

A TUVALUAN CONCEPT OF WELL-BEING: REFLECTION ON NATIONAL PLANNING - TE KAKEEGA II

by

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Attestation of Authorship

I Bateteba Aselu hereby declare that this submission is my work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the reward of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Abstract

Well-being is a global term associated with development and public policy making. In Tuvalu, the term well-being is widely used in policies and reports and it is often said that well-being is at the heart of national planning. However, there has been no research to see what well-being means for Tuvaluans living in Tuvalu. Furthermore, a review of national planning found that while the term well-being was used, the actual strategies goals and indicators outlined focussed mainly on economic measures while 'social' issues (such as family and community vitality, traditional values and poverty) did not feature highly. In the researcher's view, economic indicators are only one aspect of well-being and these do not fit the collective nature of Tuvalu's predominantly family based and semi-subsistence society. As a result, there is a danger of a mismatch between planning and the realities of the Tuvalu people's daily lives. To address this gap, this study explored Tuvaluan peoples' perceptions of well-being and whether and how these views were reflected in the national development plan – *The Te Kakeega II*. The research concludes by proposing a strategy whereby the Tuvaluan concept of well-being can be taken account of in national planning. This qualitative study used the Fonofale research model and talanoa methodology to capture peoples' views of well-being. Focus groups were held in urban and rural communities (Funafuti and Nukulaelae) and individual interviews were carried out with key informants working in government departments and civil society agencies. It was found that Tuvaluans do have their own concept of well-being as affirmed in Tuvaluan language terms such as '*olaga tokagamalie*' and '*olaga lei*'. The Tuvaluan concept differs in a number of ways from those outlined in global mandates and reports. For example, it is grounded in the Tuvaluan world view, traditional knowledge and practices and sharing behaviours which give priority to people. In sum, cultural and spiritual values and beliefs, family and community, are central to a Tuvaluan concept of well-being. At the same time the study also highlighted emerging challenges to well-being seen in the growing differences in modern and traditional lifestyles and the different experiences by rural and urban areas. Well-being was also impacted by factors beyond the control of people and communities, such as the effects of climate change and donor priorities.

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Glossary

Atua - God

Fakafetai lasi – thank you very much

Fanauga – family

Fale – house

Falekaupule – the house where chiefs make decisions

Galumalosia - hard work),

Lei - good

Lima – hands

Kaitasi – collective or communal

Kaupule – Island Council

Maumea or maukoloa - richness/wealth,

Meakai e lea and lei - food abundance and quality,

Nofo – staying/living

Ola lei – good life

Olaga – life/living

Te kau fai maamafa – group of people who are highly regarded in the community

Tokagamalie—secured/safe

Palagi – foreigner of European descent

Potofaka-tuvalu/ logo - accessing traditional skills/knowledge

Pule fenua – chief

Saukatoa – overall

Tapu – taboo or sacred

Uaaniu – lands

Ulu Alikī/Ulufenua/Pule Fenua – head chief or head of the island

Umaga –plantation

Vaa /ava – respect

Vaa – relationship or space

Vaevae – individual tenure or divided tenure

Tuu-maa - cleanliness

Toka - readiness),

Tokolua Pule Kaupule – Assistant Kaupule

Talitonu and fakatuanaki ki te Atua - belief in and being faithful to God

Ulu aliki / ulu fenua - Chief

Lei a temasaki - recovery.

List of Abbreviations

AIWBM – Alternative Indicators of Well-Being for Melanesia

AUT – Auckland University of Technology

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CIF – Consolidated Investment Fund

DRD – Department of Rural Development

EEZ – Exclusive Economic Zone

EKT – EkalesiaKelisiano

GDP – Gross National Product

GEC – Global Economic Crisis

GNI – Gross National Income

GOT – Government of Tuvalu

HDI – Human Development Index

IBP – International Business Publication

ILO – International Labour Organization

km² – Square kilometres

MDG – Millennium Development Goals

MIRAB – Migration Remittances and Bureaucracy

NAPA – National Adaptation Programme of Action

NGO – Non-Government Organisation

NSSD – National Summit for Sustainable Development

NZ – New Zealand

ODA – Overseas Development Assistance

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OWBI – OECD Well-being Indicators

PERMA – Positive emotions, Engagement, Relationship, Meaning and Achievement

PIFS – Pacific Island Forum Secretariat

PIS – Participants Information Sheet

PPP – Purchasing Power Parity

QoL – Quality of Life

QSR –

RM – Road Map

SPC – Secretariat of the Pacific Community

SWB – Subjective Well-being

TKII – Te Kakeega II

TOEM – Trade and Economic Officials Meeting

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

VNS – Vanuatu National Statistics

WHO – World Health Organization

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades the concept of well-being has challenged the 'economic paradigm' in terms of how development is perceived, viewed and defined and, policy making (Ki-moon, 2013). In July 2012 the United Nations General Assembly signed a Resolution assigning the 20th of March as the "International Day of Happiness" (UN, 2012b). In this resolution, well-being and happiness were linked as important 'human goals' for development. The resolution emphasized the need for United Nations member countries to develop measures that will correlate these two elements (UN, 2012b).

In Tuvalu, the term well-being is often used in policies and reports, and it is often said that well-being is at the heart of national planning. Nevertheless, exactly and precisely what well-being means for Tuvaluans living in Tuvalu has not been thoroughly researched or discussed. In addition, a brief review showed that while the listed aims of national planning and policies included improving the well-being of the citizens, the actual strategies, goals and indicators did not match up with those goals. Instead, the policies tended to focus heavily on economic development, which in the researcher's view is only one aspect of well-being. As a result, other issues of concern, usually those defined as 'social' (for example, culture, family and community vitality, traditional values and beliefs) which admittedly are more challenging to measure, have been marginalised and overlooked in the planning processes.

1.1 Locating the Researcher

My path on this research journey began with my employment with the Government of Tuvalu for eight years as Social Analyst at the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA). The MHA portfolio includes the development of the outer islands, social development and cultural issues. During this time I found that despite our Ministry's efforts to get social development issues mainstreamed into the national development and planning process, economic goals and strategy continued to be the top priority. For example, the national strategic development plan for Tuvalu is named the *Te Kakeega II* (TKII) which means "to progressively develop" or "completion of tasks". In the vision

statement, the priority to economic development sits alongside the enhancement of social services as:

“... the continuous need for more employment opportunities, higher economic growth, better health and education, improved basic infrastructure and with continued social stability”(Government of Tuvalu, 2005, p. 7)

However, a quick review of the indicators listed in the TKII demonstrates a focus on economic development and also illustrates that global economic indicators have been utilised as a model to develop the national indicators (Statistics, 2012).

Without a doubt, there are many reasons for this lack of cohesion between the TKII vision and the strategies listed. The first ones indicate the influence of a number of global agendas and donor frameworks. Apparently the firm belief in economic growth models persists despite evidence in terms of the disastrous consequences the economic growth model has brought to developing nations. This is especially so as these have not been replaced by the understanding that ‘social and economic development go hand in hand’ as expressed in the UN Human Development Reports (1990). National planning in Tuvalu continues to give priority to meeting global indicators such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (GOT 2011). The MDG have not been adapted to the Tuvalu context or framed to take into account the values and beliefs that are part and parcel of Tuvaluan culture. The MDGS have been instrumental in raising public awareness of problems such as poverty (Martens, 2010). However their framing and implementation have effectively marginalised the voices of those in the local and vulnerable population.

The second set of questions regarding the non-inclusion of ‘social goals’ in the TKII national planning refer and relate to the availability and interpretation of evidence (data) to inform national planning efforts. For example, the question arises: is there a reliance on global indicators because there is no robust local or national data to inform planning and policy making or is it that national planners genuinely believe that global indicators and goals represent the pathway to development for the Tuvaluan people? And furthermore, could it be possible that the global indicators and targets represent a superior path to attaining the nation’s goals as agreed by the voices of the people?

As I have reflected on these and other questions regarding the inclusion of 'social' indicators into the national planning and resourcing process, I have come to believe that global models were an inevitable fact of life which small nation states such as Tuvalu could not fight or change. At this point, I discovered the newly launched Vanuatu study of "Alternative Indicators of Well-being for Melanesia" (Statistics, 2012). This report and concept opened my eyes and my vision and quite possibly those of other small nation states of the Pacific, in a number of ways. First, it demonstrated the power and knowledge of the local voice in a very compelling manner. That, given the opportunity, peoples and communities can identify their vision for life and explain their hopes and dreams (well-being) and how to achieve these goals. Second, it demonstrated that the alternative indicators were based on the views of the citizens of Vanuatu, and their unique values, beliefs and practices including a consideration for the changing times and place. Third, the report showed that goodwill and working together by government departments, social and cultural concepts and relevant indicators can be interwoven and then included in national planning initiatives. Such indicators are more relevant and appropriate in terms of national planning goals as these measures would more closely reflect people's experiences and their hopes and dreams as well as their aspirations for the future.

The Vanuatu Report indicated to me the necessity of exploring and documenting the Tuvaluan people's views of well-being, which is the aim of this study. This research is a first step in the process of seeking to include social data in the national decision-making process. Hence, addressing this data gap represents the overarching aim of this thesis, by which to establish a pathway and process that will ensure the recognition and inclusion of social issues in the development planning process.

1.2 Research Aims

The study aims are to explore the concept of well-being for Tuvalu. It is proposed that a Tuvaluan concept of well-being will differ from global models and the Vanuatu model as well, taking into account the Tuvalu context of economic and environment vulnerabilities, small population, aid dependency and climate change issues.

Furthermore the aim includes that the identification of this model will set forth a robust platform for advocacy for the inclusion of social issues in national planning thereby leading to a balance in planning between the various social, environment and economic indicators. Whereas social issues that exist are addressed through the provision of public services, critical factors, such as the place and role of culture, the family systems and the church have not received priority attention although it is proposed these are enduring and vital to our quality of life today. The place, of these and other people-related factors in maintaining our quality of life and well-being have evidently been overlooked in the drive for economic and monetary return along with the assumption that economic growth will solve all the social ills of society.

The study seeks to enhance the importance of the TKII and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), as planning tools that assist to identify other areas that require support in order to achieve the equitable and sustainable development for the citizens and people of Tuvalu. In addition, development should also be recognized and understood from the perspective of the people whose main purpose and role is to create, design and promote the visions, strategies and goals.

1.3 Research questions

Research questions to achieve these aims are to explore:

1. What is a Tuvaluan concept of well-being?
2. How is this reflected in current national planning? and
3. Drawing on this data, to identify a set of well-being indicators that can be used to inform national planning and resourcing.

1.4 Research Method

The research method for this study requires an opening up to the voices of the people. It includes multiple views from various platforms, Government, NGO's, civil society, decision makers in traditional structures and people's experiences, urban and rural localities, gender and socio-economic status. Aims are to critique national planning documents to see how people's hopes, aspirations and realities are reflected in the national decision-making indicators. For example, which indicators are relevant in the

local context and what exactly should be included. The study recognizes that while the local context is recognised, it is also necessary to ensure global influences are taken into account.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study will contribute to the global discussion and knowledge on the concept of well-being and identify indicators of well-being for development. It will also add to the increasing Pacific knowledge base on the concept of well-being and how this is defined in small, family based and semi-subsistence economies.

At the national level the study will inform key decision makers, planners and policy developers in Tuvalu regarding alternative measures of well-being that present local perceptions in terms of what it is that people consider most important in their life.

More importantly this study provides a platform for the communities and families in Tuvalu to express their values, to have a voice to regarding what they hold dear in life and, how they wish to progress.

1.6 Thesis Outline

Chapter one has presented an introduction to the study and the study research aims. Chapter two presents a brief discussion of Tuvalu to set the study context. The chapter outlines the social and cultural organisation in traditional times and today concluding with a brief review of current indicators. Chapter three presents the literature review, including a discussion of the available research literature on the concept of well-being, along with a critique of the TKII indicators. The research design and process is outlined in chapter four followed by a short section of my reflections in the field. Chapter five presents the study findings and is set out according to the three research questions. Chapter six discussion concludes this thesis, and is followed by some conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2. TUVALU

Introduction

This chapter sets the context for this study of the Tuvaluan people's perceptions of the concept of well-being and how these can be factored into the national planning process. It is set out in three sections. The first section includes a review of the land, people and governance systems. This is followed in section two by a discussion of the current social and economic indicators. And section three critiques the priorities and achievements of the national development plan – the Te Kakeega II. As will be seen, the family systems and customary ways have endured, despite the changes which have taken place, such as the introduction of the cash economy, education and increased technology. The endurance of the customary ways is seen in the outer islands especially where the family semi-subsistence production systems ensure people's basic needs are met, so protecting families from the worst effects development can bring. This chapter highlights the interplay between modern and culturally grounded practices in the daily life of the Tuvaluan people today, such as the maintenance of the mother tongue, traditional farming and handicraft skills, and the practice of remittances.

2.1 Land, People and Governance

Tuvalu, one of the four smallest independent island nations in the world, has a population of 11,000 people, spread over nine islands (Nanumea, Nanumaga, Niutao, Nui, Vaitupu, Nukufetau, Funafuti, Nukulaelae and Niulakita). Tuvalu's total land area of 26 square kilometres (km²) is scattered across 900,000 km² of ocean, 750,000 km² of which is its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) (GOT, 2011a). While the largest island is 5km² and the highest elevation of the land is 4.5 metres above sea level, the average elevation is below 2 meters. The average distance from the capital of Funafuti to the outer islands is 231km. The farthest island is located 400km to the north (Nanumea). The closest island, Nukufetau, is located 102km from Funafuti.

Up until recently, monthly sea transportation via Tuvalu's two passenger boats (the Manufolau and the Nivaga II) has been the primary means of communication between the islands. However, the introduction of technology has opened up communication

considerably by radio, internet, television (TV), mobile and telephone. Today mobile users outnumber telephone users and computer users' number 41 per 100 of the population. All of the islands have their own generators. Funafuti operates a 24 hour service while the outer islands operate on an average of 12 hours. Although air travel is now available from Funafuti to Fiji, it is expensive.

Due to its small size, remote location, limited natural resource base and its vulnerability to cyclone damage and the effects of climate change (such as sea-level rising) Tuvalu is considered to be economically fragile. Tuvalu's islands are mainly composed of the coral-encrusted tips of ancient, extinct, volcanoes hence there is very little soil, and a small underground 'lens' of fresh water serves as an aquifer. Coastal erosion is now becoming a problem as is the contamination of the aquifers, with rising sea level (estimated at four centimetres annually). In addition to access, a major challenge for the islands is the availability of clean water for household consumption and also for agricultural purposes.



Figure 1: Tuvalu Map

Source: World Atlas.com(<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/oceania/tv.htm>)

People

Tuvaluans are Polynesians with their own language that is similar to Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan and Kiribati. Today, 99.8% of the population speak the Tuvaluan language (see Table 1). Traditionally the major social institutions have been family based under the leadership of the *aliki* (chiefs). The selection of the *ulu aliki* (highest chief) for each island has been based on chiefly lineage. A woman has never held this position. Following the colonization period from 1864 through to independence in 1978, Tuvalu was known as the Ellice Islands and was under the administration of the British Colony of Gilbert and Ellice Islands. During these years, the traditional leadership systems were incorporated into the national governing systems of Tuvalu, which is one of the reasons traditional systems have maintained their importance in national planning today.

In Tuvaluan society, the family, community and the church are the primary institutions. The people's wealth is in the lands and the seas that surround them: Tuvaluans value their lands as much as *palagi* (non-Tuvaluans) people value cash. Today, over 80% of the land is still held in customary tenure for the use of family members. The land gives Tuvaluans a sense of security, recognition and identity as it provides food and shelter and is the means to sustain family members even with the onset of the cash economy. A certain status also comes with the land. Samuelu (1983) notes how land for Tuvaluans did not merely represent economic assets that can be traded, it is the possession that secures them a recognized status in the community. In his view, land bestows wealth so that the more land one has, the more wealthy people are perceived and regarded. Land also provides a place to rest the dead (Talia, 2009). Most Tuvaluans who die are buried on their own land or beside their homes, as is visible when one travels around the islands.

In traditional times, the land was not sold as it was held under customary tenure. Today there are various types of land ownership, such as privately owned land (native lands), the government leased land, crown land, communal land, village land and church land. The majority of land is private owned which is distinguished by holdings. Individual tenure is referred to as *vaevae* or divided tenure; *kaitasi* is joint or shared or

a mixture of both where lands are partly *vaevae* and partly *kaitasi* tenure (McLean & Hosking, 1992). As Tuvalu is a patrilineal culture, land ownership is under the jurisdiction of the men and is passed on to sons from generation to generation. In traditional times, the land was not usually divided but was passed on from the father to a successor or in some cases given as gifts, passed on through adoption or by will (Samuelu, 1983). Today, land has become valuable in monetary terms and in many situations is now used to earn income through land leasing. The increase in population has also increased pressure on land especially in the capital of Funafuti.

With the arrival of the missionaries (1865), the church and Christian beliefs came to play a significant role alongside the family in ensuring the people a good quality of life. The Ekalesia Kelisiano (EKT) Tuvalu is the national religion (Morris, 2009). In 1991 membership was 90% however in 2012 there was a slight decrease to 85% (Government of Tuvalu, 1991, 2013). The EKT church administration and the welfare of the EKT church pastors on each island is funded by the families and communities of Tuvalu. Families also care for the welfare of their elderly, people with disabilities and those who are less well-off. For example, research showed 85% of the elderly were looked after by their children and 8% by relatives (Manuella & Aselu, 2007). For those with a disability, 88.4 percent were cared for by their families or relatives and 11.6% by friends, voluntary workers or others (Government of Tuvalu, 2013).

The Tuvaluan extended family basis goes back further than the 5th generation. The endurance of the Tuvaluan family based cultural values, beliefs and practices is seen in the words of Pasoni Tafaaki (2002, p. 20) that:

“...in order to ensure peaceful and trouble free lives people were well advised to respect customs and traditions because they contain our ancestors knowledge of how to have happiness in this land”.

The main cultural principles guiding the Tuvaluan way of life are relationships. These are nurtured through the observing of *fakalogo* (obedience), *ava* (respect) *fakamaoni* (integrity), and *alofa* (love, caring and the sharing of resources) (Finekasoa, 2005; Lusama, 2004; Morris, 2009; Panapa, 2012). Cultural values also honour seniority and

the place of males in decision-making. The entire Tuvaluan way of life – social, political, economic and religious - is based on communal principles (Telito, 1982) which in addition to ensuring basic needs are met also ensuring a cohesiveness and unity amongst the people. In politics also, representatives are elected based on home island community. When people migrate overseas, or from the outer islands into Funafuti they maintain strong connections with the homeland and their home islands (Resture, 2010). For example, in Funafuti each outer island group has a community hall where they gather to discuss home issues and celebrate family functions. In addition, when planning for an important national event (such as the celebration of Tuvalu Independence or the arrival of prominent foreign delegations) the individual island communities will be called on to work together and share the workload. While not listed or accounted for in national economic data, these family and community support systems (both financial and voluntary work) are a significant contribution to national development. Moreover, these are the pillars of Tuvaluan civil society, and social cohesion is strengthened as people work together to better their lives.

Government

As a constitutional monarchy, Tuvalu has an elected government and follows the Westminster system. The Queen is the Head of State and is represented by the Governor General. The government comprises a Prime Minister and seven elected Ministers who are elected for a four-year term. There are no party politics. Instead, members are voted for by their various constituencies or home islands that they are registered with. All persons aged 18 years and above are eligible to vote. Whereas two women have been entered into parliament since independence, it is more usual for males to be elected. Even so, as a result of advocacy programs led by the Department of Women, Tuvalu is now party to CEDAW and women are becoming more vocal in participating in decision-making forums nationally within the traditional structures.

As an independent nation, Tuvalu has strong international ties as a member of the Commonwealth, the United Nations (UN) and other international and regional organisations such as the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat (PIFS) and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC). Tuvalu also has bilateral and multilateral partnerships

with a number of developed countries and now plays a significant role in advocacy and debate on climate change issues in the regional and international arena.

Local Government building on the traditional systems

Tuvalu's traditional leadership system of *aliki* (chiefs) is highly valued and as such has been maintained in today's governing systems. The *Falekaupule* Act of 1997 formalised the role of the traditional systems in the decision-making and development of the outer islands. The structure of local government comprises three institutional bodies: *Falekaupule*, *Kaupule* and *Falekaupule Assembly* (see Figure 2).

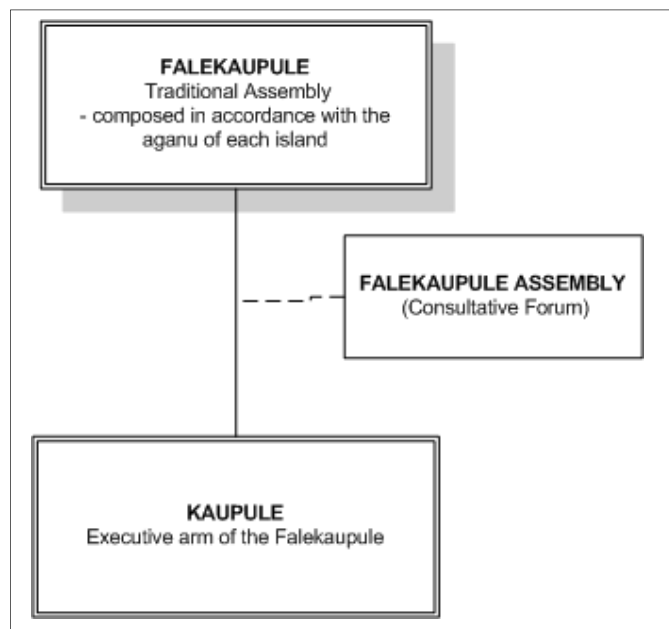


Figure 2: Local government structure

The *Falekaupule* is the traditional assembly, and this is governed by '*tu mo aganu*' (culture and tradition) of each island. The *Falekaupule* is defined by the *Falekaupule Act* (1997) as the supreme decision-making body. The head of the *Falekaupule* is the *Ulu aliki, pulefenua or ulu fenua* - the title may differ by island – and the island of Nanumaga has a King. The *ulu aliki* is selected based on chiefly lineage. Up until now, a woman has not held this position. The *Kaupule* are the local island council and the executive arm of the *Falekaupule*. The *Kaupule* comprise six members nominated for a four-year term. The *Kaupule* are headed by the *Pule Kaupule* (President of the *Kaupule*) and assisted by the *Tokolua Pule Kaupule* (Assistant *Kaupule*). Persons aged 18 years of age and over can be elected to be a *Kaupule* member. However, due to

cultural values which view elders as more wise and suitable for decision making positions (and that young people should listen and pay respect to them), it is difficult for young people to be voted as *Kaupule* members. For example, in 2010 even though in Nukufetau a male in his early 30s won a seat in the council, he was removed by the *Falekaupule*. The *Falekaupule* Assembly is the local consultative forum. This forum is comprised of persons aged 18 years and older who are registered members on that island. This assembly is the place where budget and planning processes are presented and debated and once a consensus is reached it is tabled at the main *Falekaupule* for final decision and approval.

Since 1999 Tuvalu has faced a number of years of political instability. For example, apart from the years between 2006 and 2010, a Prime Minister would serve for less than two years before they were ousted by a motion of no-confidence. This constant changing of government resulted in many policy changes such as corporatization and then the subsequent de-corporatization of some public assets. An example is the media that was corporatized in 2005 and then de-corporatized in 2010. Political instability also created tension and rivalry within and between island communities so impacting on people's livelihoods and on their lives. For example, when politicians on the island of Nukufetau refused to stand together in 2010-2012, this disagreement quickly spread out into the wider Nukufetau community and eventually to the Nukufetau people residing on Funafuti as well. Unfortunately, development on the island was halted until these difficulties were settled.

Participation in decision-making processes

Democratic processes encourage the participation of all members in decision-making. However, this is not happening in Tuvalu. Data from the Island Profiles Report (2011/2012) indicated that 71% of *Falekaupule* members attended the meetings of the *Falekaupule* with the attendance rates for outer islands members at 69%. Attendance as the *Falekaupule* Assembly had a much lower rate of 51% while attendance in Funafuti was at 38% compared with a 54% participation in the outer islands. The low participation in Funafuti was attributed to people being occupied with other

competing interests such as employment. Another reason given was that someone else from their household had attended the meeting.

2.2 Social and Economic Indicators

Three points can be seen in Table 1, which sets the basis for this discussion. First, Tuvalu's population is increasing (an increase in the annual growth rate from 0.5 to 1.7 in the intercensal period (1991-2012)). Second, Tuvalu has a very youthful population with over a third (37.3%) under 14 years of age. The median age is 25 years (2012). The cost of providing health and education services to this youthful and widely spread population is huge as is the challenge to the human resource capacity. In addition, while Tuvalu does not have high dependency ratios, the increase in its economically active population (70% in 2012) adds particular urgency to increasing economic and livelihood security opportunities for this group. Rapid urbanisation is a third characteristic seen in Table 1. Notably, the population of Funafuti doubled during the intercensal period (to 3.7%). This increase was accompanied by the worrying depopulation of the outer islands from -0.3% (2002) to -0.8% (2012). Funafuti now has a population density of more than 2000 people per km² and its population now exceeds that of all the outer Islands together. Net out-migration has fluctuated over the last three decades with a high of -601 (2006) and a low of -57 (2010). In sum, more and more people are migrating out of the country.

2.2.1 Social

Education

Government dedicates a significant portion of its budget to education. Access to primary education, which is compulsory, is 99%. However, the 2012 census showed that less than half (47.2%) of the total students with a disability (36 students) attended school, which indicates a stronger focus on inclusive education is necessary.

Table 1: Summary of Social, Economic and Environment indicators for 1991 - 2012

INDICATORS	1991	2002	2012
POPULATION			
Total Population	9043	9561	10782
Urban/Rural (% of Population)	42/58	42/58	51/49
Population Density	353	373	203
Net Migration	-134 (1998)	-113	-57 (2010)
Under 14 years	35.3	36.4	32.9
Median Age	-	24	25
SOCIAL			
Health			
Life Expectancy *	*61.2 (1990)	*63.8 (2000)	65.5
Infant Mortality Rate	41	21 (2003)	25**
Physicians (per 1000 of population)	-	0.55	1.09 (2010)
Access to Safe Water (% of Households)	90.3	92.5	98.9
Education			
Literacy Rate (%)	99	98.9	93.2
Primary Enrolment Ratio (%)	99.5	96.9	99.4
Secondary Attendance	-	-	71.4
Degree of Higher learning 25-64 yrs (%)	2.1	3	4.1
Culture			
Tuvaluan language	-	-	99.8
Traditional Skills (% of Popn 15 years and above)	-	-	60.1
ECONOMIC			
Labour Force Participation Rate (%)	64.7	61.7	59.4
Unemployment Rate (%)	4	11.8	39.6
Youth unemployment-to-population ration (%)	75.7	70.6	63.7
ODA (% of GNI)	-	35.2	42.3
Remittances as % of GDP	14.5	15.1	7.9 (2010)
Main sources of Income (% of Households)			
Wages / Salary	61.6	59.1	70
Remittances	56.9	47.1	39.8
Handicraft Sale	35.1	5.1	23
Sale of Produce (Fish, vegetables, crops)	15.2	5.3	15.7
Population below Basic Needs Poverty Line	23.2 (1994)	16.5 (2004)	19.7 (2010)
INFORMATION AND TECHNOLOGY			
Internet use per 100 of population	-	5.2 (2000)	35.3
Computer use per 100 of population	-	6	41.2
Mobile use as per 100 of population	-	-	57

Source: (Government of Tuvalu, 1991, 2002, 2011b, 2013); *(UNDP, 2013) ; **(Unicef, 2013)

Participation in Secondary school is 71.4% (or 3 out of 4 in the 14-18 years group) with females having a higher percentage of attendance at over 80% as compared to males (65%). The data notes a decrease in adult education to 59% during 1991-2012. In terms of the total population, while 82% completed Primary school, 50% completed Secondary education and more males than females have completed a higher tertiary degree.

Cultural knowledge, skills and practices

That the formal education system is highly valued is seen in the songs composed for children that emphasize the significance of formal education as the way to a better life, “if you don’t study hard, you won’t have a better life. And if you study hard you’ll have a good life”(Corlew, 2012).

At the same time, there are views that the school curriculum is geared towards the Western scholastic education systems with only a little focus on Tuvaluan cultural knowledge and skills. As noted, cultural knowledge and skills are critical to the Tuvaluan way of life. They are not only the source of identity; they enable people to survive and provide for their basic needs using the resources available to them. In traditional times, knowledge such as how to use the land and sea resources were passed on by elders and family members. The traditional knowledge was divided into ‘basic skills’ such as handicraft making and the ‘unique traditional skills’ which were considered to be sacred and family owned.

In recent times, there has been a significant increase in the learning and using of traditional skills, although there are differences by urban and rural areas. As seen in Table 1, 60.1% of the population said they possessed the traditional skills. However, for those living in the outer islands the rate was higher at 66.2% compared to Funafuti at 53.6%. Seen also is that the percentage of households involved in handicraft making has almost tripled: from an average of 6.3% in 2002 to 20.8% in 2012. With respect to ‘unique’ skills, the most common are: those relating to agriculture/planting known as *umaga* – the national total 32%, but 34% in the Outer Islands and 29.7% in Funafuti;

traditional medicinal skills (28.6%); traditional house building (25.2%) and traditional healing (23.1%). Food security strategies are discussed (see 2.2.2).

2.2.2 Health

The data shows an improvement in the health status and a slight increase in the number of doctors per population. Table 1 shows life expectancy has increased to 66 years, and the infant mortality rate decreased to 25. Improvement in access to safe drinking water (99%) is also noted as is household sanitation (92%). The leading causes of mortality include heart disease, with data showing cardiac disease accounts for 30.2% of deaths, diabetes complications -9.4%, senility 9.4%, cancer 5.7%, hypertension 5.7% and others 39.6% (Government of Tuvalu, 2011c). HIVAIDs at 0.1% is one of the highest in the Pacific Islands, the majority are seafarers and males. Smoking and alcohol consumption are rising health issues and are contributing factors to non-communicable diseases. Alcohol consumption shows a significant increase of 11.2% from 2002 to 2012.

Food Security

Even with the introduction of purchased foods, most families achieve food security through the cultivation and consumption of their own and other locally grown food crops and by harvesting the sea resources. Figure 3 shows a comparison of the production of food crops by outer island and Funafuti communities. As seen there is less planting in Funafuti, where the lack of land is exacerbated by the increased demand for housing.

For example, 81.7% of the highly valued food and ceremonial crop of *Pulaka* is grown in the outer islands. Almost three quarters (1280 people) of the population were engaged in fishing (again higher numbers of 85% in the outer islands and 65% in Funafuti). Fewer than 4% said they were engaged in commercial fishing with the remainder practising subsistence consumption. Waste management, which is another health challenge in small nation states such as Tuvalu, is discussed below (see 2.2.4)

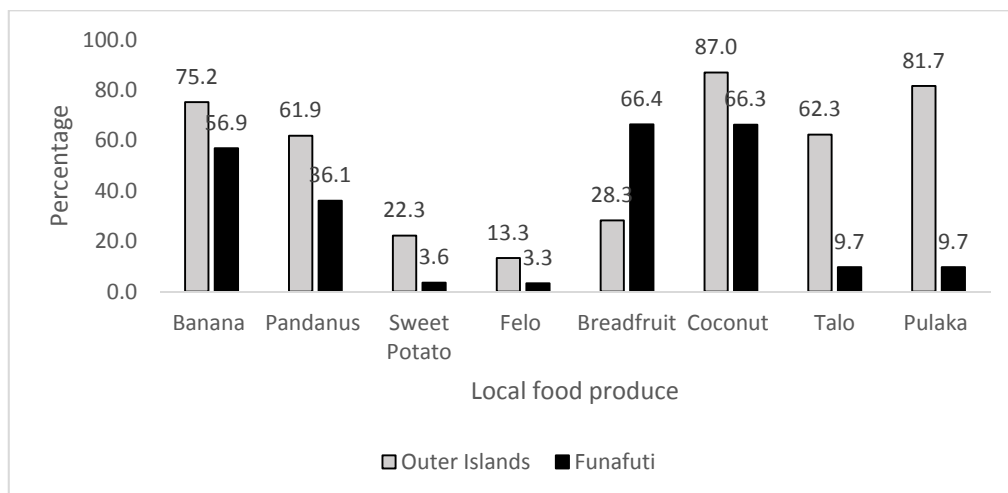


Figure 3: Percentage of household that grow and harvest traditional crops

Source: (Government of Tuvalu, 2013)

2.2.3 Economy

As Table 1 indicates Tuvalu's economy displays many of the characteristics of aMIRAB¹ economy including migration, remittances and with the government as the primary employer. Economically GDP per capita is 3,256USD (real GDP growth rate is 0.2) while GNI per capita is 4,386. Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) contribution had decreased to 1,151USD per capita from 1,356USD yet still contributes significantly to the GNI at 42.3%. The 2008 global economic crisis (GEC) significantly affected national revenue including bringing a decrease in the contribution of remittances to the GDP by 7.2% between 2002 and 2010, a decrease in Tuvalu's Consolidated Investment Fund (CIF) by a smaller margin of 2.3%, and a drop in .dotTV(.tv) revenue by 1.2%. Fisheries licences maintained a steady contribution to the GDP at 16%, the same as taxes also at 16%. The tabled data also gives an indication of the amount of aid Tuvalu receives, much of which is often tied to donor goals and programmes.

A sign that times are becoming increasingly difficult is seen in the steady decline in the labour participation rate, coupled with the quite alarming increase in unemployment and especially for male youth in the outer islands. This trend can be partly attributed

¹ Migration Remittances and Bureaucracy – an economic situation where small states current-account transfer payments (remittances, dividends, interest earnings, social welfare payments, government budgetary subventions, and a wide variety of other official transfers generically categorized as 'aid' 1) and non-tradable production (generally dominated by government, hence the term Bureaucracy), function as the leading sectors in economic development.

to the GEC, which saw a significant reduction in jobs in the seafaring industry and in turn a decrease in wages and a decline in family cash security. For example, reports show that in 2007 there were 335 active seafarers (GOT, 2011b, p. 13). However, an ILO Report (2010) estimated that there were only 200 seafarers in employment while the International Business Publication (IBP) Report 2014 claim was that more than half (450) of active seafarers were unemployed (IBP, 2014). Hand in hand with this trend has been the drop of almost 20% in remittances (to 39.8% in 2012 from the 57% in 1991).

Notably, Table 1 shows that while 70% of the population listed wages and salary as their primary source of income, households also said they relied on the sale of handicrafts and local produce, land leases, investment and pensions for their livelihood security.

2.2.4 Issues

The family

Despite the widely held belief in the strength and sanctity of the family, statistics indicate there have been changes in the family systems in recent times. For example, not only has there been an increase in the number of divorces and separations, younger couples between the ages of 15 -24 are choosing this option, there has been an increase from 14% (1991-2002) to 56% (2002-2012). There has also been an increase in the number of reported domestic violence cases from six in 2009 to 146 cases in 2011. The majority of these cases (76%) concern people who are disturbing the peace at home especially under the influence of alcohol. Moreover, while 20% represent an actual assault on family members, this has mostly been on spouses (13%). Cases where young children have been sexually abused by family members have been also reported, however it is not known how many cases are unreported. The education programmes run by the Tuvalu Department of Women are raising national awareness of family violence in addition to improvements that can be made in Police record keeping. Suicide is another issue that can represent an indicator of well-being; it is an example of the value people place on their lives. The number of suicides has increased. Over an eight year period (1997 – 2005) there were seven cases

however in the five year period between 2006 and 2011 there were five suicide cases and five attempted suicides. More males commit suicide than females, and this has become more common amongst the youth aged 15-34 years. Crime is increasing and is having a negative impact on family and community stability and well-being.

Poverty and Hardship

The term 'hardship' is more commonly used in Tuvalu rather than poverty. People say poverty does not exist in Tuvalu because nearly everyone has access to the resources by which to meet their basic needs: house, money and clothes (Niuatui, 2006). The Government has defined the term hardship as lack of access to essential services such as education, health, employment, freedom of choice, or the opportunity to realize their aspirations (Government of Tuvalu, 2011b).

For national planning purposes, poverty is measured by the use of two components: the cost of the minimum food basket and the expenditure for essential non-food basic needs. Using these measures, it can be said that poverty and hardship have increased in Tuvalu and so has the disparity of income distribution. Briefly, the percentage of the population below the national basic needs poverty² line rose from 16.5% in 2002 to 19.7% in 2010.

In addition, income disparity has increased from 0.24 in 2004 to 0.34 in 2010 based on the Gini Coefficient³ measure. The rate of increase was much higher in rural areas (0.7) compared to urban areas (0.3). The ratio of household average expenditure (per capita) between top and bottom quintiles shows that inequality worsened in 2010 with a ratio that is 7.8 times higher compared to 4.1 in 2004.

Waste

With the increasing consumption of material goods, waste management has become a huge health and environment issue for Tuvalu, especially given the increase in the

² Basic needs poverty line is calculated by estimating the average total non-food expenditure per week of households in the lowest three deciles of the total per capita adult equivalent consumption

³ Gini Coefficient - measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. If Gini coefficient is 0 then there is no inequality but if it is above 0 then it is very high.

importing of non-durable goods (see table 2). Issues of fuel disposal and other chemical disposals also affect the ecosystem and also people's well-being, as resources from land and sea constitute their livelihoods. Reports indicate that 75% of households use current waste collection systems provided by the *Kaupule*. The burning of waste is the next most used option. There is one recycling company that deals with scrap metal, and some agencies carry out can and plastic recycling.

Table 2: Average number of non-durable goods per household

Non-durable goods	Tuvalu	Funafuti	Outer-Islands
Means of transportation	2	1	3
Household Appliances	4	5	3
Information and communication technology means	4	6	3
Kitchen Electrical Appliances	2	2	2

Source: Population and Housing Census for 2012

Climatic conditions

In recent years Tuvalu has been very vocal about the impact of climate change on quality of life. While Tuvalu is vulnerable to natural disasters such as cyclones, hurricanes, tsunamis and droughts, the impact of rising sea levels has been more widely felt as the land that people rely on for subsistence is now being lost and/or contaminated. Data shows that in a number of the low-lying atolls, a sea level rise of 4mm has been taking place every year. In the last census reports, the vulnerability of the capital of Funafuti has been noted in particular. For example, between 2009 and 2011, while 721 households recorded that they were affected by the King Tides: 61.7% of these were living on Funafuti. With respect to storm surges, while a total of 467 households reported they were affected between 2007 and 2011, 61% of these households were from Funafuti.

2.3 National Priorities and Strategies for Tuvalu

This section focuses on the national strategic plan for Tuvalu, the *Te Kakeega II* (TKII), which was agreed to in 2004. In 2013, following a mid-term review (2011), a Road Map was developed to monitor the progress and operational plan for the TK11 and to list the various goals and strategies. The MDG had a significant influence on the national

development plan and the aid revenue in-flow programme as well. The MDG and the TKII provide the overall framework for determining improvement with respect to the Tuvaluan people's well-being.

2.3.1 Te Kakeega II

The TKII is the National Strategic plan for Tuvalu for the years 2005 to 2015. The national strategic plan came about as a result of the *Malefatuga Declaration* that was endorsed at the National Summit for Sustainable Development (NSSD) in 2004. The aims of the NSSD were to map out Tuvalu's strategies for sustainable development for the 2005-2015 period (Government of Tuvalu, 2005(GOT)). The title *Te Kakeega II* was adopted from the first National Development Strategy the *Kakeega o Tuvalu* (1995 – 1998). *Kakeega* translates to “progressively develop or complete a task and in the interest of continuity”(ILO, 2010, p. 8) and maintains its inherent significance from the title *Te Kakeega II* (TKII) which refers to the economic and social development of Tuvalu.

The *Malefatuga Declaration* outlines Tuvalu's national vision that was developed through extensive consultation and was also unanimously endorsed by the 250 delegates to the NSSD along with the TKII. This consultation meeting was a significant first for Tuvalu. Those who attended included Heads of Chiefs and the President of Island *Kaupule*, Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament, representatives of civil society and the private sector, government ministries and departments, development partners and a small group of Tuvalu expatriates. The *Malefatuga* vision states that:

“By 2015 that guided by strong spiritual values enshrined in its motto- ‘Tuvalu mo te Atua’⁴ – we will have achieved a healthier, more educated, peaceful and prosperous Tuvalu” (GOT, 2005, p. 6).

The TKII indicators were linked to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), the global agenda that advocates for the equitable and sustainable development of people in the 21st century (Government of Tuvalu, 2011b). Tuvalu is one of the 189 member countries of the United Nations which adopted the MDG framework of eight goals

⁴ Tuvalu is for God

aimed at eradicating poverty and hunger; ensuring that there is universal primary education; gender equality and empowerment of women; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; maintaining environmental sustainability; and developing global partnership.

The importance of the MDG is that it provides a framework that will help improve the lives of people living in extreme poverty. In its many dimensions it embodies basic indicators for human development, including poverty, education, and gender equity, yet some of the indicators do not really apply to the small island context. It is the driving force based on eight strategic areas that were prioritised during the *Malefatuga* Declaration and the TKII. Box 1 provides the TKII eight national priority goals and their purposes.

Box 1: *Te Kakeega II* National Priority Strategy and Goals

Priority Areas	Purpose
Good Governance	Focus on good leadership, honest, transparent and consistent application of the rule of law
Macro economic	Growth and stability economy, ensures sound economic management, fiscal policy, strong and well managed institutes that offer high standard of governance, cost effective
Employment and Private Sector Development	Aims to create employment (fisheries, agriculture, tourism) and an environment which economic opportunity is created to form the core of strategic framework
Social Development	Focus on health and social welfare, including issues of nutrition, youth, gender, age and other special needs
Outer Islands and Falekaupule	Focuses on reversing outward migration and falling output from outer islands and help in ensuring that outer islands economies are sustainable in the long run
Education	Aims to develop individual own potential and aspirations and is central to sustainable development with focus on skills that will meet the demands of the different sectors of the economy.
Natural Resources (agriculture, fisheries, tourism and environment)	A aims to reconcile the conflicting factors of cash economy that is affecting subsistence economy and changing attitudes of society in order to create sustainable growth and greater stability
Infrastructure and support services	Focus on creating reliable, competitively priced economic infrastructure and utilities with the aim of attracting investment; create employment, new wealth and opportunities for people. Providing satisfactory quality of services at a reasonable price.

Source: (Government of Tuvalu, 2005)

The TKII identified 14 policy objectives with the aim of ensuring economic growth, more job opportunities, less internal migration and a higher standard of living for all (see Appendix 10). The broad aims were to provide Tuvaluans with more employment

opportunities, higher economic growth, better health care, education, infrastructure and continued social stability (Government of Tuvalu, 2005).

Planning for the TKII strategies and goals required that each sector prioritise and introduce these into their own sector plans and programmes. This involved sectors clarifying their own roles and responsibilities for the TKII in their sector plans and then linking these into the national budget and the Public Sector Investment Plan so as to gain the resources and technical requirements to implement their programmes.

The requirement is that the line budgets for each sector align with the TKII and MDG policy objectives and strategies. Development related issues that were not in these two planning documents, were not considered for inclusion in the budget. The overarching goal is that the TKII set outcomes be measured and evaluated and that this data collection process would require robust coordination between the line ministries. In addition, that donor support and good will would be needed to achieve these objectives.

Mid Term Review of TKII (2011)

In 2011 the government held a mid-term review (MTR) for the TKII. The MTR objectives included a review of the national strategies, to assess its progress. This was in line with the MDG, to strengthen and identify mechanisms for aid coordination between Tuvalu and development partners, and to prioritize programs and development strategies for the period from 2011 to 2015.

This review involved the stakeholders that had participated in the development of the TKII in 2004 with the exception that donor agencies were not present and there was more involvement of local consultants. From the perspective of the researcher, this review brings to mind the contextual illusion referred to as 'grass root mirage'. That is to say that while the review was the result of a wide consultation, all of the panel members were economists. Not surprisingly, the review outcomes were tailored to economic development and pressing social issues (such as the increase in poverty among the people and issues relating to people with disabilities) were placed on the back burner.

A Road map (2013)

In 2013 a new Government was elected. One of their first tasks was the development of a Road Map (RM) to assess the progress and operational plan with respect to the TKII goals from 2013 to 2015. Table 4 below highlights the achievements of RM goals for 2015. The RM listed 171 activities based on the eight strategic goals of the TKII as indicated in Table 4. The RM emphasised sustainable development goals, infrastructure, support services and good governance. Each category included more than 30 goals. The Road Map report estimates were that about 38.5% were achieved whilst 52% were partially achieved, 4.6% were ongoing and 4.6% were still in progress (see Appendix 12 for detailed breakdown).

Table 3: Road Map for 2015 on the national strategic goals for the TKII

Strategic Goals	Achieved	Partially Achieved	Not Achieved	Total
Good Governance	13	16	1	30
Economy Growth and Stability	5	4		9
Social Development	7	10	2	19
Falekaupule and Outer Islands	4	3	1	8
Private Sector and Employment	3	8	1	12
Education and Human Resources	3	5	0	8
Natural Resources	12	24	1	37
Infrastructure and Support Services	11	19	2	32
Implementation and Monitoring	8	8	0	16
Total	66	97	8	171

Source: Government of Tuvalu Road Map 2015

Tuvalu Millennium Development Goals Progress Report 2011

The main findings of this MDG progress report stated that while three of the MDG Goals were on track to achieving their targets, four had the potential to achieve their targets and only one, would not be achievable by 2015. Not surprisingly, this one was Goal 1 which is 'to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger' (see Table 5).

Although the MDG is viewed as one the most successful global roadmaps especially the goal to improve development and reduce poverty, it was nevertheless based on developed countries with "very little input from developing nations and civil societies"

(Fehling, Nelson, & Venkatapuram, 2013, p. 1111). This could be one of the reasons why the goals lack reference to issues that relate to land, culture and social support systems.

Table 4: Tuvalu Millennium Development Goals Achievements and Outcomes

MDG Goals	Achievement	Outcomes
Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Unlikely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hardship increased, depth of poverty fallen, share of poorest quintile fallen - Labour productivity down, low employment levels, vulnerable employment up - Low prevalence of underweight children and decline in food poverty
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary school education	On track	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High net enrolment, increase in survival rate, high literacy
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women	Potentially	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender parity achieved, low participation in non-agricultural sector and zero presentation in parliament
Goal 4: Reduce child mortality	Potentially	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Under-five mortality fallen significantly; infant mortality declined steadily; relatively high measles immunization coverage.
Goal 5: Improve maternal health	Potentially	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low maternal deaths; high skilled attendance - Low contraceptive use; teen fertility up slightly; high antenatal care; high unmet need for family planning
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS malaria and other diseases	On track	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No data on HIV prevalence-11 cases so far; low condom use, good HIV/AIDS knowledge - 100% access - No malaria - TB under control; treatment progress
Goal 7: Ensure environment sustainability	Potentially	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low forest cover; No data on CO² emissions; use of ozone depleting substance up but marginal; No data on total resources use; protected areas up - High access but water quality issue; improved sanitation access but outer island concern - No data but some progress noted
Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development	Potentially	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -

Source: (Government of Tuvalu, 2011b; Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2012)

2.3.2 A critique of TKII

In my view, the *Malefatuga* vision statement answers the question raised by elitist leaders and/or experts even though it did not identify what people perceive as important. In the process of identifying the national strategic plan the vision statement did not ask ‘what people wanted out of their life?’ or ‘how do they want life to be?’ instead it seeks to answer how they could achieve a certain lifestyle (‘how do

Tuvaluans achieve a higher standard of living?’). So while involving participation by members of the community and achieving a consensus, it is based on a top down approach which does not try to identify or take into account people’s views. It assumes that people want to increase economic production, material wealth and rely heavily on the cash economy and Western lifestyle.

Tuvalu highly values culture and the religious aspects of its nationhood and emphasizes these values in its constitution. However, the TKII reflects very little of these fundamental factors that are vital to Tuvaluan people’s well-being. The preamble of the constitution states that : “AND WHEREAS the people of Tuvalu desire to constitute themselves as an independent State based on Christian principles, the Rule of Law, and Tuvaluan custom and tradition”. In addition, the seven guiding principles of the constitution emphasise strengthening, maintaining and supporting Tuvaluan culture, traditional values and religion (see Box 2). In Box 2 the researcher has highlighted the aspects of traditional, cultural and spiritual values that were mentioned in the constitution.

The foundation of Tuvaluan society includes the strength of its traditional practices and cultural values; the collective efforts of family, village and island community that provide a robust support mechanism; and spiritual beliefs. The Constitution embodies these aspects and clearly emphasizes these and their importance in strengthening the informal social institutions. While there are not mainstream economics, they are vital to people’s well-being.

These fundamental principles are echoed in Tuvalu’s Social Development Policy (SDP), whereby its vision was that all Tuvaluans would “live in a harmonious environment that encourages, improves and supports the cohesion of family, community and nation in the global community”(Government of Tuvalu, 2000, p. 2). The SDP recognizes the different mechanisms of social protection, which include formal (state institutions) and informal (traditional systems of community, family and churches) and highlights the need to strengthen them because they serve as the basis of people’s well-being. However, in the TKII, there are no measures that explore, look at and pay attention to

community/family vitality or how cultural values and beliefs affect the community and the citizens.

Box 2: Guiding Principles for Tuvalu Constitution

Principles of the constitution	
1.	The principle set out in the Preamble to the Independence Constitution are re-affirmed and re-adopted.
2.	The right of the people of Tuvalu, both present and future, to a full, free and happy life, and to moral, spiritual, personal and material welfare, is affirmed as one given to them by God.
3.	While believing that Tuvalu must take its rightful place amongst the community of nations in search of peace and the general welfare, nevertheless the people of Tuvalu recognize and affirm, with gratitude to God, that the stability of Tuvaluan society and the happiness and welfare of the people of Tuvalu, both present and future, depend very largely on the maintenance of Tuvaluan values, culture and tradition, including the vitality and the senses of identity of the island communities, the strength and support of the family and family discipline.
4.	Amongst the values that the people of Tuvalu seek to maintain are the traditional forms of communities, the strength and support of the family and family discipline.
5.	In Government and in social affairs generally the guiding principles of Tuvalu are- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agreement, the courtesy and the search for consensus, in accordance with traditional Tuvaluan procedures, rather than alien ideas of confrontation and divisiveness; - The need for mutual respect and co-operation between the different kinds of authorities concerned, including the central Government, the traditional authorities, local governments and authorities and religious authorities.
6.	The life and the laws of Tuvalu should therefore be based on respect for human dignity, and on the acceptance of Tuvaluan values and culture, and on respect for them.
7.	Nevertheless, the people of Tuvalu recognize that in a changing world, and with changing needs, these principles and values, and the manner and form of their expression (especially in legal and administrative matters), will gradually change, and the Constitution not only must recognize their fundamental importance to the life of Tuvalu but also must not necessarily hamper their expression and their development.
THESE PRINCIPLES under the guidance of God, are solemnly adopted and affirmed as the basis of this Constitution, and as the guiding principles to be observed in its interpretation and application at all levels of government and organized life.	

Source: (Government of Tuvalu, 1978, p. 1 & 2)

It is also important to note that one of the reasons for the lack of recognition of social issues in national development is that unless there is a political mandate there is a lack of social research. The current government structure indicates that there are resources allocated for economic research, with a designated Economic Research and Policy Department. Even so, no resources had been allocated for social research that could better inform the government on critical issues that are not addressed as part of the economic development priorities apart from mainstream social development in education and health. Social issues only arise out of political mandates, and less in

regard to research, such as welfare schemes (Elderly Pension scheme⁵) which although is important raises the question of feasibility in the long term. This is given taking into account the economic vulnerabilities Tuvalu is facing with the country's high dependency on foreign aid and the current environmental crisis which poses a threat to the sustainability of welfare schemes.

2.4 Summary

This chapter provides the context for the study regarding the way development has had an impact on people's well-being. The chapter highlighted the importance of the informal social systems and institutions and how these have been grounded in the land, social structures and communal living. Next it compared these cultural beliefs and practices to contrast them with some of the socio-economic and technology related changes that have taken place over the last three decades. Social issues that are arising include poverty, changes in the family, and the impact of climate change. The data indicates that traditional and cultural values play a huge role in maintaining quality of life for Tuvaluan people today, especially for those in rural areas. Clearly, these should be factored in and taken account of in national planning today – that economic and social indicators go hand in hand. What is clear is that as Tuvalu strives for economic development, the impact on traditional systems and livelihood is significantly affected. The quality of life and peace which was envisioned in the TKII is still far from being achieved, although the standard of living has improved in terms of monetary value and materialism. In effect, with increasing climatic conditions the quality of life for people has become worse now as the traditional form of sustenance become less reliant. These factors leads to the question of how people's well-being could be improved in future national development plans. The next chapter discusses the concept of well-being, including the reason well-being is important and how it incorporates non-economic values in national development and planning.

⁵ Elderly Pension Scheme was established in 2008 and targets elderly aged 70 years of age. They receive a monthly pension of \$50 however this has increased to \$70 per month as of 2013.

Chapter 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Following on from the previous chapter's discussion on Tuvalu's current status of well-being in terms of its development, this chapter provides theoretical justification with respect to the reason it is important to define well-being from a Tuvaluan perspective, and identify alternative indicators that can be utilised in national planning.

This chapter provides a review of the literature regarding the concept of well-being and how it has influenced national planning, including in Tuvalu. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides a rationale for the reason the concept of well-being should be defined within a Tuvaluan context. It outlines the way in which the concept of well-being has been defined from various global perspectives, as well as from collectivist cultures in the Pacific, including Tuvalu. The chapter examines the underlying elements that constitute well-being, and the reason this concept has become so important in national development planning and public policy.

The second section examines well-being indicators – their types, relevance and applicability within a Tuvaluan context. Finally, it discusses the reason alternative indicators of well-being should be considered for future national strategies once TKII ends in 2015.

3.1 Importance of Well-being Concepts

This section begins by providing a general overview of the concept of well-being based upon a review of the literature. It then outlines the reason well-being is necessary for public policy and development.

3.1.1 Theoretical foundations

With respect to the term well-being, it originated in Greece from the great philosophers Aristotle, Socrates, Aristippus, Epicurus, Bentham, Locke, and Hobbes (Henderson & Knight, 2012; Nadine, 2013). They used the Greek terms *eudemonia* and *hedonia* to define well-being (Grinde, 2012; Nadine, 2013).

Aristotle introduced the term *eudemonia* in 4BC. As it is translated '*eu*' stands for 'good' and '*daimon*' stands for 'spirit' which is commonly understood to mean 'doing or living well' or living a virtuous life and doing what is worth doing. Emphasis is given to virtue as it relates to justice, honesty, courage and kindness (Aristotle, 1985), where the best life is lived according to the highest rational ideals (Guignon, 1999, p. 23) and true happiness is achieved when human potential is realised and utilised to achieve excellence (Aristotle, 1985; Conti, Schwartz, & Waterman, 2006; Knight & Henderson, 2012). The concept of *eudemonia* is considered an objective approach to well-being. It is based from an outside assessment of whether a life is one of excellence and virtue (Knight & Henderson, 2012; Tiberius & Hall, 2010).

In contrast, *hedonic* refers to feelings of positive emotions (rather than causes) accompanied by the fulfilment of desires (Huta, 2011; Knight & Henderson, 2012; Nadine, 2013; Waterman, 2005). It was developed by Aristippus in 4BC. According to Aristippus' theory, the goal in life is to experience maximum pleasure and happiness derived from one's pleasant moments (Ryan & Deci, 2001). These would include experiences of pleasure, care-freeness and enjoyment (Daly, Dodge, Huyton, & Sanders, 2012). The theory of *hedonia* has been further expanded by other theorists including Jeremy Bentham's (1789) philosophy of Utilitarianism which is most notable and continues to have significant impact on the way conventional understandings of well-being are measured today. Utilitarianism refers to the way in which human behaviour is motivated by pleasure and pain, whereby their net satisfaction refers to their total utility (Stanton, 2007). The sum of all utilities constitutes a societies' well-being.

Hedonia is considered subjective, as it involves one's personal evaluation about the quality of one's life (Knight & Henderson, 2012). It refers to an individual's appraisal of his or her life situation overall, for example, the totality of pleasure and pains, or quality of life (Lindenberg, Ormel, Stevenrink, & Verbrugge, 1999). Engaging in subjective well-being means pursuing pleasure and happiness either through physical, social relations or cultural means.

In regard to the two concepts, they form the foundation of theory on human pursuits of achievements in life and serve as the basis for the development of most of the approaches and measures related to the well-being concept. Although many theorists have debated which term best defines well-being, *hedonia* or *eudaimonia*, recent studies indicate that they are both important. From a review of the literature, it suggests possessing high pursuits of both *hedonia* and *eudaimonia* results in a higher state of well-being (Huta & Ryan 2010).

3.1.2 Global Concept

Whilst well-being is a term used widely by 'lay persons' and policy developers alike, there is no unified definition (Daly et al., 2012). The general consensus from the literature is that, it is difficult to define well-being because it is a multi-faceted, multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional concept (Brdar, Delle Fave, Freire, Vella-Brodrick, & Wissing, 2011; Forgeard, Jayawickreme, Kern, & Seligman, 2011).

Moreover, well-being is multidisciplinary because it has been discussed across many fields ranging from philosophy, psychology, sociology and economics to anthropology, philosophy and other social sciences. Each field focuses on their particular areas of interest (Langlois & Anderson, 2002). For example, an economist's focus on well-being is based on the accumulation of material wealth while social scientists focus on the way people relate and interact with each other in societies. In contrast, psychologists refer to the mental health and positive functions of well-being. However, despite these variations, there is a shared and common understanding that well-being is a holistic concept that extends beyond the physiological and biomedical notions of health (Conradson, 2012, p.16).

Since well-being has been identified as a multi-faceted concept, it can be referred to as either subjective or objective. And whereas, subjective well-being refers to cognitive evaluations that people make in their lives, that relate to positive affect (Bradburn, 1969), perceptions of happiness (Fujita, Suh, & Diener, 1996) or life satisfaction (Diener, Lucas, & Shigehiro, 2002; Diener & Seligman, 2004) in contrast, objective well-being does not acknowledge any connection between what a person desires and what is good for them. It is an independent, observable assessment of conditions, that

maintains that something can be directly and immediately good for a person although that person does not regard it favorably (Clay & Smith, 2010; Valerius, 2013).

The well-being concept is considered multi-dimensional as it considers a magnitude of economic resources and material wealth (Martinett, 2000), in addition to social and environmental factors that contribute to a good quality life and happiness. The economic dimensions of well-being that dominate development policy include income, consumption, employment, GDP and GNI. In comparison, social dimensions include health and education levels, peoples' relationships and interactions as well as and environmental dimensions that include carbon emissions, conservation, forestry and fisheries (Stiglitz, Sen, & Fitoussi, 2009). It is important to note that well-being is defined through an individual perspective that is based on the self while the collective perspective is embedded in relationships people have with others (Diener, Oishi, Suh, & Triandis, 1998).

Definitions of well-being vary from broad to specific. Aristotle's definition was quoted many times in the literature and includes, having a 'meaningful, fulfilling and worthy life', 'living and doing well' or a 'good life' (Aristotle, 1985; Guignon, 1999; Royo & Velazo, 2005). Other broad definitions include Amartya Sen's (1992) who considers that well-being constitutes what people value 'being and doing', and Deci and Ryan's (2001) where well-being was defined as the optimal psychological functioning and experience. Specific definitions of well-being include Shah and Marks (2004, p. 42) wherein well-being is not only "feeling happy, and satisfied but developing as a person, being fulfilled and contributing to the community". They add that one of the goals of government is to have a "flourishing society where people are happy, healthy, capable and engaged" (at p.4). Such definitions vary in context and breadth, thus adding to the lack of unified definition for the concept.

In terms of the well-being concept, it is often used interchangeably with happiness, life satisfaction, flourishing and quality of life (McAllister, 2005; OECD, 2013a). Richard Easterlin (2005, p. 1) considers "well-being, utility, happiness, life satisfaction and welfare to be interchangeable". It is the use of multiple terms that has given rise to, "blurred and overly broad definitions of well-being, with researchers using the

construct of well-being synonymously with “happiness, quality of life or life satisfaction” (Forgeard et al., 2011, p. 81). Controversy arises in such synonymous word usage, where alternative concepts (for instance, happiness and pleasure) can result in both positive and negative affects when people are involved in sub-optimal, dysfunctional and injurious activities (Atkinson, Fuller, & Painter, 2012).

Figure 4 below presents the various components of well-being which have been developed in various disciplines to define human well-being.

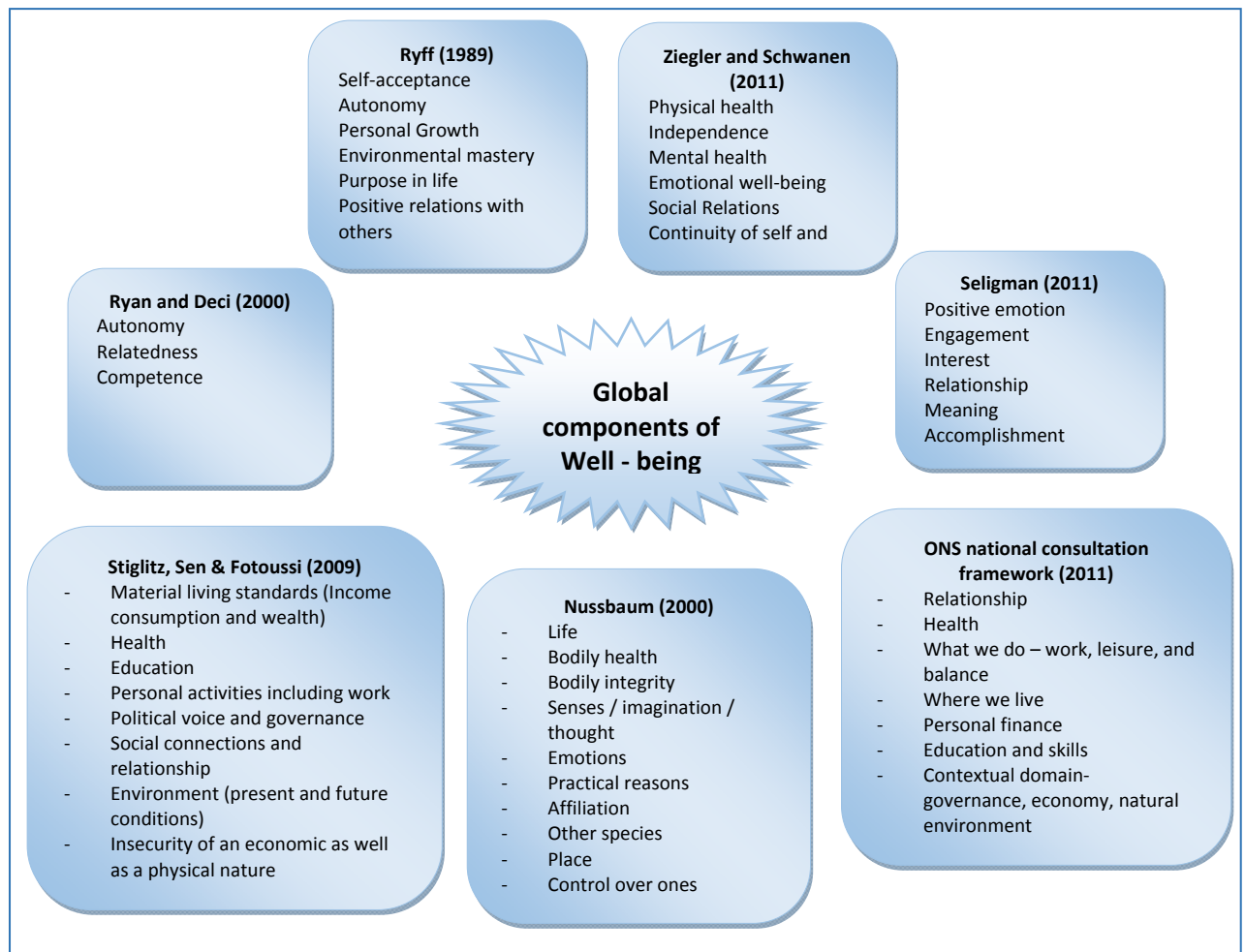


Figure 4: Examples of global components of well-being

The components of well-being provided in Figure 4 include some of the most common elements discussed in the literature that greatly influence well-being definitions. They are also used to define well-being in a specific field, for example, Ryff (1989), Ryan and Deci (2000) used the following components to define well-being from a social-psychological perspective, while Seligman (2011) defined well-being in terms of how individuals could achieve happiness. Other people (Fitoussi et al., 2009; Nussbaum,

2000) look at well-being components in terms of the economic, social and environment components that affect well-being.

In the early 1980's in the work of the philosopher and economist Amartya Sen, well-being was defined as "being and doing well" (Sen, 1992). Sen expanded the definition to include new characteristics from developing countries. He said that well-being is achieved if a person's capability to live a good life is defined in terms of a set of valuable 'beings and doings' (called 'functionings') such as being in good health or having loving relationships with others to which they have real access (Wrenn, 1995). He notes that, based on resources available, a small developing nation with limited functional capacity would be different from that of a developed or resource rich country.

Sen's focus is on three core concepts: *functioning* to define what people value doing and being; *capabilities* to define the substantive freedoms a person enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value and *agency* to define the ability to pursue goals that one has reason to value. Sen concentrates on developing countries where poverty, lack of opportunities and absence of health care seriously limit the functional ability of many individuals (McAllister, 2005). His approach also takes into consideration the cultural aspects and values that people consider important for them – it is not solely about being wealthy or happiness and fulfilling desires (Sen, 1985). According to Sen (1999), wealth is only worthy because it enables people to meet other aims. Mental conditions and adaptive expectations greatly influence happiness and fulfilment of desire.

Sen's approach allows a country to define well-being based in terms of their own context regarding capabilities and *functionings* including culture, values and beliefs, religion and environment. Moreover, well-being can be defined from the perspective relating to the context of a specific country, and that of groups of people from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds or in terms of its application to individuals. Many economists struggle to operationalise this approach because there is no fixed list of capabilities to work with. While Sen supports the idea of identifying a list of capabilities, his concern for having a fixed pre-determined list from a theoretical level

was that it would “deny the possibility of fruitful participation⁶ on what should be included and why” (Sen, 2004; p.77). This was supported by Dashor Kar Uma (2007) who argues that not all well-being variables should be universalised because there is diversity in the ways and means regarding how people live a fulfilling life. This is based on freedom people have to choose how to get fulfilment in their lives, as not all variables have universal application. Ruttenburg (2013, p. 75) further added that as well-being is subjective it is difficult for an “outside entity to assume that what constitutes well-being in one community or society will be the same for others globally”.

Ian Gough (2004) emphasises that well-being should be looked at from both universal and local ideas of well-being because how people construct their livelihoods and perceive meaning in their lives are linked to social and cultural context. This is supported by the BATH University Well-being Research Group for Developing Countries WeD Research(2007) who claim that “understandings of well-being and opportunities for achieving it differ by historical, geographical and cultural context as well as by social position, such as gender, age, ethnicity, caste or class.” WeD Research emphasise that there is a need to understand and explore what well-being means in a local context, and that meaning should not be assumed because there is great diversity unique to each society and country. Despite the difficulties in finding a unified meaning for the term well-being, the literature recognises that well-being is the ultimate goal for the individual, community, public policy and development programmes. While it may have various forms of definitions and words that are used interchangeably, in order to really understand the concept it must be determined from the local context. This is because, as Sen emphasises, countries have different capabilities and *functionings*.

3.1.3 Concept from collective societies in Pacific region

Following Sen’s capabilities and *functionings*, this study examines, investigates or looks at how collective cultures within the Pacific region, other than Tuvaluan, have defined

⁶ Possibility of fruitful participation is central to capability approach to which freedom is central. People are not passive objects but are active subjects of transformation. Genuine development comes from respecting people’s freedom to make decisions about their lives.

well-being. It first discusses how Aboriginal and Māori peoples (from Australia and New Zealand, respectively) define well-being, and then looks across other Pacific countries. It is evident that while there are many similarities in perceptions of well-being within these Pacific collectivist cultures to draw upon, there are also differences.

Prior to discussing the definitions of well-being it is important to define the meaning and significance of collective culture. 'Collective culture' refers to a group of people who act predominantly as members of a lifelong cohesive group (Hofstede, 2013). They are interdependent and emanate a sense of belonging. Their sense of well-being is generally based on social norms, expectations from families (nuclear, extended and community), and how they relate and integrate with society (Mazzula, 2011).

Aboriginal Concept

Although there is not an equivalent Aboriginal term for the English word 'well-being', there are local nuances in Aboriginal languages that extend far beyond that of the word well-being. This is explained by Professor Judy Atkinson in her definition of well-being based on the Aboriginal Nurwugen tribe.

Well-being in the language of Nurwugen people of the Northern Territory means 'strong, happy, knowledgeable, socially responsible, to take care, beautiful, clean' both in the sense of being within the Law and in the sense of being cared for and that suggests to me that country and people and land and health and Law cannot be separated. They are all One and it's how we work with and respect each other and how we work with and respect the country in which we live that will enable us to continue to live across generations (Grieves, 2006b, p. 110).

This definition highlights the importance of the collective unit, which is different from the Western concept that mainly focuses on individuals. In Vicky Grieves' (2006a) framework for indigenous well-being report, she explains how Aboriginal people derive fulfilment and meaning in life through their relationship with each other integrating the values of reciprocity (the ability to share with families and friends). These cultural values strengthen the connections between families, communities and

relations which develop respect, mutual understanding and acceptance. It is these cultural values that they extend to how they utilise and connect with the environment around them: country, people, land, health or the law. Also these cultural values enable them to be resilient in times of adversity.

Other Aboriginal definitions of well-being reflect a holistic approach. They look at health and well-being from a physical and biomedical state, and also in the way health and well-being encompass the spiritual, cultural, environmental, social, political and economic aspects that contribute to human life. For example, Swan and Raphael (1995, p. 13) provide the following definition:

The Aboriginal concept of health is holistic, encompassing mental health and physical, cultural and spiritual health. Land is central to well-being. This holistic concept does not merely refer to the 'whole body' but in fact is steeped in the harmonised interrelations which constitute cultural well-being. These inter-relating factors can be categorised as largely spiritual, environmental, ideological, political, social, economic, mental and physical. Crucially, it must be understood that when the harmony of these interrelations is disrupted, Aboriginal ill-health will persist.

Importantly, land is a new dimension introduced into the concepts of health and well-being that is not recognised in Western definitions. Without land⁷ Aboriginal people sense a feeling of loss as land represents their food source, history of ancestry and genealogy, cultural identity, tribal affiliations and relationships and is a place of belonging. This is supported by Gibson's (2003) study on *Place, Well-being and Aboriginal Identity*, which highlighted the importance of the Darling River to Bharkindji tribe: "I was reared up on the river, that's where we get our name from, Barka means 'river', Bharkindji means 'river People'. Without the river we lose our culture, we lose our identity" (p. 201) (p. 201).

Vicky Grieves (2006b) identified that when a person is able to establish their history and find their sense of belonging, they can enhance their well-being. This is why land is important. The definition of well-being provided by Grieves highlights the importance

⁷ Land is referred to sea, land, sky, nature.

of cultural identity, land and spirituality in Aboriginal people's concept of well-being. In addition, definitions of well-being take a 'whole-of-life' view that do not compartmentalise the various aspects and elements of well-being.

The elements of well-being presented in Figure 5 highlight the difference to the global well-being components. It is significant that it presents the experiences of marginalisation's and the threats that affect the Aboriginal people's sense of well-being.

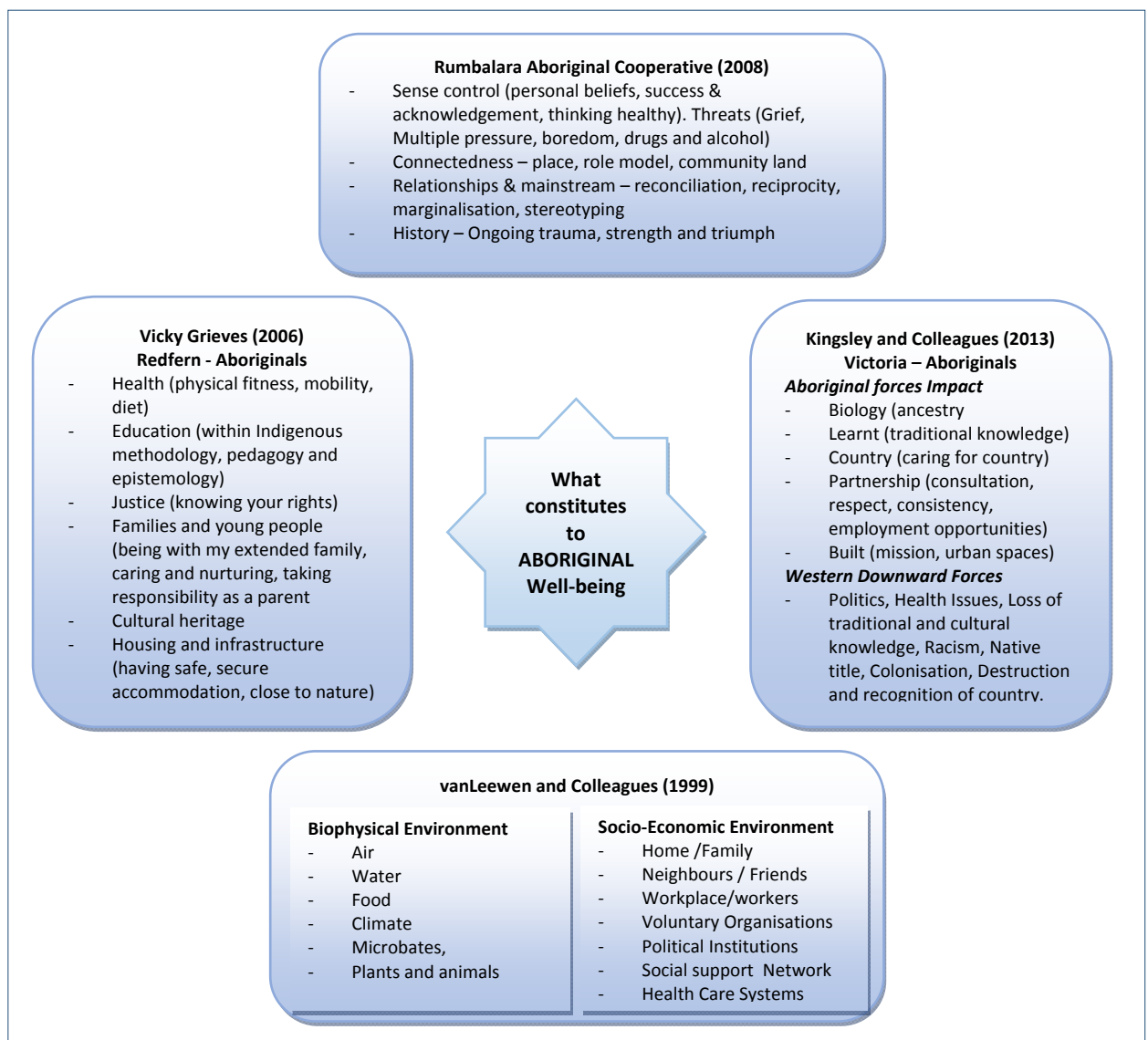


Figure 5: Examples of what constitutes to Aboriginal Well-being

In terms of development practice, it is still necessary to translate Aboriginal well-being concepts into conventional reporting frameworks. A review provided by John Taylor (2007) emphasised that Aboriginal concepts of well-being sometimes conflict with

government notions of well-being in that “conventional reporting frameworks continue to be constructed more around processes of government” and less on aboriginal priorities. Kingsley, Townsend, Henderson-Wilson & Bolam (2013) focus on health and environmental issues. Using an exploratory framework their study recognizes the connection between people and the natural world by utilising Aboriginal concepts of well-being and country. The aim was to be able to develop a framework which can deal with issues concerning environment and health in future and provide less rigid definitions of well-being that is inclusive of aboriginal people.

Māori concept of well-being

The concept of well-being in Maori was defined using frameworks based on Maori health and place-based models that identify the various components that constitute Maori perception of well-being. With respect to the Māori concepts of well-being, they share some similarities with the Aboriginal concepts. They are embedded in a collective identity through the *whānau* (extended family), *hapu* (clan) and *iwi* (descendants from common ancestors), culture and spiritual state of being. They are defined in Māori health models of well-being that represent cultural nuances and define well-being based on its construct and Māori identity. They explain that well-being is determined largely by factors outside of the individual control. For example, Mason Durie’s (1994) *Te Whare Tapa Wha* model introduced the four cornerstones of the house as the key dimensions for well-being and health: *Taha Wairua* (spiritual⁸), *Taha Hinengaro* (mind⁹); *Taha Tinana* (physical¹⁰), and *Taha Whānau* (extended family¹¹). This was later expanded to include the more modern perspectives and dimensions that promote well-being and health called *Te Pae Mahutonga* (Durie, 1999) or the Southern Cross constellation consisting of six stars that represent *Mauriora* (cultural identity), *Waiora* (physical environment), *Toiora* (healthy lifestyles) and *Te Oranga* (participation in society), *Ngā Manukura* (leadership) and *Te Mana Whakahaere* (autonomy). Rose Pere’s (1997) *Te Wheke* (octopus) model focuses on

⁸ Spiritual health - capacity for faith and spiritual awareness.

⁹ Mind – ability to communicate, think and feel.

¹⁰ Physical - physical growth and development.

¹¹ Family – extended family, social systems, belonging and reciprocity.

family health. The head of the octopus is the family, the eyes represent (total well-being) and eight tentacles represent the dimensions and relationships, for example, *Wairuatanga* (spirituality), *Mana ake* (uniqueness of the individual), *Mauri* (ethos which sustains all life forms including the language), *Hā a kui ma a koro ma* (traditional cultural legacy), *Taha tinana* (physical aspect), *Whānaungatanga* (kinship), *Whatumanawa* (emotional aspect) and *Hinengaro* (mind).

In addition, Māori concepts of well-being acknowledge traditional tribal lands. In concert with Aboriginal definitions, lands are central to Māori concepts of well-being. This is well explained by Hay's (1998) wherewith or whence "for Māori, a feeling of land is central to their sense of place, particularly if the land is part of their ancestral tribal territory". Parnelli and Tipa (2007) further explained this in their integrated culture-environment relationship model that looks at a place-based conceptualisation of well-being for Māori. This illustrates the close relationship of Māori with their *Rohe Patoe* (tribal lands). They highlight that to understand the well-being of a Māori community one must recognise the deep connections people have with their tribal lands. In other words, the land provides for the physical nourishment of people who rely on it while the cultural practices that are inherent in tribal lands contribute to the sustainability and well-being of future generations.

While Aboriginal and Māori well-being concepts have important similarities, there are also differences in terms of spirituality. The Māori definitions of well-being place emphasis on spirituality in reference to God or *Atua (gods) of theological*, which is somewhat different from Aboriginal¹² definitions which refer to the geophysical. (Parnelli & Tipa, 2007, p. 155).

Māori conception sees all elements related by mutual descent from the Atua and from the primeval parents Ranginui and Papatuanuku (mother earth) [...] People rely on the other children of Papatuanuku and Ranginui for sustenance and in return, respect the natural ecology

¹²Aboriginal spirituality is defined as at the core of Aboriginal being, their very identity. It gives meaning to all of the various aspects of life including relationships with one another and the environment. All objects are living and share the same soul and spirit as Aboriginals. There is a kinship with the environment. Aboriginal spirituality can be expressed visually, musically and ceremonially (Grant 2004:8–9)

and its components, akin to the respect conferred on a family member.

Even though it is important that well-being should be understood from a Māori cultural identity perspective, it is also important to take into account the influences of modern lifestyles which affect the changing culture within Māoridom. *Hinematau* McNeil's (2009) provided a new perspective on well-being called to *Te Ao Tutahi* that encompasses these new cultural influences, contemporary Māori existence, and the impact of colonization on the Māori psyche. It presents the different ontological realities and epistemologies that encompass all Māori irrespective of their life experiences through the *Te Ao Whakanekeneke* (global world), *Te Ao Pākehā* (European world), *Te Ao Hou* (synthesis of cultural elements from Māori and Pākehā worlds) and *Te Ao Tawhito* (Māori world with origins in pre-contact Māori existence).

In terms of Māori well-being it has been acknowledged in conventional reporting frameworks. Wereta and Bishop (2004, p.7) report that the Māori Statistics framework follows Sen's as it focuses on capability, stating that "Māori well-being should be seen as a state in which Māori people are able to live whatever life they chose to live." The rationale for basing the Māori Statistics framework on Sen's definition was because while it is culturally inclusive it also allows for the Māori's perceptions of well-being to be included in several areas. It acknowledges individual and collective well-being, and incorporating the themes of freedom, security, empowerment and the participation of people. It is a rights-based approach rather than a needs-based approach. It recognises the role of government and the obligations of society on national and societal development. And above all, the framework does not standardise the definition of 'a good life', it accommodates the fluidity, complexity and diversity of Māori society and realities.

While it is important from a cultural perspective to define well-being, the extent to which these definitions are reflected in conventional reporting frameworks is also equally important. It ensures recognition is given to that which contributes to people's well-being and that it is acknowledged in development practice. Furthermore, these

definitions reflect a high ranking regarding the importance of cultural identity, and land and spiritual faith.

Unlike Aboriginal definitions which are still finding their way into national development frameworks, the incorporation of Māori concepts into government frameworks is contributing to the development of policies that target the improvement of Māori well-being.¹³ For example, referring to the Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement developed by Dr. Carla Houkamau and Dr. Chris Sibley (2010), it is a self-reported instrument designed to measure six¹⁴ distinct identity and cultural engagements within a Māori context.

Pacific Definitions

In Pacific Island countries, definitions of well-being in areas of health and development are generally based on international standard definitions. For example, although Vanuatu has developed alternative indicators of well-being, they were based around an international definition in terms of the well-being related to happiness and life-satisfaction (Statistics, 2012). All of the other Pasifika definitions published in the literature (and that are discussed below) have been developed by Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand specifically for the New Zealand-based Pacific diaspora communities.

The concepts of well-being that have been developed from Pacific world views share some similarities to the Aboriginal and Māori concepts, in particular, that well-being is a collective process that includes the family and community. They also include reference to maintaining cultural identity, spirituality and lands.

A review of the literature reveals that there has been little focus on defining well-being from the perspectives of Pacific Islanders living in the islands themselves. The exception is in Fiji where Nabobo-Baba's (2006) study of the *Vugalei* clan entitled

¹³ It is important to note that there are other conditions that are important to this move toward adopting such policies that are not presented in detail here. This includes leadership, political willingness, active population, etc.

¹⁴(1) Group Membership Evaluation,(2) Socio- Political Consciousness,(3) Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement,(4) Spirituality,(5) Interdependent Self-Concept, and (6) Authenticity Beliefs

Knowing and Learning : an indigenous Fijian Approach defined well-being in Fijian as 'sautu'. *Sautu* means a "life of good health and wealth" (at p.74). Nabobo-Baba explained that health (physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual) is determined and affected by *vanua* (land) and that ill health results from inappropriate behaviour towards the expectations and demands of that are considered to be traditional customs, thus one receives the wrath of the *vanua*. He explained that wealth refers to having a healthy and wide network of relationships rather than having material resources. Therefore, a wealthy Fijian person has *sautu* and is a person one who is steeped in indigenous knowledge, possesses a good and beautiful heart and has a soul that is mindful and protective of people, God and *vanua* (country/land).

Similarly, the definition of well-being presented by Tui Atua Tamasese 'Efi's is based on a Samoan worldview which states that "well-being is the ability to maintain harmony and balance between people's relationship to self, others with God and their natural world" (Lupe, 2013, p. 229). This is similar to Māori concepts of well-being in terms of the reference to God, and to the Aboriginal references to maintaining harmony and balance. God is an important element of a Samoan's well-being because he is the highest being and all good things in life are provided for by God. Within a Samoan worldview, well-being is based on how people maintain that relationship.

Similar to Aboriginal and Māori concepts, Pacific well-being definitions are also informed by health models, which in turn have been influential in the development of the *'Ala Mo'ui: Pathways to Pacific Health and Well-being 2014–2018* (Health, 2014) a national plan that will help in improving the health of Pacific people in New Zealand. Pacific health models have been represented metaphorically as cultural assets. For example, Puluotu Endemann's (2001) *Fonofale* model is represented by the structure of a Samoan traditional fale (house); Kupa's (2009) *Te Vaka Atafaga* structure represents the Tokelauan traditional canoe and Sione Tui'tahi's (2007) *Fonua* model metaphorically represents the Tongan connection to land. The structures in each of these models portray the dimensions in regard to what people consider important. These dimensions include family, community, culture, land, health, time, context and environment. Of most importance are the interrelationships and interconnections of these dimensions. This is highlighted by Tui'tahi (2012, p. 6) who states from a Tongan

perspective that “well-being and health refer not just to individuals but also to communities, the environment in which they live, and the relationship that binds them together”. These relationships are based on reciprocity, respect, honesty and honour. This means understanding the context of social and environmental relationships that exists and respecting that space.

The Samoan health model definition also includes an additional important dimension, coping with cultural change, especially for Pacific Island migrants in New Zealand as they look after and take care of health issues or well-being. It emphasises how cultural values of reciprocity, (*va*), religion, migration and the monetary economy have an impact on people’s well-being. While this is particularly relevant for migrant communities, as the monetary economy, temporary migration patterns and tourism grows within the Pacific region, there are elements of this definition that can inform a Tuvaluan definition in a modern context.

The diversity of the Pacific Islands is a topic that is necessary to be taken into consideration as each island has its own cultural identity. While definitions from the health field ensure recognition of Pacific people’s well-being, they have only been recognised in New Zealand-based Pacific health policies. They have not been adopted or built upon within the national planning and development in Pacific Island countries. It is important to note that these health models have been developed for the same context as Māori in New Zealand, however unlike Māori, Pacific Islanders in New Zealand do not have land within the country that holds the same historical value as it does for Māori. Pacific cultures and traditions have had to accommodate extensive changes as compared to Pacific Islanders in the islands. Even so, the Pasifika models developed in New Zealand, do reflect what is important in their home countries, including land and they continue to do so.

Tuvaluan definition

This thesis now looks specifically at the definitions of well-being in Tuvalu, having looked across the Pacific. Well-being in the Tuvaluan context, as suggested in Tufoua Panapa’s (2012) study the *Ethnographic Research on Meanings and Practices of Health*

in *Tuvalu: A Community Report*, can be defined in a health context as ‘*ola lei*’. *Ola lei* translates to ‘good life’ or ‘living well’. And the respondents who participated in that study understood state of happiness equates to having a peaceful and pleasant life, feeling content or functioning well (body and mind). The definition clearly reflects the broadness and multidimensional aspect of the concept for *ola lei*.

According to Panapa (2012, p.49), *ola lei* is defined as the “optimal and ideal state of being”, which refers to the “physical or emotional state of being” for a person or persons’. The physical state of being refers to a person who is *malosi*¹⁵ (physically fit) and *ola leva* (having a long life), while the emotional state refers to *filemu* (peace and harmony) and *fiafia* (happiness). These factors are identified as key qualities of *ola lei* that are interrelated, overarching and define the nature of *ola lei* (see Figure 6).

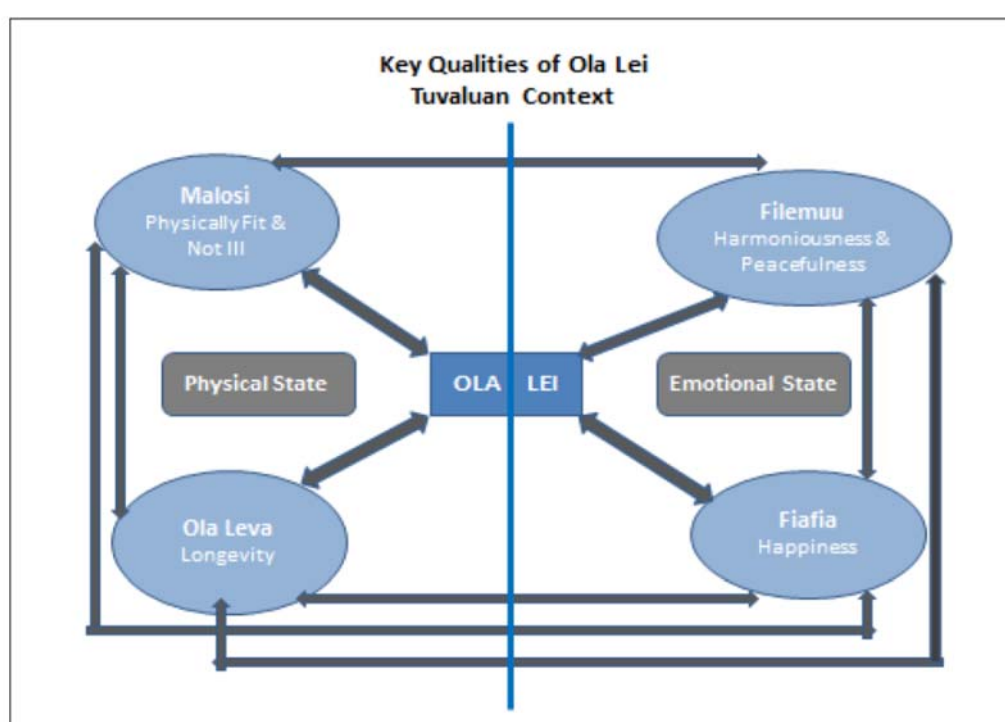


Figure 6: Model of the interrelationship of fundamental qualities for Ola Lei

Source: (Panapa, 2012, p. 51)

In order to achieve the *ola lei* the following attributes were identified: *Tuu-maa* (cleanliness), *Toka* (readiness), *Galue malosi* (hard work), *Maumea* or

¹⁵Malosi was defined as physical and not being ill, mental and spiritual fitness.

maukoloa(richness/wealth), *meakai e leva & lei* (food abundance and quality), *Poto faka-tuvalu* or *logo* (accessing traditional skills/knowledge), *Talitonu and fakatuanaki ki te Atua* (belief in and being faithful to God), *lei a te masaki* (recovery). These factors have similarities to other collective cultures in the Pacific especially in terms of the importance of the traditional way of life and knowledge and spirituality. These factors are important to well-being and are supported by Teuleala Manuealla –Morris (2009) *Situation Analysis for Youth Mental Health Report* who found that Tuvaluans strong belief in God helps to provide meaning in people's lives even for people who were not physically fit.

The study however is limited because it focuses on the health discipline area and does not include other areas. It reflects the literature findings of well-being as a multidisciplinary concept that is looked at from the interest of a particular discipline. Hence, it is limited as it does not encompass other factors that also affect people's well-being such as, education, economics, environmental issues, governance, changes that take place, migration and other social development factors. It however provides a baseline that could be developed further and this research study considers it as an important platform.

In terms of government policy, neither the TKII nor any social policy defines well-being. Indirectly, the assumption is that the well-being of Tuvaluans is the end goal of national planning. In the TKII, the end goal is highlighted in the vision statement which states "that by 2015 Tuvaluans will have a high standard of living, are healthy and educated and peaceful"(Government of Tuvalu, 2005, p. 7).

In its endeavor for development to gain a better standard of living the TKII's view of well-being is quite similar to the view of Jone Dakuvula (1975) regarding Pacific planning today, where there has been so much emphasis on materialism that it tends to undermine the positive aspects of traditional society and the quality of life that people lead. He said that the underlying element of national planning in most Pacific Island states is the materialistic world vision where "specialized labour, merit system and achievement orientation are central to serve as a determinant of the values of human interaction". For some reason people have taken it for granted that only in a

materialistic world will people be able to “achieve dignity, identity and solidarity” and they tend to portray the traditional way of living as either ‘aids’ or ‘obstacles’ to achieving development. In the TKII it is assumed that having modern homes, creating more employment, increasing GDP will enable people to have a better quality of life. This however has been disproven in many of the developed countries which have indicated that these are only means they are not the ends.

3.1.4 Why is well-being important in national development?

Over the last few decades the concept of well-being has become an important issue in development and public policy. Its main purpose has been to supplement the traditional indices of well-being with alternative indicators that capture the non-economic or non-material dimensions of human life(Haq, 2009).

Studies of well-being in terms of the relationship between income and happiness indicate that an increase in economic growth or income does not translate to increasing people’s happiness or satisfaction in life. Economists assume that increasing material wealth is the best solution to solving social problems as well as improving people’s lives and achieving well-being. However a study on the ‘paradox of affluence’ on well-being, found that when basic material needs are met, economic growth does not straightforwardly translate into an increase in happiness instead it pays for only a pint of happiness (Atkinson et al., 2012; Easterlin, 2002, 2005; Oswald, 1997).

Studies on life satisfaction and income per capita indicate that the correlation between the two is only positive at low levels of income however once income increases beyond the threshold there is significant weakening in life satisfaction (Alexander, 2012; Easterlin, 2002). It shows that wealth has become an inadequate measure of how society is doing(Forgeard et al., 2011). For example, the United States over the last 50 years had tripled its GDP per capita however life satisfaction remains the same and there has been also a dramatic increase in the rates of depression and anxiety (Oswald, 1997). This is also similar for Canada where the Canadian Index of Well-being Report (2005) found that GDP growth from 1994 – 2010 showed an increase of 28.9% however well-being increased by a very small margin of 5.7%. Hence, despite years of

prosperity, the growth of their economy in terms of GDP did not translate into similarly significant gains in their overall quality of life.

In 1991 the Human Development Index (HDI) was introduced, with the purpose of shifting the focus of development from economics to reiterate and articulate wealth and growth in terms of people (Grinde, 2012; UNDP, 1990). This was clearly emphasized by Mahbub ul Haq in the first Human Development Report (UNDP, 1990) :

“People are the real wealth of a nation. The full purpose of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy, creative lives. This simple and powerful truth is often forgotten in the pursuit of financial wealth.”(UNDP, 1990, p. 9)

The first publication of the Human Development Report acknowledged the significance of the development of human well-being to that of economic consumption. The report highlighted that human development is a process of ‘enlarging people’s choices’ so that people have the freedom to be healthy, educated and enjoy a decent standard of living. To enable the sustainability of positive outcomes consistently over time and overcome processes that continues to impoverish people and underpin oppression and structural injustice. It upholds the key principles of equity, sustainability and respect for human rights (UNDP, 2010).

Before the HDI the country of Bhutan had taken a different direction in development of its country which deflected economic and material wealth to place a greater focus on the happiness of its people. It was the first country to use Gross National Happiness (GNH) to measure the countries growth rate based on the value of their citizens living conditions. Their index was developed in 1972 around the time the ‘OECD started its program in social indicators and the UN Social and Economic Council developed the ambitious System of Social and Demographic Statistics’ (Noll, 2002).

The Prime Minister of Royal Bhutan, Mr Jigmi Y Thinley in his paper presented at the United Nations - High-Level Meeting on Well-Being and Happiness (1990) explained that Bhutan chose to take a holistic form of development using GNH as opposed to GDP because it ‘seeks to integrate sustainable and equitable socio-economic

development with environmental conservation, cultural promotion and good governance' which is in complete contrast to how economics development focus on promoting individualism, materialism and consumerism. He defined happiness as "living life in full harmony with the natural world with our communities and fellow beings, and with our culture and spiritual heritage, in short, from feeling totally connected with our world"(Tu'itahi, 2007, p. 89). This approach to national development is important and signifies that even in the midst of globalisation, cultural practices and values can still contribute to development, they just need to be understood and identified as to where they can be supported and strengthened.

In terms of the public policy process, well-being now has begun to have a greater influence. Its overarching concept enables policy makers to combine economic and non-economic objectives into one framework (van Zanden et al., 2014). It also helps to move the focus of development beyond economic circumstances to include other important aspects of people's social and emotional needs. It does not refute the important role economics play in policy decisions however it proposes that well-being be measured more directly, because there are distressingly large, measurable slippages between economic indicators and well-being (Seligman & Diener, 2004). In addition, studies in psychology have shown that flourishing and productive human beings produce significant results in daily functioning and are economically more productive (Nadine, 2013).

More importantly in the transition from traditional and colonization to the Westernization of collective cultures peoples' way of life, their cultural values and beliefs have been compromised and many people have been challenged to cope with new ideas and ways of living which is in complete contrast to what they have been accustomed to. Well-being helps to recognize the importance of culture for people in collective cultures from Pacific and Tuvalu. Well-being helps them discover what they hold valuable and identify with as living well, which is different than in Western society. It was found that many collective cultures people's well-being has deteriorated because they have lost their cultural sense of identity and sense of place in society because their values and belief have been overlooked by the current system of development. Therefore this research is important in helping to gain an

understanding regarding well-being in terms of what it means for Tuvaluans and the factors and values are that they hold dear that contribute to their state of well-being.

3.2 Well-being Indicators

The first section provides the basis for constructing well-being indicators. From a review of the literature it has been emphasized that prior to constructing well-being indicators it is important to understand what individuals and communities perceive as significant in their lives. This section is divided into two and aims to identify the types of well-being indicators that can be used as a baseline for Tuvalu to measure well-being. It first looks at defining the subjective and objective indicators and identifying the key indicators that had been validated and used globally (United Nations, OECD) regionally (New Zealand) and in the Pacific (Vanuatu). Well-being measures depend on both objective and subjective indicators however traditional economics do not take into account subjective measures because they were considered immeasurable. It was not until the post-materialistic era after World War II that subjective well-being measures became significant. This was because people were concerned with quality of life beyond economic prosperity which conventional measures do not seem to capture.

Objective Well-being Indicators

Objective well-being indicators are the conventional measures that have been used in development which relies on quantitative data and observable methods (Brdar et al., 2011). They are a universal needs list that every society should have such as 'income, housing, educational attainment, access to and use of public services (Royo & Velazo, 2005).

They are also known as social indicators, quality of life or key national indicators that measure social well-being and provide an overview of social conditions and attempts to capture and evaluate objective conceptions of well-being in target societies (Forgeard et al., 2011). They have been used in many countries to measure progress and monitor development with specific focus on quantitative data that are measurable and are based on universal needs.

In addition, with respect to ideas, interests or values, in terms of individual preferences, objective well-being had little if any particular influence (Haq, 2009). These measures are based on Aristotle's perfectionist model of well-being which looks at individuals realizing their full potential or 'flourishing' (Parks, Seligman, & Steen, 2004). The indicators focus on what it is that individuals must have to achieve their full potential (McAllister, 2005). Other researchers share the opinion that objective well-being equates with economic development that is sustainable such as real, objective living conditions (Robeyns, 2009).

Subjective well-being indicators

Subjective well-being is the personal evaluation of multidimensional elements in relation to life-satisfaction and happiness. The focuses are on perceptions and are based on non-economic commodities. It is subjected to three concepts of "cognitive evaluation, life satisfaction, positive and negative affects" (Diener et al., 2002). According to OECD definition subjective well-being is as follows:

"Good mental states, including all of the various evaluations, positive and negative, that people make of their lives and the affective reactions of people to their experiences."(OECD, 2013b)

Subjective well-being differs for each individual and measuring this is even harder to decipher than objective well-being as there are factors that may affect how people view their well-being. Life satisfaction depends for the most part on individual's aspirations and expectations or in collectivist societies on the perception of the many (Diener et al., 2002).

Studies investigating well-being have tried to determine what it is that makes people happy or life satisfaction by examining an individual's "genetic makeup and behavioural factors to social and environmental determinants" (Conradson, 2012) while contemporary measures look at how services and economic development contribute to positive conditions in people's lives.

The importance of subjective well-being indicators is because they capture people's perception regarding how national development has affected their lives and what resources they have access to. These perceptions will help evaluate and assess the impact of social, economic, political and environmental changes available to the citizenry and how it affects their well-being. It is important to note that the construct, formulation or establishment of the indicators is also an area that has been considerably debated, in terms of who should identify the relevant indicators. This brings into light the study of Le Roy et al. who argued that constructing indicators is a pluralistic process.

Approach in constructing well-being indicators

Le Roy et al. (2015) argued that in the process of constructing well-being indicators it is important to take a pluralistic approach especially when it concerns social and sustainable development. This includes participatory, qualitative and quantitative methods because it takes into consideration the diversity of population in terms of experience and representation. Using pluralistic methods helps to provide a new perspective on the reality of economic development and provide policy makers with alternative measures that present a holistic approach and identify the importance of social capital and what is in the common good. Le Roy and colleagues found that an increase in the quantity of social interactions does not always correlate with an increase in their quality and individuals well-being and that there is no perfect match between monetary and non-monetary resources. They highlighted that social relations are at the heart of individual and collective well-being.

A review of the literature indicates that it is important to include both objective and subjective indicators when measuring well-being. Nobel Laureate economist Joseph Stiglitz in his endorsement on the value and importance of well-being in the UN Conference on Well-being and Happiness on 2-4 April stated that:

“Whatever the indicators we use, whether it’s well-being or others, we have to be very conscious that...people are experiencing different things, and our commitment to equitable development means that we have to focus on the experiences not of the average but on what’s happening to all of our citizens, including those at the bottom and middle.”(UN, 2012a)

Le Roy et al. and Stiglitz both emphasised the importance of the democratic process when identifying what is important to people’s well-being. This is because while people have different forms and experiences in terms of their well-being, of most importance when constructing indicators with respect to well-being it is important to assess the purpose and value and to take account of the said phenomenon using other methods.

3.2.1 Types of well-being indicators

The study looks at four sets of indicators that have been used to measure well-being on a global scale and had also been applied and used in the Pacific. This will provide guidance in terms of determining which types of indicators Tuvalu could use in measuring well-being. Although it is a pre-determined list of indicators that was meant to provide a baseline, it can be changed based on feedback from people. The main focus of the research is to identify the types of indicators that can be looked at which are proven measures that have been used and validated by other countries.

The four sets of indicators were selected from the Human Development Index, OECD Well-being Index, New Zealand Social Well-being Indicators and the Alternative Well-being Indicators for Melanesian Countries. They reflect the various types of objective and subjective indicators which were used to measure well-being.

Human Development Index (HDI) – (Objective Indicators)

Although the first Human Development Report was published in 1990, the Human Development Index (HDI) has been used since 1975 by the United Nations to calculate the human development of its member states. It was developed to provide a better measure for human achievements in several basic capabilities based on the rationality

that economic development fails to capture the multi-dimensional human character of development. It embodies Amartya Sen's capability approach which emphasizes the "importance of ends - decent standard of living - over the importance of means - income per capita" (Stanton, 2007, p. 37)

The HDI points out three basic dimensions: longevity (living a long and healthy life); knowledge (capability of learning) and enjoying a decent standard of living (GDP per capita). These dimensions were captured utilising four indicators: life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, mean years of schooling for adults and GDP per capita (US\$) adjusted to purchasing power. It uses "goalposts¹⁶", where the value 0 is assigned to the minimum level of the development indicator and one to the maximum (Langlois & Anderson, 2002). This is used to measure each country's score based on the maximum level that it achieves. Although Tuvalu is a member of the UN, due to a lack of data, no records exist regarding where it ranks in the HDI.

While the HDI is important it does not include indigenous community's perception of well-being which relate to cultural values and beliefs or moral components that are not captured in the general statistics. This argument is supported by Ratan Lal Basu's (2013, p. 3) in his cultural view of the HDI when he said "human development effort should not end up in amelioration of material deprivations alone: it must undertake to bring about spiritual and moral development to assist the biped to become truly human." In other words, he explained that while material consideration is important in human development it is not the end of it all as that there are spiritual and moral issues that are of greater concern which contribute to people's well-being and he referred to India where culture and religion play a significant part in the lives of the people. This is also significant for Tuvalu because it has a strong cultural and spiritual base which currently is often overlooked in the development process.

In addition, the HDI does not take into consideration the ecological factors which developing nations are dependent on however its use of composite indicators provides a sound baseline that each country can use to measure and compare with globally. For example, HDI summarizes complex and multidimensional issues and provides the big

¹⁶ goalposts are expressed as values between 0 and 1 whereby for each component index

picture by facilitating the task of ranking countries in terms of complex issues, for example, health, education and economic development and so forth. Even within the list of indicators it also has reflects flexibility whereby it reduces the size of the list of indicators allowing for the inclusion of more detailed information for each category (Gonzalez, 2014).

Similar to any other measure it has its negative and positive aspects however as it is a global index that is used by United Nations member countries it has had a great influence in the development process even though government and policy makers still use this measure as a baseline. As a member of the UN although Tuvalu is included in the HDI list, the relevant data still needs to be included.

Compendium OECD Well-Being Indicators (Objective and Subjective Well-being Indicators)

The OECD is an international organization which for over 50 years has been influential in promoting policies that aim at improving the economic and social well-being of people around the world (Valerius, 2013). It has 34 member countries and collaborates with more than 100 economies around the globe (Valerius, 2013). The Compendium OECD Well-being Indicators(OWBI) (2007) was developed through collaborative efforts from various countries to measure well-being and progress that address the concerns raised on how macro-economic measures fail to capture what ordinary people perceive about the state of their own lives.

The main principle focus of the compendium was to provide evidence on: people's well-being including inequalities in peoples' conditions (not macro-economic, GDP, productivity and innovation), outcomes of well-being indicators (not output and inputs), objective and subjective aspects of people's well-being. The scope of the framework addresses material living conditions based on people's living conditions and their command over existing resources; quality of life focusing on non-monetary attributes and the sustainability of socio-economic and natural systems over time.

There are 11 dimensions divided into Material Living Standards (MLS) which includes three dimensions and Quality of Life (QOL) which has eight dimensions. The

dimensions under MLS constitute of income and wealth, jobs and earnings and housing whereas for Quality of Life (QOL) it includes health, work and life balance, education and skills, social connections, civic engagement, environmental quality, subjective well-being and personal security. To capture the dimensions the following indicators have been assigned to it which include: i.) MLS includes household net adjusted disposable income per capita, household net financial wealth per capita, employment rate, long-term unemployment rate, rooms per person, and dwellings without basic facilities. ii.) QOL include life-expectancy, self-reported health, employees working very long hours (50+hrs), time devoted to leisure, personal care, employment rate of women with children of compulsory school age, education attainment (15-64 years), literacy rate, contact with others, social network support, voter turnout, consultation on rule-making, air pollution, life satisfaction, intentional homicides and self-reported victimisation.

There is now a report called the “How’s Life?” which publishes the Compendium OWBI data that was collected from 2006 - 2010. The OECD Better Life Initiative was a web-based tool that was developed using the data collected from the Compendium OWBI that enables citizens to compare well-being across 34 countries. According to the Compendium OWBI no country ranks consistently at the top or the bottom of the distribution.

This Compendium OWBI is different from the ones used in the HDI as it combines objective and subjective indicators. Its main objective has been to not only do ‘measurement per se, but to strengthen the evidence-base for policy making. It conceives that better measures of well-being can improve our understanding of the factors driving societal progress. And it asserts that better assessments of countries comparative performance in various fields can lead to better strategies to tackle deficiencies’(OECD, 2013b).

In terms of Tuvalu the Compendium OWIB provides a good example that does not conform to the current norm of measuring well-being which includes indicators that are subjective in nature. It provides a guideline that could be tailored to suit Tuvalu’s context especially the QOL Indicators where some of the indicators mentioned are

measured by Tuvalu. The study selects the QOL indicators (refer Appendix 8) and not the MLS Indicators.

New Zealand Social Well-being Indicators

The study focuses on New Zealand (NZ) Social Well-being Indicators (SWBI) because they include OECD and HDI sets of indicators as well as cultural and ethnic indicators presenting a more holistic approach to well-being. In the Social Report 2010 it shows that the SWBI has ten dimensions and 43 indicators in which 22 of the indicators are comparable with other countries. SWBI for NZ also measures the social well-being for the Tuvaluans who had migrated to New Zealand.

The ten dimensions include health, knowledge and skills, paid work, economic standard, civil political rights, cultural identity, leisure and recreation, safety, social connectedness and life satisfaction. The indicators that are necessary to capture the dimensions are reflected in OECD and HDI sets of indicators with a few additional ones (Refer Appendix 8).

The NZ SWBI is inclusive in that it accommodates Pacific communities and Indigenous communities in NZ of which Tuvalu is a part of. In 2012 the NZ General Social survey data from Statistics NZ indicate that while Pacific Islanders had the second highest percentage in terms of overall life satisfaction (64.5% - highest was 65.7% Asians) they had the lowest in financial well-being (3.3%) compared to other ethnic groups. In terms of social connectedness they scored highly in terms of family connections and voluntary work. This makes the NZ SWBI important to consider because they are Pacific-oriented indicators which could be used by Tuvalu to conduct comparative measures in terms of well-being.

Alternative Indicator of Well-being for Melanesia (Subjective Indicators)

Well-being measures in national planning and policies for most of the Pacific Island Countries are still based on the conventional objective well-being indicators which include the social, economic and sustainability measures. Vanuatu however has taken the initiative to develop subjective well-being indicators that focus on human development which measures people's happiness and satisfaction in life based on

Melanesian values which is called the Alternative Indicators of Well-being in Melanesia (AIWBM)(Statistics, 2012).

The AIWBM resulted from a paper presented by Vanuatu titled “Enhancing our Traditional Systems and Values for a Stronger and More Integrated Melanesia in Addressing Global Challenges “ at the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) Leaders’ Summit Trade and Economic Officials Meeting (TOEM) in 2008 (Statistics, 2012Vanuatu National Statistics). From the meeting the leaders agreed that MSG Governments need to develop measures which take into account non-monetary values which contribute significantly to people’s way of life as current global measures seem to indicate a different perspective of development. This is evident in how Vanuatu was classified under the UN as one of the ‘world’s impoverished countries’ and considered ‘economically handicapped’ however according to a survey carried out by Oxfam (Feeny, 2009) the global economics crisis has had little impact in Vanuatu compared to the massive impact experienced by industrialised countries. Thus the TOEM initiated the development of well-being indicators within a Melanesian¹⁷ context with the help of specialists from departments of statistics and representatives from various organizations in Melanesia that had ideas related to “redefining poverty” (Statistics, 2012, p. 2). An intensive two day conference with all Melanesian groups developed the key indicators that are meaningful measures of well-being which are locally based. The pilot survey was designed by the Vanuatu National Statistics (VNSO).

The AIWBM was very different from the OECD, UN and NZ SWBI in that it was specifically focused on subjective well-being. There were two specific categories which it measured in the survey in terms of the perspectives of individuals and the community at large. Under the individual category four dimensions were surveyed which include: subjective well-being, resource access, cultural practices and community vitality and 24 indicators. In regard to the community five dimensions were surveyed which include: collective subjective well-being, chiefs, women leaders, church leaders and ceremonial activity with a total of 13 indicators. (Refer Appendix 8 for list of indicators)

¹⁷Melanesia refers to Pacific Island countries such as Fiji, Solomon’s, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu.

The importance of the AIWBM was that it provides an avenue by which Tuvalu can measure progress in terms of human development as opposed to relying on the economic measures of GDP which had always classified Tuvalu as vulnerable and as lacking the economic capacity to cater for its people's well-being.

3.2.2 Importance of well-being (subjective) indicators in the national planning – TKII

This section discusses the reason it is important to adopt well-being indicators in national planning for Tuvalu. The literature indicates that objective indicators do not fully capture human development and especially the use of GDP indicators to measure well-being. Many studies have revealed that economic measures do not capture the non-economic side of a nation's well-being such as pollution, social instability, youth unemployment, suicide, increasing alcohol consumption and domestic violence which are now becoming important issues that require careful consideration. Simon Kuznets, a famous economist and the first promoter of the United States national accounts, acknowledged that whereas collecting economic information can serve to examine how economic indicators influence the welfare of a nation, doing so does not provide for measuring development in terms of human capabilities and functioning's and does not explore how development has impacted the lives of the people (Waring, 2004).

A report titled "What Can We Learn Project 2012-2013" identified that in Pacific Islands "progress is only determined by culture, history and experiences of self-respect, social cohesion, energy, openness to change and the importance that they have attached to moral values of honesty, accountability to leaders and governments" (Hughes, 2013, p. 3). Currently Tuvalu's indicators in terms of measuring well-being and sustainable development are objective measures which focus on quantitative data from the view point of public structures designed to provide services to the population (Le Roy et al., 2015). The TKII only measures indicators that are measureable based on existing statistical data however it does not capture other phenomenon that have a great impact on well-being. For example, whereas crime rates increase GDP through the increase of facilities being built to house prisoners, it does not measure the quality of life for the victim. Another example is that the

increase of fuel transport in Tuvalu has also increased the GDP yet the cost to the environment is not accounted for in that it destroys the ecosystem and the land.

The other area of importance is the gap that exists between the information provided in the aggregate GDP and what it is that people believe is important for their well-being (Fitoussi et al., 2009). Having subjective indicators which ask people what it is that makes them happy or makes for a good life will help the government develop realistic strategies that will help improve people's livelihood thereby increasing well-being. Studies have indicated that people who lead very satisfying lives or who are happy are more productive and contribute better to society (Westerh & Keyes, 2010).

Whilst the TKII indicators do not necessarily reflect people's cultural vitality in various Island communities, the Alternative Indicators for Melanesia and Indigenous frameworks portray a more culturally sensitive approach in regard to the understanding of well-being in the development process and in the local context.

However it is important to note that the TKII was developed in 2005 at a time when measures of subjective well-being were being debated and tested by developed countries regarding which indicators were most relevant. Starting a few decades ago around 1960, developed countries started to develop alternative indicators in order to measure well-being from a people based perspective. The New Economics Foundation report was only developed in 2012, the OECD Better Life Index was developed in 2011 and recognition of well-being as an important measure of development was acknowledged by the UN in 2013. It is apparent that current indicators are based on traditional measures that were established some time ago in the past. This demonstrates the influence that developed countries have on developing nations. These indicators and measures may not necessarily harmonise with local customs and traditions and cultural ways of living. Moreover, as communities involved have not had adequate consultation, this could account for the fact that ideas in sympathy with what people's idea of well-being represents.

3.2.3 Critique of TKII indicators and

Whilst the TKII provides an important framework for the purpose of monitoring the development process and the quality of life for Tuvaluan people, there are aspects that have been overlooked, socially, community orientated and so forth, especially transitioning from a traditional lifestyle to what is considered a more modern one. Unfortunately poverty now has increased which is therefore affecting the well-being of people. Well-being is much more than just having a good home, a high standard of living, and having a job. It is about living in an environment where people are psychologically stable, satisfied and happy. Whilst poverty increased from less than 30% of the population living below the poverty line in 1994 to more than 50% in Funafuti and 43.9% for Outer Islands (Government of Tuvalu, 2011b) this can cause social problems which cannot be solved through economic means alone especially when unemployment is on the rise.

The TKII states that Tuvalu hopes to achieve a peaceful and prosperous Tuvalu by 2015. While the current development has considerably improved the standard of living nevertheless peaceful living is not as it used to be. In Tuvalu incidences of murder or drugs are rare however it is important to note that crime rates had increased significantly whereby from 1991-2002 it increased by 2.2% while from 2002-2011 it increased by 41%. Unfortunately as more young people are missing out, in that they are not in school or learning a trade as an apprentice, some are becoming increasingly restless and sometimes even get involved in crime. There are mental health issues that must be looked at especially for youth with increasing youth suicides and attempted suicides. Domestic violence had increased significantly from six to 246 reported cases in 2011. This shows that social stability and peace are areas that not likely an achievable factor by 2015. Whereas indicators related to development mainly focus on political stability and governance, social issues that concern family and the social structure of society have been overlooked. The main indicators in terms of social development that focus on people only reflect financial compensations yet services that are important which concern people's well-being and improving the stability in family and psychological well-being of people are lacking in the TKII.

It is important to note that Tuvalu National Statistics have taken the initiative to measure social statistics that reflect information on people with disabilities, the elderly and subjective indicators that reflect how people feel about reasons for using public services such as the Tuvalu Electricity Corporation and Telecommunication. With a nationwide participation of stakeholders from every sector in public sector and NGO in the development of the national census was taken into account, what was not taken into account was the measures that actually identify how people feel about their lives in terms of how happy or satisfied they were.

An important point put forward by Tufoua Panapa (2012) in his research concerning health and well-being was why no one asked about happiness and peace in terms of development during the MDG launch of its Progress Report 2010/11.

“...during the launching of the Tuvalu MDGs Progress Report 2010/11, not a single invited member of the audience curiously asked where happiness (and peacefulness) is in the development spectrum of the nation”(p. 56).

There is no doubt that this is a valid question to which the answer could be that development focus was mainly on the economics of well-being based on the assumption that an increase in income, consumption of material goods and an increased standard of living is the answer to providing happiness and peace in society.

Although culture had been included, it was not included as a strategy on its own and yet Tuvalu prides itself on its cultural heritage and values its practices. In traditional Tuvaluan society extended family is an important part of well-being because that is the support system that people have (Lusama, 2004; Talia, 2009). However in terms of the current development process having more people in a household is a burden because the current form of sustainability is not enough to cater for a large number of people. This is even to the extent that people find it difficult or challenging to contribute generously to traditional and religious obligations. These issues make it important for measures of development to be more culturally sensitive and less economically oriented because economics is only a means to an end not the end itself whereas well-

being is and it is important that well-being be measured directly rather than indirectly. People are considered to be the best judge of what is good in their lives.

3.3 Summary

This chapter reinforced the importance of this study – to explore the concept of well-being which is grounded in Tuvaluan perspective and has been gained through listening to the voices of the Tuvaluan people. This chapter has shown the complexities of defining a concept of well-being and in doing so has emphasised that the concept will differ by factors such as global and local context, place, and between individual and collective communities. In sum the one definition will not fit all given there are differences in people's access to and use of resources, their cultural beliefs and understandings and their perceptions of the good life including aspirations of the future. This understanding of the contextual specificity of the concept of well-being reinforced a second key point namely, the importance of using indicators based on these local definitions in most national planning and evaluations. Most well-being paradigms, definitions and indicators give prominence to economic measures (such as cash/financial indicators) which do not and cannot reflect the realities of life in Tuvalu is predominantly semi-subsistence and family based communities. The following chapter then provides the method that will help in answering the questions raised in the study.

Chapter 4. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The aims of the study were to explore, understand and explain the Tuvaluan concept of well-being through listening to the voices of the people. This chapter is presented in three parts. The first part includes a presentation of the Research Framework, namely a qualitative study, using a phenomenology approach applied through the lens of a Pacific worldview. In Part two the data collection methods are outlined, and this is followed in part three by some reflections on the field work.

4.1 Research Framework

It was decided that a qualitative study would best capture Tuvaluan perceptions of well-being and that an interpretive, naturalistic approach would enable the researcher to study the phenomena in its natural settings and according to what this means to the people (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

4.1.1 Phenomenology

Phenomenology has been described as a research approach, methodology and philosophy (Ray, 1994). Phenomenology is the study of human experiences and the ways in which things appear or present themselves through people's experiences (Heidegger, 1962; Ray, 1994; Sokolowski, 2000). Denscombe notes that phenomenology is concerned with "people's perceptions and meanings, attitudes and beliefs as well as feelings and emotions" (Denscombe, 2003, p. 96). That, phenomena are known to us through our senses, and are a combination of what we see, hear, touch, smell and taste as we strive to make sense of the world around us (Denscombe, 2003, p. 97). In sum, the focus of phenomenology is on peoples' lived experiences (actions, relations and situations or the 'life world') and how people conceptualize, categorize, and theorize these experiences (Sokolowski, 2000; van Manen, 1990, 2007; van Manen & Adams, 2010) in a way that is free from "theoretical, prejudicial and suppositional intoxications" (van Manen, 2007, p. 12). Morse (1994) proposes that theoretical knowledge is achieved through reflection: that reflection is the "process that develops the experiential themes, moving the phenomenon away from the lived body, lived time and lived space and decontextualizing the lived experience to one that

we as humans can identify” (p. 37) (p. 37). A fundamental concern of phenomenology is how the researcher places themselves in the research. Creswell (1998, p. 54) uses the term transcendental subjectivity to highlight the need for the researcher to “bracket out preconceptions and develop universal structures based on what people experience and how”.

The phenomenological model matched and fitted the research aims of listening to the peoples’ voices. It does not require or depend on numerical data, instead, it is subjective, interpretive and descriptive and gives agency to the research participants. It was appropriate to use this research paradigm in a Pacific context that is characterised by the use and valuing of the spoke word, oral language and stories. In sum, the phenomenological model opened the way for the voices of Tuvaluans to be heard and recognised as valid and meaningful.

4.1.2 Pacific world view

Because this research focus was on Tuvaluan peoples’ perceptions of well-being, it was important that the research approach be “informed first and foremost from within the continuum of the Pacific worldview” (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2005, p. 1). This required questioning of the assumptions that underpin Western research paradigms (Taufe'ulungaki, 2000) as well as those of the generic models which have ignored and devalued the understandings, beliefs and practices that Pacific people bring to the research process and which, it is proposed, would have added to the pool of knowledge from which creative solutions are generated (Finau, 2006; Smith, 2004).

As reported, the Pacific worldview is holistic in nature and encompasses three interconnected and interdependent elements of: people, the natural environment and, the spiritual or the creator Gods. Maintaining a balance and harmony between these elements is fundamental to the Pacific world view. Second, and related, behaviours and practises have developed over time to maintain these ideals and help ensure peoples’ basic needs are met. Tamasese notes: (2007)

“Imagine if you will, a worldview that understands the environment, humans the animate and inanimate – all natural life – as having its sources in the same divine origin, imbued with the life force, interrelated and genealogically connected “(p. 13).

Much has been written about how western research paradigms have privileged written knowledge as expert knowledge whereas the Pacific’s orally communicated knowledge has been seen to be ‘lay-persons’ knowledge and of lesser value (see Cornell, 2007). As a result, the views of the ‘lay’ people and their practices have been inadequately captured and represented in the academic literature (Wood, 2006). According to Meo-Sewabu (2014).

“The fact that lay knowledge from indigenous populations is not written in the Western context does not make that knowledge less important”. (p. 142)

The researcher’s task was to select a Pacific research model which would enable an in-depth and culturally appropriate exploration of perceptions of well-being and in so doing validate Pacific knowledge, knowledge sharing processes and, ethical behaviour (Du Plessis & Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2009; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014). A range of Pacific research methods were canvassed before selecting the *fonofale* model for this study. This included, the Tongan Kakala (Helu-Thaman, 2001), Cook Island Māori Tivaevae method (Helu-Thaman, 2001; Ma-Ua, 2000) and the Samoan Fa’aletui (Peteru, Tamasese, & Waldegrave, 1997).

Fonofale Model

The *Fonofale* model chosen (see Figure 7) is a health research model developed by Endemann Pulotu (2001). The *Fonofale* model presents a holistic approach that places the elements of the Pacific world view (spiritual, people and natural resources) as central and within a context of factors such as time, place and gender. In Tuvalu, the translation of the word *Fonofale* means traditional meeting (*fono*) house (*fale*).

In the *fonofale* model, the *fale* comprises four main pillars which include the foundation, the posts, the roof and the circle that encapsulates the *fale*. In the model

the *fale* represents the individual, community or entity which sits firmly on the foundations of a strong family base. The posts represent the values and beliefs drawn from spiritual, physical, mental and other dimensions and the overarching aspect is the 'roof' signifying all of the cultural beliefs and practices that shelter the people and community. Surrounding the '*fale*' are the environmental factors such as resources and, the impact of time and the location. Taken together each of these factors is in a relationship which, it is proposed contributes to Pacific Island people's well-being. Every dimension that makes up the *fale* is interrelated.



Figure 7: Fonofale Model

Source: (Endemann, 2001, p. 3)

The application of the *fonofale* holistic approach meant the researcher was not limited to looking at one sector only, for example, health, but rather must take account of the many different factors or elements that might contribute to well-being for the families and the communities and the people of Tuvalu. In addition, the researcher must keep

in mind the relationship between these different elements. Third, the *fonofale* model required that the researcher engage with a range of people who would bring their different knowledge and experiences to discussions: for example, those from outer islands and from Funafuti, from NGO's and civil society, as well as the people who work in the private and public sector. In maintaining the holistic approach of the '*fale*' the researcher also needed to keep alert to external factors that would impact on a Tuvalu (such as global mandates, donors and climate change). The cocoon that surrounds the '*fale*' emphasised to the researcher that the concept of well-being must consider and take into account these and other outside influences within the Pacific region and global community. These external influences, which may differ over time, also have the potential to impact on the cultural values and quality of life of the Tuvaluan people.

The *fonofale* model also reinforced the need to observe the Tuvaluan protocols as seen in the concept of *vá*, or *ava* in Tuvaluan, and of reciprocity and compassion (Thaman, 2008). Metaphorically in Tongan, *Vá* implies certain behaviours people are expected to observe or to maintain relationships (Thaman, 2008). Similarly in Tuvaluan the word '*ava*' means respect and should be adhered to at all times. The Tuvaluan cultural values of reciprocity and compassion also point to a give and take, including that the knowledge shared is not owned by the researcher. Instead, for the participants' the creation of knowledge is their gift and in the spirit of reciprocity and compassion the researcher must acknowledge this by returning to the community to present back the research findings.

The tradition of oral and face to face knowledge building and exchanges which has endured in Tuvalu also highlights that the Pacific ways are intimately connected and represented in language (Taumeafola, 2013). Clearly, this research required and has been empowered by the use of the Tuvaluan language and an understanding of the local nuances of meaning. For this purpose all research documents such as information sheets and consent forms were prepared in both the English and the Tuvalu languages and where possible the research was carried out in the Tuvaluan language. This represents the appropriate tradition in the Tuvaluan culture.

Importantly, the Pacific worldview complements the phenomenological approach. Applying a Pacific worldview also supports ‘place-based autonomies’ for Pacific peoples. Finally, as the researcher was undertaking research in her own community, she was also highly aware at all times of the ‘epoche’ concept - the process whereby the researcher brackets out personal bias and tries to understand the research findings through the voice of the people (Creswell, 1998; Field & Morse, 1985).

4.2 Research Process

The two data collection methods employed in the study were focus group discussion and the interviews (*talanoa*). Up to date secondary data was also collected including reports. These helped identify any emerging themes for the focus group discussion and interviews. Figure 8 below shows the main data sources for the research.

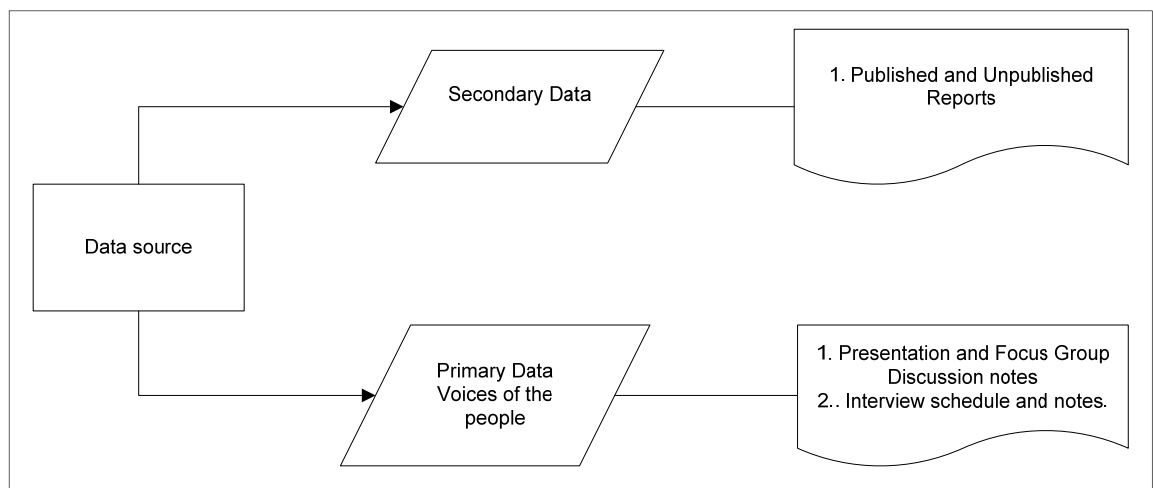


Figure 8: Main data sources

4.2.1 Interview Guidelines

A set of interview guidelines was prepared (refer to Appendix 6) and piloted with three participants from the Tuvaluan community in New Zealand: two former civil servants and a scholarship student from Tuvalu. Drawing on information shared, the interview guidelines were tailored and changed accordingly during the field work.

Data collection

Interviews and focus groups used the *Talanoa* – the Pacific way of knowledge sharing through formal and informal conversations (Peteru et al., 1997; Prescott, 2008).

Talanoa combine cultural expressions, humour, nuances, emotions and theorising (Vaiolleti, 2003).

Focus Groups

Focus groups were seen as the best way to draw out the attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions of people in relation to the concept of well-being. (Carey, 1994; Gibbs, 1997). A focus group is a method of qualitative research that collects information based on a selected group of people interacting on a specific topic' (Morgan, 1997). These were seen to be valuable forums for brainstorming ideas and views which would not have been gained by the use of a survey or questionnaire. Study aims called for two focus groups to be held, one in urban Funafuti and the other in an outer island group.

Interviews- Key Informants

In depth interviews were seen to be a way of elaborating on views shared in the focus group. These one-on-one interviews were intended to be with key informants who had experience in planning and policy development. It was felt that this knowledge was best shared on a one-on-one basis without any distractions or interruptions.

4.2.2 Sampling

The purposive sampling method was used for the selection of participants for both the focus group and the interviews. The sample size for this qualitative study was small and focused¹⁸ unlike quantitative research which may require a larger sample. For the focus groups, the aims included that the participants comprise decision-makers in the traditional governance structure, NGO and community organisations with some knowledge of the TKII. For the interviews, participants must have "experienced the said phenomenon so that the researcher can form a common understanding at the end" (Creswell, 1998, p. 118). So the criteria for interviews were that participants have experience in planning, decision making processes in policy and development, and in-depth knowledge of the TKII. The sample also aimed for a spread by gender, age,

¹⁸Unlike quantitative research which may require larger sample because it is not intended to make generalization of the population being studied however to get the best answer for the question.

socio-economic background and location (urban / rural) to ensure a wide range of views on the research topic.

4.2.3 Recruitment

In addition to earlier correspondence, upon arrival in Funafuti (the capital) the researcher made arrangements to meet with the Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Home Affairs and prepare a list of potential participants, mainly for the individual interviews.

In regard to data collection in Funafuti the researcher made prior arrangements through meetings and phone calls to invite participants and leave her contact number. Potential participants for the focus group and interview were provided with an invitation letter, along with an information sheet that explained the purpose of the research along with consent forms in both the Tuvaluan language and English. These were mainly hand delivered by the researcher or via designated institutions and persons as appropriate. It is important to note that half of those invited participants for Funafuti did not attend due to the many functions and festivities on the island at that time. It was challenging to select an Outer Island for this research due to the distances, limited time for the study and boat schedules. Department of Rural Development (DRD) and National Adaptation and Programme of Action Project (NAPA) Project assisted in identifying the Outer Island of Nukulaelae for the rural focus group.

Table 6 shows the list of the participants in the two focus groups by gender, age, education level, Home Island and employment. As seen there was a good cross section sampling and representation by gender. By age, the majority were over 45 years of age while some participants listed 'unemployed', it is important to note that most were involved in voluntary work in the community.

Table 5: Profile of focus group participants in Nukulaelae and Funafuti

Agencies	Sex	Age	Home Island	Highest LOE	Employed by
Urban					
Island Kaupule	M	55-64	Funafuti	Certificate	Kaupule
Women's Organization	F	55-64	Funafuti	Primary	Unemployed
Tuvalu National Youth Council (TNYC)	F	25-34	Niutao	Degree	Unemployed
People with Disability Organisation (Fusi Alofa)	M	25-34	Nui	None	Unemployed
Rural					
Falekaupule	M	65+	Nukulaelae	Certificate	Contracted
Island Kaupule	M	55-64	Nukulaelae	Degree	Kaupule
Women's Organisation	F	55-64	Nukulaelae	Primary	Unemployed
Education Committee	F	35-44	Nukulaelae	Secondary	Unemployed
Health Committee	M	45-54	Nukulaelae	Certificate	Unemployed
Red Cross	M	45-54	Nukulaelae	Primary	Unemployed
Nukulaelae Youth	M	25-34	Nukulaelae	Certificate	Unemployed

Table 7 presents a profile of the key respondents comprising ten males and seven females. For the most part all were well educated and employed in the public sector. Although most of the participants resided on Funafuti they identified strongly with their own home islands so this has been listed. As a result of this factor, there was significant representation by all the islands of Tuvalu in the interviews. This spread increased the potential for the discussions to take into account differing world views and experiences, for example - those of their home island and the capital city of Funafuti where they presently reside.

Table 6: Profile of Interview participants totalling to 17 people

ID	Age Group	Sex	Urban/Rural	Home Island	Highest LOE	Employed by
KI1M	55-64	M	Urban	Nukulaelae	Masters	Government
KI2M	35-44	M	Urban	Nanumea	Degree	Government
KI3M	45-54	M	Urban	Nanumea	Diploma	Government
KI4F	45-54	F	Urban	Nanumea	Degree	Government
KI5M	35-44	M	Urban	Vaitupu	Degree	Government
KI6F	35-44	F	Urban	Nanumaga	Diploma	Government
KI7M	35-44	M	Urban	Nanumaga	Masters	NGO
KI8M	45-54	M	Urban	Nanumaga	Degree	Government
KI9F	25-34	F	Urban	Nui	Degree	Government
KI10M	55-64	M	Urban	Nanumaga	Masters	Consultants
KI11M	55-64	M	Urban	Niutao	Masters	Consultants
KI12M	45-54	M	Urban	Funafuti	Diploma	Kaupule
KI13F	65+	F	Urban	Nukulaelae	Diploma	Retired
KI14M	25-34	M	Rural	Nukulaelae	Degree	Government
KI15F	45-54	F	Urban (temp)	Nui	Degree	Government
KI16F	25-34	F	Rural	Nukulaelae	Degree	Government
KI17F	45-54	F	Rural	Nukulaelae	Certificate	Government

4.2.4 Ethics and approval

Ethics approval was obtained from the Ethics Committee at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT) before the field work commenced. Appendices 1-5 contains the Participants Information Sheet (PIS), Consent Form, approval from the AUT ethics committee, and supporting letter from the supervisor that formed the basis of the ethics approval. As noted consent forms and PIS were also prepared in the Tuvaluan language.

As a pre-condition for undertaking field work the researcher agreed to communicate with the supervisor regularly to discuss research progress. This was done via email every Friday.

It was also necessary to gain approval for this study from the Ministry of Home Affairs in Tuvalu. Before the researcher left New Zealand, to travel to Tuvalu for the field work, prior arrangements and approval for the research had been organized through the office of the Ministry of Home Affairs Permanent Secretary. This Ministry is also the researcher's place of work. A letter was sent to the Department of Community

Affairs and Department of Rural Development (DRD) informing them of the researcher's study and seeking their assistance.

4.2.5 Data analysis

The data was analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is the process of synthesizing or merging data to identify common structures, composite pattern of behaviours or responses which provides the researcher with an understanding of the world (Morse, 1994; van Manen, 1990). Thematic analysis not only structures the data, it also assists in organising and providing a detailed explanation and interpretation of the research topic from the various aspects of the data (Boyatzis, 1998).

For the purpose of data analysis, the researcher used a qualitative analysis coding method. Coding is a "central process that helps the researcher to sort the data and uncover underlying meanings in the text and metaphorical references, and brings both the central and peripheral referents to the researchers attention" (Morse, 1994, p. 29). The researcher used highlighters and coloured stickers to identify the themes and made notes on the transcripts during the repetitive reading process. As soon as the key themes had been identified, NVivo was used to further analyse themes. Other related themes emerged in this process.

NVivo

NVivo is a qualitative data analysis software product produced by QSR International. The main purpose for using NVivo in this research is that it assists the researcher in managing the data (Bazeley, 2007).

- Data (by organizing and keeping track of data files from the interviews and focus group discussion).
- Ideas/themes (by organizing and providing rapid access to knowledge that have been generated during the research process as well retaining access to the source of information).
- Query (data by asking simple or complex questions relating to the research topic and have the program retrieve any information that is relevant in determining the answer).

The NVivo program was designed to assist researchers in ways that they are able to work with the data. The use of the software program according to Pat Bazeley (2007, p. 2);

“...was not intended to supplant time-honouring ways of learning from the data, but to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of such learning. Its capacity for recording, sorting, matching and linking can be harnessed by the researcher to assist in answering the research questions from the data, without losing access to the source data or contexts from which the data come from”.

Unlike quantitative research where data is easier to work with the researcher found the analysis of qualitative data through thematic analysis more difficult because it is word oriented and not numeric. The NVivo program helped to sort, match and link the data from the interviews and focus groups according to each of the themes identified in responses. While NVivo enabled the researcher to strategically analyse a large set of qualitative data the themes were developed by the researcher.

In practise

It is important to note that reflection on participant responses was not confined to the ‘end’ of the research but took place from the beginning days of data collection. While listening to responses the researcher continually took note of points made and emerging themes. These ideas were kept in the researcher’s reflections in the field (Refer Appendix 7). During the subsequent transcription process these themes were revisited and refined as the researcher became more familiar with the text and similarities and differences in each theme. The interview transcripts were completed and translated by the researcher. By doing so, the researcher was able to get a clear understanding of what the participants said according to each theme that had been identified.

4.3 Field Work

The participants in both the focus group and individual interviews were keen to discuss issues associated with well-being. In the focus group everyone participated in the discussion and there was a healthy debate amongst men, women and youth.

4.3.1 Arrangements in Tuvalu

On arriving in the capital of Funafuti the researcher paid courtesy visits to the Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Home Affairs and provided a briefing on the research, how the research was going to be undertaken. The researcher also sought recommendations regarding potential participants who could be contacted. As the research involved travel to an Outer Island, in accordance with protocol, permission was also needed to carry out outer-island research. The government focal point DRD liaised with the Nukulaelae Kaupule and also arranged with the NAPA Project to accommodate the researcher on a chartered boat shipping cargo to Nukulaelae for a period of one week. This was much appreciated. In the case of Funafuti, the researcher first met with the Assistant Secretary to discuss and share their views on the research and then invited participation and arranged meetings largely by phone calls. Upon arrival on the island of Nukulaelae, the researcher met with the Kaupule Secretary first to discuss the focus group participants and logistics. The field work took five days to complete because many of the key informants were busy with development work on the island during that time.

4.3.2 Data collection

The actual data collection process is provided in Figure 9 below (cross referenced to Figure 8).

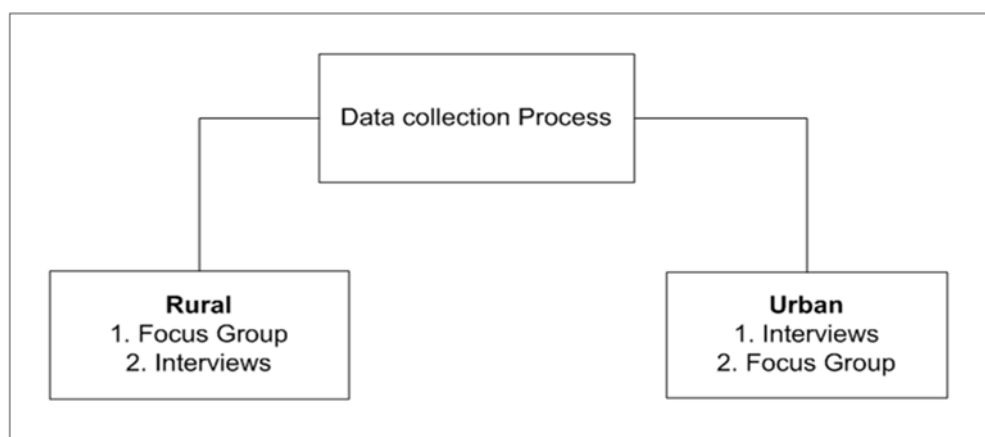


Figure 9: Data collection process

This began with focus group discussions on Nukulaelae followed by some individual interviews. In Funafuti it was the reverse – with the individual interviews followed by the focus group.

This was due to problems with the recruitment as there were so many activities¹⁹ scheduled in Funafuti that some of the participants had previous engagements arranged. This is the reason the focus group discussion was scheduled for a later date.

Reflections on the Focus Group

The focus group discussions were digitally recorded to capture the richness of the conversations. Discussions were informal and continued for two hours for Nukulaelae and two and half hours for Funafuti. The participants were very interested to discuss their views on well-being and offered their own terms, for this phenomenon.

As an insider the researcher had insights into local knowledge and was able to frame the discussion so as to ensure people could relate to some of the issues especially at the policy level. The talanoa were facilitated by the researcher providing a brief presentation first, which included examples from the TKII and global indicators. The purpose of the presentation was not to influence participants but to give a brief summary of development issues they may not have been aware of locally or globally in relation to well-being. During the presentation the researcher was interrupted many times by participants questioning - from both focus groups – or those who wanted to make a point on how they saw these issues reflected in their daily lives. Not everyone had the same opinion and so there was some disagreement and lively debate around the issues.

While some participants were quite outspoken, all of the participants voiced their opinions on issues that were of concern to them or asked questions on areas that they did not understand. In two cases where participants got over-excited and interrupted others, the researcher quietly moderated. At the end of the discussion participants were given questions to answer which they then wrote and presented to the group. All

¹⁹ During that period the Education workshop for all teachers in Tuvalu were underway for two weeks, and preparation for the Ekalesia Kelisiano Conference in Niutao which involves all Tuvalu. So people were occupied with preparing food and organizing themselves.

the discussions were undertaken in Tuvaluan allowing people greater freedom to express their thoughts.

A confidentiality form was signed by all participants. While the confidentiality form was sent together with the Information Sheet and invitation letter there were areas which the participants needed to clarify with researcher. Because of the distance and poor communication systems on the Outer Islands the researcher asked the participants if there was any information that they would like the researcher to withhold from what was said. Participants did not want to withhold as they believed that what they said was important to be heard. All of the data collected from the focus groups were transcribed by an assistant and translated by the researcher. The transcriptions were double checked by the researcher and minor errors were found and corrected, otherwise the recordings were very clear.

Individual Interviews

The interviews were digitally recorded using the interview schedule as a guideline. The questions were semi-structured and there were also open-ended questions which fostered really insightful in-depth discussions. Interviews with key informants were conducted at the place of their choosing, mostly at their place of work during working hours or at their home in the local house 'umu' in the evenings. The interviews lasted between one and three hours and participants were very open and spontaneous in their discussions. The transcripts were also emailed to the participants for further comments or changes. Only one interviewee requested that changes be made.

4.4 Limitations and Importance

This thesis sets a platform of knowledge on what the concept of well-being means to Tuvalu people and in doing so, reinforces why it is important for Tuvalu to recognize this in its development plan, the TKII, which is about to be revisited.

A research limitation is the small size of the sample, which may not be representative of the opinions of Tuvaluans. In addition, the outer island research was limited to one island and due to insufficient time the researcher was not able to carry out specifically

targetted talanoa to capture the experiences of youth for example, women or other vulnerable groups. This represents a gap for future research.

4.5 Reflections

The field work went better than expected. This was mainly possible because the researcher followed the protocols, especially when planning to travel to outer islands. It is important to note that understanding and using the local language enabled participants to express themselves better especially through the use of local expressions. For the focus group discussion the local language was used to facilitate the discussion while individual interview had no particular preference so the discussion was in both English and Tuvaluan. In keeping with cultural practices of reciprocity, humility and respect the researcher presented participants with small gifts as a token of appreciation for sharing their knowledge and their time. For the focus group there were refreshments prepared and financial compensation was also given for the cost of transportation.

For future research in Tuvalu and especially the Outer Islands it is important to be well informed of boat schedules and also to make allowances for boat delays. Second, getting a robust sample of key informants in Funafuti was very challenging – potential participants were all very busy. A hint here is to include more than the required number of participants in the initial planning stages. Thirdly, for this study, the Kaupule played a significant role in the recruitment process.

Feedback from participants was positive and to quote one of the participants:

“What you are doing is very exciting and it would be one of the very few Master Researches done by Tuvaluans which can be of REAL use to us! So keep up the good work and I wish you all the best in your thesis writing.”

4.6 Summary

This chapter has set the research framework for this qualitative study namely a phenomenological approach through the lens of the Pacific world view – as signified in the *fonofale* research model. This research approach gives prominence to *talanoa* (conversations) and recognises the use of the Tuvaluan language in the focus groups and key informant interviews so as to encourage participants to express their views and, to capture the nuances of meaning more easily. As noted, all documents relating to the research were provided in both the Tuvaluan and the English language.

Chapter 5. FINDINGS

This chapter presents participants' responses to the questions raised in chapters one to three. Conducting the focus group and interviews of the key respondents helps to answer the following questions with respect to the Tuvaluan concept of well-being, in terms of what constitutes well-being and how this is reflected in the national development planning and its perceived impact on people's daily lives.

The responses from the focus groups and interviews have been grouped together because there are similarities. Even so, if there are important differences, the comments are clearly referenced. Also, note the use of the Tuvaluan language terminology that is equivalent to well-being is included.

5.1 Findings A - Tuvaluan Concept of well-being

This section presents answers to gain a general understanding of well-being from the point of view of the Tuvaluan context to learn what constitutes well-being from the Tuvaluan people's perspective. Secondly, it takes a closer look at the similarities and differences in both the urban and rural locations taking into account both the traditional and modern in terms of the comments and feedback from different age groups, gender and youths in Tuvalu.

A significant number of participants mentioned that they had heard this term 'well-being' at health workshops and at certain people's work places they indicated it was common to hear this term. Participants generally understand well-being to indicate quality of life, wealth, living a comfortable, self-sustainable and simple life or happy, peaceful and in harmony.

The quality of life that people refer to was holistic and much wider in scope than the health aspect, in that it includes environment, maintaining social connections and cohesion, and being economically well off as stated by the participants. The term relates more in regard to family and communal well-being rather than on an individual basis.

Well-being is the quality of life of a person in terms of socially, economically and ways in which people can improve their way of life. (KI1M)

It is not only about health but also on mental or cognitive, attitude, relates to exercise, food social well-being similar to how you communicate with one another and integrate. (KI6M)

Well-being is when you are well settled in your life especially things that you need such as food, satisfying daily needs and aspirations, maintaining traditional practices and having a spiritual life. (KI10M)

Means people in the family are healthy, live in a clean house, sanitation, home is spacey for them to do their work, people living together in their environment and not overcrowded. (KI13F)

It means not just staying in a good place but having good food, enough money to look after your family, good health. (KI16F)

It means secured or safety in terms of your surroundings, your health, financial support and that which protects you from illnesses. (KI17F)

Other participants understand well-being as having a simple way of life whereby one is not rich yet can live comfortably and be self-sustaining such that well-being is:

Having a place to live, enough food to eat- it is very simple way of life. (KI6F)

Having the right to do anything and not relying on others for help to provide for their needs but in their own rights they can earn their well-being by gaining whatever they can get to support for their lives. (KI5M)

Finally well-being also means a 'state of being' where people are happy, peaceful and live in harmony. According to KI9FF, KI8M, KI15F and KI17F, to be happy is to appreciate what you have, especially your families, being secure in what you have in your life, helping and caring for others. It is living in an environment where families,

island communities and society as a whole integrate well with each other and life creating peace and safety

Well-being is about how happy you are and not how much you earn but on a more personal perspective (KI9FF)

Well-being is when people are secured, happy and living in harmony (KI8M)

Families, island communities and organizations are living in good conditions. For example, when life is good in the family, people value their culture, respect and listen to elders in the family (KI15F)

The participants were then asked to describe their concept of well-being in Tuvaluan using local nuances and phrases that reflect their understanding of the term in the local context.

5.1.1 Understanding the Tuvaluan concept of well-being

Two main themes were elicited from the views of participants in the focus groups and the key informants: 1) Well-being is a 'state of being' where people feel **secured or settled and are prepared** for whatever circumstances life throws at them 2.) Well-being is being able to live a **meaningful life** using what they have available and making the best of it.

Each of the discussions outlines the views from the focus groups first then followed by key informants. Note that in the discussion the researcher also tried to find the Tuvaluan equivalent term for well-being. As discussed, the two main Tuvaluan terms or concepts that were mentioned that represent the ultimate good life which emerged in the focus group discussion and interviews: '*olaga tokaga malie*', '*ola lei saukatoa*'.

Focus Group

Olaga tokagamalie

The focus group in Nukulaelae suggested the word or phrase '*olaga tokagamalie*' to define well-being. '*Olaga*' means **life** and '*tokagamalie*' means **safety or security**

which means a *secured life* or a *life where one feels safe and secure*. As explained by the two focus groups:

Olaga tokagamalie means that everything that is good for our life is working which means a life where we have strong spiritual values and beliefs and good physical health. A life where people live peacefully and trust in their leaders. A life where there is more than enough food for everyone. A life where values of love, respect, care and share are ingrained in how people live, in their relationship with each other, with families and the community, in summary, a life where people have access to everything. (Group 1)

Olaga tokagamalie means to have a life where one is happy, peaceful and secured. Happy life: to have good things, such as, like money can help take care of your life. Not only money but to be able to work on the resources from the land and sea in order to benefit from it hence the saying '*tou malosi, ko tou maumed*' (meaning 'your strength is your wealth'). In other words, to have good living conditions where people can live together in a peaceful and spiritual life and then when we put all these elements together, we are happy, and peaceful so then we are able to have well-being or live a better life for the future. (Group 2)

In terms of the definition money is only a means to an end and material possessions are not the most important. To be secured in life means having more than enough for everyone in terms of basic needs, maintaining the values and beliefs that people have culturally and spiritually, relying on their own wealth in natural resources and living together peacefully. To achieve this and secure themselves people must work hard. There is a Tuvaluan saying which emphasises '*tou malosi ko tou maumed*' (your strength is your wealth) which signifies to work hard for what they care about. They must ensure that they uphold the values of reciprocity, love, and respect in everything that they do.

'Ola lei saukatoo'

While the concept of *olaga tokagamalie* was fully supported by the focus group in Funafuti however their terminology and interpretation of well-being takes a different approach such as taking into account current development and changing lifestyle.

Their definition of well-being in Tuvaluan is *ola lei saukatoa* which means the overall good in life. Participant FGF1 said that:

Ola lei saukatoa is a life where everyone that lives in it care about everything that they do and live for. The *ola lei saukatoa* meaning that in every facet in life be it the government, the workforce, in education, spirituality, social development, financial sectors, the world around us, the home environment, families, organizations, we can have happiness and prosperity if people have care, honesty, empathy and love in what they do.

In addition *ola lei saukatoa* from vulnerable people's perspective should have inclusiveness. FGF4, who represented the People with Disability Organization, emphasized that *ola lei saukatoa* should ensure that vulnerable people such as people with disabilities should be recognized and included in every aspect of life and development.

... In regard to people's perspective in terms of those who are disabled to be inclusive socially (society, peers, cultural settings, family life and churches), economically (education, employment, political settings and laws), physically (sports, entertainment and recreation, emotionally as well as in terms of transportation and communication) (FGF4).

This view regarding inclusiveness was also supported by youth representatives. They emphasised regarding the role of youth in the future as agents of change. In other words, it is our youth who will be contributing to society's transformation and well-being (FGF3). Ensuring inclusiveness will enable youth in relation to family, society/communities, government and other organization, to develop skills and capacities in relation to cultural and traditional ways of life which will contribute to the Tuvaluan concept of well-being (FGF3).

Further elaborating on the term *ola lei saukatoa* FGF2 provided examples of how women's roles are critical in achieving *ola lei saukatoa*.

Ola lei saukatoa would refer to like everything in the family to be all good like the woman's role. It is the woman that sees to everything in the home. It is the woman who sees to

how money should be allocated in the family. The women spend more energy and time doing things for the island community because anything that happens in the island community the women are there doing almost everything for the island.

There were some critical comments raised in regard to the definition of well-being as *ola lei saukatoa*. It was considered as unrealistic by some of the participants because it portrays a life which is challenging to conform to as it seems too idealistic and too perfect compared to the reality of how we live where on a daily basis we are faced with so many obstacles and factors that tend to create an unhappy or negative influence in people's lives.

I mean I question this terminology *ola lei saukatoa*, like the meaning of this term '*te ola lei saukatoa*' it is very easy for us to say it, but for us to be able to put all these situations that we talk about as one is very difficult. Like if we look at the Fusi Alofa (organization for people with disability) we include them in everything that we do but in reality we can always tell how people always look at them differently. Even up to a person who is mentally ill when they come into an organization we always chase them to go away and sometimes we also can swear at them while some people actually can handle them. This is what I think for that but the term *ola lei saukatoa* I think it is important that when we say the word we are also able to fulfill what the word means then we can say we have completely included all this in the term well-being. (FGF3)

This definition of this concept of *ola lei saukatoa* looks at the ultimate good life where people live in a society which upholds the virtues of caring and sharing, love, working together, empathy, honour, courage and being accountable for everything that one does. That government, organizations and people in society adhere and practice these virtues in their daily lives. This concept was criticized because it does not exist in the community and even to the extent to how people treat each other.

Interviews – Key Informants

Most of the respondents from the interviews agreed with the term '*olaga tokaga malie*'. KI12M provides a breakdown of the term in English. The term '*olaga*' means *life*

and *tokaga malie* means *everything is secured, and your life and your well-being is secured*. The meaning of '*tokaga malie*' varies because one could refer to an individual, family or community.

As an example, KI12M referred to a community context at a level where mechanisms of planning and development are well coordinated whereby *olaga tokaga malie* is having good leaders in place that enable women to have a voice and allow decisions to be made locally so they are owned by the community where everyone is included and people work together and show respect for one another. It is different for the family context as '*tokaga malie*' is that you have a good place to live, good food, enough money to look after your family and be able to enjoy good health and a happy rewarding home life (KI16F). Or as KI4F would put it '*tokaga malie*' is being able to live a life that is safe and secured from illnesses and conflicts, using traditional resources that help to ease the financial burden and allow one and their family to be independent and self-sustainable.

Another interpretation of '*olaga tokaga malie*' is 'to be prepared', meaning that even if you do not have everything, you hope for, you have at least the essentials and when you are faced with any circumstances in life you at least can overcome them with what you have.

...people are not being over confident of meeting their needs but at least they have something to give or to provide for ones' self during times of needs. ...if you are at least prepared for different circumstances because in life we face so many circumstances. (KI5M)

There were some disagreements in regard to the interpretation of *olaga tokagamalie* and its application to the Tuvalu context. This to some people *olaga tokagamalie* implies a 'perfect life'(KI10M) where there are no obstacles and everything is secured and prepared and ready at all times. The *olaga tokagamalie* then is associated more in monetary terms.

Well that term '*olagatokagamalie*' refers to the perfect life where everything is ready, you do not have to worry or be doubtful about anything. In that context it has more of a financial implication..... '*tokagamalie*' is quite difficult as it may be implied to those like Bill Gates, where you can sleep without worrying about anything at night.... the implications of '*tokagamalie*' is like everything is easy, you want to eat you just go to the store or any source, all you have to do is pay and everything will be delivered. Therefore in terms of '*tokaga malie*', it does not reach the sound of well-being. It is like a society from another world which is very advanced and developed. Tuvalu is hardly any closer to that level of society which this terminology envisaged; so in my view that term does not apply to the Tuvaluan context and culture and the well-being that is being defined (KI10M).

Te kau fai maamafa

Lastly the term well-being brings to mind the traditional setting and way of life. As an example one of the key respondents referred to the way well-being represents '*Te kau Fai maamafa*' on the Island of Nanumea. '*Te kau fai maamafa*' are the people who are highly regarded in the community because they have a lot of traditional wealth and wisdom. When it comes to making decisions they are well respected they hold a very high status in the community and are highly regarded.

In Nanumea the term is referred to as '*maamafa*' so the saying will go '*te kau fai maamafa*'. Thus '*te kau fai maamafa*' would be the ones with a lot of land, pulaka pits and when it comes to decision making they carry with them that status as highly regarded. So my definition of well-being is '*Te kau Fai maamafa*'. (KI2M)

Not everyone agrees to this reference because there is a different standard of living that people are pursuing now and the definition above refers to period of life in days gone by before all of these developments. This is in days gone by people depended on traditional wealth whereas now there is the influence of money which people have come to rely upon and technology which helps to make life easier for people. Whilst it would have been more applicable then in days gone by, now lands and pulaka pits are slowly deteriorating in their value compared to earlier times because of the increase in the population and the cash economy.

The Tuvaluan term that is equivalent to well-being which portrays the ultimate good life that people pray for and hope and believe they may one day have is '*Olaga tokaga malie*'. It is a life where people are completely secure in terms of living. In other words they have enough resources to sustain over a lifetime, living in peace and harmony where conflict and crime is non-existent, and people are independent and self-sustainable either in economic terms or traditional means. In addition, people who are in decision making positions are admired because they practice good leadership.

As noted a second group of responses were in terms of well-being in the 'meaningful life. The following terms were used to identify this well-being concept, *ola lei*, *olaga tokaga malie*, *nofo lei*.

Ola lei

'*Ola lei*' is said to be a more relevant term to the English terminology of well-being as it means a "state of being' comfortable or happy' (KI6M). The state of comfort is further elaborated by participant KI4F. She states that it means that one is able to have everything one needs that makes daily life easier. Not having to manually do things but still carry out your daily chores and also have time for leisure activities.

Ola lei is being comfortable in that one has everything one needs such as being financially set for life hence when one gets to old age everything that one needs is in place and there is no need to keep struggling to make ends meet nor worry about things (KI4F).

Most of the participants disagree with this term because it is found to be limited in its application to well-being as it is commonly used in the health sector so if one talks about *ola lei* it automatically presumes it is related to health.

Ola lei, nowadays we say health. The word '*ola*' means life but the word '*lei*' means good (KI12M, KI13F)

In addition this word is not seen as very encompassing because the context of *ola lei* could be referring to a short term basis and is referenced to individuals as opposed to '*olaga lei*' which is more on a long term basis but in reference to an institution such as the family, the community, or the island itself. For example a person on a daily basis

goes fishing, cuts toddy and goes to the pulaka plantation and brings food for the family which ensures that on a daily basis your well-being is met. However when one looks at it from an institutional perspective, everyone is working together on a long term basis by ensuring the wealth that one receives from the land and resources are preserved or turned into a source of income which can cater for times when there is inclement weather or unforeseen or unfortunate circumstances occur or to help improve living conditions.

...*Ola lei* is more on a daily basis, for example, if you have lands or if you are strong enough you can go and fish, or cut toddy to cater for your family. On a daily basis your well-being for your family is very good and well looked after. If translated to the industry of the family such as everyone is working, like the wealth from land or small business such as preserving food for the future in terms of bad weather. We can see that some people are working for their well-being. So *ola lei* is on a daily basis while 'Olaga lei' is on a longer term. (KI10M)

While *ola lei* is also believed to be a better term to signify well-being as it refers to a person's life and the care one takes to preserve it however it still has limitations compared to '*olaga lei*'

....*ola lei* is the term because well-being is like your life ('tau ola') and how you take care of yourself....'Olaga lei' I think is the best term because I think it includes everything in life.

Olaga Lei

The term '*olaga lei*' sometimes is used interchangeably with *ola lei*, however compared to *ola lei* it has a much wider perspective as it looks at your way of living and how it is influenced by your environmental conditions. It is a reflection of your life and how well you are settled in.

Olaga lei means everything which contributes to the good life you live, such as the environment that you are living in. For example, it is your lifestyle conditions now, the situation you are in right now regarding your home the condition of your health. (KI8M)

Olaga lei also means that you are well settled in your life. This means that you are able to satisfy your needs as well as your aspirations. It also includes at the same time contributing to and playing an important role in the island community and having a traditional lifestyle as well as making time to observe spiritual life.

In Tuvalu's context it would be "olaga lei", that is, you are well settled in your life especially in terms of things that you need, such as food, satisfying daily needs and aspirations. Another aspect is the traditional lifestyle, island community gatherings, even including the spiritual life of being a Christian. ... If you have all of these things you should be able to have a good life otherwise you will not have a good life. (KI10M)

Nofo lei

'*Nofo lei*' means when you are happy, peaceful and have fulfilled your aspirations in life. This term is also said to be more relevant because it does not only focus only on one particular area, it includes all areas of life that determine well-being. *Nofo lei*:

Includes the things that you do that make you happy and the fulfilment you get from achieving what you want, a life with less conflict. (KI13F)

Is a term that includes the status of education we are at, our economic development, our financial status, lands, traditional skills, and other areas of life (KI6F).

The concept of well-being in the Tuvaluan context is indicated by two particular terms that people are more in agreement with is that 'a life wherein people feel secure and are always ready and prepared' is referred to as *olaga tokaga malie*. The term *olaga lei* means to be able to have a meaningful life using the resources that one has available that makes the person (or family) happy and satisfied. When people are able to secure themselves for the present and for the future in terms of their basic needs, with the resources they have, with respect to traditional wealth it means *olaga tokaga malie* while the majority of participants seem to agree that 'olaga lei' or 'nofo lei' is a more accepted term that people seem to agree expresses a 'meaningful life'. On the other hand, whereas *ola lei*, is subject to health dimensions it would be confusing to use this

in this context of well-being. Well-being is also defined by the terms 'te kau fai maamafa' and ola lei saukatoa which are important yet very few people agree with the use of this term whereas they are more accustomed to the term 'olaga tokagamalie'.

The Tuvaluan concept of well-being also portrays how traditional and modern ways of life influence people's perception of well-being. The Tuvaluan concept of well-being has key similarities in that people believe that the traditional way of life is still an important part of their life while at the same time they are not unaware of the impact of modern influences. It is finding a balance between these two ways of life that enables one to have a good life and this is where values and beliefs are taken into consideration.

5.1.2 Elements of Well-being

After defining well-being in the Tuvaluan context, the participants were asked to provide key elements that they believe contribute to their Tuvaluan concept of well-being. Because the focus group of participants worked in smaller groups, the individual interviewees provided their own list. The participants were asked to identify five key elements that they believe contribute to their Tuvaluan concept of well-being and then to prioritize them from 1 to 5, (1 = most important 5 = least important). The findings from the research indicate that the most important elements that contribute to people's well-being in Tuvalu from the most important to the least important were different for those people who lived in the urban centres compared with those residing in rural areas.

Tables 7 and 8 showed the most important elements that people believe contribute to their well-being. In the process of identifying the elements regarding what contributes to well-being for Tuvaluans there were factors that were raised by participants which affect how each element was considered significant compared to others. Some of the participants look at well-being based on a timeline as they see well-being in the Tuvaluan perspective prior to the time development took place consisting of traditional elements yet also acknowledging the importance of how times have changed and that there are other elements that are important to people's well-being

such as income and institutions such as health and education. As participants KI1M, KI2MM and KI10M explain,

I think there is a different level in the standard of living for families but that is like the version of life before. For example, a family has plenty 'vai pulaka', or lands but now there has been a change in the way of living. (KI1M)

I believe in our case ...lands, pulaka pits ...special skills like traditional skills. ...Nowadays you need money to have well-being because of cash economy. (KI2MM)

What contributes to well-being depends on ones needs as KI4F stated:

I guess it would depend on the level of where one is now, like what do you really need.

Well-being also depends on where one is living and the resources that are available and accessible such that between the urban and rural areas. Participant KI6F said,

..If we come to defining what contributes to well-being it would be income for Funafuti while outer islands would be traditional wealth which includes our local resources even traditional skills. (KI6F)

Focus Group

The elements of well-being were provided by the participants in the focus group based on their Tuvaluan concept. For Funafuti, as there were very few people, everyone worked together as a group. However for Nukulaelae there were two groups because there were more people. The groups worked together to provide their own list of the five key elements that they believe are very important to their Tuvaluan concept of well-being. The list was then prioritized from the most important to the least important (1st to 5th).

Table 7: Prioritisation of elements that contribute to well-being for urban and rural areas

Prioritize	Urban	Rural
1st	Income	Spiritual values and beliefs Physical health
2nd	Family	Food security
3rd	Culture	Trust and respect their leaders
4th	Health and Education	Strengthen traditional and cultural practices
5th	Religion	Easy access to resources

Table 7 shows that there is a significant difference in terms of the elements of well-being between urban and rural areas. It indicates that while urban elements are clearly defined based on socio-economic elements the rural areas have elements that relate to social and environmental factors. It is significant to note that the main reasons for the differences has to do with the different ways of living experienced by people living in urban and rural areas.

Rural (Outer Islands)

The elements for the outer islands indicate that participants place spiritual beliefs and values (love, reciprocity, respect for elders and share and care), and physical health as their first priority. Spiritual beliefs and values is a very important element because they represent people's guiding principles in life. God is an important part of people's everyday life and everything they do is in reference to him, as FGN4 provides an example of its significance and FGN2

In Nukulaelae years earlier, when it is time for family evening devotion the children of the family are already at home.
(FGN4)

The problem of why mothers are very weak is because they do not follow the spiritual teachings and devotion in their life. (NFG2)

Physical health is very important for well-being because if people are strong and healthy then they are able to work and provide for themselves. A folklore saying that

people often say in the islands which was emphasized by the males in the group FGN1, FGN2, FGN3, NFG5 '*tou malosi ko tou maumed*' and translated it reads 'your strength is your wealth'. This is a saying that normally refers to traditional ways of living where people need to work the land to be able to live from their effort and their labour. In other words the land provides for you so if you are not strong or if you are lazy then you will not get anything good.

Second is food security which looks at ensuring that there is more than enough food for sustainability given that people depend heavily on a traditional or subsistence means of living as opposed to commercial and off-the shelf food consumption.

Meanwhile the majority of the population here rely on their own traditional wealth (FGN1, FGN3 and NFG5)

A good example of the reason food security is very important is explained by FGN1 regarding the drought.

'2011 Nukulaelae Island declared a 'state of emergency' because of the drought where there was no food on the island because everything that grows on the land could not be harvested as they had all died from the extreme heat.'(FGN1)

Thirdly, the ability for people to trust as well as respect leaders is an important element of well-being because it reflects the good governance principles of good leadership. The focus group in Nukulaelae emphasized that it is important to have a 'life where you trust and respect your leader' (Group 1 and 2). The fourth element is to strengthen traditional and cultural practices which now are believed to be slowly deteriorating due to modernization that is slowly 'creeping in to peoples way of life' as according to FGN1. The last element is easy access to resources which means that people also refer to current economic practices such as income opportunities and employment.

Urban (Funafuti)

The table (Table 7) shows that in urban areas the most important element for well-being is first income, followed by family, culture/identity, health and education, church

/religion. The reason for this prioritizing was that in the urban setting according to the participants money has become very important compared to lands.

Nowadays the need for money is very significant. (FGF2)

Now at this time our life depends on money, if you do not have money than you will be hard up because you cannot meet your needs and then you have problems (FGF3).

The participants emphasized that the family is the foundation of society and support mechanisms that enables people to aspire to great things and in some cases safeguard them when they fail. Family also provides people with a clear sense of belonging. As participants in the focus group further emphasized this point by saying that;

...everything that we do we need our family. For example, if you do not have money the family is able to help you in times of need” (FGF1).

...families also have their own form of development and identity. For example, if you belong to a certain families you want to show them that you are from that family and you are proud to be part of that family (FGF3).

Family is also important, especially for people with disabilities, because they are their only support system. As explained by FGF4 when asked about the importance of family for people with disabilities well-being to which he replied:

If the family is not good or helpful the child will not be able to go out because they are not dressed well.

Culture/Identity on the other hand refers to cultural practices that are values (FGF1 and FGF3). There is a need to maintain the Tuvaluan way of life“what and how things are done” (FGF1) especially in these changing times.

Culture is very important and needs to be strengthened so that our children will know and understand. Before they reach a certain age they were taught how our way of life, as a Tuvaluan knows what and how things are done. For example, in the Falekaupule, how to speak, your eligibility to speak and where you should sit. (FGP1)

Education and health are critical because as cash economy takes precedence the traditional system of land being important is becoming less significant in terms of survival. Health refers to physical health and this is important because it contributes to well-being such as eating good food or healthy food - "in health it is important to eat healthy food" (FGF1) or "physical health" (FGF3) while education as explained by FGF1 when asked on the importance of education, he said:

These times if you have some form of education than you will likely have a good life, if not then you will have a very hard/pitiful life. (FGF1)

Education will help improve the livelihood of the family, bring wealth and enable people to utilize the land accordingly.

.....having an education that is the family's future wealth, happiness and prosperity is just similar to that of how land was. [...] The child going to school to learn skills and knowledge that will enable them to get a job which will earn money and the money that he receives is his contribution for the family. (FGF1)

If there is no education we cannot develop or progress (FGF3)

Religion or the church plays an important part of people's well-being because people believe in a superior being who not only provides for them but is full of goodness and gives them meaning in life.

"In the church everything is planned for the people to live well. [...] in the Bible Jesus is saying you all should love one another". (FGF1)

It also provides spiritual sustenance to people, which is similar to the sentiments echoed by the group discussion from Nukulaelae.

There are a large number of youths who are involved in religious youth organizations and this also helps youth to change their attitude. (FGF3)

Interviews: Key- Respondents

The key-respondents' list of well-being elements supports that which was provided by the focus group however the priorities are different. The lists of the interviewees were longer and this would be due to the number of people providing their lists individually whereas for the focus group everyone was working collectively. The table (Table 8) shows the list of key elements that was provided by the participants in the interviews based on their own perceptions and understanding. The list was also prioritized where participants were also asked to rank them from the most important element to the least important using the 1st being the most important and the 5th being the least.

Table 8: Elements that contribute to Tuvaluan concept of well-being and prioritizing them where 1st is most important and 5th is the least important.

Elements	Ranking				
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th
Lands	4	1	2		2
Family	2	3	3	1	
Health	2	3	1	2	
Education- formal and informal	2	1	5	2	
Income	2	2	3	3	4
Employment				2	1
Traditional Norms and Values ²⁰		2		2	6
Housing	2	1		1	
Spiritual Life	2		1	1	
Traditional Food		2	1		
Attitudes and Behaviours ²¹		2			1
Social habits ²² and lifestyle				2	
Others ²³	1		1	1	2
Total number of people	17	17	17	17	17

A total of 13 elements were provided by the interviewees after categorizing them. Even though this list could be aggregated to a smaller list to match that of the focus group, the researcher's findings show that it will remove the significant nuances of

20 Cultural Norms and values : traditional skills and knowledge, traditional way of living, and values include respect, love, reciprocity, sharing, working together, helping each other

21 Attitudes and behaviours include being independent, responsible, good behaviour

22 Social habits-not drinking, smoking, habits that have negative effects are excluded only habits that have positive affects

23 Others : Basic needs (1), Peace (1), Transportation (1), Safety(1), Environment (1)

some of the key elements participants consider critical. Thus the list was reduced from being 17 elements to 13 elements where 'others' consist of elements that only appear once or twice.

After listing their key elements the participants were asked to prioritize them and from the list of elements people stated lands as their first priority while for second priority family (3 people) and health (3 people), third priority is education (5 people), fourth priority is income (3 people) and lastly culture norms and values (6 people). Other elements include housing, spiritual life, traditional food, attitudes and behaviours, social habits and lifestyles, and others (environment, basic needs, peace and security and transportations).

Key Elements

Land

Land is Tuvaluan people's main source of life because it enables them to meet their basic needs. The land provides food for people such as pulaka, breadfruit, taro, or other food sources and the sea provides the fish which is the main traditional diet for Tuvaluans.

Land is our life and the sea has always been regarded as the most important asset (also known by our elderly as the 'manafa lasi') because if the land fails, like coconut, pulaka at least we still have the sea. So that we can at least survive from our natural resources. (KI10M)

Land is important because it is our source of life the land is where you built your house and where you plant your food. (KI6M)

Land is important because it secures you for the future. Natural Resources are important because if we cannot buy a packet of chicken we can get 5 fishes from the sea and that is your dinner and your lunch and you can go to your pulaka pit instead of rice. (KI9FF)

If you have lands than you can live well because you can plant your own food and sustain yourself. (KI13F)

Having lands also provides a person with status in society which is very important in Tuvaluan culture. For a person to hold any status in Tuvaluan society they should have ties to the land because land means that a person is part of the community.

Land is very important because in Tuvalu culturally that is how you are recognized in Tuvalu. You only speak because you have land rights. If you do not have lands it is very hard for you to speak in public and for people to listen to you. Because actually cultural donations involve agricultural activities and they only can be supported if one has lands. (KI5M)

Another key factor is that land has monetary value and is a source of income especially people who are land owners in Funafuti. As Funafuti is the urban centre for development the demand for land leasing is extremely high which increases the value of land from not only being traditionally significant but economically valued.

In Funafuti lands have a very high value because of the money it receives from leasing. (KI2M)

The land not only provides food and source of income, it also helps to subsidize for financial commitments in terms of customary contributions. If one does not have money to contribute to a family, community or church function, then they can subsidize by either providing pulaka that one has from his own land or coconuts or any traditional food that they have available.

Pulaka even if most people do not eat pulaka like they used to. In terms of contributions to island functions and family the pulaka is still highly regarded.... It still represents or skewed as a \$300 contribution. (KI2M)

We depend on lands for more lands enables one to survive and if you have children they are able to work the land or fish as these are important contributions to looking after the family in which they work the land. (KI10M)

It is considered important that people continue to nurture and protect their natural resources because it provides them with employment or a means of income to sustain themselves

It is therefore important to maintain our resources so that it is available and harness it. If people are strong enough to work the land and produce food thus this is one area that contributes to the well-being. (KI10M)

Lastly land is very important in Funafuti and in the Outer Islands however their value in monetary terms varies significantly as in the Outer Islands, lands do not have monetary value.

...in Funafuti lands have a very high value because of the money it receives from leasing. Unlike us in the outer islands my father is not worried about his lands because it has no monetary value to it although we still care about lands. (KI2M)

Family

The importance of family is similar to what was said in the focus group discussions where family is the foundation of society.

Extended family – I think in our communities now the most important thing is the extended family. We haven't reached that stage of nuclear family. We can see this in any social gathering like funerals you can see all your families, even in weddings you begin to see families that are not very close to you. (KI1M)

For me well-being starts from the family, if the family environment is good from the beginning everything else will follow. (KI14M)

It further supports the value of being a supportive mechanism that people rely on and are dependent upon that was mentioned by the focus group. Examples are provided by KI4F, KI5M and KI14M. KI4F emphasized how family is important to her education whereby they not only supported her financially but mentally and emotionally. KI5M on the other hand realized the importance of family in meeting her social commitments, supporting her in everything that she lacks where money cannot provide.

So you need family support to achieve your goals. (KI4F)

You know I tend to go to my aunty if there is urgent stuff. So it is important for your well-being if you do not have stuff you have your family around you. (KI5M)

A new issue raised by the interviews is that the family provides the social services that are needed in society whereby they look after the elderly, the sick and the vulnerable. Having this institution is very important because there are none in Tuvalu. As KI2M and KI16F explained, having supportive family networks is needed especially in a time when economic development drives people away from rural areas and handicaps the institutions which cater for vulnerable people.

I know there are some people in which I am sure you might have come across in your work who are elderly people that are vulnerable because there is no one to look after them. In some cases people have migrated or somehow through their generation only one of them is left or they do not have children. Thus one must have a big supportive family in order to improve your well-being. (KI2M)

I think, in terms of family, if you do not have a family especially when you get older and if you do not have a family from the time you grew up you have no one to help you or guide you. (KI16F)

Health

Health is one of the most important elements that contribute to well-being for people. When people talk about health in the outer islands their reference is access to good medical services and facilities.

We need hospitals because if we have no hospital when someone gets really sick we just wait and see if they live or die. [...] Now we have additional doctors and nurses and their personnel is allocated in each island they started with two nurses on each island but not long only for a few months and they take one back to Funafuti because they say they are short staffed. That means even though they are trying it has not improved and this even goes for medical supplies from the way I look at things here on this island. (KI16F)

Another aspect of health that is considered important in well-being is for people to live in a clean and healthy environment to ensure that they stay healthy and are not overcome by sickness

For people to live a life that is secured and safe they should not have bad habits (such as smoking and alcohol consumption, and so forth...) as it affects their well-being and causes illnesses.... person's surrounding to keep it clean so as to prevent sickness. (KI17F)

For participants in Funafuti their interpretation of health as a component of well-being is for people to live long and healthy lives so as to enjoy the pleasures of one's hard work.

In terms of health it is important because without good health it is a waste of time there is no point in you being educated. You cannot enjoy life after you finish your study you work but you won't be able to enjoy much because you have poor health and a short life-span. (KI6M)

Education Formal and Informal

Education is critical because current developments are slowly taking over the traditional form of living and it is believed that education is the key and it contributes significantly to well-being

A good education contributes a lot to your well-being and in your life. Even in terms of the very little money if you have education it will help you to manage your money properly.... If I think about it, if it was not for my education I would not be able to do anything. (KI4F)

In the early days education before is not so important but it is very important now as the population is increasing and so land access is decreasing so we need to be educated to be able to survive. (KI16F)

We need to invest in our children's' education because we do not have enough resources and our children are our investment. (KI17F)

Education should not only be formal but include informal education systems which are not in the curriculum. Formal education is referring to the current Westernized system

where teachings are in a classroom setting and curriculums are tailored to meet the needs in the economic world of developments where you get academic graduates who work as accountants, doctors, engineers, mechanics and so forth. This form of education is said to have a high value of increasing income and ensuring employment as KI2M and KI6M stated and is highly supported by the government in its development (KI1M).

There is a high correlation between education and income, for the higher your education, the higher the possibility of one earning a higher income and having power. (KI2M)

Formal education is where you can be able to have a good job and be independent (a person can stand on their own two feet). (KI6M)

The government now strongly supports education, up to whatever level one wishes to pursue. (KI1M)

Informal education refers to those who are not delivered in a “classroom setting” (KI2M) such as survival skills and knowledge or those that enable one to be “self-sustainable in a subsistence economy” (KI6F). They are teachings that were taught by families or communities as KI6M said:

...but includes informal such as teachings from your mother, grandparents and within the community. Learning in the community is participatory through participation such as attendance in community gatherings whereby you learn about protocols and values of the community through dialogue and speeches from elders and key members. (KI6M)

Yes, informal skills like trainings provided by the agriculture and fisheries which provides skills that help you to create your own garden or fishing or preservation of food like fish. (KI6F)

Other forms of informal education are related to practical or hands on skills that will cater for the school drop-outs who cannot make it in the academic field.

Because education is not only for those who are very good in education but also part of the education system is to look after the group of people who are not good academically. (KI5M)

Income

Income was the key element that was listed in the focus group for Funafuti and the same is supported by the interviews of key informants. That is, the need to have income is considered a very important element in contributing to people's well-being because of the cash economy that is now taking root in people's way of life. However there are other issues raised by respondents in terms of how income contributes to well-being because firstly it differs in respect to the rate of development in areas that people live. The urban area or Funafuti Island where high economic development takes place, income is very important because it enables people to meet their basic needs, substitute for not having lands or access to other natural resources. Income has become so important that it has redefined people's perception of what contributes to well-being participants KI2M and KI6F.

Nowadays you need money to have well-being because the growing cash economy in my understanding would define well-being – most especially here in Funafuti for those that have no lands and pulaka pits. (KI2M)

Funafuti people rely heavily on cash even to the extent of commitments to our traditional and cultural practices such as traditional feasting.... (KI6F)

With increasing population and shortage of lands having an income is considered an important element because it serves as a substitute for the shortfall in regard to natural resources by helping people meet their needs and wants.

...in the modern Tuvalu income is very important because it substitutes for a lot of things, like land which we cannot rely on readily now because population is ... (KI10M)

Finance nowadays is very important as compared to before as it enables us to meet some of our needs and wants. (KI3M)

...you need to have a lot of money especially to support your family to achieve your goals, for example, to help raise your children, so you need a lot of money to invest in them. (KI4F)

Now when the family has some sort of income at least they are able to achieve some sort of well-being otherwise they will struggle because they have no money hence facing a very hard life. (KI13F)

However in outer islands income is a means to an end because income helps families to better their way of life and educate their children.

...income either from the mother or the father can help make life better for the family and even families can go to school. (KI15F)

Traditional Norms and Values

Traditional norms are ways in which Tuvaluans live such as relying on the land to sustain themselves, language, island community gatherings and contributions.

If we work together and help each other like caring and sharing, these are values that are very important in our culture because we care and share. (KI1M)

For me I think it is important like our culture and traditional practices but especially our language. (KI17F)

There are ways of adhering to traditional structures and values such as the Falekaupule meeting house and the role of the family in teaching and the history. These are explained by focus group participants and key respondents as:

... Our way of life as a Tuvaluan is to know what and how things are done, for example, Falekaupule, how to speak, your eligibility to speak and where you should sit. (FGF1)

....traditional skills are not necessarily delivered in classroom settings but delivered from generation to generation verbally. (KI2M)

Traditional way of living is knowledge regarding how to produce our local goods for our living as well as our values like we should care about our most vulnerable people, things like this. (KI3M)

...cultural practices such as traditional feasting...or traditional practice's such as do's in our families, for example, gift giving in weddings, funerals and so forth. (KI6F)

....we observe our values and practices such as time for entertainment – *fatele*, gatherings in the community or islands which have their own rules in which we also need to respect the structure of our leadership and their governance. (KI10M)

Participants also advise that it is also important that people understand the reasons behind traditional practices and values. This will enable them to integrate new changes and influences accordingly because some changes also affect the stability of communities and affect the well-being of people.

Others

Other elements consist of social habits which refer to avoiding bad habits that have negative affects to physical health as participants KI11M and KI17F.

...habits like bad habits in smoking in which I am also one of them, also other social behaviours like consumption of alcohol then there is no well-being in the family. (KI11M)

For them to live a life that is secure and safe, for example smoking and getting drunk their well-being is dependent on them not doing things that cause illness. (KI17F)

Spiritual life in Tuvalu is very important and everything that people do is acknowledged in their faith in God as PF00008, KI17F and KI15F said,

'People can have well-being if the family has faith in God... our life in Tuvalu the foundation of Tuvalu is on our belief in God up above. (KI15F)

It is true we believe in God. (KI17F)

Put it as an example as soon as you wake up you say a prayer...(KI8M)

Basic needs according to KI5M are an important element of well-being for every individual to meet and they consist of 'water, food, shelter and clothing'. Lastly people's attitudes and behaviours are important elements of well-being because 'they contribute to peaceful living conditions'.

5.1.3 Factors Impacting on Well-being

To determine how people are actually faring it is significant to understand the impact of development. The participants stated that there are positive and negative impacts to well-being as well as key challenges that will continue to influence well-being. The findings present positive and negative impacts followed by the challenges on well-being as stated by the participants.

Positive impacts

Increase in standard of living

The increasing cash economy and employment has enabled people to increase their standard of living. Nowadays people are living in modern homes and have facilities that make their life much easier and better especially in terms of electronic appliances as opposed to doing things manually which contribute greatly to well-being. In the Outer Islands according to participant KI1M;

...people have motorbikes, washing machines, before we walk or go by bicycle if one can afford to. Now anyone can afford to buy a motorbike. Another thing that helps peoples living are fridges, cooking using gas ovens, before only certain families can afford such things while some go without.(KI1M)

Removal of disparity between rich and poor

Prior to development the differences between the rich and the poor were defined by land ownership, traditional skills and knowledge. It is the presumption that development has removed this status in terms of the differences between people. With the cash economy it is believed that this gap between the rich and poor has been bridged. As participant KI1M, KI2M, and KI7F stated:

Before there is a difference between people, some people are seen as well off because they are rich in lands and some are wealthy in the sense that they have special skills and talents like in fishing or traditional healing. (KI11M)

...now that everyone has money in Tuvalu there is no rich-rich and there is no very poor even though there may be differences in people but we all have money (KI2M)

Before we had families that consider themselves very wealthy because they have money, now we cannot tell the difference or see which families are poor as everybody is equal. (KI17F)

Increase in opportunities for education and employment

The opportunities for education have greatly improved according to the participants as there are more scholarships now for students and options for vocational schools now available for those students who do not make it through primary or secondary years.

Now the standard of education has improved with opportunities for people to attend school overseas increase...this year there are a few more scholarships, 5 for Thailand..., 10 from Morocco, 5 from Turkey, 20 from PNG increased to 50. (KI1M)

For example, in the case of education people who were able to pursue their education they have opportunities to do so and they are covered under the government programs... (KI2M)

The current vocational schools have been set up such as the Technical Vocational Education Training (TVET). . The students who are under the TVET are those who did not complete Form two twice but so far now all students have passed Form 2. (KI15F)

For the outer islands there are bridging programs which enable students to gain some form of preliminary qualifications in order to qualify for scholarships.

When I came we developed a scheme in the middle of this year called “Fagaua Educational Scheme” named after this island that we reside on. Focus on students who are doing their preliminary foundation at the USP... This scheme helps to cover that gap from when they finish Form 6 and undertake their Foundation courses or Preliminary until they get a scholarship for further studies overseas or apply to the scheme from the Ministry of Education to continue their program. (KI14M)

An important outcome from the vocational school TVET is that it enables students who were not academically good to be self-employed a good example was stated below.

One of the outcomes is that one of the students in Nukufetau who attended TVET now makes his own furniture from coconut trunks and his handiwork is being sold to people. He got his skills by attending the TVET thus the vocational schools for TVET has helped a lot of drop outs. (KI9F)

Participants in decision making process

One of the most important issues in terms of women is their capacity to participate in and be part of the decision making process in regard to development programmes. They are now taking leadership roles in addition to implementation.

But now in some areas of the Falekaupule, the woman can stand up but before they had to kneel because it has been allowed in the Falekaupule. (KI12M)

An important point raised by participant KI3M was that decision making now uses a bottom up approach which addresses the needs of the people.

The bottom up approach where all the needs of the people are given to the Falekaupule so from there to the Government. (KI3M)

Negative impacts

Increasing land conflicts

Increasing population in Funafuti has resulted in increasing conflicts between people on land rights (use) issues and at the same time affects our traditional values of sharing and caring.

...we can see that land is a big problem here in Funafuti. We only rent the house but the lease of the land the landlord utilizes whatever is grown on it they will come and collect the breadfruit or coconuts around the house even if you are the one cleaning up the surroundings....KI6F)

...it is important to have land here in Funafuti because it has become very significant as now more people here in Funafuti are investigating their land ownership here in Funafuti. (KI9F)

Family instability and decreasing values

There are certain issues regarding family instability and problems that have arisen over the last 30 years. According to the focus groups,

... Today the father is a drunk so the child also becomes a drunk and they both get drunk together. Some cases the mother is a drunk and so too is the father...In the 70's and 80's these things are taboo, especially for a young woman or teenagers to actually go and try to drink alcohol (or Kao - fermented toddy). (FGN2)

Nowadays it is the mother and father who are weak. The father drinks the son drinks and even the mother drinks too that is the problem that is now happening here in Tuvalu. (FGN1)

The changing roles of men and women show that women play a more significant role now compared to men.

In those days in the evenings with our mother, the father conducts the evening devotion in the family, nowadays most of the families the mother takes up this role. Where is the father? The father has gone to tell stories with some other family or getting drunk somewhere here or somewhere there....young fathers and old ones are drinking alcohol, even the grandfather. (FGN3)

These views are further echoed by key respondents. The views from KI6F showed how parenting roles in the families have been substituted by media.

In my observation here in Funafuti parents substitute their time with their children with video games or videos while they go and do their other things just to occupy their children compared to the islands. (KI6F)

Some parents are also neglecting their children because the changing lifestyle where demand for cash is high so people find that playing Bingo is an avenue to earning some form of cash. As a result children become neglected in the process and parents forego their roles of parenting to finding ways of obtaining cash to meet their needs and wants. For example, in some families, people value going to bingo or going to other functions rather than caring for their children.

Now that it is allowed (meaning Bingo is legalised) mothers are neglecting their children and going to the Bingo. ..At one time the police picked up all the children who were playing around the Bingo area and took them to the police station just to keep them there while they wait for their mothers to come and pick them up. The reason they pick them up was because they were too young to be playing on the road late at night. (KI6F)

In some cases parents neglect their children but go to the Bingo. So we need to enforce the law that parents do not neglect their children. (KI12M)

Income disparity

There are clear indications of inequalities of income distribution experienced by people. KI10M explains the burden faced by extended families living together and sharing the cost of living.

Now it is difficult to divide equally because of the disparity of income. That is in one family one of the members has a take home pay that totals to \$200-\$300 per fortnight while the other person only has a take home pay of \$20-\$30 per fortnight and yet he might have two children thus it is very difficult to ensure equal distribution – one cannot afford

equal distribution thus the burden falls on the person who has a higher pay and yet he might have only one child.

Reliance on imported food consumption aggravates poverty, debt and ill health

Food is one of the most important ingredients to well-being and one of the main causes of increasing lifestyle diseases experienced by Tuvaluan people as stated by key respondents

At this time we are suffering and I know because there is too much sickness going on now as a result of food. I blame somehow to the food that we eat like rice, bread, biscuit, lamb neck, chicken stuff and some of these things that we import from countries outside of Tuvalu and yet we have our own resources. (KI13F)

Also reliance on imported food contributes to poverty and debt. It seduces people to engage less on traditional activities because people do have to labour so hard. They just rely on money, but often do not feel the labour of earning that money and in doing so they increase the burden on people who are employed.

People now are not utilizing our traditional resources and food such as fish, breadfruit, coconut but now people only want to eat imported food like rice, corned beef and frozen chicken food from the shops and yet they need money for those. They have disregarded traditional food which is free but prefer to rely on imported food which requires money. Poverty is in this area. They also can do traditional handicrafts and yet they have closed that door they do not want to utilize them yet they prefer to buy things from the shop. What they do is go to their close relatives or families to loan money and then they pay later. For example, they come to me to loan for \$20 but if I look at the person I have no idea where he will get his money from because he is not working. People need to look for work or utilize local resources to sell at the local market. ...our own resources are there like fish, breadfruit, coconuts and yet people just want to go to the shop and buy tin fish. (KI12M)

Youth

There are critical issues that are being faced by youths. They range from unemployment, dependency, lack of support to increasing number of youth being social victims in society. Youth unemployment is a growing concern for both focus group respondents and interviewees.

There is a large population of youth just roaming around both male and female unemployed. We have youths asking for \$2 just to fill up their bike. As soon as you go to the service station you just get a shock they come and ask you for \$2. (KI6F)

A majority of youth still rely on their parents from the time they were born. [...] They are also more involved in drinking and getting married too young without knowing how to take care of themselves. (FGF3)

Funafuti youth are considered to be worse because they are always drunk and every youth gathering ends up in alcoholic consumption. (FGF1)

There is a lack of support on youth capabilities and abilities by families and the community. According to participant FGF3 there is a negative portrayal of youth by the public such as “youths are lazy, they do not do anything”.

Modernization of traditional practices a burden on families' well-being

This issue is in relation to traditional practices of contributions and how it affects the ability of families to meet their own personal needs. In Funafuti KI6F, KI8M, and KI10M provided examples of how this is happening.

Maybe we have modernized our traditional practices which could be why people face so much hardships in terms of functions but these are things that we do are part of our lives as these are our obligations for us to our family, our community, our island and our church. (KI6F)

...it affects our local people because it takes out a lot of our budget. Like when there is a big event going on and they need food for feasting so they sent out lunch trays for each community to prepare so the households prepare it. This affects the household, the family and the children will be affected because of their children's school breaks and uniforms budgets. (KI8M)

.... with some people spending so much time and money with community and church commitments however they have no contributions to the family. (KI10M)

In the outer islands KI3M provides a typical example of how this affects family well-being.

We just hear that there is a boat coming and there is some government people arriving so they need food trays prepared at this time, or that time. These things disrupt the well-being of the family because not only do you have to plan and allocate resources for your family, you also need to try and get things in that short period of time to meet that request. This creates stress and damages one's health because it increases blood pressure.

Decreasing traditional values

The value of strong community unity is slowly withering as people are not working together as they did before and some of these matters are due to misuse of choices from human rights advocates and new religious beliefs.

For example if there is the building of a community water tank which requires everyone to work some people do not participate because they have the freedom of choice. When the time comes to utilize the community water tank because there is a drought and people have no water except to use the community water cistern, people who do not come to help they will also come to fetch their water. Even religion plays an important part in dividing this unity because of the many religious beliefs. Some religion forbids people from participating in any community development or gathering however if there is a disaster such as drought they also are included in the utilization of community facilities. (FGN2)

People are now becoming more selfish in this cash economy

...Now that we have more income with people, money has increased and we have a monetized economy yet people are now becoming selfish. (KI10M)

The gift of giving is an important part of Tuvaluan culture where someone asks for something and if you have it regardless that it is the last dollar or item you have you must give. This value of giving is slowly deteriorating. There are some people that still retain the practice of giving wholeheartedly without questioning and there are some that do not.

...they come to me to loan for \$20 but if I look at the person I have no idea where he will get his money from because he is not working. (K12)

If a person asks 'please do you have any money'? In my own personal experience, it might be that I have my last \$20/\$40 left in my pocket but I give because I know it is genuine the need for the person. I do not question people, I give because if I question it, then I am not giving it out of love or wholeheartedly but you have become selective and you seem to have a criteria becoming more like a donor-screening if he has a salary and so forth...(KI10M)

Quality of education and parental support

Although education is free, not every child attends school. The participants explained some of these reasons which are due to neglect from parents and teachers not having the proper training to teach children thus causing children not to go to school or not to perform well.

Some children now are staying home; it is not many but a few. The education committee that does the check they find that the child is baby sitting at home while the mother is working or gone to the bingo. (KI13F)

My experience with my child she is a very bright student when she started schooling. Then her class was taken over by someone that was selected by the mothers as an assistant. I can really see that my child get really angry and she slacks off really badly. This is because she is not well trained for her to be patient so she gets angry and starts criticizing my child or

her mother so my child gets really angry and she slacks off really badly. (KI17F)

Primary school students are not only missing out on school but also smoking in school hours.

The funny thing is that some of the mothers do not know that the child only went to school in the morning and half day. ...Every time during their school breaks between recess and lunch hour the students will come to this empty house beside my place and smoke while in their school uniform – these are primary school kids. (KI6F)

In addition, too much freedom for children could have a great influence on their performance in school as KI6F said:

It is very sad to see this even at night you can see young people still in secondary school riding at night with a boyfriend. These shows that our children are too free because parents allow children to go to the nightclub which is where they start making boyfriends thus diverting their attention and interests from school, having boyfriends, riding at night, nightclubbing and other things. It could be one of the things that have an effect on the performance of children in school.

Increase in waste and unclean environment

Participant KI17F emphasized that environmentally the more capital goods we consume as part of development the more unclean our environment becomes.

...compare the time when I was young I think it was much cleaner then than it is now because there were no motorbikes as everyone walked. There is like maybe one family that may have a bicycle and it is very clean you cannot see any iron roofing lying around like that is as you can see now. ...now we have tractors, iron roofing, eating from imported food so we see empty tin cans lying around, nappies there and so many and it seems to have no proper disposal place. I know that Nukulaelae before is much cleaner, now people just don't bother. But it was supposed to be much dirtier before because people live a very hard life they depend on traditional food and they are tired of preparing it because there is no gas or oven everything has

to be man power. Now that life is easier the problem is the island is not as clean as it was before.

5.1.4 Challenges affecting people's well-being

There are factors that affect people's well-being which do not have specific solutions and that are very hard to identify the problems.

Urbanization

Urbanization is a critical factor of well-being especially for Funafuti people because of the problems that come with it as KI12M explained:

One of the factors is urbanization. So people that come here (Funafuti) they just live anyhow, people use the sea as a form of sanitation, too many people living in one house, available resources are over harvested like fish, and so forth...And now we have the influx of the urban drift with the population shift which is still an ongoing process.

Urbanization would require the creation of an urbanization policy and will impact on Funafuti's share in the Falekaupule Trust Fund (FTF). Creating an urbanization policy will somehow remove these privileges and it could also affect the well-being of the Funafuti people in the process.

FTF is another thing where all development projects for all the island communities. This is an urban centre so that is very different from the connotation of developing the outer islands. ...If we have urbanization I think they will have to stop (access to the FTF) because they are no longer under the Falekaupule because they are the urban centre so they have to give up that right to the Falekaupule. (KI5M)

It also affects land management issues as mentioned by KI5M 'It is just the land issues that is a problem here and KI12M.

Changing lifestyles affecting peoples well-being

Changes in lifestyle have a great influence on people's well-being and they can be positive or negative.

In the early days when people get drunk we don't know where they are drinking but now in the middle of the night they will be screaming and disturbing the community thus they get locked up in the prison. This is the life now, it has changed significantly. (FGN4)

In the early years, when it is time for family evening devotion, the children of the family are already at home and no one can be found roaming around. Nowadays the church bell for evening devotion is ringing but children are still walking, it is not only boys but girls too still playing at the court. The pastors tongue almost pop out trying to tell the young people not to play at the court at 6 pm. (FGN3)

... now is different compared to before say 30 years ago, I would say that in those years life was more peaceful. No one is under the influence of alcohol, no one yells or makes so much noise within the main village, people do not cause any disturbances to others instead people work together because there is a strong discipline. (FGN1)

As times change priorities of people will change and also their ways of life as KI6FF said

Tuvaluans who has not been exposed to modern influences their priorities would be their land, pulaka pits, chickens and pigs because that is their pride and joy. For Tuvaluans who live in another country when he comes back he might want to live in a master bedroom, would prefer to sleep in a bedroom that has a lock door and may not want to use firewood to cook but more convenient modern facilities. Things change. (KI6F)

Participant KI6F also added that one of the challenging issues in change is the ability of leaders to understand how it affects traditional systems and finding appropriate ways to integrate them so as there are minimum side effects.

Island development mismatch, lack coordination and donor driven

Outer island developments face problems especially projects that were being implemented but have very little relevance to their needs. As an example the focus group participants in Nukulaelae gave examples of a particular project that was carried out on their island.

5 years ago there was a project under the FAO dealing with food security. The project was to create a nursery and plant pandanus (fala kaleve) from outside donors. They planted the pandanus tree but in the end it was destroyed nothing was left standing. I do not know what the whole point of the nursery is. It seems that all these projects are a waste of time and money. (FGN1)

All the pandanus trees planted was uprooted and thrown to the sea because they planted it at the wrong place on the Kaupule lease lands. (FGN3)

Development projects seems to lack coordination and in some cases do not meet the needs of the people.

I voiced my disappointment because they could have at least during the preparation of the NAPA1 it is not supposed to be the Funafuti people who should develop the NAPA1 but they should have invited us from the Outer Islands because we are the ones that will be implementing it. Instead they bring all these foreigners to Funafuti who tell them what needs to be done but when it comes to us for implementing these things we do not want to do it because they are very different to what we know and understand our island needs. (KI4F)

I tell you all the people in the outer islands people do not want to improve their housing or what they only want to improve their livestock places for their chickens and their pig pens. That is why when they have project proposals most of them are to improve their chicken houses or their pig pens no one wants to improve their kitchens because when one is built they use their local hut for them to stay in ... (KI6F)

This is not only for outer islands also in Funafuti the same issue is being faced by people in local development.

Sometimes some donors have their own areas of focus which are very different from what we want. For example, now another important issue is that there are so many donors from government trying to make projects that enforces women to be involved in. The Falekaupule do not want to enforce the requirements from the donor so they have put it aside because Tuvalu's culture is very important and it has its

own times of change until then we can enforce the issue.
(KI12M)

Creating employment opportunities for increasing population

Participants emphasize that employment opportunities are very scarce and this is a big problem because the population is increasing. In the outer islands employment opportunities are very low.

For us here most of our people do not have a salary. We get income from projects that are from the Kaupule when they do their developments for the NAPA. Otherwise we just sit here whole year. That is why our crops and plantations are so important because it is our main source of food. (FGN1)

Even production of local products does not seem feasible because of the limited resources. Attempts to encourage local production affected the values of people and also sustainability. For example, KI10M provided examples of the impact.

The most formidable factor that we face is that our raw material base is not enough, such as coconuts, we do not have that many coconuts. If we have three products such as the kaleve (coconut syrup) and the oil and puaka then we would have very little left for production. The other thing will be there will be thieving which is what normally happens.
(KI10M)

The other factor is that the major employment source is government and private sector is very much underdeveloped.

The major job provider in Tuvalu is the government as there is not so much in the private sector because it is still a baby.
(KI15M)

A critical issue was raised on how unemployment has affected the types of activities that people get involved in as KI13M mentioned

I have no idea why but maybe the demand for cash is so high or their way of life is not very good so they are looking for avenues and possibilities to earn money and besides the unemployment now has driven people to sell themselves, I

mean like that. That is why it is very sad that such situations are happening here now in Tuvalu.

Climate Change Impact

Participants are also aware on the impact of climate change on well-being indicating how it compromises their sense of livelihood and security.

The issue of climate change is going to affect us in terms of food security because of changing weather conditions. Most of our lands, plants, pulaka and most of them are affected by the salt water seeping in. The other thing is the drought which affects our natural resources such as coconuts, breadfruits and bananas. (KI6F)

Adaptation methods are being implemented by environmental projects which help to address the risks that it poses.

NAPA Project is trying to address the risks and ensure the community level can adapt to the risk associated with climate change, for example, sea level rise, climate change itself, from the impact of natural events, so we are trying to maintain the livelihood of the community members so they can be able to adapt and mitigate climate change. (KI11M)

Contradictions between cultural values and human rights laws and conventions

There were participants who believe that the human rights laws and conventions were appropriate and there were some that believe that some of the issues do not relate to Tuvaluan people. Participants expressed concern over the use of freedom of choice, anti-smacking laws and violence against women that have been implemented by human rights laws and conventions which have been adopted.

In terms of freedom of choice it was believed that these conventions have been misused by people and affects well-being in a negative way. That is the freedom of choice affects community development.

Nowadays people misuse their freedom in a way that causes difficulties and problems when it comes to work in our island community. For example if there is a building of the community water tank which requires everyone to work,

some people do not participate because they have the freedom of choice. But when the time comes to utilize the community water cistern because there is a drought and there is not water except for the community water cistern, people who do not come to help will also come to fetch their water. (FGN5)

Another example according to KI12M is because Tuvalu is a very close knitted community where people know everyone and relatives go as far as fourth to fifth generation so when something that is against the cultural norm happens it causes great shame to the family. For example, incidents such as young women involved in sexual activities either paid or unpaid.

These things are spoiled by the law because people misuse the law. For example in terms of women's rights if a female did something wrong and they got beaten by their brothers and cousins when taken to court any explanation is not acceptable or reason why they did what they did.

Women have been protected by men for generations and it is one of the reasons why patrilineality was so evident in Tuvaluan traditional practices. Yet, something as bad as prostitution can lead people to become violent because of the shame that it has caused the family.

In addition participants argued that the conventions were adopted without proper explanation to the people or in terms of "The signing of the Convention of Human Rights" there is no explanation to the people about what freedom means (NFG).

5.1.5 Current Status of People's Well-being

In terms of how people are actually faring, a list of elements selected from global indicators and the Pacific on well-being was used. This was a general list which was pre-selected to see if they would reflect how people feel and how they perceive their current status of well-being by using a scale of 1-5 to rate their feelings. The total number of ratings was divided by the number of participants in that particular well-being element so the average is then displayed below in Table 9. While it is not a great indicator it helps to support the idea of measuring indicators that are not quantifiable

and which were always overlooked when it comes to planning and measuring development.

Overall people are fairly satisfied with their state of well-being even if there are elements of well-being that people are having issues with. Table 9 shows that people who participated in the research are highly satisfied with their current health status, work, and their way of life, relationships with their families, neighbours and religious members. There are however some people who have problems with financial security. Financial security is being able to have savings accounts or any form of financial benefits that enable a person to be able to overcome periods of financial difficulty.

Table 9: How participants perceived feelings of satisfaction

Elements	All	Almost	Most	Few
Health		x		
Financial security				x
Livelihood		x		
Work	x			
Relationship with family	x			
Relationship with neighbours	x			
Relationship with religious members		x		
Relationship with leaders of your island community			x	

5.1.6 Well-being and Place

The importance of understanding well-being is critical because what contributes to well-being may differ in relation to context of place. Participants were asked if their elements of well-being will be different if they stayed outside of Tuvalu and the answers they provided looked at place outside of Tuvalu and in terms of within the rural and the urban context.

Compared to other countries

The answers provided by the focus group stated that the elements of well-being will be different because “compared to other countries Tuvaluans do not need money for their well-being they however need their lands” (FGN1, FGN2, FGN4). In the developed world however you do not need to own lands you need money to ensure your well-

being is met. While education is important and gaining a degree is important in the developed world, in the islands all they need is their traditional skills and knowledge which no classroom can teach them. Traditional and spiritual values are essential taking into account how people live because they serve as a source of social connections and cohesion and enable people to live peacefully together.

The key informants on the other hand show that the majority of participants (11 people) stated that their list pertaining to the elements of well-being would be different and will depend on certain factors such as environment, context of the country and opportunities available. There were only two people (KI6M and KI8MM) that said their list of elements would remain the same and four said both, in other words, it could be different and it could be the same (KI15F, KI16F and KI17F). One person did not answer this question. The answers provided by the participants indicate that what constitutes well-being in Tuvalu will be different to what constitutes to well-being in another country.

Urban versus Rural

An important factor that needs to be taken into account is well-being and place which has been clearly highlighted in Table 10 below where participants base their perception and what constitutes well-being.

Table 10: Well-being between urban and rural

Elements	Urban (Funafuti)	Rural (Outer Islands)
Economy	Rely on cash economy with very little subsistence activity available	Rely on subsistence economy with very little cash activity available
Society	Becoming very individualistic	Still maintains collectivism
Family	Becoming more nuclear family oriented	Still remains extended family oriented
Land	Has very high monetary value Land scarcity Less households have pulaka, bananas, taro, breadfruits and vegetation	Does not have monetary value Abundant land Every household have pulaka, bananas, breadfruits, taro, and vegetation
Employment	Formal employment opportunities and permanent People are dependent on employment Income and employment is like the ends itself	Fewer opportunities for employment and temporary Do not depend on employment Income and employment is the means to the ends
Spirituality	Evening devotion not formalized so family initiative to observe daily not community oriented	Evening devotion formalized so community and families observe it daily.
Traditional Norms and Practices	Relies heavily on monetary forms of contributions Less use of traditional food sustenance Costs to have traditional food	Relies heavily on traditional forms of contributions and less on monetary. Reliant on traditional food sustenance Free to have traditional food
Housing	Overcrowding conditions- more than one family in one household sharing facilities but eating separately	Spacey conditions – families eating together and sharing everything

5.2 Findings B – Well-being Indicators

Although well-being is very important in national development, sometimes what is reflected nationally mirrors that of the outside world yet very little from a local perspective. This section looks at how the national development plan, TKII, reflects the Tuvaluan people's perspective on well-being, and how indicators in the TKII reflect and measure these perceptions. Finally, this section presents a suggested list of indicators that was drawn from the discussions that will help reflect and measure the Tuvaluan concept of well-being.

5.2.1 Reflecting the Tuvaluan Concept of Well-being on Te Kakeega II

Some of the participants agreed that their concept of well-being was reflected or partly reflected in the TKII. Below are some of the answers given:

...the Road Map well-being is clearly reflected and is an important part. (KI1M)

Yes I guess that was the focus and like I said there was nothing much on culture. The focus was of course on an economic basis like infrastructure, private sector development which was mostly economics. (KI2M)

Inside the TKII there are lots of things that link to well-being. (KI3M)

For those who disagreed, their main reason was that the TKII does not have a clear representation of the cultural and traditional aspects that are important to people.

I would not agree because there is not a lot of emphasis on the cultural aspects in the TKII. (KI2M)

In terms of education my definition of well-being does not seem to be reflected. (KI6F)

5.2.2 Importance of Indicators that reflects the Tuvaluan Concept of Well-Being

The participants were asked about their views on whether national planning should reflect indicators that are based on Tuvaluan perceptions of well-being. The findings indicate that all the participants believed it should.

In my opinion it is important and should be reflected, for example, the TKII and what is important, is the person, how they feel and how they think and their way of life. There is no point for us to have a national plan that does not really reflect the reality of how people live. The current indicators are too far out, and in my opinion is that they should really focus on people. (KI17F)

They are also aware that while well-being is reflected in national planning it is mainly focused on an economic concept of well-being yet does not reflect how they perceive well-being in the local context which includes culture and other values.

TKII seem to be focused on economic and income generation for economic purposes. (KI1M)

.... and like I said there was nothing much on culture in the TKII. (KI2M)

The focus was of course on an economic basis like infrastructure, private sector development which was mostly economics. (KI5M)

Other reasons perceived by participants for the lack of reflection on how Tuvaluans perceive well-being were due to aid donors and their influence. As Tuvalu is dependent on donor aid, they had to take into account requirements set by the donors. Even so, whether this meets the local needs of the people is not guaranteed. One such example is that of the MDG.

You may find that most of the indicators in the TKII are driven from outside. Most of the donor agencies were involved during the draft. (KI2M)

The public's perceptions and expectations and that of the state which is a macro view taken from concepts of developed countries. (KI10M)

They (TKII indicators) are imposed by the MDG but the thing is we also look good as part of the international community as well as the fact that we receive a lot of donor funding for doing it. However whether these actually answer the needs of our people or what is really happening is the question. (KI12M)

The study used a selected list of indicators and compared them with TKII and found that most of the objective measures of well-being are measured in Tuvalu however the subjective measures of well-being are not measured. When asked if these subjective measures are important indicators for national planning all of the participants from the Focus Group thought they are relevant yet voiced concern that there is a need for a more consolidated consultation in terms of which indicators on the list are relevant for Tuvalu.

5.2.3 Existing indicators

The current indicators in the TKII are, according to the respondents, very important to well-being, and some state that it reflects their Tuvaluan concept of well-being. However some say it does not reflect their concept of well-being. The participants were asked about their views regarding the indicators for the eight dimensions on the TKII which include economic, good governance, social development, Falekaupule and Outer Islands, private sector and employment, education and human resources, natural resources and infrastructure and support services.

Good Governance

While the participants were asked about good governance indicators in the TKII, almost half of the participants voiced their concern in terms of leadership practices by decision makers in government. There were situations where leaders abused power and KI17F highlights the misuse of power by leaders.

This other time the leader of our island community was admitted to the hospital and we had trainings on how to diagnose and treat patients and if the sickness is beyond our capacity then we consult the doctors in the main hospital at Funafuti. In my observation this person is not entitled for a referral to Funafuti. [...] the Secretary for the Kaupule came to see me because a high ranking government official called and asked what was my opinion and recommendation regarding the referral status of a patient who was sick ...I told him that the patient can wait for the normal run of the boat as there is no need to uplift him because he is ok [...] Anyway the boat came to pick him up regardless of my recommendations. (KI17F)

Other incidences are of a very sensitive nature which participants mentioned that involve leaders in island communities as well as politicians and high ranking officials in public sectors. It involves decisions that do not involve the principles of transparency, accountability and fairness.

Participants however also acknowledge the effort that government is making towards good governance whereby one of the indicators was to ensure that leaders are held accountable for their mistakes by appointing an ombudsman which was done this year.

I think it is good they have the leadership code...It's new and just installed this year like the office of the Ombudsman who was appointed last month. (KI9F)

I believe there is a lot of talk and workshops on the topic of good governance, also a UN declaration that was rectified by the government of Tuvalu on good governance. (KI5M)

Education and Human Resource

More than half of the participants agreed that current indicators do not reflect their Tuvaluan concept of well-being. They said that the education system "is too Westernized" especially with the curriculum that was developed with the perception "that everyone will be employed in a Westernized world so they can all become academics such as doctors, accountants, teachers, and so forth" (KI2M) without taking into consideration the still existing subsistence economy. This means that those "who are not able to continue on in the academic system are school drop outs so the options are very limited for them with the Maritime school or the TVET (KI5M)". KI7M and KI6F agreed with KI2M that education should also be about "sustainable living as not everyone will excel in the academic field". KI8MM phrased it clearly while he explained the reason why education curriculums ought to include traditional skills and values in classrooms.

The reason why I actually support to have the insertion of cultural skills and values in school is because when you come back with a degree you still have to learn to sew and fish because your pay is not enough to sustain you. You still have

to learn how to feed the pigs, to cut toddy and so forth...
(KI5M)

There is a need to measure the quality of teaching as there are very low passing rates in both public and private schools.

The past year the Seventh Day Adventist Primary School (SDA) has only three students out of 20 or more who passed class 8 compared to the Funafuti Primary School as they have more students who passed but the percentage is low.
(KI3M)

There are new programs that are being implemented by the government to improve the quality of teaching especially with the problem of students failing in English.

There is a scheme of having voluntary teachers from Fiji to upgrade areas that we are lacking or weak in, especially areas of English and Maths. These teachers are distributed to all the islands of Tuvalu to improve the gap. (KI3M)

A new system of education was to bring teachers from Fiji. This has shown great improvements because teachers follow up with children in school who do not attend school even for a day. English is one of the poor areas that children here in Tuvalu fail. It is a barrier. (KI9F)

Finally the issue raised that is important is that parents and teachers must work together to help resolve the issues regarding the performance of students in school and their attendance as these matters are an increasing problem.

Health

Almost all the participants agree that health indicators reflect their perception of well-being. There is improvement in health facilities for outer islands and while there has been an increase in awareness programs for primary health care has increased and government budget for specialized treatment has increased.

Clinics are the major areas of development for health for all the outer islands. Now only left is Nukulaelae and Nukufetau. There are awareness programs on health which explain that prevention is better than cure and the referral policy which is

being developed by the health to properly review referral cases. This year a budget of \$2million is allocated for referrals not only within Tuvalu but also to Fiji and India. This allocation is used up now we are using the supplementary until the end of the year. (KI1M)

There are health issues that participants KI3M, KI8MM and KI12M mentioned, which are critical, especially in terms of the quality of health services provided, which make people distrustful.

It is not just me but many people that I talk to are not very happy with the quality of services provided by doctors. For me I believe that the quality of health services needs to be improved especially the quality of doctors and nurses. (KI3M)

I think services (provided by the hospital or health) are not very good. I think their attendance to people is not very prompt especially the outpatient [...] I think there are not enough good doctors. (KI8M)

In the hospital doctors when we go to the hospital, if you have a stomach ache they give you Panadol or you have a toothache they give you Panadol. If there are medicines they tell us to use it and if I use it and it does not work to come back tomorrow, it is like they are testing the medicine thus I am not very trustful. (KI12M)

Another important issue raised by participants is the increasing number of referrals and lack of proper guideline for referral cases where favouritism becomes an issue.

We seem to have a large number of referrals. (KI1M)

Tuvalu has a lot of money that is spent on referral costs. (KI15F)

Sometimes families that are in the hospital who are supposed to be referred to Fiji are kept here until such time that they reached the dying stage then they are referred to Fiji. According to reports most of the patients were given the wrong medications. (KI3M)

Only one thing is the scheme (referral scheme) that is now being undertaken it is saddening now for Tuvalu like us, the majority of the people in Tuvalu are affected by favouritism

which happens to people who have relations to senior officials in hospital. (KI12M)

However in answer to the issue of referrals KI12M explained that “we lack medical doctors in specialized areas in terms of surgery and equipment for specialized treatment”.

Regarding indicators for primary health care and prevention, while participants agree that there have been effective awareness programs that have been implemented by health department, even then there are still increasing numbers of people getting sick which affects budget costs and according to KI9F it is due to the poor monitoring systems that are in place.

Even with great initiatives being provided still there is a high increase in people getting sick especially the increasing number of referrals which costs so much more for government. Even senior health staff persons are trying to stop the increase in people getting sick but the main thing the monitoring systems that are in place are not very good. (KI9F)

Falekaupule and Outer Islands

In the outer islands there are projects that are trying to revive traditional knowledge and skills, for example, the Nanumea and Nukulaelae Youth Project.

There is a current project in Nanumea which is canoe building to help youths learn how to build canoes. For without canoes Tuvaluan ways of fishing will be lost. (KI3M)

Another area of development is to improve housing from traditional materials to more modern materials.

There is a new housing project proposed for Nanumea. They will look at houses that have very poor standard of housing and provide modern housing. (KI3M)

There was a question raised by one of the participants about the type of economic development for outer islands in relation to the limitations that are encountered.

But in economic well-being terms all that we do is create projects for what purpose, build chicken coops, kitchens so that we have a healthy environment but people *still* do not have money at the end of the day. So in terms of economic well-being I am not sure what economic works in the outer islands because we can all be chicken farmers but who we are going to sell it to? Maybe take the chicken to exchange with the next one with coconuts. They should know we have a very small market base. (KI10M)

Private sector and Employment

Participants emphasised that government is doing its best to develop the private sector increasing the number of loans for entrepreneurs and self-employment

We are trying to inject money to the national bank which will enable the development of private sector to secure a loan, from which also includes the outer islands. (KI11M)

So we are trying to do something whereby our private sector will grow and actually consider the main source of employing people to work by means of self-employment or starting a business. (KI15M)

However there is a need for skilled people especially with the increasing number of school drop outs.

Natural Resources

Participants agree that environment indicators have more awareness of sustainable development and preservation of natural resources from the land to the sea, water conservation and storage as well as waste management. A lot of resources have been put into indicators relating to climate change

NAPA has contributed a lot in climate change, in terms of water, gardening, another one is in water security but gardening was done before like reviving plants that are being affected by climate especially pulaka that was affected by the salt water. (KI13M and KI16F)

Improvement in water storage and capacity has been one of the key aspects of development

Now we have a project from Japan which is building community water cisterns especially in Nanumea and Nukulaelae which is 25,012 meters. (KI1M)

There have been efforts made in the area of marine resource conservation as key indicators for sustainable development.

Each island now has its own conservation areas. On a wider scale such as the EEZ the FFA and PNA have some elements of control called the Vessel Day Scheme which is the number of fishing days each vessel is allowed which for Tuvalu is 1700 annually. There is also a 12 mile zone boundary between the EEZ and the main land which prohibits any vessel to fish in that area. Another control is the sea mount area that is prohibited to fish. (KI1M)

Waste management is an important part of well-being because it not only affects the environment it also people's health. Some participants believe that there has been a great improvement in waste management.

Waste is improved. Road side areas which had cars stacked on the side have been removed and the dumpsite at the end of the island have been cleared properly. (KI9F)

There is more awareness in preservation of resources:

...Now they are testing the real sense of preserving their resources. Say when we built a house we used to get the stones and gravels from our own resources but now we have to get these materials outside. (KI5M)

5.2.4 Suggested future indicators for well-being

Indicators of well-being were selected by the researcher using relevant global sources For example, United Nations (UN) Human Development Index (HDI) and OECD Quality of Life Indicators, New Zealand Social Well-being Indicators and from Vanuatu Alternative Well-being Indicators for Melanesia. The reason for using the HDI is because it is a global index that includes all states under the UN including Tuvalu, while the OECD's indicators are well recognized in the world and are used by many countries for comparison purposes. New Zealand was chosen because of its considerable influence in social development in the Pacific (and to a lesser extent, the world). It has very strong social policy measures and indicators which outline a Pacific 'lens' in regard

to well-being. Lastly the Vanuatu Alternative Indicators were selected because it is the only country in the Pacific that is measuring well-being subjectively and also has strong cultural values and beliefs

Research participants (focus groups and interviewees) were provided a list of indicators based on the mentioned references and asked to choose which are most relevant for Tuvalu, and also, if there are new indicators of their own, to list them. These indicators were presented in an A3 card form and participants went through it all and indicated that while the Vanuatu indicators correlate directly to their concept of well-being, indicators of HDI, OECD and NZ are also critically as important.

I believe they (list of indicators) are very important and relevant for us to measure the well-being of our people (KI1M)

At the end of the day these (indicators) are what we have at the back of our minds especially what our policy makers and decision makers want to see improved but whether we measure it or our work is specifically targeted into these areas I believe there will be mismatches. (KI2M)

There was a general consensus from all participants that the suggested indicators are very important and that it should be included in the TKII. However there should be more consultations with the people on what should be measured and how they should be measured.

There should be a special forum because we have certain cultural aspects which are different to what is currently on your list. (KI5M)

.... it would be good to identify the dimensions and indicators and also prioritize what we should measure. The good thing is the list is provided in order to take into account the limitations of our resources so we need to prioritize the areas so we can identify where our resources should be focused. (KI2M)

Table 11 shows the list of suggested indicators which are used by other countries to measure well-being which are also common in Tuvalu.

Table 11: Comments by participants on well-being indicators in existence selected from HDI, OECD, NZ and Vanuatu

Dimensions	Indicators	Measured by	Comments
Health	Life Expectancy	HDI,OECD,NZ, Vanuatu	1
	Suicide	NZ	1
	Cigarette smoking	NZ	1
	Obesity	NZ	1
	Alcohol Consumption	NZ	1
Education	Participation in tertiary education	NZ	1
	Education attainment of adult population (tertiary)	HDI, NZ	1
Environment	Air Pollution	NZ	2
Civic rights and governance	Representation of women in parliament	NZ	1

Notes: 1 = Continue measuring

2= Remove indicator

The participants all agree that the Human Development Index (HDI) was important as it is the global measure of well-being so Tuvalu is one of the many countries that are included in this measure. Yet, until recently data on Tuvalu was not updated so there is no current ranking of how Tuvalu is doing in the global situation. It is agreed by all participants that HDI indicators are critical for Tuvalu therefore it should be monitored and updated. Table 12 showed the new indicators based on the suggested list of indicators and there were a few measures that not all participants agreed to and required further discussion.

In terms of the OECD indicators, everyone agreed with the indicators except for the environment indicator of air pollution which participants believe is not applicable to Tuvalu's context as we do not have industries.

We are not even emitters so our percentage of emission from Tuvalu would be 0.00 something percentage, these are nothing compared to industrialized countries. (KI1M)

The other indicator is the health indicator in terms of self-reported health especially important is how one measures it. This would require a lot of work and how would it be carried out?

No it is good; I am thinking a step further like for 'self-reported health' how can we do that for 11,000 people (KI7M).

All of the participants seemed to lean more towards the dimensions of subjective well-being in measures of happiness, life satisfaction and stress. They believe that these indicators need to be measured because they are what every development aims for however with specific reference to the 'type of happiness that is defined' (KI16F). The participants also found the indicators from Vanuatu of particular interest because they seem to measure the various elements that relate to their concept of well-being.

Table 12: Suggested alternative well-being indicators for consideration in national planning (TKII)

Dimensions	Indicators	Measured by	Comments
Economic	Employee working very long hours	OECD	3
	Employment of mothers with children of compulsory school age	OECD	3
Health	Self-reported health	OECD	2
Civic Rights and Governance	Voter turnout	OECD, NZ, Vanuatu	1
	Consultation on rule making	OECD	1
	Perceived discrimination	NZ	1
	Perceived corruption	NZ	1
Social connectedness and cohesion	Contact with others	OECD	1
	Social network support	OECD	1
	Internet access in home	NZ	1
	Trust in others	NZ	1
Safety & Security	Self-reported victimization	OECD	1
	Intentional Homicide	OECD	1
Subjective Well-being	Life Satisfaction	NZ, Vanuatu	1
	Happiness	Vanuatu	1
	Stress	Vanuatu	1
Cultural Practice	Full access to traditional wealth	Vanuatu	1
	Literacy in traditional language	Vanuatu	1
	Traditional and knowledge and wisdom	Vanuatu	1
	Traditional production skills common and basic	Vanuatu	1
Access to Resources	Access to land	Vanuatu	1
	Access to marine resources	Vanuatu	1
	Access to forestry	Vanuatu	4

Continued from Table 12			
Dimensions	Indicators	Measured by	Comments
Community Vitality	Community meeting and supports	Vanuatu	1
	Trust and leadership of local leaders	Vanuatu	1
	Family vitality - strong family perceptions	Vanuatu	1
	Values	Vanuatu	1
Rural community well-being	Traditional leaders	Vanuatu	1
	Women leaders	Vanuatu	1
	Church leaders	Vanuatu	1
	Ceremonial Activity	Vanuatu	1

Notes: 1 = Important to be measured 2 = Appropriate method to measure 3 = Future consideration 4= Not Applicable

5.3 Findings C - Incorporating well-being indicators into national planning

Participants were posed the question as to how suggested indicators could best be incorporated into national development and planning taking into account the limited resources and funding. Table 13 presents the responses from participants on how indicators could be incorporated into the TKII.

Table 13: Ways to incorporate new well-being indicators into national planning

How to incorporate these indicators?	Agree		
	All	Some	Few
Consultation with Planning Department and relevant stakeholders	x		
Using the review of the TKII and MDG in 2015 to inject these indicators	x		
Mainstreamed into the relevant line ministries	x		
Using existing surveys to inject these indicators – Island Profile Survey, HIES		x	
Carry out a specific survey based on well-being indicators			x
Traditional form involving the local communities and leaders, capacity building	x		
Lobbying through ministries and the media			x

Consultations or Forum of discussion

Participants advised that it is important to have a consultation with stakeholders and in particular, especially with the Planning and Budgeting Department as key stakeholders:

We have people working in national planning so if they have such indicators that are given to them they could conduct some consultations with people to see which important indicators should be measured. From this process they could determine what the majority of people really want, we also have this saying “where the majority rules then that is the way to go”. (KI1M)

Actually this is something that has to be talked about in a workshop nationally so there is consensus and the recommendation is that it is important to develop this (indicators) into a nationwide planning program. And there should be participants at the workshop from the Planning

and Budgeting Department so they can consider including this as a priority nationwide. (KI5M)

Utilising traditional forms of consultation through the community and their leaders and capacity building

We should use the traditional way “failoa fakamaneapa” such as taking the issue to be discussed in the local community like making them aware of the changes that are taking place. For example, doing a presentation on data so that they can be more open minded from the perspective of the traditional practices to what is happening now. (K6 and FFG)

Review of the TKII and MDG

Participants think that the best way to incorporate such indicators was through the upcoming review of the TKII and the MDG which will be in 2015 as that is when it reaches its end of life.

It should be included in the TKII review (KI1M)

Do you know why this research is really good? It is because the TKII is being wrapped up so if your research completes and the government takes up your findings at least someone really spent time to come up with these indicators. The good thing is the list is provided in order to take into account the limitations of our resources so we need to prioritize the areas so we can identify where our resources should be focused. (KI2M)

I think due to the fact the TKII is going to have its end of life soon and if we are going to formulate the next TKII, that is the only way to inject these indicators. (KI3M)

Mainstreaming into line ministries

According to the responses there are various sectors and categories for these indicators, thus it is not a difficult task to incorporate them into their relevant areas of concern.

I think it is easy to incorporate them because we have various sectors, such as, the social sector so we can classify

them according to their proper sectors. Once it is allocated to each sector we can redefine the objectives. All these indicators can be classified properly because it has their various dimensions allocated for it, culture, Falekaupule, economic, and so forth. For example, skills and knowledge can go under education. (KI6F)

It's best if communities, their capacity are built so they are able to review their daily, weekly or monthly consumption in resources, so from there you can build a database. Education and training as the way forward so households can reveal their consumption rate in resources and their income. (KI11M)

Using existing surveys

Regarding how the indicators of well-being can be included in national surveys which need to be monitored and measured in order to provide information on people's well-being, the responses included: Census – The majority of the participants agreed that the indicators finalized during the consultation process should be integrated into the Census. However some believed that in regard to some of the indicators, especially those relating to social issues, they need to be monitored on a more frequent basis and thus preferred using the Island Profile Survey

Island Profile Survey –The IPS is a household survey that is used by the island Kaupule to collect data on relevant indicators for its planning purposes. This survey is supposed to be conducted yearly for each island by the Island Kaupule and the profile compiled should be compiled on the third year before the end of the Kaupule Plan term is up, yearly or 3 yearly. Using this survey provides the best method of keeping track of well-being indicators because it is conducted regularly and is incorporated as costs in the Kaupule budget once approved.

HIES – There were only a few who believed it is a good idea to incorporate these results into the HIES; a majority of the participants think it is irrelevant because the HIES is mainly for economic purpose and these are more in terms of social context which are more in-depth and qualitative.

Well-being survey – While most people think it is better to have a survey that specifically focuses on well-being indicators of this nature, they all agree that it also involves resources and costs beyond normal budgets. In addition, the monitoring process and sustainability are in question.

5.4 Summary

The findings from the survey indicate that well-being is an important concept which has not been clearly highlighted in national planning such as the TKII. It is considered important that it be defined based on Tuvaluan context because it ensures that it reflects Tuvaluan people's values and perceptions of life. Importantly participants agreed that subjective well-being indicators (NZ Social Well-being, OECD) and culturally based indicators such as the Alternative Indicators of Vanuatu are important although there is a need for a participatory national planning because they clearly portray how Tuvaluan people live however a participatory effort to ensure that it is accurate is still very important. The global indicators including the OECD, HDI, and the New Zealand Social Well-being Indicator where most of them have been incorporated into Tuvalu's plan should be maintained and monitored. In terms of the TKII some people believe that indicators on greenhouse emissions should be omitted because Tuvalu is not an emitter.

The incorporation of these into the TKII the findings indicate that the responses were very positive on using the review of the TKII and the MDG in 2015 as the platform table for the Tuvaluan concept of well-being and influence planners to consider the importance of indicators that measure people's perceptions. There are other avenues that were agreed on such as mainstreaming them into relevant sectors, policies and advocating from a community level.

Chapter 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter is divided into sections: the first section discusses the findings based on the responses from the participants and answers the questions posed by the research. The second section concludes the study with recommendations for further research in areas related to this topic in the future.

6.1 Discussion

Three of the major themes that emerged in this exploratory study regarding the concept of well-being for Tuvaluans are discussed here. First, participants' perceptions in terms of the meaning of well-being, second their views regarding the development challenges which are emerging in Tuvalu today and which have the potential to affect people's well-being and third, the idea that peoples' agreement regarding the values, practices and aspirations which underpin the Tuvaluan concept of well-being should be taken into account in terms of national planning.

6.1.1 Conceptualising the Tuvaluan concept of well-being

The term well-being is a Western term that was not easily translated into the Tuvaluan language. However the overarching study finding was that Tuvaluans have their own concept of well-being that is not new. This is affirmed in the Tuvaluan language in terms such as *olaga tokagamalie* and *olaga lei*. Second that the Tuvaluan concept differed in a number of ways from those outlined in global mandates and reports because they are grounded in the Tuvaluan worldview and in the context of the Tuvaluan traditional knowledge and practice. In sum, the Tuvaluan concept gives priority to people, to cultural and spiritual values and beliefs, and family and community as representing the most important factors that are central to well-being.

This finding is in line with those from other collective cultures in the Pacific, and, with those outlined in the Vanuatu Report (2012). This finding emphasises and reinforces the necessity for the conceptual frameworks used in discussions and planning to be culturally appropriate and fitting in terms of the Tuvaluan society and context.

Findings signify the importance of having the Tuvaluan concept of well-being reflected in national planning. Participants agreed that well-being for national development in Tuvalu is not a local concept rather it was adopted from a Western perspective as it is not grounded in the Tuvaluan worldview and in the context of Tuvaluan traditional knowledge, customs and practices, spiritual and cultural values and beliefs, family and island community.

The study findings also support those of Sen (1987, 1992, 1999) the WeD Research Group (2007), Gough (2004) and more particularly those of the Vanuatu Alternative Indicators for Melanesia study (2012). The Vanuatu study emphasised the importance of looking at well-being from a local context as global concepts of well-being do not reflect the realities of life in developing countries and collective cultures perceptions of well-being or what makes for a good life. The study expanded Tufoua Panapa's very valuable work which identified the health focused concept of well-being, to reflect a more holistic approach.

First it is important to note that there were six Tuvaluan terms that participants discussed to define well-being – *olaga tokagamalie* (secured living), *ola lei saukatoa* (overall good life), *ola lei (good life)*, *nofo lei* (staying well) *olaga lei* (living well) and *te kau fai mamaafa* (traditionally wealthy people). The word *ola lei* (good life) was used by Panapa (2012) in his study to define well-being, and the study participants were of the view that the definition specifically refers to health and did not capture the fullest nature of their concept of well-being. The most commonly accepted term for the study participants was *olaga tokagamalie* and *olaga lei*.

Olaga tokagamalie when translated '*olaga*' means 'living' and '*tokagamalie*' means safe or secure and it is important to note that the word *tokagamalie* when separated '*tokaga*' means being prepared and '*malie*' means well settled. Thus *olaga tokagamalie* then refers to a state of being where families and communities live in a society that makes them feel secured and are prepared in any circumstances. '*Olagalei*' on the other hand refers to living well. According to participants *olaga lei* is to live a meaningful life – in most Tuvaluan cases this equates to a simple life wherein

people are able to have access to resources and utilise them to satisfy their basic needs and wants and maintain good relationships that make them happy and satisfied. Although they both have a different meaning they are very important in terms of the concept of well-being. *Olaga tokagamalie* is mainly about securing and preparing people for that good life while *olaga lei* is what is meaningful to people in life. This includes how they are able to utilise what is available to them that enables them to meet their needs, to keep them happy and satisfied and feeling life is worthwhile.

Participants are well aware of their constraints in terms of resources, sustainability and vulnerability to natural disasters. The importance of *tokagamalie* or being secured or prepared derives from the life long struggle of Tuvaluans in terms of having to live within their means and capabilities. Therefore in terms of referring to *tokagamalie*, people meant – their sense of security which is embedded in their lands, family, traditional knowledge and skills, cultural values and spiritual life. These are the most important elements that offer them security and help them to cope with their vulnerable situations.

These elements, which are recognized by Tuvaluan scholars ((Lusama, 2004; Pape, 1983; Samuelu, 1983; Talia, 2009; Telito, 1982) were affirmed by participants of the study who signified their importance related to the Tuvaluan concept of well-being. The land was considered by both scholars and participants to be the life source for Tuvaluans. This is because for people, it provides for their basic needs and it has an influence in terms of traditional status, it creates a sense of belonging and brings feelings of security for their future and for the future of their children and their children's children. Without lands people experience hardship (as seen in the case of those now living in Funafuti, they cannot grow foods for their own use or for sale or exchange) and they feel vulnerable. The second element of family refers to the extended family systems. The family is the foundation of Tuvaluan society. It provides the support mechanism – the love, security and belonging – that brings meaning to life, protects and shelters people from the worst effects development can bring and enables Tuvaluans to cope when they are faced with hardships. In addition, people use their traditional knowledge to ensure their basic needs are met and to survive independently while at the same time conserving resources accordingly taking account

of the future needs. In sum, the cultural norms and values of reciprocal relationships, respect, love and honour provide Tuvaluans with the resilience that ensures people are able to cope with any situation. It unites their communal spirit and helps maintain harmony and peace within Tuvaluan communities. Spiritual life provides people with faith and hope. Having their strong faith helps people feel secure in that God will take care of them no matter what. These elements provide Tuvaluans with a sense of security and enable them to be prepared at all times.

Despite the endurance of the customary ways, the current status of Tuvalu indicates that their sense of security and the ways which people prepare themselves are slowly being affected. Changes taking place such as the cash economy, education, and the influence of IT connecting to the global world of ideas, is steadily having an influence and an impact on the Tuvaluan people's way of life and sources of well-being. Other forces outside of their control such as the rapid changes in climatic conditions also contribute to the insecurities they face in addition to urbanization. All of these represent key challenges that are discussed below.

6.1.2 Emerging challenges to well-being

The findings highlight an understanding of the impact of traditional and modern lifestyles in terms of their affect on the concept of well-being today. Tuvaluan culture centred around the family was a very important example as over 80% of lands are customary lands, almost 100% speak Tuvaluan, and 60% of people still utilise their traditional skills and knowledge. These beliefs and practices were strong in both urban and rural areas. At the same time, people are very aware of the influence of changing times.

Traditional vs. Modern lifestyle

In traditional lifestyle lands, family, traditional knowledge and skills, cultural and spiritual values and beliefs have been very important in terms of well-being however their importance was weakening with the introduction of the modern lifestyle including education, technology, travel and the cash economy. While land was still important as in, the traditional lifestyle, this holds less significance in a cash-driven economy. For example, in terms of the traditional way of life, land represents life

(meets basic needs, status in society, earns respect, identity). Today, people who do not have lands can earn cash to provide for their food, and shelter needs. They do not have to rely on natural resources as other alternatives are available for them. In addition, education and employment influence one's status and respect.

Some believed traditional knowledge and skills were being replaced by Western educational systems. In addition that Western education would most likely be the key to Tuvalu's future survival particularly with respect to the climatic conditions the country was facing so that people depended heavily on learning Western knowledge and skills to cope with this. For example, rapid changes in climate and extreme weather conditions (rising sea level and increasing natural disasters) are issues that Tuvaluans cannot control, and it affects how people sustain themselves, their way of life and their sense of independence. This is evident, as the study was at its concluding stages, the recent disaster of Cyclone PAM in the Pacific (March 2015) region by which Tuvalu's *tokagamalie* was greatly affected. Thus although Western knowledge has become important, participants recognised the interplay of Western and traditional knowledge as an evolving process. They stressed that current education systems ought to acknowledge the importance of traditional knowledge and skills which are vital for the well-being of Tuvaluans.

The study found that as traditional practices adopt the use of cash contribution this has created a burden which was in some cases is hindering peoples' sense of well-being. For example, today church and other obligations may require a monetary value. This becomes a burden when the demands may be high however the ability for people to meet them is very low. The cash economy has also created inequality because not everyone has a job, or access to cash. The Poverty report from the HIES(2011a) and the MDG(2011b) highlights the increasing disparity of income between people, as contrasted with the past, while under our traditional lifestyle, everyone had the ability to contribute. Participants emphasized the need to ensure that the 'traditional practices' take into consideration people's livelihood in a cash driven economy. They stressed that Tuvalu's gift giving culture is being affected as the burden falls mainly on income earners.

In terms of the well-being of youth this is another emerging challenge of great importance. Reports on youth and young adults from the ages of 15 to 34 as supported by the findings in the study emphasized that the increasing youth unemployment, youth dependents, and youths involved in activities and social habits are having an increasingly negative effect on Tuvaluan families and communities. For example, participants stated that youth who are not in school or have limited job opportunities are not occupied in an apprentice program are now idle so because they have little purpose or few goals some have become involved in binge drinking. This is in contrast to the value of youths in traditional Tuvaluan communities who were considered the strong arm / backbone of the community as they were the key implementers of decisions mentored by elders. As the drive for economic development replaces our traditional way of life youths are left with very little avenue to be implementers. Development is to drive individuals to employment and education systems are tailored for the outside market economy or white collar jobs with few opportunities for youths to be innovative locally. While they possess traditional knowledge and skills they do not always have the skills or the guidance to integrate them into marketable trades that enable them to be productive young men and women within Tuvalu itself, in a changing economy.

The findings indicate that there is growing concern especially considering the increasing burden involved with extended families, in a cash economy. Unlike traditional lifestyle where everyone had a means of contributing and through this shared responsibility each person including young people helped out was motivated to improve the community. This made a difference to the well-being of the family as well as the community. However, as the modern lifestyle calls for only a few people in the family to carry the responsibility this impacts well-being so we are seeing the influence of “those who have and those who have not” in terms of *functionings* and capabilities.

These challenges and issues mentioned above between our traditional and the modern way of life indicate that the main source of *olaga tokagamalie* and *olaga lei* are being greatly challenged and people are still finding ways to adapt to modern

lifestyles. However as development has imposed economically focused ideals and disregarded the strength and importance of what holds traditional Tuvaluan society together has added to the difficulty in how people integrate in both worlds. This is seen by how the education systems are structured and the way the national planning are prioritized. In order to ensure that the Tuvaluan concept of well-being is recognized there has to be a balance between our modern lifestyle and our traditional one. Tuvalu is still a semi-subsistence economy hence it is relevant to ensure that this is clearly outlined and acknowledged.

Urban and Rural concepts of well-being

The findings reflect Gibson (2003), Parnelli and Tipa's (Parnelli & Tipa, 2007) emphasis of understanding well-being from a place-based perspective which reflects if it is to summon and reunite the cultural values and beliefs that are important to our people. This was emphasized by the collective cultures emphasis on the place-based understanding of well-being as can be seen by Aboriginal and Maori and other Pacific Islands. People in urban and rural areas have different perceptions in terms of what contributes to their well-being. The participants indicate that elements that contribute to people's well-being are lands, family, good health, traditional norms and values, spirituality, income, education and employment however how important they are differ depending upon whether people and families reside in an urban or in a rural area.

For rural people, land, cultural values, spiritual life and traditional practices are considered more important than income and material wealth. People only view income and material wealth as a means to improving their living standards because they are already able to meet their basic needs. With limited opportunity for employment in the Outer Islands people are dependent on their lands and sea resources to survive. Meanwhile cultural values and spiritual beliefs enable them to live in peace and harmony with each other. While traditional knowledge and skills are important to surviving in the rural areas, the opportunity to get a Western education is an added bonus as it helps one to earn income apart from relying on our traditional way of life.

However for those urban dwellers income is the most important to well-being due to the cash economy that is now occurring in people's life that enables people to meet their basic needs and sustain themselves. Although land has become important in terms of the monetary value of the income it brings it is not as highly valued as in the rural areas as the main source of food. Education is highly regarded as important because employment is tailored for it as opposed to traditional skills and knowledge. It is considered more important especially when one does not have lands in urban areas. Education helps one to get a better income thereby allowing them to live a decent life without the need for lands.

Whereas both regard family, health, spirituality and traditional norms and values as important elements to people's well-being, family is the foundation of Tuvaluan society and our main support system however the structure of family differs in that in rural areas extended families are important while in urban areas our nuclear family is what people rely upon as it reduces the economic burden and the limited resources that they have access to. Having good health is just as important because this enables people to be productive and have a good life while traditional norms and values are the guiding principles that enable good relationships, peace and harmony among all people in the community. Spirituality gives people hope and meaning in life.

6.1.3 A Tuvaluan Concept of Well-being in national development and planning

The study confirmed that our Tuvaluan concept of well-being has not been reflected in the national development plan or the global indicators. Instead the concept used in national planning was a global or Western one. The participants stated that the TKII was focused on the economic concept of well-being from a Western perspective and one of the reasons highlighted was Tuvalu's dependence on donor aid. It supported the argument that donor and global partners have a great influence in the way development is shaped in developing countries.

The findings also indicate that the indicators of the TKII were not holistic but were economically grounded. The indicators did not take account of other aspects which impact on peoples' quality of life. For well-being indicators to be holistic Le Roy et.al (2015) stated that these should incorporate both qualitative (subjective) and

quantitative (objective) indicators. Le Roy and colleagues support this by referring to the new economic paradigm that emphasizes the importance of employing both objective and subjective indicators to measure well-being. A critique of Tuvalu's TKII highlights that these focus on only one aspect of measurement which is objective (example, the improvement of services, accessibility, infrastructure and equality). However, the welfare and quality of life of our people is not taken account of. The lack of priority to people-focused indicators (such as life-satisfaction, happiness, family and community vitality, and so forth) was affirmed by participants who stressed the importance of also including subjective indicators for any and all future planning for Tuvalu so as to ensure that our development encompasses everyone in the community.

Drawing on this, this study has developed a suggested list of indicators based on the views of the study participants. These represent a baseline and open the space for further debate and discussion. The indicators include subjective components that measure people's happiness, life satisfaction, cultural values and beliefs, and family and community vitality. Participants agreed that the AIWBM indicators for Vanuatu provided a framework that could be used to reflect Tuvalu's concept of well-being in national planning terms. As Tuvalu has adopted global indicators in its plan most of the OECD Quality of Life Indicators, Human Development Index and Social Well-being Indicators of New Zealand have been measured are still considered relevant and important by participants to be monitored as they also reflect well-being.

While it is important that the study established a Tuvaluan concept of well-being and develop indicators that reflect this concept it would be useless if this was only on paper. To ensure that these findings are put to practical use the study has further proposed ways to incorporate these indicators into national planning. The participants suggested that there are avenues by which these findings can be incorporated into national planning. One of them includes a review of the TKII and MDG, a consultative forum in which suggested indicators can be tabled for discussion. Second that it would be valuable for these research findings to be presented at a public forum for further discussion. Thirdly, using in-line ministries to mainstream, through data collection

platforms or policy development and planning and lastly to ensure the research is available to scholars and policy makers.

6.2 Conclusion

The main aim of the thesis has been to explore the views of Tuvaluans regarding their perceptions of well-being from the local context perspective and how their concept of well-being has been reflected in terms of national development planning specifically Te Kakeega II.

This thesis has employed a qualitative approach that is exploratory and incorporated a Pacific methodology and framework which has been culturally appropriate to Tuvalu's context. The phenomenological approach and the Pacific research methodology ensured that the researcher considered participants' perspectives from a Tuvaluan worldview. Although the sample was quite small, the range of participants by factors such as rural and urban and by gender and age ensured a full range of views was collected. There is room for further research that can test out the findings to encompass, for example, a wider scope such as the inclusion of Tuvalu's diaspora communities abroad or other groups of people within Tuvalu.

The study emphasised and reinforced the importance of exploring the concept of well-being employing the 'local language' (or mother tongue) of the people. For example, speaking the local language helped facilitate discussions, and assisted to bring out the added nuances in terms of the meaning related to the concept. As has been noted, the Tuvaluan concept of well-being was defined as *olaga tokagamalie* and *olaga lei*. These two terms have different meanings in that *olaga tokagamalie* refers to being secured, safe and being prepared for any circumstances while *olaga lei* refers to the utilisation of resources that not only meets their needs and wants of people it also makes them feel happy and satisfied. When people refer to *olaga tokagamalie* they mean lands, family and community vitality, traditional practices, cultural and spiritual values and beliefs. As they secure these elements then comes the ability of utilising resources and integrating new changes that come into their lives that enable them to meet their needs and wants, and help them feel happy and satisfied. Thus *olaga lei* is where people are able to live a fulfilling life that does not compromise their

tokagamalie - cultural values and beliefs, where they feel respected and loved, have a strong family foundation and community, have the freedom to be who they want to be in life this makes them feel satisfied and happy.

Study findings reinforced that balancing the traditional and modern ways of life is very important to people's well-being. Tuvaluans are very aware of how today's modern lifestyle has affected their traditional way of life and the positive and negative effects that the changes are bringing. They are not opposed to change because they understand that it is inevitable and there are many things over which they have little control. The issues regarding how to balance the traditional ways of life with the changing times in a way which will enhance people's *olaga tokagamalie and olaga lei* is the challenge and in terms of future study this aspect warrants it.

Finally study findings discussed that national planning should take into consideration the importance of culture and the strength of our informal social systems in society. Furthermore, social issues in Tuvaluan communities deserve to be given equal prominence and priority because addressing these properly will be beneficial and if these are not addressed properly it will be costly to government and also to the well-being of Tuvaluan society. The well-being of society depends on the informal support systems of family and island communities. Currently already society has to cope with the increasing environmental issues that the country will be faced with. And to be able to do that responsibly it needs to be understood from the perspective of the people and current measures and indicators in planning only present a partial reality of what people are facing not the whole picture.

Thus this study presents a baseline in terms of an alternative approach that could be incorporated to current national planning without trying to contradict other important strategic policies and issues that the TKII has in place. The research also acknowledges the work that the TKII has put in place and the progress it has made to date. It shows that Tuvalu is very resilient and given its limitations in so many areas it has found ways to meet the challenges and still be able to provide its people with key basic services that many developing countries around the world are struggling to fulfil. Nevertheless, there is still much work we have to undertake as a people to ensure everyone in the

country has the opportunity to experience well-being individually, and in their family and extended family.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval



AUTEC
SECRETARIAT

24 June 2014

Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Peggy

Re Ethics Application: **14/158 Tuvaluan concept of wellbeing**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 23 June 2017.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 23 June 2017;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 23 June 2017 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K O'Connor'.

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Bateteba Aselu vrk1186@aut.co.nz; fabe76@gmail.com; Charles Crothers

A u c k l a n d U n i v e r s i t y o f T e c h n o l o g y E t h i c s C o m m i t t e e

WA505F Level 5 WA Building City Campus

Private Bag 92006 Auckland 1142 Ph: +64-9-921-9999 ext 8316 email ethics@aut.ac.nz

Appendix 2: Letter seeking permission to undertake research in Tuvalu



8th July 2014

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
Government of Tuvalu,
Government Building,
Vaiaku, Funafuti,
Tuvalu.
Phone: (688) 20175

RE: SEEKING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH UNDER THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Talofa Mr. Iete Avantele,

My name is Bateteba Aselu. As you may be aware I am employed by the Department of Community Affairs under the Ministry of Home Affairs and will resume my normal duties once I have completed my studies in early 2015 (March). Presently, I am a Masters student at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT), New Zealand. This letter is to inform you of my research project I am undertaking in Tuvalu for my Masters programme and to request your support as I would like to work with Departments under your Ministry especially the Department of Rural Development and Department of Community Affairs.

The title of my research is **“Tuvaluan Concept of Wellbeing” with specific focus in development planning and public policy**. This research has been approved by the AUTECH Ethics Committee with the understanding that the field work and data collection will be carried out in Tuvalu. The field work will include participatory research using focus groups and interviews with key participants on Funafuti and one of the Outer Islands. The Outer Island participants will depend on boat schedules and approval from the designated Island Kaupule which is yet to be decided. This research will be conducted under the supervision of **Tagaloatele Professor Peggy Fairburn** of the Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand and **Professor Charles Crothers**.

I will be arriving on the 22nd of July and aim to carry out my fieldwork until the 30th of August, 2014. Both the Department of Rural Development and the Department of Community Affairs are important for my research as this is the central point for accessing information and coordinating participants in the outer islands.

To help you consider my application I have provided you with a copy of my INFORMATION SHEET, CONSENT FORMS and AUTECH approval which include copies of the measure and consent and assent forms to be used in

Pepa Talia

Sautalaga



Mataupu ote Sukesukega: *Iloiloga faka Tuvalu kite pati "Wellbeing"*

(A Tuvaluan Concept of Wellbeing)

Ofisa fakatonutonu kite sukesukega: Professor Peggy Dunlop Fairburn

Professor Charles Crothers

Tino fai sukesukega:

Bateteba Aselu

☐ Ko oti ne faitau kae malamala fakalei I fakamatala ne tuku mai e uiga mote sukesukega kite polotieki I loto te Pepa Fakamatala tena ite po: _____

I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated _____

☐ Ko oti ne maua te avanoaga ke sili a fesili mo olotou tali.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

☐ Au e malamala me e isi ne tusitusiga e fai ite taimi e sautala lei.

I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

☐ Au malamala me e mafai o se kau au io kae tapale fakamatalaga kona e fai ne au I sose taimi koi tuai o toka te lipoti kae se fakalavelave e pokotia iei au.

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

☐ Kafai au se kau, au e malamala me fakamatalaga katoa ne fai ne aku ka fakaseai katoa.

If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

☐ Au e fiafia ke kau ite sukesukega tenei.

I agree to take part in this research.

☐ Au e manako ke maua saku lipoti mai te sukesukega: Ao: ☐ Ikai: ☐

I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes: ☐ No: ☐

Tino e Kau :

Sainaga:.....

Igoa (optional)

Sokotakiga (if appropriate):

Po fai:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 24th June 2014 AUTEC Reference number 14/158

Fesili: Tino e kau e tau o isi se ana tusi ote Papa Talia.

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

13 April 2015

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Pepa Talia

Fakasautalaga fakapito mai fakapotopotoga

Mataupu ote Sukesukega: *Iloiloga faka Tuvalu kite pati "Wellbeing"*

(A Tuvaluan Concept of Wellbeing)

Ofisa fakatonutonu kite sukesukega: Professor Peggy Dunlop Fairburn

Professor Charles Crothers

Tino fai sukesukega:

Batetea Aselu

☐ Ko oti ne faitau kae malamala fakalei l fakamatala ne tuku mai e uiga mote sukesukega kite polotieki l loto te Pepa Fakamatala tena ite po: _____

I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated _____

☐ Ko oti ne maua te avanoaga ke sili a fesili mo olotou tali.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

☐ Au e malamala me e isi ne tusitusiga e fai ite taimi e sautala iei.

I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

☐ Au malamala me e mafai o se kau au io kae tapale fakamatalaga kona e fai ne au l sose taimi koi tuai o toka te lipoti kae se fakalavelave e pokotia iei au.

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

☐ Kafai au se kau, au e malamala me fakamatalaga katoa ne fai ne aku ka fakaseai katoa.

If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

☐ Au e fialia ke kau ite sukesukega tenei.

I agree to take part in this research.

☐ Au e manako ke maua saku lipoti mai te sukesukega: Ao: ☐ Ikai: ☐

I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes: ☐ No: ☐

Tino e Kau :

Sainaga:.....

Igoa (optional)

Sokotakiga (if appropriate):

Po fai:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 24th June 2014 AUTC Reference number 14/158

Fesili: Tino e kau e tau o isi se ana tusi ote Papa Talia.

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Tino e Kau Pepa Fakamatala



Aso e maua te fakamatalaga tenei

Igoa ote Polotieki

ILOILOGA faka TUVALU kite pati tenei "Wellbeing" (A TUVALUAN CONCEPT OF WELLBEING)

Kamiga

Talofa. Toku igoa ko Bateteba Aselu. Au ne galue muamua ite Matagaluega e Onoono kite Nofolei O Tino (Department of Community Affairs) mai lalo te Ministuli o Malo Fenua. Taku galuega kote sukesuke a mataupu e fano tonu kite nofo lei o tino (Researcher). Ite vaitau nei au e fai taku pepa maluga (Master of Arts in Social Science Studies) ite akoga maluga i Aukilani, Niusila (Auckland University of Technology).

Sea te pogai tonu ote sukesukega?

Te pogai ote sukesukega tenei ke mafai o sala se kiloga kite pati tenei "Wellbeing" tena e fano tonu mote nofonofoga o tino Tuvalu. Te fakamoemoega mai te sukesukega tenei ke fesoasoani kite fakaasiga o palani atiake ote atufenua. Kilokiloga kite pati "Wellbeing" e fakaoga saale I fuafuaga faka -te -atufenua (National Policy) mo palani mo aofaga (Strategic Plan) kae siki ai se sautalaga lei mo tino ke fakamatala pefea ne tino Tuvalu te nofonofoga fakatuvalu kae nea mea taua kola fakavae kiei te nofonofoga fakaTuvalu. I Tuvalu e masani o fakaoga ne tatou te pati tenei "ola Lei" ke fakamatala kiei "wellbeing" ako te fakamatalaga tenei se puke katoa ne ia te uiga tonu ote pati tenei "Wellbeing".

For my research, I am exploring the concept of wellbeing in Tuvalu. Aims are that findings will help in developing key wellbeing indicators that can be taken into account in national planning. While the concept of wellbeing has been used frequently in national policies and strategic planning there has been no public discussion about how Tuvaluans define wellbeing and what are the key elements that it constitutes of for Tuvalu. In Tuvalu we often use the term "Ola lei" to describe wellbeing but it does not capture the full meaning of wellbeing.

Mai taku taulotoga tenei e manako au o fai se fakasautalaga mo tino kola e galue kae fai aofaga I loto o sose fakapotopotoga. A tino ne filigina ko tino e panaki mo palani ote atufenua, tino galue I luga I sose fakapotopotoga, talavou, fafine, me kote fenua mai luga I Funafuti mo fenua I tua atu o Funafuti. E sefulu a tino e fakasautala ne aku kae e lua potukau e fai se fakasautalaga fakapito mai te fakapotopotoga. Konei e fesili e manakogina ke sili:

For my study I would like to carry out interviews (10) and focus groups (2 groups) with a range of decision makers for example national planners, community, youths and women and both Funafuti and one Outer Island subject to boat schedule. The main questions I will ask are:

1. Sea te fakamatalaga faka Tuvalu kite pati tenei "Wellbeing"? *(What constitutes wellbeing in the Tuvaluan context?)*
2. Nea fakaasiga e mafai o fakaoga ke fua kiei te fakamatalaga tenei e maua mai te pati "Wellbeing"? *(What are the key indicators that can be used to measure wellbeing?)*
3. E fakaoga pefea a fakasiaga konei I luga i Palani? *(How can these indicators be used in planning?)*

Ne iloa pefea au kae kaia foki ne filigina aku ke kau ite sukesukega tenei? *How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?*

Ko koe ne filigina ona ko tou tulaga ite faitu tau kite mafaufau, atamai mote iloa i palanai faka fenua mo fakapotopotoga.

You have been asked to participate because of your interest, experience and knowledge of national and community based planning.

Koe se faimalo ke talia ke kau kite sautalaga. Kafai se manako koe o kau e saoloto loa koe ma tapale tou igoa. Kae taua fua ke fakafonu ne koe te Pepa Talia tela e avatu mai mua ote sukesukega io me ko titigamanatu i fakapotopotoga. Te pepa tenei e puipui ei ne ia ou manatu totino kola ma fai e fakaoga ne au i loto i taku sukesukega tenei.

You are not obliged to agree to an interview or participate in group discussions session. If you feel the need to withdraw from the research at any time you are free to do so without question. You will be obligated to fill a Consent Form before the interview or participating in focus group discussions. This provides protection for you whereby your personal views are kept confidential but also giving me permission to use your views and opinions in this research.

Nia la mea e fai ite sukesukega tenei? *(What will happen in this research?)*

Te fakasautalaga tenei e fakatautau ke oti iloto te tasi mote afa itula me kote lua itula. Te taimi e fait e sautalaga tenei e tuku kite avanoaga tena e fakatonu mai ne te Kaupule pela foki mote koga e fai iei te sautalaga.

If you agree to be interviewed as a key informant or to participate in one of the focus groups this would take up to one and half hour interview which would be conducted at a time and place of your convenience.

E fia fakailoa atu me te sautalaga tenei e fakaoga mea puke leo (digital recorder) ke mafai o maua fakalei a fakamatalaga mai tino kona e kau kite sukesukega tenei. Fakamatalaga konei ne puke e toe fai se tusitusiga ke mafai o puke mai fakalei a pati mai luga ite sautalaga tenei. Te otiga ote tusitusiga e fakafoki kia koe ke fai se iloiloa kiei ke mafai o se fakasee ne aku au pati ne fai maise kote uiga o pati.

The interviews and discussions will be digitally recorded so that conversations could be fully captured to ensure that there is no misinterpretation of dialogue. The conversations will be transcribed and returned to you for approval to ensure that meanings and words are not misinterpreted.

Nia la fakalavelave io me fakamatukga mai luga te sukesukega? *(What are the discomforts and risks?)*

Seai se fakalavelave io me fakamatakuga e fakafeagai mo tino kola e kau kite sukesukega tenei me te mataupu tenei e fia maina kite me sea te kilokiloga io me kote malamala e uiga mote nofo lei o tino Tuvalu

The nature of the research poses no discomfort or risk to anyone as it is a topic that looks at understanding Tuvaluan perceptions on quality of life.

E fai pefea ke seai se fakalavelave io me fakamatakuga e oko ki tino e kau kite sukesukega tenei. *How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?*

Tino e kau kite sukesukega e pule loa me nea la fakamatalaga a latou e fia fakaasi mote tino fai sukesukega.

As a participant you have the right to disclose any information that you feel is relevant and that you are comfortable in sharing with the researcher.

Sea te aoga ote sukesukega tenei? *What are the benefits?*

Te sukesukega tenei e fesoasoani kite mauaga ote pepa maluga ote tino fai sukesukega. Maise iei ko fakaasiga kola maua e fesoasoani kite faiga o palani atiake ote atufenua. Fakamatalaga konei e mafai o fakaoga kite toe asiga ote Millenium Development Goals, National Strategic and Sustainable Development Plan – Te Kakeega II mote Social Development Policy tenei e fakatautau ke fakatoka ite tausaga 2015 /2016.

Apart from receiving a qualification for Masters the findings of the research will help in developing key wellbeing indicators that can be used in national planning. It will also provide useful information that can be used in upcoming reviews of the Millenium Development Goals, National Strategic and Sustainable Development Plan – Te Kakeega II and the Social Development Policy which will be carried out in 2015 or 2016.

E puipui pefea toku tulaga totino? *How will my privacy be protected?*

A fakamatalaga kola ne maua e fakoga fua kite sukesukega tenei ke ologa tasi mote lipoti fakapito. Fakamalaga mai tino tokotasi e se mafai ke iloa ne sose tino I tafa o te tino fai sukesukega mo ona ofisa tokolua. A sukesukega mo fakasautalaga katoa ne maua ke oko kite pukega leo ka fakaseai iloto ite lima tausaga mafai ko talia te lipoti ote sukesukega.

The informations collected will be used only on the basis of the research and incorporated into the main thesis. Person informations and opinions will remain confidential and no one other than myself and my two supervisors have access to them. The transcripts from interviews and discussions and digital recordings will be destroyed within 5 years after submission and approval of the final research report.

Vaagana e manako loa koe ke fakaasi tou igoa iloto ite sukesukega te tino fai sukesukega e fiafia o fai tau manakoga.

Unless you specifically wish to have your identity revealed then the researcher will do so in acknowledging by acknowledging your name in the research.

Nea fakalavelave e mafai o pokotia I mea tau sene mo taimi e fakamaumau ki tino e kau ite sukesukega tenei? *(What are the costs of participating in this research?)*

Tou kau kite sukesukega tenei e seai se pokotiaga ki feitu katoa kona mai luga ona la kote sukesukega tenei e fai ite taima tela e avanoa iei koe.

Your participation will not incur any costs as it will be carried out in a time that is most convenient to you.

Sea te avanoaga e toku mai ke tali atu te kamiga tenei? *(What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?)*

E toku atu e lua aso ke talia mai te kamiga kite sukesukega.

There will be two days given for participants to decide whether or not they wish to participate in the research.

E talia pefea ke kau au kite sukesukega tenei? *(How do I agree to participate in this research?)*

E isi se Pepa Talia ka toku atu kia koe mai te tino fai sukesukega/Kaupule.

You will need to complete a Consent Form which will be given to you by the researcher with the invitation letter.

E mafai o maua ne au se lipoti I mea kona ne sukesukegina? *(Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?)*

A tino kona e kau kite sukesukega e isi se lipoti ka maua ne latou pela foki mote kau kite taimi e fakaasi iei te lipoti tenei iluga Funafuti.

As a key participant in the research you will be given a copy of the research and also be able to participate in a presentation which the researcher will conduct in Funafuti, Tuvalu regarding the research findings.

Nea aku mea kawai mafai e isi saku faitioga kite sukesukega tenei? What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Sose faitioga e uiga kite polotieki tenei e mafai o fakaasi kite tino fakatonutonu ne ia te sukesukega tenei, Tagalotele Professor Peggy Fairburn, peggy.fairbairn-dunlop@aut.ac.nz.

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, enter name, email address, and a work phone number.

Faitioga kola e uiga mote faifaiga ote sukesukega tenei e tau o fakaasi ki tena malu, Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, (649) 921 9999 ext 6038

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Kooi ka sokotaki au kiei ki nisi famatalaga e uiga kite sukesukega tenei? (Whom do I contact for further information about this research?)

Tino sokotaki kite sukesukega tenei: (Researcher Contact Details :)

Batetebe Aselu
Masters of Arts (Social Science) Thesis Student
Faculty of Culture and Society,
Auckland University of Technology
Email : vrk1186@aut.co.nz / fabe76@gmail.com

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

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Telephone Contact: +649 921 9999 extension 8468
Email Contact: charles.crothers@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 24th June 2014 AUTC Reference number 14/158

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

TUVALUAN CONCEPT OF WELLBEING



Wellbeing is a term been recognized globally in public policy. The term itself has no universal definition and the concept differs in contexts. The concept of wellbeing in Tuvalu has not been clearly defined even though this term has been used often in national planning and public policy development. This interview then will be trying to capture the perception of wellbeing from a Tuvaluan perspective as current usage of wellbeing is based on developed countries concepts.

Personal Details

Interview Date: _____ Island: _____ Code Number: _____
 Home Island: _____
 Place of Residence (Village): _____

Gender: Male / Female	Age:	Marital Status:
Occupation:	Education level Completed:	Employer:
Number of People in Household		
Children aged 0-14 years:	Aged 15-59 years	60 years and above:

1. Wellbeing perceptions, understandings and definitions.

Have you heard the term “wellbeing”?

a.) Yes b.) No

If yes where did you hear it?

What was the understanding or perception of wellbeing being described?

In your own words and understanding can you define what the term wellbeing means to you?

Based in your definition and understanding what is the Tuvaluan term that you think best represents the term wellbeing?

Can you explain why you chose this term for wellbeing?

List 5 things that you consider to be the most important in contributing to wellbeing in Tuvalu

List	Prioritise elements of wellbeing from the most important to the least.
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

Given the list above do you think they would be different if you lived in New Zealand, Fiji or Australia?

- a.) the list would be different
b.) the list would be the same

Could you please explain why the list would be different or otherwise?

Do you think this definition of wellbeing is reflected in national planning?

If "Yes" please state where it was reflected in Te Kakeega II?

If "No" was there any attempt to include this in Te Kakeega II?

How satisfied are you with:

(Please place a tick to the appropriate column of your selection for each of the elements of wellbeing)

Elements of wellbeing	Satisfied	Fairly Satisfied	Not very satisfied	Dissatisfied	Do not know
1. Health					
2. Financial security					
3. Livelihood					
4. Work					
5. Relationship with immediate families					
6. Relationship with neighbours					
7. Relationship with your own community					
8. Relationship with your religious members					
9. Relationship with leaders of your community					
10. Others					

2. Wellbeing Indicators in National Planning

Do you think current indicators in national planning (Te Kakeega II) identify the Tuvaluan concept of wellbeing?

a.) If Yes

Where was it identified?

How was it identified?

- Education
- Health
- Economic
- Social

- Environment
- Good Governance

b.) If No please explain

Do you think it is important that national planning should identify the wellbeing indicators based on Tuvaluan perceptions?

If Yes:

What are the wellbeing indicators that you think should be included

Where do you think these indicators could be integrated into Te Kakeega II

Probe: Do you think these indicators would affect these sectors: health, education, social, environment, good governance, economics, etc.

If No:

Why is it not important for wellbeing indicators to be identified in national planning?

There are wellbeing indicators that have been identified by United Nations and OECD countries that has been prioritised in public policies and national planning; Life satisfaction, Happiness, Quality of Life, Social Connectedness, Emotional wellbeing, Physical Wellbeing

Do you think these indicators should be included into Te Kakeega II?

If Yes: Probing: Why do you think they should?

What are the wellbeing indicators that should be included?

How can it be integrated into Te Kakeega II?

If No: Why should it not be included?

There are wellbeing indicators that have been identified in the Pacific called the Alternative Wellbeing Indicators for Melanesia (Vanuatu and Solomon's). They include: Happiness, Life Satisfaction, Access to Land, Culture and Natural Resources, Family and Community Vitality, Quality of services provided, Rural and community wellbeing.

Do you think these indicators should be included in Te Kakeega II?

Why and what are your views?

What are the key wellbeing indicators that you think needs to be prioritized in Te Kakeega II?

Probing: please state what are the indicators that you think should be given priority.

3. Incorporating wellbeing indicators into planning:

With these indicators that you have identified how can they be incorporated into national planning?

Probing:

Do you think national census surveys should have wellbeing indicators included?

Do you think mainstreaming wellbeing indicators into social, economic, environmental policies?

Do you think there should be a wellbeing survey similar to HIES and reports coordinated? If so who should be responsible in conducting these surveys and how? (National Statistics Department, Community Affairs with Rural Development or Statistics).

Do you think these indicators should be injected during the review of the national plan – Te Kakeega II, MDG and Social Development Policy in 2015/2016?

Do you think there will be problems having wellbeing indicators in planning?

Costs? Integrating it into sector policies would mean significant administration costs..

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Fakafetai lasi for taking the time and sharing your views in this research and it is greatly appreciated.

Appendix 7: Reflection and Progress - Field Diary Report

Weekly Progress Report as of 21st – 28th July

Activities

1. Two days of travel for me from Auckland to Funafuti on the 21st to 22nd July 2014.
2. Unable to meet up with the Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Home Affairs on my first day as he was in a meeting whole day however I was able to meet with other key members, Assistant Secretary of the Ministry, Director for the Department of Rural Development and Community Affairs Officer for the Department of Community Affairs have been successful. In that the researcher was able to have access to Ministry resources and technical assistance such as a desk. First day meetings with these people was very informal but they have been aware of my coming and research that will be undertaken.
3. The second day was fruitful in that I was able to have a one on one meeting with the Secretary for the Ministry and with his full support on the research. It was unfortunate that I arrived at a time when their Outer Islands tour had just completed else I would have been able to be on their tour to the Outer Islands.
4. Identified designated island for the research, Nukulae and worked with Director of Rural Development (DRD) establish communication with the Nukulae Island Kaupule. The reason for the trip to Nukulae was mainly because it is the first island that the boat will be travelling to which will stay for a duration of 4 days at the most and the other islands the boat will be travelling in the middle of August which will be late. One trip was designated for Vaitupu Island however it will be a very short trip as it only picks up the Motufoua students so not enough time to have a focus group and also interview other participants.
5. Information regarding the research and a formal letter informing the Island Kaupule was sent on Wednesday. On Thursday received confirmation from the Island Kaupule via a phone call with queries as to what I needed in terms of refreshment, allowances for participants.
6. Further dialogue with the Director of DRD I had to translate the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Forms however as it was half day for the Ministry on Friday I had to wait until Monday to send it to the Island Kaupule.
7. Meetings with selected Interview participants have been fruitful and many of the participants are willing to be interviewed.
8. Focus Group participants only two was able to be delivered the letters however others are quite difficult as the organisation is either no longer working or person responsible is away.

Other statistical data obtained is the Census for 2012 data which I am analyzing with my current information that have been collected so far as well as the Tuvalu Road Map a new item that was endorsed by this new government.

Interview Participants confirmed: will be carrying out interviews first if focus group participants very slow to recruit.

1. Permanent Secretary for Ministry of Home Affairs – Mr. IeteAvanitele
2. Permanent Secretary for Education – Mr. Talavai Iona
3. Assistant Secretary General for the Office of the Prime Ministers Office – Mr. MalofouAuina
4. Acting Secretary for Ministry of Finance – MrsPalipaLauti
5. Aid Coordinator – Ms LoisiSeluka
6. Director for the Department of Rural Development – Mr.TemetiuMaliga
7. Community Affairs Officer – Ms Lanieta Faleasiu
8. Planner for the Funafuti Island Kaupule – Ms Jennifer
9. Director for Health –still to meet (Tuesday)
10. Director for Environment – still to meet (Tuesday)
11. Minister for Home Affairs – potential
12. Retired Minister – potential participant identified
13. Retired civil servant – potential participant identified
14. Director for Women – away
15. Culture Officer – still finding a replacement

Focus Group Participants

1. Member of the FunfautiFalekaupule – Secretary for the Kaupule will inform me
2. Member of the Funafuti Island Council – Secretary for the Kaupule will inform me
3. TANGO member – no one in office now
4. National Youth Council – coordinator still to be replaced/ will likely get one of the island youth members.
5. National Council of Women President – yet to meet.
6. Coordinator for the FusiAlofa (People with Disability Office) – will be arriving back Tuesday
7. Tuvalu Seafarers Union member – to be approached.

Setbacks

- Due to the slow recruitment of focus group participants I will probably have to carry out the interviews first especially here in Funafuti.
- Bad weather is making it hard to have a clear schedule of the boat and probably a delay will likely be faced.

Extra Activities

1. Apart from field research work I was asked to assist the Department of the Rural Development explain the Island Profiles to UNDP team. Especially the ongoing maintenance and collection of data which was developed as part of the Supporting Local Governance for Outer Islands Development Project (SLG II) that I was part of in 2010 – 2012. This meeting was able to establish that the reasons for the delay of the Island Profile being printed hence it has been confirmed that they it will now be printed and that the funding for the monitoring exercise will be provided by them for the start to ensure that it can be taken under the government budget.

2. I was fortunate to arrive at a time when the Ministry had their first retreat which I was invited to participate. This retreat was mainly to present to the Minister what each Department has done throughout the year, what the challenges they were faced with and what their future goals are. It was important for me because I was able to learn and update myself on what developments have been going on especially in terms of Outer Islands, Social development issues and waste management. These are the three portfolios under the Ministry.
3. Apart from getting potential participants I was able to work with one of the research students here doing his research on criminology who was able to provide insights into the crime data that I was trying to collect. According to him he is updating the database for crime from 1996 to date and to publish the data officially as currently they are still within the Police Department.

Weekly Progress Report as of 29th July – 6th August

Activities

Before the trip to the Outer islands which was on the 30th July I was able to meet with some of the selected organisations for the focus Groups, Youth Coordinator for the Tuvalu National Youth Council, Funafuti Island Kaupule Acting Secretary while the Tuvalu National Council of Women coordinators is still away same as the Fusi Alofa (People with Disability Organization). A letter was delivered to the clerks and a follow up will be done as soon as arrive back from my trip.

I left for Nukulaelae Island on the 30th and arrived on the 31st and it was a free passage because the boat was chartered by National Adaptation Planning and A Project which was not only delivering project materials for one of their Outer Island development project – Community Water Cistern for Nukulaelae- but also carrying out awareness programs on Climate change and Food Security. Upon arrival I was able to meet with the Secretary for the Nukulaelae Island Kaupule and be informed that all the participants that I requested to meet for the Focus Group and Interviews no changes were made and that all were willing to participate in my research. The day for the Focus Group was to be on the 1st August and Individual Interviews I made the appointments after I completed my Focus Group Discussion meet. Because the NAPA Project members were on the island the researchers focus group which was planned for the morning had to be postponed to the afternoon at 2pm as two key participants were needed to attend a meeting with the NAPA Project. Prior to the Focus Group the researcher was able to meet with the Pule Kaupule a key participant for the research and he emphasized his interest in the research.

The Focus Group Discussion went well with all participants having a keen interest in the topic. I found that the information sheet was very helpful when translated because all the members came with a very clear perspective of what was expected and were very open with their views and ideas. Everyone was able to participate with very little control from the researcher needed. It was enlightening because even before the discussion began and awaiting the last member to arrive there was a live discussion on the term wellbeing from members present and it was so important that I did not want to miss a word I did a pre-recording. However prior to that I also ensured that the members had read the consent forms and were aware of their rights which was signed and given to the researcher when they arrived. Some of the members came with their signed forms.

The Focus Group Discussion also allowed the researcher to reflect on the way the questions were asked and one of the key areas that would need a lot of focus on would be the Indicator Question. We ran out of time and because it was late in the afternoon and outer islands people are keen to get feed their livestock around four we did not manage to cover that area on the indicators however it was covered in the Interviews. The Interviews were carried out in the evenings as most of the participants are paid employees from the Government. I could not get one participant the Nukulaelae Primary School Head Teacher as she was busy with the end of school parent teachers meeting and other activities however this is fine as I can still get one from Funafuti as they will be travelling to Funafuti for the end of Education Workshop so all Outer islands teachers and Island Kaupule Secretaries will be there. Interviews was completed by 5th August and researcher was able to complete all the focus groups and interviews needed on the island.

Apart from my own work I was able to participate in the NAPA workshop that was held for the island community on 1st August. The workshop included important development issues that also relates to my topic of wellbeing and since it was in the evening and I was free as well as open for any member in the community I attended. The workshop was on climate change conditions and how it has impacted Tuvalu which they also linked to food and water security and how the community should be able to use adaptive methods to overcome these issues. Waste and Agricultural methods and resources were also part of the linkages to adaptation methods and responsibilities placed on individuals and collective members to work together to make use of available resources locally to enhance their ability to protect themselves in terms of extreme climatic conditions.

Focus Group Participants

1. Tokolua Pule Fenua o Nukulaelae - Male
2. Pule Kaupule o Nukulaelae - Male
3. President for Women of the Nukulaelae Island Community - Female
4. President for Nukulaelae Island Youth - Male
5. Representative from the Education Committee - Female
6. Representative from the Health Committee - Male
7. Representative from the Red Cross - Male

Individual Interviews

1. Secretary for the Nukulaelae Island Kaupule– Male
2. Planner for the Nukulaelae Island Kaupule - Female
3. Senior Health Nurse – Female

The travel back to Funafuti took two days as we left on the 6th and arrived on the 8th not much time to do anything as it was Friday. I however managed to confirm for interviews with two participants for the weekend. Everything else will have to wait until Monday 11th.

An important issue however was encountered upon my return in that it was announced on Radio Tuvalu that there is actual prostitution here on the island of Funafuti. A group of young girls at the far end of the island are making money using their body to buy alcohol. This issue while it was hearsay and rumors in my earlier work in the department it was not so surprising to hear that there is evidence now. While this research couldn't have come at a better time I am also saddened that what I feared most regarding the impact of development and changes has significantly become a very great concern for Tuvaluan society and the people. The Secretary for Home Affairs has now asked the Department of Community Affairs to work with the Police in resolving the matter and also Immigration has become involved and a lot of the pressure is now placed on the Department as it is responsible for welfare of the people. Immigration has now become involved because in next month a number of fishing boats a total of 48 fishing liners will be coming in to port as Tuvalu has a lot of observers working on fishing boats and they will be coming to Tuvalu so there has been a deadline set to investigate and find a solution and resolve the issue. I just arrived and still just needed time to recuperate and our head of department is off work today so I will wait till Monday.

Setbacks

- Bad weather makes delayed the trip thus I will have to reschedule my Focus Group Discussion in Funafuti for next week
- Computer played up on the island with keyboard keys not working so was unable to do any transcriptions and also no keyboard was available that had a USB connection

Weekly Progress Report as of 7th – 20th August

Activities

The last week was spent on transcriptions and individual interviews as well as arranging for participants for focus group. I have completed the transcriptions from Nukulaelae with the help of someone and started on the interviews here in Funafuti. I managed to complete some of my interviews four people last week and three this week together with the focus group.

People interviewed here so far:

1. Aid Advisor
2. Coordinator(Tuvalu Association for Non-Government Organizations)
3. Director for Rural Development
4. Social Policy Consultant and former civil servant – (Secretary for Government for more than 10 years)
5. Permanent Secretary for Education
6. Nui Island - Kaupule Secretary

Still to be interviewed:

1. Vaitupu Island - Principal for Motufoua Secondary School (former Minister for Home Affairs and Secretary for Vaitupu Kaupule)
2. Senior Secretary for Ministry of Finance
3. NAPA Project Coordinator (21st October 2014)
4. Permanent Secretary for Home Affairs
5. Women's Department Acting Director
6. Niutao Island – Kaupule Secretary
7. Assistant Secretary to the Prime Minister Office

The focus group was carried out yesterday 19th august with a total of four participants and four did not participate due to other community commitments that unfortunately clashed with the focus group discussion meet. While it was less than the number I expected the discussions were really good as everyone contributed to the discussion coming from their various areas and organizations of NGO.

Focus Group Participants:

1. Kaiga Kaupule (Island Council Member)
2. Tuvalu National Youth Council Coordinator
3. Representative from the Fusi Alofa (People with Disability Organizations')
4. Assistant President for the Funafuti Women

Reflections:

I found that this topic has generated a lot of interest in people especially looking it from a Tuvaluan lens and how it is being reflected in our national planning and policies. Not only do people come to the focus groups with an essay and models of what they think wellbeing should be but also interviewees especially people in public policies find that our national plan is very much based on modern concept and very little on how they see wellbeing as a Tuvaluan would. Quite interesting discussions on wellbeing and none can recall this term being discussed during the development of the Te Kakeega II. Everyone seem to think this

is an important issue that needs to be pursued and it couldn't have come at a better timing especially when the end of life for the TKII is coming up and the MDG. It is their hope that the research will be able to provide important findings and revelations on wellbeing as no one has actually looked at it in terms of how it can influence public policies and national planning.

There are clearly four terms that people come up with that refers to wellbeing

1. Olaga lei
2. Te Olaga tokaga malie
3. Olaga lei saukatoa.
4. Mamafa

The key elements that Tuvaluans seem to think is important for wellbeing differs in time and context. Outer islands would refer to their lands as the priority while in Funafuti income will be the priority. In terms of time especially before the 1990's people on all the islands rely less on income and education as a contributing factor to wellbeing however now income is now an important part that contributes to wellbeing. I find that when I ask what is the "Tuvaluan concept of wellbeing" people automatically go back to the sixties or early seventies however it changes when I ask about how they see it now. Looking at the people I have interviewed those who had been raised on the islands have a strong sense of wellbeing that reflects traditional values and beliefs however people who are

1. Land
2. Spiritual
3. Culture and traditional values and beliefs (respect, sharing, caring, reciprocity)
4. Social connections and network - Family (extended families) and village community and island community
5. Health and Education

Appendix 8: List of Well-being Indicators (from HDI, OECD, NZ SWBI and Vanuatu compared with Tuvalu) for participants review

Dimensions	Indicators	HDI	OECD	NZ	Vanuatu	Tuvalu
Subjective	Life-satisfaction		✓	✓	✓	
	Happiness				✓	
	Stress				✓	
Health	Life- expectancy	✓		✓		✓
	Self-reported health					
	Suicide			✓		✓
	Cigarette smoking			✓		✓
	Alcohol consumption per person			✓		✓
	Obesity			✓		
Education	Mean years of schooling	✓				
	Expected years of schooling	✓				
	Education attainment – 15 years plus		✓	✓		✓
	Literacy		✓			✓
	Participation in tertiary education			✓		✓
Social connections	Contact with others		✓			
	Social network support		✓			
	Internet connection in homes			✓		✓
	Trust in others			✓		
Economic standard of living	Gross national income (GDP per person)	✓		✓		✓
	Income inequality			✓		✓

Dimensions	Indicators	HDI	OECD	NZ	Vanuatu	Tuvalu
	Population with low income			√		√
	Employment			√		√
	Unemployment			√		√
Work and Life-Balance	Employees working very long hours		√			
	Time devoted to leisure and personal care		√			
	Employment rate of mothers with children of compulsory school age		√			
Environmental Quality	Air pollution		√			
Civic engagement and governance	Voter turnout		√	√		√
	Consultation on rule-making		√			√
	Representation of women in parliament					√
	Perceived discrimination (persona)			√		
	Perceived corruption			√		
Personal security	Intentional homicides		√			
	Self-reported victims		√			
Access to Resources	Access to land				√	
	Access to marine resources				√	
	Access to forestry				√	
	Access to happiness				√	
Cultural Practices	Traditional language				√	√
	Traditional knowledge, skills, practices				√	√
	Traditional access to wealth				√	

Dimensions	Indicators	HDI	OECD	NZ	Vanuatu	Tuvalu
	Cultural practice and happiness				√	
Community Vitality	Community meetings and support					
	Leadership				√	
	Safety				√	
	Family vitality				√	
	Values				√	
	Community vitality and Happiness				√	
Rural community well-being	Traditional leaders				√	
	Women leaders				√	
	Church leaders				√	
	Ceremonial activity				√	

Appendix 9: Socio Economic Data from 1991 - 2012

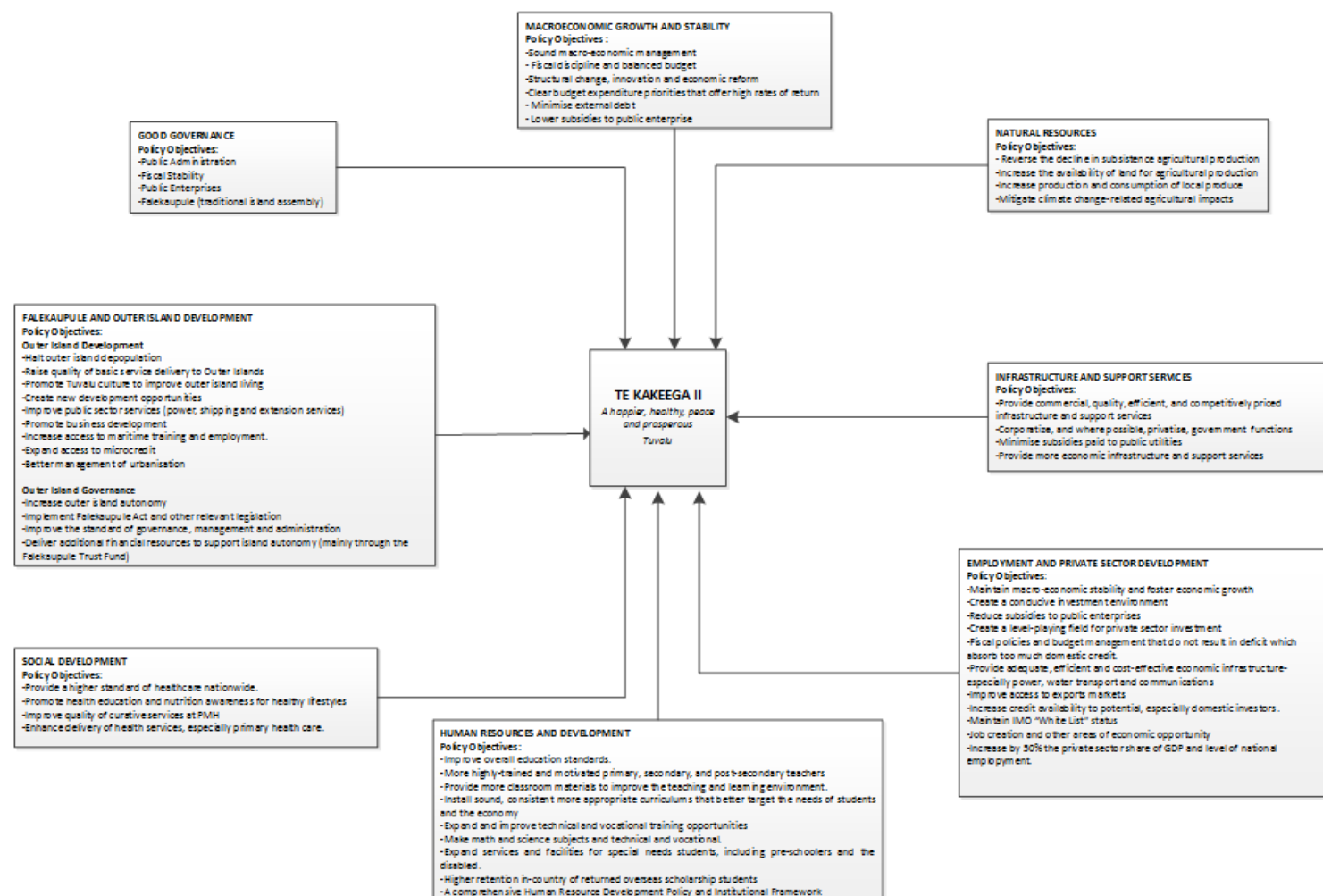
	1991	2002	2012		1991	2002	2012
POPULATION				SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT			
Total Population	9043	9561	10782	HEALTH			
<i>Sex Ratio</i>	107	102	96	<i>Life Expectancy *</i>	61.3 (1990)	61.6 (2000)	65.5
Urban / Rural (% of Population)	42 / 58	47 / 53	57 / 43	Male	59.4 (1990)	59.7 (2000)	63.4
Average Annual Growth Rate (%)	-	0.5	1.3	Female	63.3 (1990)	63.6 (2000)	67.7
Urban / Rural (%)	-	1.6 / -0.3	3.7 / -0.8	Infant Mortality Rate	41	21(2003)	25 **
<i>Median Age</i>	-	24	25	Crude Birth (per 1000 people)*	34 (1990)	25.0 (2000)	24
Male / Female (%)	-	21 / 26	24 / 26	Crude Death (per 1000 people)*	11.0 (1990)	11.0 (2000)	9
Resident Population	8750	9359	10640	Fertility Rate (birth per woman)*	3.8 (1990)	3.6 (2000)	3.1
Urban / Rural (% of Population)	42 / 58	42 / 58	51 / 49	Smoking Population 15 years above (%)	-	38.0	37.8
Sex Ratio	104	100	95	Male / Female	-	68.8 / 31.2	70.3 / 29.7
Average Annual Growth Rate (%)	-	0.6	1.4	<i>Urban</i>	-	39.6	45.0
Urban / Rural (%)	-	0.5 / 0.4	3.7 / -0.4	Male / Female	-	69.9 / 30.1	70.7 / 23.9
Net Migration	-134 (1998)	-113	-57 (2010)	<i>Rural</i>	-	60.4	55.0
Age Structure				Male / Female	-	68.0 / 32.0	69.9 / 22.7
0-14 years (%)	35.3	36.4	32.9	Alcohol consumption	-	23.2	34.8
15-64 years (%)	58.7	57.9	62.0	Male / Female	-	46.8 / 1.7	59.8 / 9.6
65 years (%)	6.0	5.7	5.2	<i>Funafuti</i>	-	25.7	36.0
15-24 years	14.6	15.7	19	Male / Female	-	48.6 / 3.0	61.0 / 10.0
	1991	2002	2012		1991	2002	2012
15-34 years (%)	32	26.8	32.6	<i>Outer Islands</i>	-	23	33.2
Dependency Ratio	80	82	71	Male / Female	-	45.7 / 0.9	58.3 / 9.0

Urban / Rural	72 / 74	72 / 79	68 / 63	Access to Safe Water (% of Households)	90.3	92.5	98.9
Age Dependency Ratio	70.4	72.8	61.4	Urban	92.6	93.9	99.3
Urban / Rural	65.6 / 73.9	65.1 / 78.9	59.5 / 63.4	Rural	89	91.6	98.5
Population Density	353	373	203	Sanitation (% Household)	77	87	91.5
Urban / Rural	1376 / 228	1610 / 222	2205 / 259	Urban	84	92	95
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT				Rural	74	83	88.3
Revenue				EDUCATION			
Growth Rates of Real GDP (%)*	15.4 (1990)	-3.9 (2000)	0.2 (2010)	Primary Enrolment Ratio	99.5%	96.9%	99.4%
GDP Per Capita (Purchasing Power Parity *)	2369 (1990)	2,408 (2000)	3,256	Secondary			
GNI per capita (Purchasing Power Parity)	2988 (1990)	3,740 (2005)	4,386	Literacy Rate	99	98.9	93.2
ODA a per capita (US\$)**		1,356 (2000-2004)	1,115	Male / Female	99 / 98.9	99 / 98.8	93.3 / 93.2
ODA / GNI percent		35.2	42.3	Ratio of literate women to men	0.96	1.0	0.91
Remittances as % of GDP	14.5%	15.1%	7.9% (2010)	<u>Adult Population Aged 25-64 years</u>			
Taxes		16.5 (2006)	16.8 (2011)	No Qualification	81%	28.2%	22.1%
.tv revenu (% of GDP)		9.3 (2006)	8.1 (2011)	Primary Education Completion Rate (%)	19.9	52.4	80.9
fishing license (% GDP)		16.8(2006)	16.1 (2011)	<i>Secondary School Attainment years (%)</i>	16.6	19.4	50.4
CIF balance (% of GDP)		19.9 (2006)	14.5 (2011)	Male / Female	15.8 / 10.4	23.5 / 15.9	55.3 / 45.5
Labour Force Participation Rate (%)		61.7	59.4	<i>Degree or Higher 25-64 years (%)</i>	2.1	3	4.1
Male/ Female	-	74.6 / 49.9	67.6 / 51.1	Male / Female	2 / 0.9	4.6 / 1.6	5.4 / 2.8
<i>Urban</i>	-	61.0	66.6	SOCIAL STABILITY			
	1991	2002	2012		1991	2002	2012
Male / Female	-	70.4 / 51.8	72.5 / 60.4	Divorce/Seprated (15 years above %)	3.1	3.2	3.5
<i>Rural</i>	-	56.0	52.0	Crime Reported ***	1644	2370	3367 (2011)

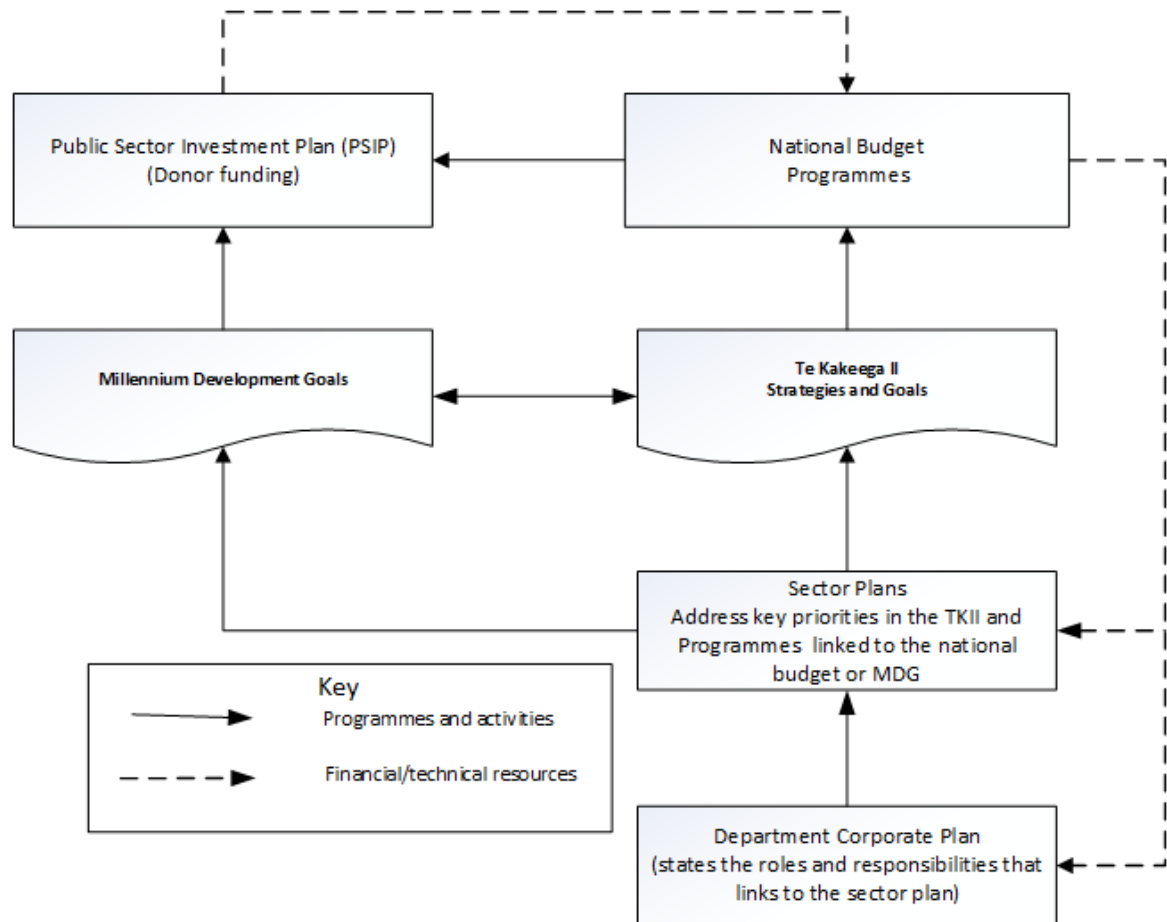
Male / Female	-	20.9 / 4.6	62.3 / 41.9	Penal Code	18.0	18.0	11.0
Employment Rate (%)	26.8	33.5	35.9	Bye Laws	45	31	11
Male / Female	37.0 / 18.4	45.3 / 22.7	40.1 / 31.6	Alcoholic Act	12.0	3.0	6.0
<i>Urban</i>	50.1	49.6	43.4	Traffic Act	4	43	67
Male / Female	-	61.0 / 38.4	47.7 / 38.9	Public Order	19.0	1.0	3.0
<i>Rural</i>	14.5	20.9	28.1	Others	2	5	1
Male/Female	-	31.7 / 11.8	31.9 / 24.5	Domestic Violence	6 (2009)	64 (2010)	146 (2011)
Unemployment Rate (%)	-	11.8	39.6	Suicide	-	8 (1997 - 2005)	5 (2006 -2011)
Male / Female	-	12.4 / 11.8	40.7 / 38.1	Attempted Suicide	-	-	5 (2006 -2011)
<i>Urban</i>	-	8.9	34.9				
Male/Female	-	6.6 /12.0	34.3 / 35.6	POVERTY AND HARDSHIP			
<i>Rural</i>	-	4.6	45.9	Population below the national poverty line	23.2(1994)	16.5 (2004)	19.7 (2010)
Male / Female	-	3.6 /5.9	48.8 / 41.7	Urban/rural	28.8 /14.3	19.7 /14.3	56.1 / 43.9
Youth unemployment -to-population ratio (%)	75.7	70.6	63.7	Gini Coefficient	0.43	0.24	0.34
Male / Female	73.1 / 78.4	67.3 / 74.3	64.9 / 62.1	urban	0.37	0.24	0.27
<i>Urban</i>	63.1	56.4	64.9	rural	0.39	0.21	0.28
Male / Female	62 /35.2	53.9 /60.0	65.9 /63.8	Ratio of Highest Income :Lowest Income	3.1	3.3	5.3
<i>Rural</i>	86.6	82.2	61.1	urban	1.8	3.1	3.6
Male / Female	86 / 87	78.4 /86.4	63 /57. 8	rural	3.4	2.8	4.0
Main sources of Income (% Households)				CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS			
Wages/Salary	61.6	59.1	70.0	Language (% of population aged 15 years above)			
	1991	2002	2012		1991	2002	2012
Remittances	56.9	47.1	39.8	Tuvaluan	-	-	99.8
Handicraft sale	35.1	5.1	23	Nuian	-	-	47.9

Sale of Produce (Fish, vegetables, crops)	15.2	5.3	15.7	Traditional skills (% of population 15 years above)		-	60.1
Own Business	-	5.4	20.9	Urban		-	53.6
Land Leases	-	0.8	35	Rural		-	66.2
Rent (Building /Equipment)	-	-	7.9	Handicraft making (% Average Households)		-	18.4
Senior Citizen	-	-	14.8	Urban (people with special skills)		-	20.4
Investment	-	-	25.6	Rural (Average hholds)		-	16.5
				Housing (% Traditional Houses)	40	17	3

Appendix 10: Te Kakeega II Policy objectives



Appendix 11: National strategies goals links to national budget



Appendix 12: Progress of the Te Kakeega II as at 14 December 2014

Achieved	Partially Achieved	Achieved–Ongoing/ In Progress	Not Achieved
Good Governance			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nui By Election 2. Nanumaga Bye-election 3. Amendment for Electoral Provisions Act 4. Implement Leadership Code 5. Procurement Legislation 6. HC and SMC arrangements- 7. Judiciary org structure 8. Travel policy for Ministers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Review of Public Sector 2.Review of Religious Act 3.Regularise Parliament Sessions 4.Parliament Building 5.Improve parliament performance 6.Public Sector Reform 7. Constitutional Review 8. Re-corporatize the Media²⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Corruption Eradication²⁵ 1. International conventions Ratifications 	
<i>Foreign Relations</i>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cut off relations ABK & S/Ossertia 2. Restore relations with Georgia 3. Review Foreign Policy 4. THC Fiji Functions & Roles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. High Commission in NZ 2. Review of overseas missios 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2014 PIF Leaders Summit
<i>Policing</i>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community Policing Awareness 2. Maritime Security Talks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Policing Policy 2. Org Structure 		

²⁴Bill to corporatize media has passed 1st reading.2nd and final reading will be in December

²⁵Ombudsman Commissioner already investigating cases . AG/Police formalizing charges

	3. Infrastructure – New Prison		
The Economy : Growth and Stability			
1. Agree on MTFF Global Ceiling 2. Balanced national budget – Deficit no more than 11% of GDP 3. Rationalise ODA dialogue 4. De-bundle ROC grants 5. Credit Lines for Private Sector - \$400k injected to DBT	1.New Contribution to TTF - \$3million capital injected once 2015 budget is approved 2.Revisit LCD Status 3.Restore and re-float TCS 4.Banking Services Strengthened: NBT, DBT, TNPF, staff training etc		
Social Development			
<i>Welfare and Social Policy</i>			
1. Welfare Benefit Scheme – New rate of \$70/person per 70 year old person	1.Review Social Policy – awaiting UNFPA Funding for final consultation. 1 st Draft completed		
<i>Health</i>			
1. Northern and Southern ends clinics complete	1.Rationalise Tuvalu Medical Transfer Scheme ²⁶ . 2.Complete Outer Islands Clinics ²⁷ 3.Improved Health Services Delivery to Outer Islands		Doctors for Outer Islands – Cuban medical students return in 2017 after Intern

²⁶ Specialist (Anaesthetist, Internal Medicine, Paediatrician,ObGyn) India exempt Visa for patients and Fiji Airways issue credit facility for MoH. TMTS Policy Approved

²⁷Clinics for Nukufetau, Nanumea and Nukulaelae will be made in the 2015 budget

<i>Youth</i>			
1.Youth Policy Reviewed and considered by DCC			
<i>Housing</i>			
	1.Housing Policy still being Reviewed 2.Incentives to private sector to build – SDE Allocation for FHA and BD and TD are working closely with UNDP.		
<i>Gender</i>			
1. National Gender Policy ready for endorsement. 2.MOU signed with SPC as key donor for activities under gender 3.Mainstreaming Gender ²⁸ (Institutional, Strengthening and Capacity Building)	1.Empowerment of women –Focus on small business development using Inubator Model program – funding needed 2.CEDAW ratification and actions – Family Protection Bill discussed in 2014 parliament session		
<i>Sports and Recreation</i>			
		National sports ground renovation and maintenance	Proposal for Sportsground for Outer Islands
<i>Poverty and hardship</i>			
			Food Security

²⁸Training of Trainers Introduction completed in July, Trainers Manual completed in November. Parliamentarian Induction Program in October and All Secretaries gender sensitizing program completed.

			Household Income Scheme
Falekaupule and Outer Islands			
1.Completed Falekaupule 2013 SDE's 2.New SDE's 2014 3.Rationalise Kaupule Staffing 4.Ministerial visitations Outer Islands	Update Kaupule Accounts -1999-2010 Audited , Incomplete financial reports, LELE Elected Leaders Roll-out	Renovate Kaupule Offices – Nanumaga and Nukufetau Review Falekaupule Ac	Renovation of O/Islands classrooms
Private Sector and Employment			
1.GOT grants to entities reviewed ²⁹ 2.Import substitution on O/Islands ³⁰	1.Privatise VLH & Travel Office	1.Farming Produce businesses 2.Access outlets for local produce 3.Incentives for FDI(Foreign Direct Investments Act)	1. New Housing for Private Sector
<i>Trade and Labour</i>			
1. Overseas jobs:NZ RSE ³¹ -	1.PICTA & PACER Plus costs/benefits 2.Seafarer jobs: travel subsidy ³² 3.Trades Nursing, Caretaker and Hotels –		

²⁹NTSC has agreed a feasibility study under EIF project to progress the initiative – possibilities for the commercial development and marketing both locally and overseas of a range of agricultural products(e.g. breadfruit/banan chips, dried fish etc..)

³⁰Import levy funds established to subsidise domestic freight. Refunds provided if certain benchmarks are met with and in line with the Import Levy Act

³¹ Under PACER Plus Negotiations, DoT supports FIC – call for ANZ to increase No. of positions available and legally binding schemes for employment opportunities to be available in more sectors

³²Seafarers are starting to recruit under the new arrangement between Government, Seafarers and SWIRE.

	Mission to Cook Islands 4. Produce outlets, local and abroad ³³		
Education and Human Resources			
1.TVET Teachers arrangements ³⁴ 2.Salaries for Fetuvalu Teachers 3.Rationalise pre-service training – increase to 33 awards for pre-service.	1.Proposal for funding to renovate classrooms in Nanumea and Nukufetau 2.Internet connectivity for all schools 3. La Parouse Extensions north/south 4.Form 3 & 4 to return to the islands - transition starts in 2016	1.Trades Training Australia College – Year 13 to enrol in APTC – Virtual University for Tuvalu.	
Natural Resources			
<i>Fisheries</i>			
1.Other priorities domestics – FFA official visit to complete installation of VSAT 2.Fisheries research programmes –crewing initiatives with TMTI on inclusion of fisheries module to their curriculum esp.on fishing vessels.	1. Institutional Strengthening Programmes – Construction of New Fisheries Department complex. 2.Joint Ventures – issue with export permit on 2 nd purse seine vessel (case WCPFC11 Annual Session in Apia) 3.US Treaty & Foreign Vessels License ³⁵		

³³Trainings provided by SPC to locals on how to add value to local produce. Trade policy Framework submitted to cabinet

³⁴MEY: produrment of tools and equipment for TVET, Teachers for accredited franchised programmes (C&J, F&W, Applied Computing) covered by MEY budget.

³⁵12 Renegotiation session of the UST –discussion of outstanding matters such as application of national law and broader economic cooperation will be finalized

<i>Agriculture</i>			
1.National home gardening farming	1.Upgrade Elisefou 2.Increase food production on all islands ³⁶ 3.ISP – to be endorsed in 2015 4. Increase assistance on private sector ³⁷ 5. Agricultural curriculum in school – awaiting MEY approval.		
<i>Lands and Survey</i>			
	1.Outstanding marine boundaries ³⁸ Tuvalu Land Information System (TLTS) – digitizing the maps complete in 2015 2.Review Dept.of Lands Survey – implementation of ISP Plan is underway 3.Deep-sea mining – progress in finalizing Tuvalu’s mining license 4.Extend continental shelf ³⁹		
<i>Tourism</i>			

³⁶Funafuti sites are yet to be confirmed due to conflict between land owners and the kaitasi.

³⁷MOU with Nukufetau community farming on Funaota islet, assistance families with farming needs both technical wise and equipment.

³⁸ Treaty with Fiji has been signed by prime Minister of both countries 2014. Further talks with France and Fiji on our boundaries will be held in London on 2nd week of December to finalise the work

³⁹Work are in progress with neighboring countries – Joint defend for Tuvalu/France & NZ will be subject to order of list held with UNDOALOS

1.Cruise ship visits to Tuvalu – DoT working closely with SPTO on having cruise liners visit Tuvalu	1.Boost additional hotel rooms : more guesthouse and rooms available now 2. Credit lines for toursits operators – need grant to be injected to DBT. 3.Increase safety public houses – work with Housing		
<i>Environment</i>			
1.Environmental laws reviewed and under implementation 2.Maistream EIAs 3.Mainstream MEAs into national activities	1.Increased fees for waste disposals - SWAT ⁴⁰ 2. Beautification of Tuvalu islands ⁴¹ 3.Environmental tariffs for imports - SWAT		
<i>Climate Change</i>			
1.Establish National Council on CC 2.Mainstream CC into local & national budgets and programmes 3.Convergence cc & disasters 4.Rationalise all CC Projects	1.Review Climate Change Policy – 2015 2.NAPA Projects on seawalls & replanting implemented 3.One major project for the ADF- through the GCCA/SPC	3. High Visibility of Tuvalu in CC	Establish Tuvalu CC Survival fund

⁴⁰Awareness raising on communities , Implementation of environmental protection (Litter and Waste Control) Regulations and enforcement of refulation in temrs of penalties and litterint.TOR for Waste Levy Committee – 2014 meet for development of waste levy for imports and implementation of waste levy

⁴¹Waste Program has been developed and is currently implemented for all islands- including outer island staff. Tools distributed to all islands and trainings provided to new staff. Community waste collection services developed but needs to be revised and improved

	4.Review IAs		
Infrastructure and Support Services			
<i>Transport</i>			
1.Reliable and equitable shipping – new vessel in 2015 September 2.Rationalise shipping schedules – 3 island per trip 3.Harmonise ships fares and freight 4.SIDS –Kiribati, RMI & Nauru – EKT AGM in Niutao trip to pick up and drop	1.Access roads on all islands – resurface roads on Funafuti 2015 2.Harbours and jetties & wharfs – ongoing – prepare proposal 3.Niutao boats harbour 4.Review Tualu/Fiji Airways Agreement 5.Review airport up/project 6.Tarseal deep sea wharf area 7.Explore sea & air routes to north		
<i>Communications</i>			
1.Provider agreements reviewed – PACTEL disconnected now using TTC 2.TTC Board of Directors Reviewed 3.Revisit DotTV Agreement	1. Mobile phones on all O/Islands – KACIFIC offer is in 2years time. So not all islands have mobile connections 2.Tele-centers on all O/Islands – run by Kaupule and ICT Dept provide technical and maintenance assistance		1.Retry Digicel if Tuvalu is still interested ⁴²

⁴²According to the current law door is open for other players in the market but Tuvalu is no longer interested in Digicel but getting another courier will help in decreasing the price and improve telecommunication infrastructure services.

<i>Energy</i>			
1. Fuel Imports : non-project grant 2. 2.TEC legal status clarify	1.National Energy Policy-energy mix 100% RE by 2020 2.Increased RE Supply O/Islands ⁴³ 3.contract out fuels and lubricants, supply, storage and distribution – Reviewing of Petroleum Industry with SPC 3.Jet A1 fuels supply policy – awaiting outcome report from SPC 4.	1. Energy efficiency, education programmes ⁴⁴	
<i>Water</i>			
1.Fittings for water tanks completed	1.Refund Kaupule funds for labour 2.Storage cisterns – PRIF and PEC 3.Rationalise water project management		
<i>Public Works</i>			
1.Raionalise PWD activities – Structure of PWD approved by Cabinet	1.Project supervisory roles – ADB report completed with recommendations 2.Privatise PWD activities as appropriately		1.Office for MPUI

⁴³EU Project for Nukulaelae, Nukufetau, Nui – last phase now of completion so should be commissioned in Jan 2015. NZMFAT Project for Vaitupu, Niuto, Nanumaga and Nanumea – near completion for Vaitupu while other islands still need materials to be commissioned by 2nd Quarter of 2015.

⁴⁴Ongoing awareness on Energy efficiency and conservation on Radio Tuvalu. Preparation of Hhold Survey on Ffuti & Nkftau. Demo Fale for TEC, RE and EE Demonstration

Implementation and Monitoring			
1.Rationalise DCC work 2.TKII MTR Progress Reports 3.Criteria of benchmarks 4.Partnership for SIDS Conference in Apia 5.time Punching Policy Review 6.Corporate Plans for Ministries 7.GOT Travel Policy set & actioned 8.New Auditor General appointed	1.Reveiw of Public Service Commission 2.PAC functions strengthened – drafting of PAC Bill in progress to be completed in 2015 3.Parliament oversight strengthened – consultation underway in identifying ways to strengthen Parliament oversight role 4.Kaupule audit scrutiny increased ⁴⁵ 5.Increased Transparency - ⁴⁶ 6. Increased capacity in performance audits ⁴⁷	1.Audit manual finalised – piloting audit manual 2.Audit training of staff – Scholarship Intake for International computer Driver's License training	

⁴⁵Kaupule Accounts auditing te be completed by end of the year 2014

⁴⁶Website is ow live (audit.gov.tv with all our recent reports from 2010 onwards) Press release of audit reports underway, Reveiwe of budget for PAC still in pipeline. Request for PBD to comply. O/Islands tour includes presentation in Tuvaluan regarding the role of the audits, how to get copies of reports and how to read the reports. Annual reort is yet to be compiled. Challenge is finding auditor independence to review our accounts

⁴⁷Cooperative performance audit planned for 2015. Performance audit of government travel is planned for 2015

Appendix 13: Factors of traditional and modern way of life that affect perceptions of well-being

Factors	Traditional	Modern
Wealth	Traditional wealth Land and subsistence means	Monetary wealth Income and cash are increasingly becoming the means while land and subsistence are decreasing
Peace	Maintained through oral traditional systems of values and spiritual beliefs Community punishment for crimes Peaceful, less crime and disturbances in community	Maintained through written laws and conventions that are legislated by the state Fines and prison sentence is punishment for crimes Less peaceful, more crime and regular disturbances in community
Values	Reciprocity – exchange out of kindness	Reciprocity – exchange out of duty
	Giving is wholehearted and without questioning the reason	Giving has become a process where one always questions the reason.
Marriage	Marriage is about social security	Marriage is about economic security
Children	Children know less and are afraid of parents or elders Very respectful of their elders	Children know more and are less afraid of parents or elders Less respectful of their elders
	Less exposed to outside influences, attitudes and	Exposed to outside influences, attitudes and behaviors

	behaviors	
Spirituality	Fathers always conduct the family evening devotion	Mothers are now more involved in conducting family evening devotion
Parenting	Parents have more power of discipline over children	State have laws that control parental forms of discipline over children
Entertainment	Traditional forms of entertainment only	Modern and traditional (only for special occasions)
Social Habits	Alcohol is only consumed in festivities	Alcohol is leisure activity, can be consumed any time
	Only males are allowed to drink alcohol	Anyone 18+years allowed –now underage drinking
	Smoking is an old man’s habit	Men and women have adopted it– now children too
Sustainability	People use canoes to fish and collect food from the islets	People use fuel generated boats to fish and collect food from the islets
	Traditional food for sustenance	Increasing demand for imported food
	Rely on man power and physical strength Only men are the provider	Rely more on technology and machinery Men and women are providers
Environment	Island is very clean and less garbage	Island less cleaner and more garbage
Decision making	Only men in <i>Falekaupule</i>	Men and women in <i>Falekaupule</i>
	Men makes decision, youths and women are the main	Men, women and youth, make decisions

	implementers Men contribute and pay to <i>mataniu</i>	and also the implementers. Both men and women contribute and pay to <i>mataniu</i>
Information source	Availability of information: medium is limited to radio and telephone only	Availability of information: medium ranges from video, internet, telephone, mobile, computers, radio
Shelter	Traditional houses using local materials of leaves and wood or lime stones	Modern houses using cement, timber and iron roofing.