with your situation?

- strategies
- selling of assets
- withdrawal of children from school?

##### 6. What more do you think you could do to get out of this situation?

- strategies
- investing in education
- investing in other high returning or high risky activities

##### 7. What stops you getting out of this situation?

- constraints
- social system

- communal land ownership
- new government policies
- religious activities

8. What stops your situation becoming worse?

- safety nets
- help from others
- social system

9. What do you think the causes of being poor for people like yourself?

- emigration
- government policies
- isolation/powerlessness (relationship with those in power)
- low level of education

10. What do you think the solution for people in your situation?

- recommendations

The field interview format was used to guide the first round of interviews. As the interviews progressed, the field interview format changed, and any changes made were based on the issues emerging from the field data as categories emerged and then moved to saturation.

## Appendix 3:

**Table 1: Village Profile – population, households, social services, government programs**

Village	Population	No. Household	Community Services	Government's programs	Village CBOs	Location
Village 1 Upolu Island	449 (157 male, 192 female)	51	1 primary school, 3 churches (CCCS, Catholic, Mormon), women's committee house, 2 stores, no piped water supply, tar-sealed road inland but not towards the coast, access road, electricity, poor communication, isolation, curfew for evening prayer at 6-7pm.	Bonus Scheme, pension, MAFFM's Extension Service, Fisheries Marine Reserve, Health Services	1 village council, 2 women committees, young entitled men group, youth club	Far eastern side of Upolu Island
Village 2, Upolu Island	1128 (658 male, 470 female)	132	1 primary school, 3 churches (CCCS, SDA, Methodist) 1 women committee house, no store, piped water supply, tar-sealed road, access road, electricity, good communication, curfew for evening prayers at 6-7 pm.	Bonus Scheme, Pension, Health Services	Village council, women committee, health centre,	Middle of Upolu Island
Village 3, Savaii Island	452 (175 male, 271 female)	75	1 primary school, 2 churches (CCCS, SDA, Assembly of God), 1 women committee house, 4 stores, poor water supply (water tank), tar-sealed road, access road, electricity, isolation, water supply is a major vulnerability, Peapea cave for tourist attraction, Village taboos – women are disallowed to wear short pants or miniskirts, men are disallowed to have long hair or beard	Bonus Scheme, pension, health services,	Village council, women committee, traditional healers & mid-wives,	Far western side of Savaii Island
Village 4, Savaii Island	685 (314 male, 371 female)	93	1 primary school, 2 churches (CCCS, Catholic, SDA, Latter Days Saint), women committee house, 2 stores, no piped water supply tar-sealed road, electricity, kerosene lamps for power shortage, access road, isolation, eco-tourism (hanging bridge),	Bonus Scheme, pension, No micro credit scheme	village council, women committee, young untitled men, disabled people, traditional healers & mid-wives,	Far western side of Savaii Island
Village 5, Savaii Island	992 (528 male, 464 female)	102	1 primary school, pre-school, 2 churches (Methodist, CCCS), women committee house, 2 stores, poor water supply (water tank), tar-sealed road, access road, isolation,	Bonus Scheme, pension (92 pensioners), No micro credit scheme,	village council, women committee, young entitled men club,	Far western side of Savaii Island
Village 6, Manono Island	356 (198 male, 464 female)	43	1 primary school, 2 churches (Methodist, CCCS), women committee house, 1 store, piped water supply but not adequate, sandy road, no cars, no cattle, 5 passengers boats, electricity, poor communication, 1 public telephone, isolation, curfew for evening prayers at 6-7 pm.	No Micro Credit scheme, pension, no health program	village council, women committee, young men group, youth club,	Manono Island
Village 7, Upolu Island	751 (349 male, 402 female)	87	1 primary school, 3 churches (Catholic, CCCS, Assembly of God), 1 women committee house, 3 stores, tar-sealed road, access road, electricity, curfew for evening prayers at 6-7 pm.	Bonus Scheme, Micro Credit Scheme, pension, health services	Village council, Women Committee, Young Men Group, Youth club,	Estern side of Upolu Island
Village 8, Upolu Island	616 (332 male, 284 female)	64	1 primary school, 2 churches (CCCS, Catholic), women committee house, 3 stores but 2 stores are dysfunctional, piped water supply, tar-sealed road, access road, electricity, good community (public telephone, isolation, 4 tourist beach resorts.	Bonus Scheme, Pension, Micro Credit Scheme, Special Grants, Fisheries Marine Reserves, Health Services,	Village council, women committee, young men club, tourist beach society, youth club	East Coast of Upolu Island, Long white sandy beaches

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs (1998). Profiles of Savaii Island and Upolu Island, Second Edition, Apia, Samoa.

**Table 2. Details of individual respondents – education, occupation, health status, work experience and business**

Village	Respondent	Education/Skills	Occupation	Health Status	Work experience	Current Business
Village 1, Upolu Island	1	Form 2, village primary school	Office boy for business and church in Apia	Blind and sick because of enlarged scrotum who has been divorced with his wife	Making tea,	None, but his family sell strainers and other things from the bush
	2	Pastor school	Family matai, planter	Sick with painful side	Heavy drinker and smoker, village trouble maker	Selling strainers and other things from the bush, carving and selling the cricket bats,
	3	Form 2, village primary school	Housewife	Physical active widow	Household duties	Farming, fishing and selling fish,
	4	Form 2, Avoka College	Farmer, Deacon,	Physical active man	Fishing, farming, Harvesting strainers	Selling Kava, Selling strainers and others
	5	Form 2, village primary school	Farmer, Pensioner	Physically weak, old	Farming, harvesting strainers	Selling strainers
	6	Form 2, village primary school, Informal farmer group training	village mayor, matai	Physically active, drinker, smokers	Farmer group leader, full time farmer	Semi-commercial producer, farming, cattle farming, piggery, taro farming,
	7	Form 2, village primary school	Full time farmer, preacher,	Physically active recreational drinker, smoker	Hardworking man (resilient/diligent)	Farming
	8	Form 3, Wesley College	Full time farmer	Smoker, drinker	Hardworking man (resilient/diligent)	Farming, Fishing (shrimps)
	9	Form 2, village primary school	Full time farmer, wife is president of women committee	Big man, diabetic & hepatitis	SPBD's small credit scheme, group member	Piggery but no markets, farming, tethering cattle
Village 2, Upolu Island	10	Form 2, Avoka College	Full time farmer	Physically weak, old	Hardworking (resilient), market contracts with local hotels, Access to credit,	Selling pineapples, cocoa
	11	Form 3, village primary school	House wife	Physically weak, old		Selling cooked foods (food sales)
	12	Form 4, District Junior High School	Fishermen, Carver, parent caretaker	Physically active man	Hardworking (resilient/proactive), fishing	Carving and selling canoes, fishing and selling fish
	13	Form 4, district junior high school	Full time farmer, village mayor		Hardworking,	Cattle farming, mixed cropping,
	14	Form 5, Wesley College	Farmer, Seasonal worker (carpenter), village council secretary	Physically strong but lazy		None

**Table 2. Details of individual respondents – education, occupation, health status, work experience and business (continued)**

Village 3, Savaii Island	15	Form 5, Vaipouli College	Farmer, village mayor	Physically weak	Hardworking (resilient/diligent)	Selling produce
	16	Form 5, District Junior High School	Farmer	Physically strong		None
	17	Form 5, District Junior High School	Farmer, Former sawmill worker		Farming	None
Village 4, Savaii Island	18	Form 2, village primary school	Farmer, Housewife, village mayor	Physically weak	Hardworking	Carving and selling the Axe handles
	19	Form 4, District Junior High School	Farmer, Household wife	Physically weak	Farming,	Raising domestic livestock, weaving and selling handicrafts
Village 5 Savaii Island	20	Form 6, Wesley College	Full time farmer	Physically weak	Hardworking	Weaving and selling fine mats, sleeping mats
Village 6, Manono Island	21	Form 2, village primary school	Housewife, farmer, village mayor, matai	Physically weak,	Farmer, village mayor, matai, hardworking	Weaving and selling handicrafts , fishing and selling fish
	22	Form 5, Maluafou College	Housewife,	Physically strong		Weaving/selling handicrafts
Village 7, Upolu Island	23	Form 3, Church College	Small Business Operator	Physically weak	Farmer Society Micro Credit Scheme	Wood Carving, Printing Unsuccessful
	24	Form 2, Village Primary School	Treasurer of Farmer Society	Physically strong	SBEC Micro Credit Operator hardworking,	Making chips, making ice blocks,
Village 8, Upolu Island	25	Form 5, District Junior High School		Physically weak	Farming, SBEC Micro Credit Scheme	Farming, cattle farming, tourist beach resort,
	26	Form 5, District Junior High School	Small Business Operator	Physically strong	Farming, weaving, SPBD's Micro Credit Scheme	Farming, cattle farming, tourist beach resort, Farming, tourist beach resort, cattle farming, shop
	27	Form 5, District Junior High School	Small Business Operation	Physically strong	SPBD's Micro Credit Scheme	Farming (taro),

### Appendix 3:

**Table 3. Details of Individual Respondents– age, sex, marital status, number of people in household, house type, household assets, other facilities and other assets**

Village	Respondent, Age	Sex	No. Household	House Type., Number	Household Assets	Other Facilities	Other Assets
Village 1, Upolu Island	Resp 1, 80 (sick blind old man)	Male	4 children, 4 adults	1 Samoan thatched house, 2 small thatched huts,	No beds, sleep on mats, 1 wood cooking, electric light, no TV set and fridge, 1 radio, 1 safe with only few cups and plates	1 water tank, no running tap,	Few chicken and pigs, no cattle, crops (tammu, yams, banana, b/fruits, c/nuts, farm inputs (knives, no knapsack sprayer,
	Resp 2, 52 50 (couple)	Male Female	4 children, 2 adults (2 son-in-law work on fishing boats, 2 daughters attend school,	1 open-ended iron roofed house with broken foundation, roofs are leaking, 2 thatched huts	1 safe with few cups/plates, wood cooking, TV set, radio, electricity light, no telephone, no fridge, no running tap, 1 bed to store fine mats and pillows but not for sleeping, latrine, 2 stools and 1 table	1 water tank with cracks is unhygienic for drinking, latrine	More lands (80 acres), few crops (taro, taamu, coconuts, breadfruits, papaya, etc but no taro plantation for sale, 34 acres unused lands for lease or sale to build the house
	Resp 3, 78 (Widow)	Female	3 adults, 8 children (1 son live in A. Samoa, 1 grandson left school at age of 8 to look after her, does not know how to write his name or even read something,	1 medium open-ended iron roofed house, concrete foundation without ceiling, 1 small thatched hut	1 box of clothes, electricity (1 light bulb), No TV set, radio, fridge, wood cooking, no safe for cups and plates,	No running tap but only pastor's tap, PC toilet	Taro plantation for sale sometimes, Few crops (banana, coconuts, breadfruits are grown near the house, domestic livestock (5 pigs – 3 sows, 2 boars, piglets
	Resp 4, 60 56 (couple)	Male Female	6 children (4 sons, 2 daughters), 2 adults (sons work on fishing boats in Apia, 1 boy studies at Punaoa Polytechnic, 1 son stays home when withdrew from school, 1 daughter lives with her husband, 1 daughter has left school.	1 Samoan house, partially covered with corrugated iron roofs and thatched with concrete foundation, 1 small thatched hut,	1 bed to store mats, fine mats but not for sleeping, 1 box of clothes, 1 safe with few cups and plates inside, No electricity but kerosene lantern, No TV set, no radio, freezer but electricity, 1 PC toilet,	1 copra drier, 1 old generator for electricity, no running tap, 1 water tank, fishing gear (spears)	Domestic livestock (few pigs, chicken, no cattle, No saving, Few family labour for farming, More lands (20 acres) under coconuts, 20 acres unutilized, taro plantation (1/2 acre) after TLB disease , banana, coconuts, b/fruits, kava for sale at \$5/bag
	Resp 5, 68 60 (couple)	Male Female	5 children, 2 adults (2 sons aged 15 and 16 no longer attend school, 2 children are still in school except young child10 children from	1 open ended iron roofed house with concrete foundation, no rooms,	Electricity, no freezer, no TV set, no radio, wood cooking, fine mats, mats,	Latrine, No running tap, water from streams, no employees,	More lands (30 acres) unutilised except coconuts, 1 acre taro plantation for consumption only, No cattle, only few pigs and chicken, No family saving,

**Table 3. Details of Individual Respondents— age, sex, marital status, number of people in household, house type, household assets, other facilities and other assets (continued)**

	Resp 6, 62 58 (couple)	Male Female	8 children, 2 adults (2 sons who live in Apia to work as taxi drivers, 1 son in American Samoa, 1 daughter live at her husband's family, 1 daughter is a teacher, 1 son work full time on farm, 1 daughter with her baby)	1 open-ended iron roof house, concrete foundation with a ceiling, 2 small thatched house,	1 safe with few cups and plates inside, wood cooking, electricity (2 inflorescent lights, 2 light bulbs), 1 TV set, video, freezer, radio and telephone,	2 PC toilets, no running tap but 2 water tanks, 1 farm vehicle (second hand pickup),	More lands (100 acres) for farming, 2 big taro plantations as major source of income and staple foods, banana, yams, kava, b/fruits, 1 cattle farm (20 cattle, 1 pigsty with many pigs and chicken for sale, obligations and consumption, 1 pandanus plantation for weaving materials, farm equipment (knapsack sprayers, knives, etc. Personal saving (\$7000)
	Resp 7, 58 55 (couple)	Male Female	9 children (6 daughters, 3 sons) 2 adults (3 children abroad, 1 daughter is preschool teacher, 1 son is a driver at Heavenly Water company, 1 daughter no longer attends school)	1 open ended iron roofed house, concrete foundation, no ceiling and few stools, 1 small thatched huts,	1 bed, 2 boxes of cloths, electricity (2 inflorescent lights, 1 light bulb), 1 TV set, radio, no freezer, 1 safe with few cups and plates, wood cooking, fine mats, mats	1 open garage with no car (broken), 1 van from NZ but is broken because of drunkenness,	More lands under coconuts (20 acres, 50 acres unutilised, 2 acres taro plantation for sale and consumption, banana, b/fruits, taamu, yams around the house, few labour for farming, Few pigs and chicken, empty cattle fence, no cattle, coconuts
	Resp 8, 59 54 (couple)	Male Females	2 adults, 13 children (5 daughters, 7 sons but 1 son and 1 daughter died), 1 eldest son in NZ, 1 daughter in Australia, 1 daughter marry to one man at neighbouring village, 5 sons work on farm, 1 daughter work as a lawyer's family, 1 daughter in American Samoa	1 open ended iron roofed house, concrete foundation, 2 walled rooms and windows, 1 small thatched huts,	Electricity (2 inflorescent lights, 2 light bulbs), wood cooking, 1 bed to store mats, fine mats, 1 safe with few cups and plates, 1 freezer, TV set, video, stereo,	1 van from son in NZ, 1 PC toilet and shower,	More lands for farming, 25 acres coconut plantation, yams, banana but taamu is not grown well, 30 pigs (4 sows, 5 boars, 18 piglets) and chicken
	Resp 9, 56 52 (couple)	Male Female	2 adults, 6 children (5 sons, 1 daughter, 1 daughter-in-law works in USA help built the house, 1 son work as a ground man at Mormon Church, 2 boys lie with their own families within the village, 1 daughter in NZ, 1 son study at Lefaga Junior High School)	1 newly half open-ended iron roofed house with 2 brick walled bedrooms, 1 wooden shack,	Electricity (2 light bulbs), 1 TV set, stereo, no freezer, 1 cooling water machine, 1 safe with more cups and plates, 1 bed to store mats and fine mats, wood cooking,	1 latrine, no running tap,	More lands under coconuts (30 acres) and 40 acres lands unutilized, Big taro (3 acres), banana, yams, coconuts,
Village 2, Upolu Island	Resp 10, 76 70 (couple)	Male Female	3 children, 2 adults (2 daughter and son work on well paying jobs), 2 sister-in-laws in NZ for remittances	1 newly fully furnished European (brick walled house, 1 open-ended iron roofed house for rest, 1 shack for relax,	1 TV set, stereo, 1 freezer, 1 kerosene oven, gas cooker,	1 flush toilet, 1 farm vehicle (pickup truck), farm equipment (b/knives)	3 acres pineapple plantation, cocoa for sale and consumption, domestic livestock – 23 pigs (3 sows, 2 boars, 18 piglets), chicken, 10 acres cattle farm (10 cattle) on government leased hold lands at Siusega, Personal savings of \$2000 for emergencies

**Table 3. Details of Individual Respondents- age, sex, marital status, number of people in household, house type, household assets, other facilities and other assets (continued)**

	Resp 11, 61 (widow)	Female	10 children, 2 adults (3 daughters, 1 son, 2 son-in-laws (6) work at Copra Meal factory and earn 2 cents per nut, daughters work as babysitter in Apia, but another work as a babysitter within the village, 3 son-in-laws sell cooked foods to market everyday, 2 daughters look after their children.	1 open-ended iron roofed house with no ceiling, partially concrete foundation,	No bed, 1 box of clothes, electricity (1 light bulb), 1 TV set, radio, no fridge, wood cooking,	1 flush toilet and shower, 1 running tap,	Lack of Lands (1/4 acre) for farming but more family labour, no taro plantation, few banana and coconuts are grown nearby for food,
	Resp 12, 42 40 (couple)	Male Female	6 children, 4 adults	1 open-ended iron roofed house, concrete foundation, ceiling, 2 small thatched huts	1 bed to store fine mats, mats, pillows, 1 safe with cups and plates, wood cooking, 1 canoe for fishing, 1 TV set, radio, no fridge.		2 canoes for sale (\$5,000, \$7000 each), fishing nets, spears, etc, crab catching tools, fine mats, mats, 1 acre land for mixed cropping (taamu, banana, cocoa, coconuts, etc.,
	Resp 13, 56 55 (couple)	Male Female	5 children, 2 adults (4 children in NZ (1 daughter is married, 1 youngest daughter is studying, 2 sons run their own families.	3 European (brick-walled houses, sick, toilet and shower inside, 1 Samoan style iron roofed house, concrete foundation	6 cars (1 dyna, 1 big truck, taxi, 4 pick-up trucks), 1 tractor, 1 taxi from children in NZ, TV set, stereo, fridge, freezer,	1 market block for produce sale,	cocoa plantation (10 acres), mixed cropping (2 acres) of banana, papaya, taamu, yams, etc, 1govt leased hold lands for 150 cattle farm (100 acres), piggery, chicken farm, 5 family labour, 10 hired village labour
	Resp 14, 48 45 (couple)	Male Female	2 adults, 6 children (2 sons, 4 daughters), 2 attend school, 2 are young	1 Samoan style iron roofed house, concrete foundation with brick-walled rare, bed rooms,	1 TV set, radio, etc, 1 bed, 1 box of clothes, 1 kerosene oven, electricity (2 light bulbs), wood cooking,	1 flush toilet, shower,	Fine mats, mats, breadfruits, banana are grown near the house, 5 pigs and few chicken, Small lands for cocoa, coconuts for home use,
Village 3, Savaii Island	Resp 15, 67 57 (couple)	Male Female	2 adults, 10 children (5 sons, 6 daughters), 1 son work at sawmill, 2 daughters marry to SDA's pastor, 2 sons live at their wives families, 2 sons, 1 daughter in American Samoa,	1 open-ended iron roofed house, concrete foundation, and ceiling, 3 small thatched huts, wood cooking,	1 bed, 1 safe with cups and plate, 3 boxes of clothes, no TV set, stereo, no freezer, electricity (2 inflorescent lights, 2 light bulbs	1 latrine, food stalls, 1 water tank but full of water borne worms,	More lands (200 acres) but only small portion covered with farm, 2 acres taro plantation with taamu, yams, banana, etc, 2 acres cocoa plantation near the house, 1 acre pineapple farm, papaya, mangoes,
	Resp 16, 62 61 (couple)	Male Female	11 children (5 sons, 6 daughters), 2 adults (1 son died, 1 son work at sawmill, 1 son work at EPC, 2 daughters live in Apia, 1 daughter in American Samoa work at cannery, 1 daughter is at her husband's family	1 open-ended iron roofed house, concrete foundation, and ceiling, 1 small thatched hut, wood cooking, mats, fine mats,	Electricity (1 light bulb), 1 TV set, radio, video gifted by children, no freezer,	1 latrine because of water problem, 1 water emptied,	10 acres coconut plantation but more lands unutilised, 1 taro plantation, with taamu, banana, pawpaw, etc., lands are susceptible to bush fire in dry season, 1 cattle, few chickens and 6 pigs,

**Table 3. Details of Individual Respondents- age, sex, marital status, number of people in household, house type, household assets, other facilities and other assets (continued)**

	Resp 17, 52 51 (couple)	Male Female	6 children (4 sons, 2 daughters), 3 adults (1 son work at sawmill, 1 daughter in A Samoa, 1 son work at cannery in A Samoa, 2 sons attend school, 1 daughter marry and at her husband's family, lack of family labour,	1 big open-ended iron roofed house, no ceiling, non-concrete foundation, 1 small thatched hut, s	wood cooking, 1 bed with mats and sleeping mat, 1 safe with cups and plates, 1 radio, no TV set, no freezer, electricity (2 light bulbs),	bush knives, 1 water tank, latrine,	More lands (150 acres), 1 acre taro plantation because of new taro varieties, mixed cropping of taamu, yams, pawpaw, banana, cocoa, 3 cattle are tethering but hope to extend because of more lands, 8 pigs, few chicken.
Village 4, Savaii Island	Resp 18, 60 60 (couple)	Male Female	5 children (1 son, 4 daughters), 2 adults, 1 daughter in NZ, 1 daughter work at ANZ Bank in Apia, earns \$200/week, 1 daughter at her husband's family at Malie, daughter is teacher, 1 youngest daughter study at Asau Junior High School, 1 son look after the family, and work seasonally at hanging bridge.	1 small open-ended iron roofed house, no ceiling, concrete foundation, built with cyclone leftovers,	1 freezer, 1 kerosene oven, radio, TV set, 1 bed, 1 safe with cups, plates, wood cooking,	1 empty water tank, no running tap, 1 PC toilet, electricity (2 light bulbs),	More lands, 1 acre of taro plantation with taamu, yams and banana, 5 acres of coconuts with few cocoa trees because of cyclone, few b/fruit trees, oranges, mangoes are grown near the house, lands are vulnerable to bush fire and drought, 1 pig, no cattle, fine mats for social activities,
	Resp 19, 65 42 (couple)	Male Female	5 children (3 sons, 2 daughters), 2 adults (1 eldest son work at Chinese shop in Apia, 1 son at Sau Junior High School, 1 daughter at Falealupo primary school, 2 are young.	1 shack, 1 new small thatched hut, vulnerable to cyclones and strong winds,	1 sofa, no safe, few cups and plates, no radio, no watch, few dirty clothes, pillows and sheets, no mattress, fine mats	1 bush knives,	Few pigs (3) and chicken, 1 acre of mixed cropping (taro, taamu, etc but more lands left unutilized, b/fruits, taamu, banana are rown nearby,
Village 5, Savaii Island	Resp 20, 25 26 (couple)	Male Female	2 children (1 son, 1 daughter), 2 adults	1 old European house, 1 shack, no TV set, no radio, no freezer,	1 bed, 1 safe with few cups and plates, wood cooking,	1 water tank, no running tap,	More lands (45 acres), 2 acres taro plantation with taamu, yams, banana, few cocoa and coconuts after cyclones, b/fruits are grown near the house 1 bush knife, 2 cattle are tethering, 15 pigs (3 sows, 1 boar, 11 piglets), chicken, No family savings, weaving materials (fine mats, sleeping mats) farm lands are vulnerable to drought and bush fire.
Village 6, Manono Island	Resp 21, 67 (couple)	Female	4 children (1 son, 3 daughters), 1 adult (1 daughter is a teacher but plans to leave for NZ, 1 daughter in NZ, 1 son is studying at Piula Theological College, 1 daughter stays home and mentally ill, 1 son-in-law is a fisherman,	1 old European house, with no rooms except the room used for a shop, its broken walls, windows and concrete foundation since the cyclones and tidal waves, 1 small thatched hut,	1 freezer, stereo from her daughter in NZ, 1 TV set from her daughter (teacher), 1 bed, 1 safe with few cups and plates, 1 dressing table, wood cooking, electricity (2 light bulbs), inadequate piped water supply, 1 water tank almost empty,	1 PC toilet and shower on reclaimed land which raise concerns about its unhygienic,	Small infertile lands for farming (overused) sandy soil, small patch of taro, taamu, yams, etc inside the stone fence, banana, b/fruits are grown nearby, few coconuts and cocoa for consumption after recent cyclones, 5 pigs, few chicken, no cattle because of limited lands,

**Table 3. Details of Individual Respondents— age, sex, marital status, number of people in household, house type, household assets, other facilities and other assets (continued)**

	Resp 22, 58 54 (couple)	Male Female	6 children (3 sons, 3 daughters) 2 adults(2 children aged 22 and 24 years old work as casual employees at Yazaki Samoa Ltd, earns \$50/week, 1 son attend Aaana Junior High School, 2 children attend the village primary school, 2 children in A. Samoa send, say \$500/month,	1 open-ended iron roofed house, poor condition without concrete foundation and ceiling. It's damaged by cyclones but replace the rotten posts with local woods, 1 small thatched hut,	1 PC toilet with broken doors, wood cooking, no TV set, no radio, no freezer, electricity (1 light bulb), 1 bed with fine mats and sleeping mats, no safe with few cups and plates, dirty clothed children,	2 water tanks, 2 b/knives,	1 acre taro plantation for family food, few banana, cocoa, yams and coconuts are grown at backyard, Weaving fine mats and sleeping mats, No family savings, remittances for consumption,
Village 7, Upolu Island	Resp 23, 43 38 (couple)	Male Female	4 children (2 sons, 2 daughters) (2 children attend primary in Apia, 1 brother abroad but its rare to get any money,	1 open-ended iron roofed house, concrete foundation, 2 walled rooms with windows at the rare, 1 small thatched hut,	1 PC toilet, 1 bed, 2 boxes of cloth, 1 sofa, electricity (2 inflorescent lights, 2 light bulbs), 1 TV set, radio but no freezer,	Running tap,	Little lands for farming, no taro plantation, few banana, taamu, coconuts, b/fruits, No personal saving, 1 piglet, no cattle and chicken
	Resp 24, 56 54 (couple)	Male Female	5 children (4 sons, 1 daughter) 2 adults (1 daughter in NZ to receive remittances, 2 eldest sons work full time on farm, but plan to send them to NZ, 1 son withdrawn from school due to unaffordable fees, 1 son attend St Joseph College in Apia,	1 open-ended iron roofed house with no ceiling, 1 walled room with windows, concrete foundation, 1 small thatched hut, concrete foundation where kerosene oven is used for making chips, 1 small thatched hut, wooden floors	1 flush toilet and shower, 1 TV set, stereo, video, 1 freezer from NZ, 1 telephone for radio advertisements, 1 bed with fine mats, 1 dressing table, 1 safe with many cups and plates, electricity (2 light bulbs), running tap, 1 kerosene oven funded by loan (\$460), wood cooking,		More lands (5 acres) for farming, 15 acres to tether 3 cattle, big (4 acres) taro plantation with yams, taamu, banana for sale, 10 acres coconut plantation with cocoa, b/fruit trees are grown near the house, 15 pigs and chicken for social events (pig cost \$40-50 each),
Village 8, Upolu Island	Resp 25, 32 30 (couple)	Male Female	6 children (4 sons, 2 daughters) 2 adults (1 daughter and her husband run a tourist beach resort, 1 daughter and 1 son in NZ, 2 sons help run a tourist beach resort, 1 eldest son runs his own tourist beach house,	1 European 3 bedroom house, brick-walls, windows, internal kitchen, 1 big guest house with restaurant and bar inside, dancing floor, 1 open-ended Samoan thatched house,	1 TV set, radio, fridge, freezer, 1 telephone, electricity, running taps,	2 flush toilets and shower outside, 1 shop, 6 tourist beach houses, 2 cars (pick-up trucks from NZ and local),	More lands (150) for farming, White sandy beach with green surroundings, 50 acres under coconuts where the 15 cattle farm is, 50 acres of mixed cropping (taro, yams, banana, taamu, kava, etc, b/fruits, yams, taamu are grown nearby. Few pigs and chicken. Family Saving

**Table 3. Details of Individual Respondents- age, sex, martial status, number of people in household, house type, household assets, other facilities and other assets (continued)**

	Resp 26, 49 45 (couple)	Male Female	8 children (7 sons, 1 daughter) 2 adults (1 eldest son work at car rental in Apia, 1 son finish from Samoa Polytechnic (mechanic), 3 sons attend school	1 small iron roofed house with concrete foundation, walls & windows, 1 Samoan style thatched house with concrete foundation,	1 bed, 1 safe with cups and plates, 1 kerosene oven, wood cooking, electricity (2 inflorescent lights, 8 light bulbs), 2 running taps, 1 TV set, radio, telephone,	1 flush toilet and shower outside, 1 shop and restaurant for tourists, 6 tourist beach houses, 1 van from NZ,	More lands (50 acres) for farming, 2 acres new taro plantation, taamu, yams, etc, b/fruits, banana, taamu are grown near the house, 1 cattle farm (10 cattle) on 20 acres land, few pigs and chicken. Nice white sandy beach
	Resp 27, 30 (couple)	Female	3 children (1 son, 2 daughters) 2 adults	1 European 3 bedroom brick walled house,, 1 small thatched hut,	wood cooking, 2 running taps, no TV set but a radio, 1 freezer, 1 safe with cups and plates, 1 bed with mats,	1 flush toilet and shower, farm equipments (1 spade, knapsack sprayer, fishing nets,	3 small tourist houses left after tidal waves, No family savings. More lands for farming but mostly unutilized, 3 acres overed with taro plantation with taamu, yams and banana. Few cocoa and coconuts are grown at backyard, 2 cattle are tethered but no cattle farm, 10 pigs (2 sows, 3 boars, 7 piglets).

Appendix 4: Location of Individual Case Studies in Samoa

