


Fall 2012

Perceptions of Wealth and Poverty in Samoa

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Perceptions of Wealth and Poverty in Samoa

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S.I.T. Samoa, Fall 2012

Abstract

The current literature on perceptions of wealth and poverty is lacking. There is a growing need to understand the current state of wealth and poverty in Samoa. Globalization has brought foreign values that are in stark contrast to those of traditional Samoan culture and issues surrounding wealth and poverty which are creating new challenges. This research is looking at the traditional concepts of wealth and poverty in Samoa from traditional and contemporary perspectives, while also providing new insights to the current state of wealth and poverty in Samoa.

Research was conducted using interviews with ten informants from various backgrounds. Along with these interviews a twelve question bilingual survey was conducted in the greater Apia area. Eighty five surveys were collected from both males and females ranging in age from eighteen to eighty three years. Along with these primary sources a number of secondary sources were used in order to provide further statistical and general information.

The research found that Samoa is at a crossroads, where ideas, values, and concepts are changing. Modern values are mixing and assimilating with traditional values in a way that is promoting poverty. The main concern in terms of poverty is that of opportunity and access to resources. The basic needs are expanding and this is creating issues that are new to Samoa.

Samoa currently is operating under both traditional concepts and contemporary concepts of wealth and poverty. Traditional concepts have become monetized and are now causing strains on families. Samoa must focus on providing opportunities for the people that will enable the population to access necessities and eliminate poverty.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this paper to everyone in my life for bringing me to the place that I am today.

To my mother for teaching me perseverance and to always follow my dreams.

To my father aka pops for always believing in me and supporting me in all of my endeavors.

To my Grandmother for her endless love that transcends oceans and time.

To Samuel Pieniadz for challenging me to study in “Fiji” and helping me select this amazing program.

To Andrew Holliday for providing endless banter and humor that keeps me going.

To Zachary Rodivich for his knack for good music that has become the soundtrack of my trip

To Gabrielle Fuelner for the sporadic novel sized updates that always make me laugh

To Karolin Gancarz for her encouraging me to work and stop wasting time on facebook

To the beautiful pacific islands for helping expanding my horizons

Acknowledgements

There are many people who have helped me throughout this project. First, I have to thank Jackie Fa'asisila for her continuous support and encouragement. You have helped me from the start not only chose and narrow my topic, but been my primary resource throughout the research and writing process. I appreciate the long nights waiting for an email with a draft to come through only to have it not attach properly. Sorry for the depriving you of sleep those nights and thank you for believing in me and this project. One of my fondest memories is our home stay together in Fiji, chicken feet, roti, fireworks, brown label, and of course playing with Anket. I cannot express how much I appreciate everything that you have done to make this such a special experience.

I must thank Wood Salele for agreeing to be my advisor on this project and giving me a framework for which to think about my topic. Without your help and guidance I would have surely been in over my head. I appreciate the time and support you gave me and of course the talks on politics and other current issues. I know you are a busy man in and I value the time you put in to my project.

I must also thank Suzie Schuster for giving me the initial spark and inspiration for my topic. Who knew discussions on health could lead to concepts about wealth and poverty. Thank you for providing me with the initial inspiration and of course an interview.

Peter Bendinelli I want to thank you for not only the interview, but helping me gather surveys. Without your help my survey data would be lacking. Thank you for your time I appreciate the extra work you put in to help me with this project.

I would also like to thank Afamasaga Toleafoa, Cedric Schuster, Tili Afamasaga, Mose Mailo, Steve Percival, Keni Lesa, and Rupeni Tamanikaiyaroi for taking the time out of your busy schedules and discussing wealth and poverty. I enjoyed every interview and learned a lot through the process. Unfortunately I could not incorporate all of your thoughts and ideas into this paper or I would still be here this time next semester. Thank you for your support I truly appreciate it.

I would like to thank all of my Pacific Island friends and family for making this one of the most memorable experiences of my life. The memories we made together I will carry with me for the rest of my life. I look forward to our next meeting and having a bowl of 'ava.

Rosie, thank you for being my best friend and partner in crime. I truly appreciate the love and support you have shown me. For the first time in my life I have a sister. I look forward to keeping in touch state side. Just remember if I had one wish, I would wish for more wishes...

Gelkus, Mari, and Gildermuth this experience would not have been the same without all of you. Through thick and thin and our ups and downs I am glad we had the opportunity to share this experience. We made many memories that I will cherish forever. I look forward to the reunion of the fab five.

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Introduction

In 2014 Samoa is set to graduate from a least developed country to a developing country. Samoa has made much progress with regards to the Millennium development goals and has been seen hailed as the model country of the Pacific. With this accomplishment and international recognition, there is a need to stop and examine the Samoa case. This paper will break down a single concept that is a direct result of development. With all of Samoa's progress towards development, consequences are inevitable, one of them: poverty.

The Prime Minister and many others have publicly stated there is no poverty in Samoa as food and land are available to everyone. Others challenge this view and point to international measures of poverty that are present in Samoa. This paper will delve into the nature of poverty in Samoa and answer the following research questions:

- What were traditional concepts of wealth and poverty?
- Where is Samoa currently in terms of both traditional and contemporary concepts of wealth and poverty?
- What is the future of wealth and poverty in Samoa?

The Samoan government operates with a different definition of poverty than the international community. This paper will explore different ideas of poverty and conversely wealth in order to provide more realistic insights into the nature of wealth and poverty in Samoa.

It will look at contemporary concepts of wealth and poverty and identify globally accepted definitions. Traditional views on wealth and poverty will be identified and discussed, focusing on the importance of the *fa'asamoa*. This will shift into the

importance of social obligations and the resulting consequences for the people. Next poverty of opportunity will be discussed that will lead into the breakdown of rural and urban poverty. Finally, once these themes have been discussed analysis will take place using the findings from both surveys and interviews. A conclusion will follow that will reiterate the findings and provide ideas for change.

Wealth and poverty are very difficult concepts to quantify, given the infinite number of definitions and potential factors determining wealth and poverty. When looking at wealth and poverty from the Samoa lens, one must understand the culture and nature of Samoa. The *fa'asamoa* is very strong and in many ways dictates the lives of Samoans both domestic and abroad. The *fa'asamoa* has been best explained as not merely a place, but an identity. When looking at the *fa'asamoa* one must understand that it is always changing and growing. Parliamentarian Wood Salele best described it, “Culture is a way of life and it should not be seen as stagnant or something that is stable. It is a living entity.”¹ When traditional culture or traditional values are referenced it will be around the time of initial contact with the west. The written Samoan language did not exist prior to Christian missionaries’ translation of the Bible which was the first written document in the Samoan language. Thus the written knowledge and understanding of traditional culture originates in the early nineteenth century around 1830.

The culture is ever changing but this research looks at wealth and poverty at this particular time in history. Research such as this would be meaningless if culture and values were stagnant, but no culture is forever frozen in time. When looking at complex concepts it is necessary to define the terms for the specific purposes of this work.

¹ Salele, Wood. Parliamentarian. The University of the South Pacific Alafua Samoa. 12 November 2012

Poverty is a very complex concept that has continually changed and adapted most notably since World War II. The development and economic concepts surrounding poverty during the reconstruction era have become more complex throughout the twentieth and twenty first centuries.² Instead of focusing on complex and controversial issues surrounding poverty, current globally accepted definitions are more useful.

Father Kevin Barr describes poverty as, “ a multi-dimensional reality, which has both economic and non-economic dimensions.”³ Further the World Bank has said “poverty is a ‘pronounced deprivation in well-being’”⁴ and “unacceptable human deprivation in terms of economic opportunity, education, health, and nutrition, as well as lack of empowerment and security.”⁵

There are two distinct types of poverty absolute and relative. Absolute poverty is defined as people not being able to meet their basic needs in terms of food, clothing, housing, education and health care. Relative poverty is mainly used as a comparison whether it is within a single society or on larger scale to other countries.⁶ This distinction is important, as those interviewed discuss relative poverty both on a global scale, within the Pacific, and within Samoa. Understanding at which level they are viewing relative poverty is key in interpreting the information correctly.

² Tuilaepa, Faletoi S. *A Participatory Model of Rural Poverty In Samoa*, 2006 P 8

³ Barr, Kevin J. *Making Poverty History: Different Approaches to Addressing Issues of Poverty and Development*. 2005 P 16

⁴ Khandker, Shahid, and Jonathan Haughton. *Introduction to Poverty Analysis*; 2005

⁵ Barr, Kevin. 2005 P 16

⁶ Barr, Kevin. 2005 P 16

Methodology

This will be done using primary sources, including interviews, observations, and surveys. The interviews are with academics and those knowledgeable about certain aspects of culture, health, education, religion, and economics in Samoa. The results of the survey, representing the overall sentiment will help confirm or contradict the thoughts and views expressed in the interviews.

This research set out to identify different perspectives and views on wealth and poverty in Samoa. Research was conducted over two and a half week period in November 2012 in Apia and the surrounding village Interviews were conducted with ten informants with various backgrounds and focused on gathering a range of perspectives from health, education, culture, religious, government, academia, media, and international viewpoints. The interviews lasted from anywhere between half an hour and an hour and forty-five minutes. In addition to the interviews, a twelve-question bilingual survey was designed after an initial eight interviews and the identification of recurring themes. Eighty-five individuals (47 male and 38 females) ranging in age from 18 to 83 completed the survey.

A mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches was used. The interviews provided a personal understanding and qualitative data while the surveys provided statistics to support or refute the statements, opinions, and insights provided in the interviews. Constraints and limitations included the short time period for research, analysis, and writing severely limits the scope, depth, and understanding that allow definitive conclusions about wealth and poverty in Samoa. Another limitation was the physical location of research, only in and around the Apia area. The informants represent

a small portion of the population in a very small, defined location. Input from the rural population is lacking and this must be taken into consideration when examining the data from the surveys. The majority of surveys were given orally, but the possibility of misunderstanding and misinterpretation is always present in bilingual surveys and must be considered when looking at the results.

In spite of constraints, the surveys and interviews support for one another and clarify information gathered, as well as strengthen the findings and analysis. Using both primary and secondary sources provided a platform for exploration into new ever changing perspectives on wealth and poverty.

“Samoa and other Pacific nations the definition of poverty is completely different. I think they are looking at the outside, the symptoms but I think that poverty is something internal.”⁷ This study is important in that it will explore this idea of wealth and poverty from a Samoan context. The information gathered and presented will shed light into what is wealth and poverty for Samoans. Is it the same globally or are there concepts that are unique to Samoa.

⁷ Tamanikaiyaroi, Rupeni. Professor at the University of the South Pacific. 20 November 2012.

Traditional Concepts

When looking at traditional concepts of wealth and poverty, one must acknowledge that Samoa was a subsistence-based society. “I think you can start from the point that nature has been very kind. People’s basic needs were always there.”⁸ Samoans relied on the land and sea to provide their basic needs for survival, and over the course of history the *fa’asamoa* or Samoa culture and way of life developed around subsistence.

Every member played a role in traditional communal based society. The group, rather than the individual, was the most important entity. The brother-sister relationship, *feagaiga* was very important traditionally, but the family or the *aiga* with the *matai* at its head were the heart of society. “The of *matai* is supposed to look after the welfare of the family. Everybody pays homage to this *matai* gives him a lot of things and he will distribute everything so that everyone has food and shelter.”⁹ The *matai* controls the society through distribution of food, land, goods, and services.

In the traditional society in terms of wealth and poverty, “there was no way to accumulate material wealth. There was no market for food. Everybody grew the same thing. Everyone had access to food. There were no markets where you could accumulate material wealth.”¹⁰ The key to understanding traditional concepts about wealth and poverty is that it was not focused on material wealth. There was no currency. Everyone had access to the same resources and this created a very equal society. “This is traditionally the culture and nobody was said to be in poverty.”¹¹ Fine mats were used as

⁸ Toleafoa, Afamasaga. Consultant Journalist. Nelson Public Library Apia Samoa. 13 November 2012.

⁹ Afamasaga, Tili. Independent Consultant. The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, education. Apia Samoa. 23 November 2012.

¹⁰ Toleafoa. 13 November 2012

¹¹ Afamasaga. 23 November 2012

a sort of currency, but only in social situations and they were not used as a medium for exchange, but as a sign of giving.

“The concept of wealth, it was really about relationships, building up alliances.”¹²

The connections one could make and build not only within their *‘aiga* and their village, but with other villages as well. Due to these relationships, no one went hungry. If there was a shortage of food the village would go on *malaga*.

Villagers communities would plant their food now and until it was ready would actually go on a trip and go visiting relations. Cementing relationships with the next villages or a whole lot of other villages. While they were away they were being fed by other people. While they were being fed they were establishing relationships and cementing relationships.¹³

When they returned their food would be ready to harvest.

Relationships were a social safety net for people. “That is the kind of concept of wealth. It was to do with your friends, your connections who will always come back to look after you.”¹⁴ People pooled their limited resources and capabilities to provide for everyone. No one person had a more important role than another in terms of providing resources to the *‘aiga* and to the village. There was a lot of trust inherent in the relationships.

The *matai* especially had to provide the leadership for the people and ensure that resources were distributed equally. If the *matai* failed to look after the people, the *aiga*, and the village it would weaken the *matai*’s title and power base. The *matai* had a higher standing than other family members and made decisions the *aiga* and the village followed. “What that really is reflecting is this very structured tiered hierarchical society,

¹² Toleafoa. 13 November 2012

¹³ Toleafoa. 13 November 2012

¹⁴ Toleafoa. 13 November 2012

where poverty and wealth very much relate to status. The higher the status in the village, the more wealthy a person is regarded.”¹⁵

When looking at wealth in traditional society one must understand that wealth was very much related to well being. The communal society was structured around providing the maximum amount of well being and security through pooled resources. When there was a surplus or excess, sharing and giving ensure the well being of others, but also to establish relationships and a safety net for when the giver is in need. There was no store of wealth in traditional society, wealth was the ability to give and solely based on connections and relationships with others.

The functioning of society was based around this concept of well being. The *malaga* and other rituals were used to cement ties between villages and ensure further social safety nets. Rites of passage and social events, *fa'alavelave*, were used as a way to grow relationships and strengthen relations overtime.

Traditional concepts of wealth and poverty related to relationships and standing. What others thought was important the support of others and standing with others was necessary to guaranteeing that people's needs were met and thus ensuring the survival of the people. No one was rich and no one was poor. Access to resources was the same and everything was shared amongst people. If someone was not in good standing with the village or *aiga*, one could be banished. Banishment, living alone, and having no social safety net was the ultimate sign of poverty in traditional society. Conversely, the more relationships, connections, and friendships one had with individuals, *aiga*, and villages made someone wealthy. Wealth was also having a title and the support of the *aiga*, which reflected the strength of your relationships.

¹⁵ Percival, Steve. Film Maker. Coffee Bean café, Apia Samoa. 14 November 2012.

The definite concepts of wealth and poverty in traditional Samoan culture relate to the ability to provide resources and well being through relationships with others. Poverty meant having few or no relationships, which would make it more difficult to access resources and provide for one's self. Wealth was marked by strong relationships on many levels. The hierarchical structure and functioning of society was based on developing, strengthening, and cementing these relationships. Relationships provided a social safety net to support themselves or their family. "That is where the kinds of wealth, always in those terms, how extended your family connections are. How well connected you are. That is the kind of wealth in traditional Samoa, still is to a certain extent."¹⁶ Social obligations were key to maintaining relationships in traditional culture and the way in which cultural wealth was built. This next section will discuss social obligations in traditional context and then look at the current role of social obligations.

Social Obligations

One of the means to establishing and maintaining these strong connections is through *fa'alavelave*. "In the past the more resources you had the more you share. When you go to a *fa'alavelave* or a funeral you will see that. Everything is shared. The more things you receive the more you share with your family members."¹⁷ *Fa'alavelave*, social events that center around rites of passage in traditional culture, are a way of cementing relationships. Social obligations in Samoa are a way to ensure ties and that one has a strong social safety net. In order to build these relationships, certain resources must be

¹⁶ Toleafoa. 13 November 2012

¹⁷ Tamanikaiyaroi. 20 November 2012

given to establish these relationships. Traditionally, the giving of “fine mats were the only currency, but only in the cementing of people relationships.”¹⁸

Western ideas have been introduced but the values of a culture change slowly. There are a few exceptions to this one being the influence of Christianity in Samoa. “In most of the villages, there are no more village obligations in terms of money. Now it is mainly the church and family *fa’alavelave*.” The church in Samoa has had a huge impact on the lives of the people. Socially the church has become another platform in which relationships with others and bonds are formed.

Samoans have always been very spiritual even prior to contact with Christian missionaries. The church was quickly adopted and became a new social aspect of society. It provided a new arena for which relationships could be developed and strengthened. Along with the church came further social obligations such as a contribution of time and resources. *Fa’alavelave* had always been conducted with the giving of fine mats, pigs, chickens, and food, but with the introduction of the church and western culture, a more monetary system began to develop.

The brother sister relationship traditionally was one of the most important and sacred relationships. The brother had a duty to take care of the sister and the sister had a duty to honor her brother through her actions. This relationship is called the *feagaiga*.

There is this very strong cultural connection between the title eventually given to the preachers and missionaries. The *feagaiga* is a reference to a traditional Samoan concept to do with the brother sister relationship. The *feagaiga* has been translated as covenant. They (the missionaries) chose this word very astutely. The minister becomes the sister in this relationship with the congregation. The congregation is the brother serving the minister, looking after his needs and

¹⁸ Toleafoa. 13 November 2012

ensuring honor on the village through the service to the minister.¹⁹

The churches role in society is to provide spiritual guidance and service. Culturally Samoans value spirituality and honoring the church is fulfilling certain basic spiritual needs of the people. When looking at cultural needs, the need for religious guidance must be considered in terms of wealth and poverty even though it is not a physical need. This concept is very important when looking at the role of the church and its effects on wealth and poverty.

Social obligations are a means to accumulate cultural wealth, in terms of relationships. *Fa'alavelave* and the contributions to the church are the social obligations that seemingly conflict with the modern world. The mixing of cultures and different value systems have created new ideas about wealth and poverty in Samoa. Cultural definitions of wealth and poverty can no longer suffice, yet contemporary definitions fail to acknowledge cultural concepts of wealth.

Culture is contributing an awful lot to poverty in Samoa. That is the truth. People are spending money they do not have on *fa'alavelave* much to the demise of their families. Let me clarify our culture is beautiful, is giving. I absolutely love it, but it has gotten to the point where it is being really abused, a show of foolish pride.²⁰

Not only do *fa'alavelave* put strains on families, the church plays a major part as well.

“The church is getting richer and the people are getting poorer. The church is one of the huge players in the economy of Samoa. For churches, like the Methodist church, building huge buildings comes from the pockets of the people. It is making them poor.”²¹ There is

¹⁹ Percival. 14 November 2012

²⁰ Lesa, Keni. Editor of the Samoa Observer. Samoa Observer Headquarters, Vaitele. 16 November 2012.

²¹ Mailo, Mose. Professor at Methodist Theological College. Nelson Public Library. 15 November 2012.

no doubt that in Samoa, many families are contributing more to the church than they can afford.

Now being a good Christian involves giving to the church, but it becomes a problem when churches and ministers do not provide any social give back to the community. “It is not just that they (families) are sowing into that church, but they will reap the benefits of that church. Pray that your minister uses that money appropriately because that is what they are supposed to do. They are supposed to edify the sheep, the flock with that money.”²² The use of money as a medium of exchange is one of the major difficulties when looking at concepts of wealth and poverty.

“One of the issues is the issue of spirituality. It is very significant to Samoans. People would donate even their life, their belongings they give to the church as their offerings.”²³ The financial burden *fa’alavelave* and church contributions put on people are economically straining on everyone. The expectations for *fa’alavelave* and church donations are very high and drain financial resources and take away from families’ material wealth. The National University School fees debacle is a prime example of that. Many families failed to pay their children’s school fees and the University barred the students from sitting their exams. The money that was meant for school fess was undoubtedly spent and given away during social obligations. That is just the priorities of the culture and the value in social obligations is viewed by many to be more important than their children’s education. This may not be the case for all 327 of the students, but it is ingrained in the culture to give nonetheless.

²² Schuster, Suzie. Professor at the National University of Samoa, Apia Samoa. 12 November 2012.

²³ Salele. 12 November 2012

One can explore the issues of budgeting and value of education, but in reality the prominence of social obligations highlights the priorities of the society. Social obligations cement relationships and, being a good Samoan is important. Contributing to the church, and also to family *fa'avelave* are also important. The cultural value of giving and being proud of one's contribution is not only a priority, but a sign of wealth in the cultural context. But Samoa is no longer an isolated, subsistence society where everyone has access to the same resources. "This *fa'avelave* thing impoverishes everyone."²⁴ Families are finding it difficult to access basic needs for survival due to this financial strain, but it is a trade off for wealth of strengthening relationships.

"The culture seems to be taking on a different pathway, but the core is still there. We are now trying to educate the public that there is nothing wrong with the culture, but make sure you contribute what you can afford and that you do it on a dutiful basis."²⁵ Many agree culture is not bad, but maybe it is time to reassess the quantity of resources and money given to these obligations. "I am Samoan. I am no longer isolated so I am forced to be part of the global economy. I am forced to join the capitalist economy."²⁶ Samoa did not ask to be a part of this globalized economy, it just happened, but this has greater consequences in terms of the resources given to *fa'avelave* and the church.

"When people are saying the culture is doing all of these things, we can change the culture. We can change our perceptions and change the way we do things."²⁷ Quality education is the key to this. In terms of contemporary concepts, the perceptions of poverty revolve around opportunity and access to resources. Samoa has been said to have

²⁴ Bendinelli, Peter. President of the Saint Vincent de Paul, Samoa. Apia Samoa. 21 November 2012.

²⁵ Salele. 12 November 2012

²⁶ Mailo. 15 November 2012

²⁷ Afamasaga. 23 November 2012

no absolute poverty, the people have access to land and have the ability to live off the land. “Poverty is more a mental issue here than anything. People are choosing to be poor. It is more a quality of life than a poverty base.”²⁸ Samoa is unique in that the majority of the land is customary land and people do have access to land. The land is very fertile and the sea is very close, people have a choice to live a subsistent life that in many other places is not the case. At the same time Parliamentarian Cedric Schuster pointed out that it is more a quality of life. If poverty is viewed from the view point of having the basic necessities to survive, one can do that here. If the increasing complexity of society is factored in, poverty does exist in Samoa. Now the question becomes what is poverty and in Samoa’s case the consensus tends to be in opportunity and access.

Poverty of Opportunity

Poverty of opportunity is the main facet to all definitions of poverty. If there is no access or availability to basic needs, whatever the definition chosen, that is poverty. The key to alleviating poverty is having opportunities to access basic needs. The main factor is education. Formal education is typically regarded as the way out of poverty, but from the Samoa perspective, cultural education is also significant. If one is educated culturally in the arts of survival working the plantation and fishing from the sea then one can avoid poverty in a sense, assuming that one has access to the land and access to that cultural education. This ability to rely solely on traditional means is changing. Cultural education is no longer adequate on its own. People need to have formal education along with

²⁸ Schuster, Cedric. Parliamentarian. Apia Samoa. 10 November 2012.

cultural education in order to have the greatest number of opportunities in modern society.

Samoan society is becoming more complex and twisted as cultural values morph with western values.

This global economy thing is bringing in new values and our cultural values we are trying our best to have a mixture of the two. Our traditional Samoan values culture of relationships and sharing our wealth and this new way of economy where individualism is one of the elements. How can we marry these two and come out with a sort of middle ground. It is not easy to do. We cannot become Europeans and we cannot even remain as traditional Samoans. Cultures change. Values change. Identities change.²⁹

These changes bring with them new challenges including most distinctive concepts of wealth and poverty.

“We have seen the gap between the haves and the have nots widen and start to unsettle the culture. Unsettle the society.”³⁰ There are now wealthy people in Samoa. Prior to western contact there was no way to accumulate material wealth. Every Samoan had access to the same resources and had the same abilities to provide for their *'aiga* and their village. That is not the case anymore with a global economy there are many different avenues to wealth accumulation and not everyone has access to the same resources anymore. Now that there is the ability to obtain material wealth an economic stratification is occurring between those with access to modern technology, communication, and information and those that do not have access.

Samoans recognize a difference between the wealthy people and those in poverty. Contemporary perceptions of wealth and poverty are clearly present, which was not the

²⁹ Mailo. 15 November 2012

³⁰ Bendinelli. 21 Novemeber 2012

case in traditional society. Wealth and poverty in the monetary sense were not present in traditional Samoan society. “The average Samoan was average. They lived in a *fale*, they ate the same food, and went to the same church. There was not this enormous gap between the haves and the have not’s.”³¹

Inequality is a major indicator for contemporary measures of poverty. This presence of high levels of inequality, even if there is no absolute poverty, will result in a sense of relative poverty. “The poverty it just continues. It is passed down from generation to generation. It is very hard to break that stereotyped culture.”³² This poverty mentality will only further affect people. This widening gap between the wealthy only creates issues in terms of this mentality of poverty. This mentality is not intentionally being ingrained in society, but it is occurring because of this relative notion of poverty from the global community and also internally. “It simply means I am forced into poverty because of the influences that come from Europe and the western world.”³³ “Poverty is a choice in Samoa. It is not a denial of choice; it is a choice that people make to be poor or not to be poor. It is their individual choice in their life. In other words it is not like it is defined here (World Bank definition of) poverty is a choice.”³⁴ This is the inherent difference when looking at perceptions of wealth and poverty in Samoa. One can take the absolute poverty standpoint or the cultural standpoint and acknowledge that people’s basic needs are met if they choose to view themselves in these terms, no one should be poor, but if one accepts the broader definition and looks at the opportunities that are

³¹ Bendinelli. 21 November 2012

³² Bendinelli. 21 November 2012

³³ Mailo. 15 November 2012

³⁴ Tamanikaiyaroi. 20 November 2012

elsewhere in society, then of course there are poor people in Samoa because there is not access to those opportunities and resources.

Urban vs. Rural

Urban and rural poverty are issues as well. Rural poverty is in terms of access.

In terms of the rural areas people do not have money. There is not exactly an abundance of jobs that are available out there for them. There are really two things they rely on. Subsistence farming, which is not exactly getting a lot of money at the moment and then they rely on their families from overseas.³⁵

Access to education, access to hospitals, and access to resources are all issues in the rural villages. The 2011 population census noted that 25% of people do not have access to clean water. The issues in terms of education are the quality of schools and also the priorities towards education. “I used to think that all Samoans valued education. I used to think that when I was growing up that everybody valued education.”³⁶ Many Samoans, however, do not value education and unfortunately this affects their children’s future. Education is a lifelong investment in the future, but some Samoans do not recognize the significance when the value is delayed.³⁷

Health and nutrition are not priorities currently in Samoa. The leading causes of death in Samoa are non communicable disease which makes up 75% of the deaths.³⁸ “I definitely see that it is difficult here because the layer of the culture. You have to accept the food.”³⁹ Food is a part of every social obligation and function in the *fa’asamoa*.

³⁵ Lesa. 16 November 2012

³⁶ Afamasaga. 23 November 2012

³⁷ Afamasaga. 23 November 2012

³⁸ Kernen, G. and J. Dzenowagis. *World Health Report Samoa*. WHO 2005

³⁹ Schuster. 12 November 2012

Traditionally there was no money, so other than the bestowal of fine mats, food and animals were given at these social events. This practice has now shifted in terms of including money, but the giving of food is still very much a part of the culture. “Food is more of a representation or symbol of what it means for that *fa’alavelave*. Ultimately the food does get consumed.”⁴⁰

“There is a skewed definition of food wealth versus food health. If you have more food, it means that you are wealthy because it means that you are being taken care of. But that food is causing them to be very ill in the long run.”⁴¹ In terms of prioritizing education and health, “there are some gaps in education with parents. There is a mismatch of education through the generations.”⁴² This educational gap makes it difficult for some parents to prioritize certain opportunities. This in both urban and rural areas, but is more prevalent in the rural districts. According to the 2011 population census only 8.6% reach the tertiary level in rural areas compared with 20.5% in the urban area.⁴³ This shows the quality of education in urban areas is greater than that of rural areas, but there is a need for improvement in the quality of education throughout Samoa.

In order to combat the lack of access to income generating jobs, education, and hospital facilities, much internal migration to the urban areas is occurring. In the rural areas, “people are just not getting the opportunities out there. Samoa now should be at a stage where we should be living much better lives than subsistence farming.”⁴⁴ This is one of the key reasons for migration, is the need to access modern resources and

⁴⁰ Schuster. 12 November 2012

⁴¹ Schuster. 12 November 2012

⁴² Schuster. 12 November 2012

⁴³ Samoa Bureau of Statistics. *Population and Housing Census 2011 Analytical Report*. 2012

⁴⁴ Lesa. 16 November 2012

opportunities. “Many have moved for a number of reasons one of them I believe is a drive to access services to improve themselves.”⁴⁵

The movement of people into the urban area raises a number of issues when looking at wealth and poverty. First, no longer are the migrants living on customary land which limits their access to basic needs. “When they leave that environment and come here (to the urban area), for the first time hunger becomes an issue.”⁴⁶ Second, people are moving to access jobs and earn income, but there is a lack of job opportunities in Samoa. Inevitably, “the migration of people to the town is causing social problems.”⁴⁷ Access to housing becomes another major issue because now people are forced to pay for housing. The other option is to stay with relatives, but that brings another set of obligations that drain time and resources from the migrants.

In the urban areas now cases of real poverty occur due to this migration. It is not always a choice to migrate either. Cultural concepts of poverty involve not being included in the family, the village, or church. The cultural concept of poverty is very much the same as the contemporary. When there is no access to basic needs due to isolation and no social safety net to take care of those needs, poverty can result.

Both rural and urban areas lack of opportunities in access to cash and income earning employment. Both areas have issues with health and education, but these are more severe in the rural areas. The rural area provides a different lifestyle that is more subsistent in nature and closer to traditional culture. In the urban area there is more influence from the outside and the opportunities are greater and more varied.

⁴⁵ Toleafoa. 13 November 2012

⁴⁶ Bendinelli. 21 November 2012

⁴⁷ Bendinelli. 21 November 2012

In many ways migration rural to urban areas can be attributed to the different lifestyle. “The attraction, I think it is the attraction. The nightlife, the social activities like sports maybe cinema things like that they do not have in the rural areas.”⁴⁸ When looking at concepts of wealth and poverty in Samoa, opportunities are always a key aspect of that definition.

Survey Findings

Eighty five people were surveyed in the Apia area from November 22nd to November 28th, 2012. Fifty five per cent (55%) were male and forty five per cent (45%) were female seventy seven per cent (77%) were 40 years of age or younger. The demographics of respondents are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Age and gender demographics

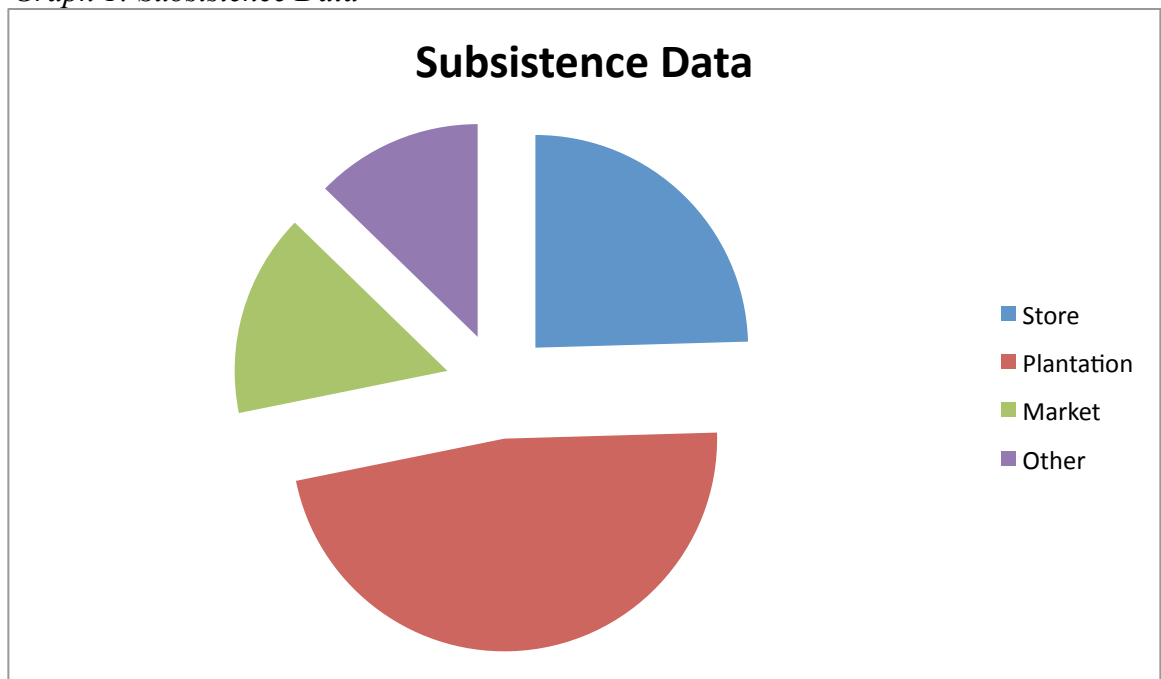
	Male	Female	Total
18-25	12	16	33%
26-40	24	13	44%
41-55	10	8	21%
56+	1	1	2%
Total	55%	45%	

Samoa has traditionally been a subsistent society relying on the land and sea for survival. Two questions centered on identifying how many have access to the land and use it for subsistence purposes. The first asked how many people had a plantation, cattle, pigs, or chickens Nineteen per cent (19%) said they did not have any of the animals or a plantation, but many of those who responded with “no” noted they did have some taro,

⁴⁸ Tamanikaiyaroi. 20 November 2012

ta'amu, or other plants around their house. Thus the majority of respondents have some sort of subsistence capabilities. The second question wanted to identify the level of subsistence and respondents were askedFour possible options were the store, the plantation, the market, or other. Many respondents marked more than one option and did not really distinguish between store and market, so the results were difficult to interpret but allude to the changing nature of society from a primarily subsistent life/diet to one that involves both subsistence foods and cash purchased foods.

Graph 1: Subsistence Data



The overwhelming majority of families (86%), receive money from overseas%, while 14% of respondents do not. This data combined with the 27% of Samoa’s Gross Domestic Product being comprised of private remittances.⁴⁹ Remittances are money gifts that a person who has internationally migrated sends back to their families still in Samoa. Keni Lesa commented on the dependence on money from overseas: “Look at the report

⁴⁹ CIA World Fact Book *Samoa 2012* & Central Bank of Samoa *Gross Private Remittance 2012*

from the Central Bank, it is only remittances that are keeping this country going. Without remittances we are in big trouble.”⁵⁰

Ninety two per cent (92%) said there were wealthy people in Samoa and identified them as business owners in general or prominent Samoan business families. Clearly perceptions of monetary wealth are present in society and people recognize those who have material wealth. However, 15% of respondents listed farmers alongside business owners as wealthy, and one third of respondents did not specify who the wealthy were.

Fewer informants (78%) stated there were poor people in Samoa. but most of them did not agree on who these people were. Many said the “homeless” and those “wandering around” in the urban area, but also others listed those villages as being poor. This data suggests that some people still believe there are no poor people in Samoa, maybe because of the land or the extended family. Some believe poverty is in the rural areas, while others see it in the rural areas. Again this only highlights the complexity that surrounds wealth and poverty especially when dealing with both cultural and contemporary concepts.

Table 2: The Wealthy and the poor

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Are there wealthy people in Samoa?	92%	8%
Are there poor people in	78%	22%

⁵⁰ Lesa. 16 November 2012

The 85 respondents were also asked how they viewed their family's wealth. The results are shown give insights into the perceptions people have about their personal and family situations. Forty five per cent (45%) viewed their family's wealth as good and 21% as very good. Only 10% of the respondents viewed themselves as being poor or very poor. Results are shown in Table 3.

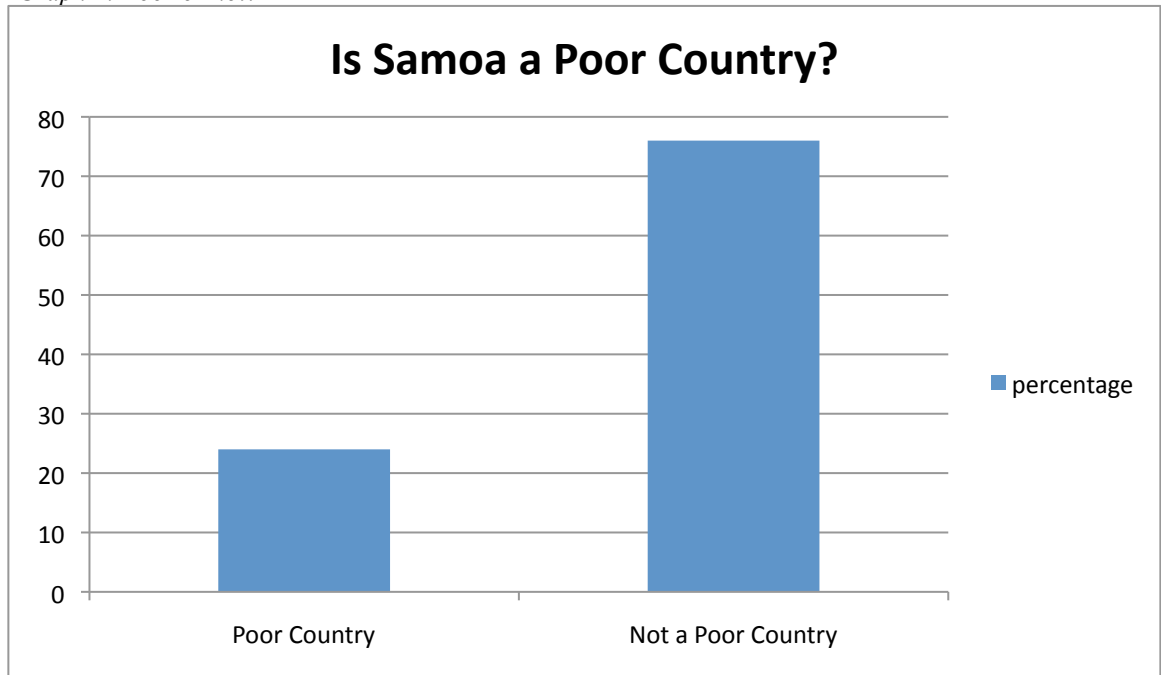
Table 3: Perceptions of wealth

Very Poor	Poor	Fair	Good	Very Good
2%	8%	24%	45%	21%

Two of the respondents who viewed their situation as poor or very poor two also responded there was no poverty in Samoa. Definitions and the boundaries between rich and poor may be hazy which suggests differing perceptions of wealth and poverty in Samoa where people are operating in a system where cultural concepts conflict in many ways with contemporary concepts.

The respondents were asked whether they believed Samoa was a poor country. Seventy six per cent (76%) do not believe Samoa is poor, while 24% stated Samoa was a poor country. The number one reason for why Samoa was not a poor country had to do with the land and the sea. Samoa's strength is in its abundant resources for sustenance.

Graph 2: Poor or not?



The data presented in this section is most relevant to perceptions of wealth and poverty in Samoa, but the other questions asked in the survey can be found in the appendices.

Analysis

Cultural and contemporary concepts of wealth and poverty have distinct differences, but also many similarities. Human development is the essence of both wealth and poverty both definitions focus on the well being of the people, poverty as a deprivation of well being and wealth as an insurance of well being. If a person has no means or abilities to access basic needs than that individual is poor. Access to resources or an abundance of resources is the essence of wealth. In terms of cultural wealth, relationships and a social safety net are inherent in the *fa'asamoa*, while contemporary concepts focus on the accumulation of material wealth. In the Samoan context, the two

are mixed. Wealth is still seen in terms of personal relationships, but also a new monetary aspect has been introduced, but the focus is still on ensuring personal well being.

Poverty in the traditional context is being isolated from people and lacking relationships that provide a social safety net. The well being of the individual is greatly decreased when a person is in poverty. The contemporary definition looks at meeting basic needs and having access to human development. In the Samoan sense the ideas about poverty are similar in that resources and needs are not met. The traditional needs included relationships, while contemporary ideas focus more on the physical need. Cultural poverty many times leads to contemporary poverty creating not only physical poverty, but a mentality of poverty. Poverty is also a mental state and the way people view themselves is important. If someone is viewed by others to be poor, but does not see his/herself as poor, who is correct? Individuals define their own situation based on their values and perceptions of the world, perceptions are a factor in the determining and defining poverty. Conversely the influence of others also affects the way in which people see their situations.

Samoa is at a crossroads where cultural wealth and material wealth have met and are changing values. There is no stopping this change and with the strengthening of technology and communication this evolution will continue. Problems with poverty in Samoa must be addressed both from cultural and contemporary perspectives. Education is a key to alleviating poverty. “To alleviate poverty, according to the UN, the only way to do that is through education. Education now becomes a right, a human right.”⁵¹ Many types and forms of education must be provided in order to give Samoans the opportunities to succeed. Education to teach people how to budget and manage money in

⁵¹ Salele. 19 November 2012

this modern financial time is essential. Social obligations and church obligations are important, but can contribute to increasing poverty. Sharing and giving is a beautiful aspect of the *fa'asamoa* and without it people may not have gone hungry or suffered hardship in the past, but now the social safety net must not be the only system in place from preventing poverty. Currently the government does not provide safety nets to help prevent people slipping into poverty as well as alleviate existing situations of poverty. The government must finally admit poverty exists and take action.

We have to remove these masks. What I mean by masks is just pretend that everything is okay when it is not. We need to be honest with ourselves and say look there are some things we have been doing for a very long time and maybe we should stop. Change the way we do it and be more modest. Try and live within our means.⁵²

An honest evaluation of the current state of Samoa is important not only in alleviating current hardship, but in preventing future hardship. Education must equip the population with both cultural and modern skills.

For many years migration and remittances have helped alleviate poverty and hardship in Samoa. Using Data from the CIA World Fact Book and the Central Bank of Samoa, it was found that private remittances make up 27% of Samoa's Gross Domestic Product.⁵³ "Migration has always been a part of human development and we can only look at it as one of the avenues that provides people with accessibility to resources."⁵⁴ Migration is one way to access opportunities. If people are not finding the income earning jobs and education in Samoa, migration is avenue that allows people to access resources.

⁵² Lesa. 16 November 2012

⁵³ CIA World Fact Book. *Samoa* 2012 & Central Bank of Samoa *Gross Private Remittances* 2012

⁵⁴ Salele. 19 November 2012

It is an opportunity. I thank God for the opportunity to migrate. You can imagine if people in Samoa did not migrate, we would probably triple the population with fewer resources. Not only does it help people and improves their standard of living, it expands their horizons and allows our people more understanding about how things work in the world. It helps people improve themselves and their lives.⁵⁵

The reason migration is helpful to Samoa is not only does it help stabilize the population and prevent overpopulation; it provides much needed money for the Samoan economy.

Again when looking at migration it is important to remember the strength of the *fa'asamoa*, it binds people through relationships, without the *fa'asamoa* remittances would not be sent back to Samoa. “If you compare cultures between the Pacific people, I think Samoans are the strongest because they adapt to the modern world. In their unity they are able to share their wealth with others that are less fortunate.”⁵⁶ This unity strengthens the bonds and helps maintain connections across international waters. It is a way in which the culture helps the families in Samoa that do not have access to income to support themselves.

⁵⁵ Lesa. 16 November 2012

⁵⁶ Tamanikaiyaroi. 20 November 2012

Conclusion

Samoa culture plays a major role in the daily lives of the Samoan people. Cultural values are very strong and continue to become increasingly important as Samoa clashes with western values. The cultural concepts of wealth and poverty exist and influence decisions people make in terms of social obligations and the priorities they set. Many still view Samoa in its cultural concepts of wealth and poverty, but this view is shifting as international definitions and indicators of poverty are acknowledged. Money and material wealth are becoming more important to the people and their ability to access vital resources. There are those who wish to become more integrated into the globalized world and access more opportunities.

Samoa needs to create a government safety net that prevents people from falling through the cracks of the cultural safety net. Currently these individuals and families are those that are in poverty or suffering the most hardship. It is imperative that these people are taken care of and that a certain level of human dignity is met. Samoa must provide more opportunities to access resources and promote human development. The importance of the human aspect and the development of individuals will strengthen the culture and nature of the communal society. More educated and skilled members of the family will only help strengthen the group as a whole.

More income earning jobs are needed in Samoa. Samoa needs to promote agriculture development and food processing through agricultural technology. The land and sea are abundant natural resources that if utilized in a sustainable and responsible manner can provide greater opportunities to Samoans. The market for agricultural exports needs to be tapped into and international trade agreements should be utilized. There is a lack of cash in Samoa's economy at the moment. Increased exports will help provide that injection of cash. Inequality in Samoa must be addressed and that the distribution of material wealth spread evenly amongst the population. Inequality is an issue that everyone country must face, but by focusing at the grass roots level and promoting small business and local agriculture a more even distribution of wealth is possible.

Educational opportunities need to be provided that will prepare people for the global world. Improving the quality of education is a must in order for Samoans to compete at a global level. Priorities must shift to include education and creating a skilled

population. When looking at the well being of society and providing for everyone's basic needs, health must also be included. A healthy population is the first step towards improving the quality of life in Samoa. Non communicable diseases must be taken seriously and prevention methods through education are imperative.

As Samoa continues to experience globalization, cultural values and foreign values will become further entangled. The strength of the culture is the unity and its ability to transcend physical barriers. The findings and analysis provided here are a merely the beginning in understanding wealth and poverty in Samoa. The complexity that surrounds these concepts makes it difficult to identify one correct definition and one correct path for the future. The first step is shifting attitudes towards poverty and identifying the growing number of needs in modern society that people must have access to. Only once an honest evaluation of the current state of poverty and inequality is taken can proper steps be taken to fix these problems. The f government should ensure the well being of the people and provide the people with access to quality opportunities to better themselves and their lives. If the people, the culture, and the government can come together and take this human approach to alleviating poverty and inequality then real progress can be made for the future generations.

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Glossary of terms

<i>'aiga</i>	family
<i>fa'asamoa</i>	the Samoan way or culture
<i>fale</i>	traditional Samoan house
<i>fa'alavelave</i>	anything that interferes with daily life and calls for a special event ex. funeral or wedding
<i>feagaiga</i>	brother sister relationship
<i>malaga</i>	ceremonial visit
<i>matai</i>	titled head of a Samoan extended family
<i>ta'amu</i>	giant Taro

Appendix A

My Name is William Glass and I am a student at USP Alafua studying wealth and poverty in Samoa. Thank you for your time. If you have any questions, please ask. *O lo'u igoa o Viliamu ma o a'u o se tama o lo'o a'oa'oina i le univesite o le Pasefika i Alafua.*

O lo'o o'u fia malamalama i tamaoaiga ma mativa i Samoa. A iai se fesili fa'amolemole fesili mai. Fa'afetai tele mo lou taimi taua!

Gender/Itugaiga: _____ Village/Nu'u: _____

Age/Tausaga: _____ Occupaton/Galuega: _____

What is your highest level of education? *O le a le maualuga o lou aoaoga?*

None ___ Primary/Itu lonalua ___ Secondary/Itu malo ___ University/Univesite ___

How many people are in your household? *E to'afia tagata tou te nonofo fa'atasi?*

1-4 ___ 5-8 ___ 9-12 ___ 12+ ___

Do you go to church every Sunday? 'E te lotu i Aso Sa uma? Yes/ioe ___ No/Leai ___

Do you tithe/ contribute to the church? 'E te foai i le lotu? Yes/ioe ___ No/leai ___

How much do you give each month? 'E fia tupe 'e te foa'i ai i le masina?

Under \$50/i lalo o le \$50 ___ \$50-\$200 ___
Over \$200/sili atu I le \$200 ___ 10% O lau totogi/10% of your pay ___

Does your family receive remittances? 'E maua e tou 'aiga ni tupe mai fafo?

Yes/ioe ___ No/Leai ___

Does your family have a plantation/ cattle/ pigs/ chickens?/ 'E iai se maumaga/ povi/ pua'a/ po'o moa a tou aiga? Yes/Ioe ___ No/Leai ___

Where do you get most of your food from?/'O fea 'e maua 'ai le tele o tou mea'ai?

Store/ faleoloa ___ Plantation/ maumaga/ fanua ___ Market/Maketi ___ Other/Isi ___

Is Samoa a poor country? 'O Samoa se atunu'u mativa? Yes/ioe ___ No/leai ___

Why? Aisea?

Are there poor people in Samoa? 'E iai tagata mativa po'o lima vaivai i Samoa?

Yes/ioe ___ No/leai ___ **Who? 'O ai tagata mativa?**

Are there wealthy people in Samoa? 'E iai tagata mauoloa i Samoa?

Yes/ioe ___ No/leai ___ **Who? 'O ai tagata mauoloa?**

Appendix A

How would you describe your family's wealth? / 'E fa'apefea ona e fa'amatalaina le tamaoaiga o lo tou aiga?

Very Poor ~	Poor ~	Fair ~	Good ~	Very Good ~
Vaivai tele	Vaivai	Feloloolo	Lelei	Lele tele

Appendix B

ISP Survey Analysis 11-25-12

Total number of participants: 85

Male: 47 – 55%

Female: 38 -45%

18-25:	F:16	M: 12	Total: 28=33 %
26-40:	F:13	M: 24	Total: 37 =44%%
41-55:	F:8	M: 10	Total : 18= 21%
M:55+:	F:1	M: 1	Total:2= 2%

Female age 18-25 results- 16

1. None:	0	Primary:	1	Secondary:	3	University:	12
2. 1-4:	3	5-8:	7	9-12:	3	12+:	3
3. Yes:	9	No:	7				
4. <50:	10	50-200:	1	>200:	4	10%:	1
5. Yes:	16	No:	0				
6. Yes:	16	No:	0				
7. Yes:	15	No:	1				
8. Store:	6	Plantation:	8	Market:	1	Other:	1
9. Yes:	3	No:	13				
		a. Y:	high cost of living, lot of poverty,				
		b. N:	rich people, 4 land & sea, good job, school, 2extended family, developing in the middle, work hard				
10. Yes:	13	No:	3				
		a. y:	selling stuff by bus, handicrafts, 2roam around town, village people, homeless, 3urban area, begging, lazy, no family				
11. Yes:	16	No:	0				
		a. Y:	owners of factory, big market, 4PM gov't, 6 business, urban people, those w/ families overseas, high ranking, jobs				
12. VP:		P:		Ok:	1	g:	9
						vg:	6

Female age 26-40- 13

1. None:	0	Primary:	0	Secondary:	9	University:	4
2. 1-4:	6	5-8:	5	9-12:	2	12+:	
3. Yes:	10	No:	3				
4. <50:	7	50-200:	4	>200:	2	10%:	0
5. Yes:	13	No:	0				
6. Yes:	11	No:	2				
7. Yes:	11	No:	2				
8. Store:	2	Plantation:	8	Market:	3	Other:	0

Appendix B

9. Yes: 2 No: 11
 a. N: 2underdeveloped/only poor economically, 2land, lots of money, 2extended family, low cost of living
10. Yes: 11 No: 2
 a. Y: 2rural, 2lazy,
11. Yes: 11 No: 2
 a. y: 2 business , 2hard workers, urban, chinese
12. VP: 2 P: 1 Ok: 1 g: 7 vg: 2

Female age 41-55 - 6

1. None: 0 Primary: 2 Secondary: 4 University: 2
2. 1-4: 3 5-8: 2 9-12: 1 12+: 2
3. Yes: 8 No: 0
4. <50: 1 50-200: 3 >200: 3 10%: 1
5. Yes: 8 No: 0
6. Yes: 6 No: 2
7. Yes: 6 No: 2
8. Store: 3 Plantation: 5 Market: 0 Other: 0
9. Yes: 2 No: 4
 a. y: cost of living high, low wages
 b. n: relative to india, 3land & sea, small business
10. Yes: 6 No: 2
 a. Y: 2uneducated, 3unemployed, 4lazy, rural
11. Yes: 7 No: 1
 a. Y: 2business, farmer, fisherman, work hard, Parents & environment, Chinese & halfkins
12. VP: 0 P: 0 Ok: 2 g: 3 vg: 3

Female 55+

1. None: 0 Primary: 0 Secondary: 0 University: 1
2. 1-4: 1 5-8: 9-12: 12+: 1
3. Yes: 0 No: 1
4. <50: 1 50-200: 0 >200: 0 10%: 0
5. Yes: 1 No: 0
6. Yes: 0 No: 1
7. Yes: 0 No: 1
8. Store: 0 Plantation: 0 Market: 1 Other: 0
9. Yes: 0 No: 1
 a. N: food, water, land
10. Yes: 1 No: 0
 a. Y: unemployed, landless, uneducated, lazy
11. Yes: 1 No: 0
 a.

Appendix B

12. VP: 0 P: 0 Ok: 0 g: 1 vg: 0

Male age 18-25- 12

1. None: 0 Primary: 0 Secondary: 5 University: 7
 2. 1-4: 2 5-8: 5 9-12: 1 12+: 4
 3. Yes: 8 No: 4
 4. <50: 7 50-200: 2 >200: 2 10%: 1
 5. Yes: 12 No: 0
 6. Yes: 11 No: 1
 7. Yes: 11 No: 1
 8. Store: 4 Plantation: 5 Market: 2 Other: 1
 9. Yes: 1 No: 11
 a. N: 3land & sea, developing, educated
 10. Yes: 10 No: 2
 a. Y: 2uneducated, bad budgeting, lazy
 b. N:
 11. Yes: 12 No: 0
 a. Y: retirees, 4business, live in vailima, Chinese & halfkins
 12. VP: P: 1 Ok: 3 g: 6 vg: 2

Male age 26-40 -24

1. None: 0 Primary: 3 Secondary: 10 University: 11
 2. 1-4: 7 5-8: 9 9-12: 5 12+: 3
 3. Yes: 19 No: 5
 4. <50: 14 50-200: 9 >200: 0 10%: 1
 5. Yes: 24 No: 0
 6. Yes: 19 No: 5
 7. Yes: 19 No: 5
 8. Store: 6 Plantation: 13 Market: 5 Other:
 9. Yes: 8 No: 16
 a. Y: developing, no natural resources, people-govt-people-govt, 2lazy, working people,
 b. N: 6land & sea, extended family, culture, 2jobs, 2educated, high standard of living, work hard, needs vs wants,
 10. Yes: 19 No: 5
 a. y: lazy, beggars, mentally challenged, no money, 2unemployed, start at bottom
 b. n:
 11. Yes: 21 No: 3
 a. Y: 7business, 2ministers, gov't, hard workers, farmers,
 12. VP: 0 P: 4 Ok: 9 g: 8 vg: 3

Appendix B

Male age 41-55 - 10

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. | None: 0 | Primary: 1 | Secondary: 7 | University: 2 |
| 2. | 1-4: 3 | 5-8: 4 | 9-12: 1 | 12+: 2 |
| 3. | Yes: 8 | No: 2 | | |
| 4. | <50: 5 | 50-200: 2 | >200: 2 | 10%: 1 |
| 5. | Yes: 9 | No: 1 | | |
| 6. | Yes: 7 | No: 3 | | |
| 7. | Yes: 7 | No: 3 | | |
| 8. | Store: 2 | Plantation: 5 | Market: 2 | Other: 0 |
| 9. | Yes: 4 | No: 6 | | |
| | a. | Y: extended family | | |
| | b. | N: jobs, no hunger, easy life, safe, freedom, land & sea, developing | | |
| 10. | Yes: 5 | No: 5 | | |
| | a. | Y: split families, rural, uneducated, mangroves area, 2unemployed | | |
| | b. | N: | | |
| 11. | Yes: 9 | No: 1 | | |
| | a. | Y: 2business, strong family, cars & European houses, 2real Samoan People, 2halfcaste, 100-200 tala a week | | |
| 12. | VP: 0 | P: 1 | Ok: 3 | g: 4 vg: 2 |

Male age 56+ - 1

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. | None: 0 | Primary: 1 | Secondary: 0 | University: 0 |
| 2. | 1-4: 1 | 5-8: 0 | 9-12: 0 | 12+: 0 |
| 3. | Yes: 1 | No: 0 | | |
| 4. | <50: 0 | 50-200: 1 | >200: 0 | 10%: 0 |
| 5. | Yes: 1 | No: 0 | | |
| 6. | Yes: 1 | No: 0 | | |
| 7. | Yes: 0 | No: 1 | | |
| 8. | Store: 0 | Plantation: 0 | Market: 0 | Other: 1 |
| 9. | Yes: 0 | No: 1 | | |
| | a. | | | |
| 10. | Yes: 1 | No: 0 | | |
| | a. | Y: extended family | | |
| 11. | Yes: 1 | No: 0 | | |
| | a. | Y: big plantations | | |
| 12. | VP: 0 | P: 0 | Ok: 1 | g: 0 vg: 0 |

Question Totals

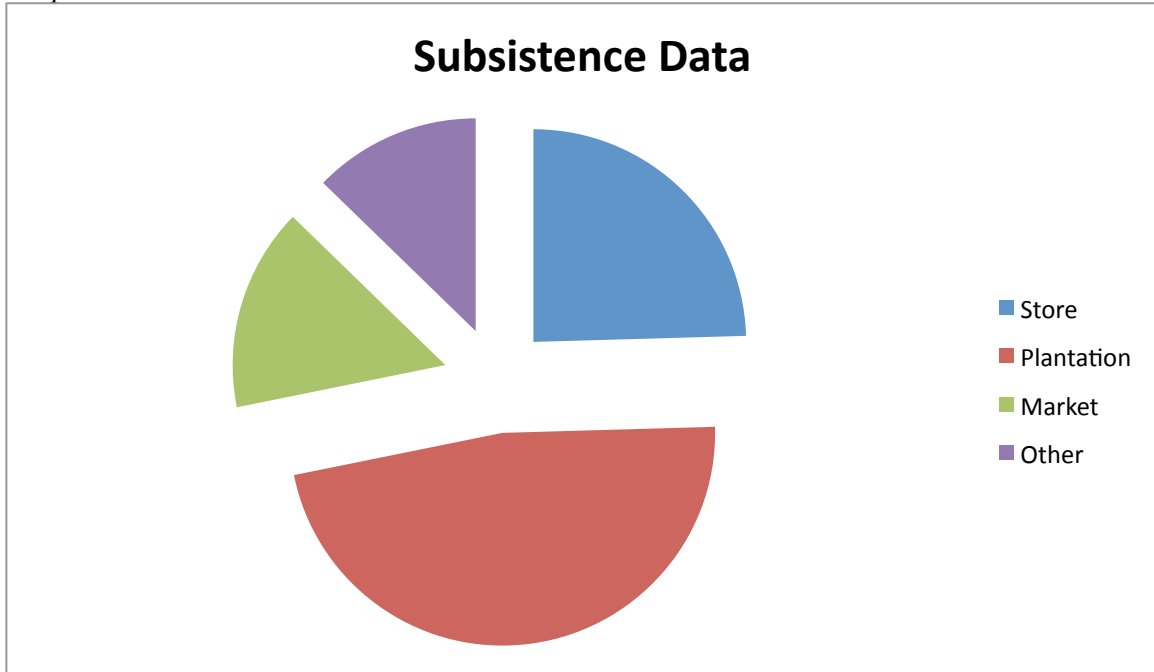
Q1	N:	f-0	m-0	Total 0%
	P:	f-3	m-5	Total 9%

Appendix B

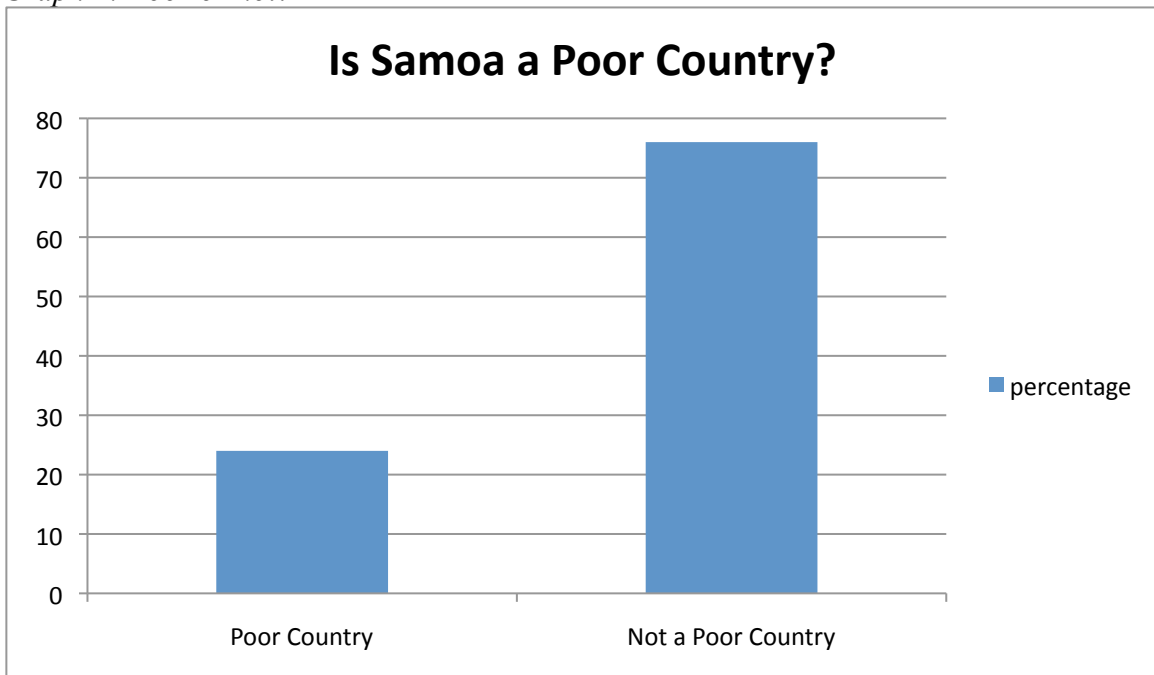
	S:	f-16	m-22	Total 45%
	U:	f-19	m-20	Total 46%
Q2	1-4:	f-13	m-14	Total 32%
	5-8:	f-14	m-18	Total 38%
	9-12:	f-6	m-7	Total 15%
	12+:	f-5	m-9	Total 15%
Q3	Y:	f-27	m-36	Total 74%
	N:	f-11	m-11	Total 26%
Q4	<50:	f-19	m-26	Total 53%
	50-200:	f-8	m-14	Total 26%
	>200:	f-9	m-4	Total 15%
	10%:	f-2	m-3	Total 6%
Q5	Y:	f-38	m-46	Total 99%
	N:	f-0	m-1	Total 1%
Q6	Y:	f-35	m-38	Total 86%
	N:	f-3	m-9	Total 14%
Q7	Y:	f-32	m-37	Total 81%
	N:	f-5	m-10	Total 19%
Q8	S:	f-11	m-12	Total 27%
	P:	f-21	m-23	Total 52%
	M:	f-5	m-9	Total 17%
	O:	f-1	m-2	Total 4%
Q9	Y:	f-7	m-13	Total 24%
	N:	f-30	m-34	Total 76%
Q10	Y:	f-31	m-34	Total 78%
	N:	f-6	m-13	Total 22%
Q11	Y:	f-35	m-43	Total 92%
	N:	f-3	m-4	Total 8%
Q12	VP:	f-2	m-0	Total 2%
	P:	f-1	m-6	Total 8%
	F:	f-4	m-16	Total 24%
	G:	f-20	m-18	Total 45%
	VG:	f-11	m-7	Total 21%

Appendix C

Graph 1: Subsistence data



Graph 2: Poor or not?



Appendix D

Table 1: Age and gender demographics

	Male	Female	Total
18-25	12	16	33%
26-40	24	13	44%
41-55	10	8	21%
56+	1	1	2%
Total	55%	45%	

Table 2: The Wealthy and the poor

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Are there wealthy people in Samoa?	92%	8%
Are there poor people in	78%	22%

Table 3: Perceptions of wealth

Very Poor	Poor	Fair	Good	Very Good
2%	8%	24%	45%	21%