Samoan Entrepreneurship: Natural Disasters, Vulnerability and Perseverance.

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Contents

Abstract

The purpose of this research has been to explore Samoan entrepreneurship together with the notions of vulnerability and perseverance in relation to natural disasters. The Samoan tsunami and its aftermath provide an opportunity to study the persevering behaviours of entrepreneurs in their natural environment. This has been done by interviewing twenty one micro-entrepreneurs who are members of the Women in Business Development Inc. (WBDI) organisation and asking them to discuss their experiences about the tsunami. The analysis of the results has provided a picture of how when in the face of adversity Samoan entrepreneurs overcome obstacles; deal with adversity and achieve their goals. It also implies that the role of culture (fa'a Samoa); religion and government and NGOs are key themes which seem to provide effective coping mechanisms thus aid in their ability to persist in spite of chronic and habitual challenges. Given these three factors the perseverance capability of Samoan entrepreneurship is characterised by strong faith, optimism and reciprocation.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This study has been designed to take an exploratory look at Samoan entrepreneurship to see how it copes with adversity in particular natural disasters and persevering strategies employed. The research focus has been about understanding what happened so there is no view to propose a set of strategies that were most effective in this context, but this creates an opportunity for further research.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

A Samoan adage:

"E lelei aso ma e leaga aso".

"There are good days and there are bad days".

Simple but true. This saying reflects what most of us experience regularly in life. Unfortunately for my country of origin, 'bad' days are a way of life due to climatic changes. Is this a poignant statement? Yes, perhaps it is. Samoans are familiar with this saying; it is an expression which acknowledges the contradiction of 'good' and 'bad' that co-exists in everything. There are times of prosperity and times of adversity. The simplicity of this expression does not offset the profoundness of the message. It is especially so, in times of crisis that its meaning is felt and understood. When Samoan elders communicate these words, often they are offering a warning that one should always prepare during times of prosperity for periods of scarcity and need. But it is easier said than done, right?

Entrepreneurs understand this dichotomy very well and many develop strategies to maximise profit in the good times and to ride out the bad times to offset discontinuation. It is well known that entrepreneurship contributes significantly to economic development and more recently the role it has in island economies where enterprises are driven by the collective; families, villages and communities. Moreover, indigenous or in this case Pacific entrepreneurship is a key strategy in poverty reduction and raising the living standards for island families. Pacific entrepreneurs also play a major part in the recovery process after a natural disaster through their leadership in village, church and community development. But little is known how micro entrepreneurs persevere after these hard times.

Hence, the area of special interest for this study is when island entrepreneurs are constantly in the face of adversity and this condition compromises their social and economic wellbeing. When this is a set reality then the idea of 'preparedness' is a challenging notion. In my view, being in a state of preparedness implies that there are

always sufficient resources and adequate training to combat the negative effects. The simple truth is the impact of disasters on small island nations is getting worse in terms of frequency and intensity and prepared, they are not! The assumption is that there is a lack of resources and that education and training is rare and not readily available to communities and ironically places them at greater risk and disadvantage. Here, the ability of enterprises, especially micro-enterprises to sustain these regular occurrences comes under scrutiny because one wonders how do they persevere and more importantly why do they bother? If you are unfamiliar with these adverse conditions then the easiest solution might be to remove yourself from the constraint for somewhere more ideal. Every day people make this very decision. However, this is the plight for Pacific island nations and relocating is not an easy solution. The ramifications of this decision are multiple and complex. Does one leave their country leaving behind the embrace of family, the comfort of culture, security of ancestral homelands and free access to natural resources? Despite the increase in migration numbers abroad, most islanders choose to stay and persist preferring their chances on their home island than away. Some stay due to limited choice or no alternative. So, the question then becomes what have they learned from these critical incidences to mitigate future risk thus improving their situation given the inevitability of their plight? How can this learning be converted into sustainable economic development for all concerned?

Hence, my research investigates the experiences of twenty one micro-entrepreneurs who survived the Samoan tsunami in 2009 by retelling their stories during 'face to face' interviews and their participation in a questionnaire. The outcomes provide an insight of their experiences pre-tsunami and the aftermath. The study's contributions are to: add to research on Pacific entrepreneurship and their persevering behavioural responses to natural disasters; support policy development from understanding the issues entrepreneurs faced post tsunami; to inform and develop a set of effective persevering strategies for Pacific entrepreneurs.

1.1 The event – Tsunami devastates Samoa

On that infamous day, September 29, 2009, Samoa experienced the wrath of one of nature's devastating forces thus giving very good reason for many Samoans to take flight and relocate. A tsunami, known to locals as the 'galu-afi' (or wave of fire) imposes itself on the South Coast of the island of Upolu. The following excerpt is a succinct and accurate description of the 'galu-afi' taken from a report prepared by the United Nations Development Programme for the Government of Samoa (2010).

> *"An 8.3 magnitude earthquake generated a tsunami in the coastal areas of the Samoan islands in the early morning of 29 September 2009. 143 deaths have been reported and approximately 5,274 people have been affected. Tourists have been also affected by the tsunami with the 5 confirmed dead. This kind of natural disaster is considered a rare event and caused extensive damages, injuries and losses to the population affected, as well as to infrastructure such as houses, schools, roads and basic services, including water and electricity. The livelihoods of many individuals, families and indeed of the population in general have also been heavily affected, with devastation to coastal and marine resources as well as to small family businesses and hotel operations. Local governance structures have also been severely affected thus posing a threat to social cohesion and stability amongst the displaced populations. UNDP proposes to assist the Government of Samoa in its early recovery efforts through: focusing on the rehabilitation of livelihoods of the affected individuals and overall population; improving disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation at the community level; strengthening local governance and leadership structures and capacity building support to the Government on the early recovery process wherever possible by adapting the concept of volunteering. This work is based on an integrated early recovery needs assessment and a subsequent early recovery framework (p.1)".*

One of the surprising discoveries of my research is that the tsunami of 2009 was not the first in Samoa. In fact, in its history, panning over three thousand years, Samoa has had its fair share of exposure to natural disasters. However, more commonly talked about

are perhaps volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, cyclones and hurricanes (1980s and 1990s). Historically, tsunamis were more common than I thought, a string of tsunamis have been reported in: 1837, 1877, 1896, 1905, 1907 and 1917. Again from 1918 to 1964 there is a catalogue of 28 documented tsunamis or tidal waves of varying degrees. Nevertheless, it is the tsunami of 2009, which has been the deadliest in Samoa's history. Also worth mentioning is that, according to Wendt-Young, prior to the tsunami of 2009, very little was known by modern-day Samoans about tsunamis as grandparents did not share such stories (2010). Therefore for most Samoan people, occurrences of this nature does not happen to them; it is an infliction that other people in faraway locations experience, based on what they have seen and heard on the news on TV or radio.

Another point of interest is that Samoans historically, have not always been coastal people; preferring the safety of the mountains, away from the sea. Coastal settlements only became more popular with the traders and missionaries and the rise of tourism has escalated this trend (Wendt-Young, 2010). But as a result of the recent event, and the extent of its destructive force, we now see a reverse of this trend where local people are again moving away from the coastline; shifting back inland and up to steep and mountainous terrain. This is the case for many of the participants in this study.

1.2 Purpose of Thesis

The Pacific has always been of interest to outsiders, mainly European traders and the period of colonial reign until recently. This international interest from Western and Eastern super-powers continues today. Paskal asserts that "... from a realpolitik point of view the region has quite a bit to offer. Far from being at the bottomless pit of development aid, the Pacific is important economically, politically and strategically (2011)". If this is true, then it is pertinent for more studies on the Pacific dilemma to be pursued specifically to empower Pacific communities to benefit from this prospect of being in such a strategic position whilst being under the watchful and interested eye of the global family. From this, positive outcomes should emerge contributing to the enhancement of the lives of vulnerable island communities in the Pacific by reducing

poverty through income generating activities by leveraging on the abundance of cultural, environmental and social capital.

My motivation for this research is to better understand the notions of vulnerability and perseverance in relation to natural disasters which place communities at a greater social disadvantage. In particular, I aim to appreciate the behaviours of island entrepreneurs when under these extreme negative conditions. Especially when natural disasters like tsunamis are a growing concern not only in frequency but more importantly in their intensity across the Pacific and South East Asia (Hague, 2003). There is a dearth of entrepreneurship literature that examines these contemporary themes of regional and global significance either together or concurrently to the extent that they deserve, namely: (1) the impact of natural disasters on island systems already stressed by unsustainable development (Brookfield, 1989; Barnett, 2001); (2) behavioural competency in the face of significant adversity (van Gelderen, 2012) and (3) uniqueness of Samoan entrepreneurship that supports and sustains social and economic development (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 1999; Cahn,2008, Morrison, 2008). It is because of climatic conditions that threatens habitability on several of the islands (Barnett, 2001: Vaioleti and Morrison, 2012) and stimulates greater urgency for more research in the Pacific in these domains.

The Samoan tsunami and its aftermath provide an opportunity to study the persevering behaviours of entrepreneurs I have specifically chosen micro-entrepreneurs who are members of the Women in Business Development Inc. (WBDI) organisation. Micro-entrepreneurs are typical participants of the 'informal sector' and perhaps more vulnerable and disadvantaged compared to other entrepreneurs (Dunlop, 1999) as well as more widespread in the rural areas. Thus the study wishes to contribute to the current literature, which is sparse in addressing perseverance and adversity (van Gelderen, 2012). Hence the research aspires to firstly identify and understand the issues that these entrepreneurs faced post-natural disaster particularly in the process of rebuilding their micro-enterprises, and the strategies they used to recover and adapt. It is of particular interest of this research to affirm indigenous approaches and principles that inform and influence Samoan entrepreneurs when in recovery phase thus differentiating them from other forms of entrepreneurship in this context. Secondly, it wants to identify and understand key preventative measures to mitigate risk therefore

substantial loss when adversity strikes. Finally the study wants to help develop a set of key risk management strategies for island entrepreneurs.

This research aims to be representative of Samoan micro-entrepreneurs thus theorising is based on this group. The sample will consist of entrepreneurs who are current registered members of WIBDI. This study does not offer a prescription of a set of strategies but a clearer understanding of what Samoan micro-entrepreneurs prefer when responding to natural disasters. Also outside the scope of this study is an attempt to address the issues resulting from the impact of the tsunami on a macro-economic level in the context of Samoa.

The outline of the following chapters is: Chapter 2 is a brief overview of the literature on indigenous entrepreneurship and fa'aSamoa, vulnerability in the Pacific context, and perseverance as a core competency in the face of adversity for entrepreneurs. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology and methods chosen highlighting the rationale for each. Chapter 4 looks at the results and offers a discussion of the results in conjunction with the literature. Chapter 5 offers limitations and future implications and concluding remarks.

2.0 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

According to literature, natural disasters in the Pacific are more frequent and increasing in intensity to already vulnerable and stressed island systems leading to a much bigger issue which is the question of habitability (Barnett, 2001; Hague, 2003). However, the impact of these on Pacific entrepreneurship, in particular, micro-enterprises is relatively unknown (Hague, 2003) and the persevering behaviour as a core competency for entrepreneurs in these circumstances is under-researched (van Gelderen, 2012).

The objective of this research is to understand Samoan entrepreneurs in the face of adversity by exploring how they coped with the tsunami; understand their challenges and examine the perseverance strategies they employed to overcome these. Some research has been conducted on natural disasters in the Pacific (Hague,2003) and specifically on earthquakes in Japan and USA (Sunseri, 2005) and interviewing tsunami survivors (Dudley, Goff, Chague-Goff and Johnston, 2009) but little has been done on their effect on entrepreneurship and the relationship of persevering behavioural responses in this context. This investigation can support the work in reducing vulnerability and dependency of Samoan entrepreneurs and to achieve faster social and economic recovery after these events.

The literature review starts by first defining entrepreneurship and linking indigenous entrepreneurship with the 'fa'aSamoa' to understand the importance of Samoan culture to this style of entrepreneurship. Secondly, perseverance in an enterprising context; vulnerability and resilience are explained. Next, natural disasters in the Pacific will be highlighted to demonstrate the imminent plight for Samoa and its neighbours. Finally to understand what disaster literature has to say about general behavioural response to disasters is introduced.

2.1 Acknowledging entrepreneurship

There is a positive relationship with economic growth and development (Acs, 1999) in both developed and underdeveloped countries (Zacharakis, Neck, Bygrave & Cox, 2002) and is essential to indigenous economic development assert Peredo, Anderson, Galbraith, Honig and Dana (2004).

The definition for entrepreneurship has been covered extensively with many variations as early as Schumpeter's (1934) and Baumol's (1993) but a succinct definition clearly outlining the role of entrepreneurship in society is as a set of "competitive behaviours that drive the market process according to Kirzner (1973); or simply the creation of a new enterprise (Low and MacMillan, 1988) but also about taking advantage of opportunity by novel combinations of resources in ways which have impact on the market (Wiklund, 1998).

The form entrepreneurship that this study recognises and uses as its point of departure is indigenous entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship in relation to indigenous cultures and the Pacific is relatively new territory for research but it is growing in popularity since it is now widely recognised and accepted that indigeneity contributes to a unique area of entrepreneurship through the works of dedicated researchers and scholars in this field. In their study, Peredo, Anderson, Galbraith, Honig, Dana (2004) propose that what distinguishes indigenous entrepreneurship from non-indigenous is that entrepreneurial activities of indigenous people are in their indigenous setting but they may or may not be located in native homelands as many have been displaced or relocated. The phenomena of displacement and relocation are of global significance as these are consequences of climate change and rising sea levels for small Pacific nations namely Kiribis (Vaioleti and Morrison, 2012) and Tuvalu, who currently face this dilemma.

Hence, this research adopts Cahn's definition of indigenous entrepreneurship:

"... a form of enterprise where the Samoan way of life and culture (fa'aSamoa), and introduced business concepts are successfully blended and harmonised, each adding value to an enterprise that provides a cash outcome, as well as providing other more culturally

and socially based outcomes that are intangible, but to which the micro-entrepreneurs and their families aspire" (2008).

2.1.1 Understanding indigenous entrepreneurship

The following is an overview of indigenous entrepreneurship studies and how they demonstrate the differences of it from Western entrepreneurship therefore a point of departure for this study to partly explain why indigenous entrepreneurs respond and persevere as they do. The 'fa'aSamoa' is further explained to help understand final the Samoan style of entrepreneurship

Firstly, it is worth mentioning that indigenous entrepreneurship should not be confused with another dimension of entrepreneurship, ethnic entrepreneurship. Authors on this topic propose that there is a key a distinction between indigenous and ethnic entrepreneurship. The latter is determined by the immigration status of the newly arrived entrepreneurs into a region or country (Light, 2004). Whereas, indigenous entrepreneurship almost always involves individuals that have a close attachment to ancestral territories and the natural resources in them (Peredo et al, 2004). This is an important theme and this study supports this view because Samoan entrepreneurs live in their own country and who are definitely a 'people attached to ancestral territories and natural resources' tied to these by way of collective ownership under the stewardship of the family 'matai' (chief) Morrison (2008).

Additionally, according to the literature regarding indigenous entrepreneurship it falls into two clusters assert Anderson, Honig and Peredo (2006). In the first instance, there is a body of literature that simply pertains to any entrepreneurship that involves indigenous people. Secondly, there is a view that indigenous entrepreneurship contrasts 'conceptually' from other forms of entrepreneurship in terms of the context of entrepreneurship, the types of goals and outcomes towards which entrepreneurship is focused, and or the form and organisation of the enterprise (Anderson et al, 2006). My research aspires to contribute to this school of thought in that it focuses on the types of goals and outcomes of Samoan entrepreneurship with a particular interest as to how these variables fare under vulnerable and adverse conditions.

9

Contributing further to the discussion and specifically to the Samoan context, Morrison articulates that Samoan indigenous entrepreneurship is distinct from western entrepreneurship in that it is something every family has the opportunity and expectation to engage in; this is due to every indigenous extended family having access to natural resources, in particular land and lagoons (2008). If this is the case then this notion implies that family members have an automatic connection and right to any enterprise that operates within the boundaries of family land and it is irrelevant that the individual is separated from that land for any length of time, their rights are protected under an unspoken but innate law of the Samoan culture. One could argue that because of this tie that in times of trouble one feels obligated to financially support the family because of this bond. This is one of several significant differences between western and Pacific entrepreneurship.

Another area worth understanding is where the literature focusses on the relationship between indigenous entrepreneurship and disadvantaged groups. For example, O'Donnell, Ellen, Duggan and Dunne assert that key restraints that disadvantaged groups face when they choose self-employment are: social and individual, geographic, community, cultural, economic, political and structural and organisational (2003). This is important because several of these restraints are characteristic of indigenous entrepreneurship such as social and individual, geographical, cultural. However, 'being disadvantaged' does not always have negative implications and "may actually lead one to become more entrepreneurial" (Frederick & Kuratko, 2010). For example, Scale and Goffer purport that 'entrepreneurs may be more likely to emerge from those groups in society which are discriminated against, persecuted, looked down upon or exceptionally exploited' (2005), and they are probably more motivated out of necessity rather than opportunity.

2.1.2 Fa'aSamoa and entrepreneurship

To have a full appreciation of Samoan entrepreneurship it is best to first have an understanding of the "fa'aSamoa" or Samoan culture. There are two points to consider

where firstly, there is the relationship between culturally based values and entrepreneurship has been demonstrated by many researchers (Lipset 2000; Berger 1991) and secondly its role in economic development (Davidsson and Wiklund, 1997, McGrath, MacMillan, and Scheinberg, 1992). Yet, Morris and Schindhutte add that many cultures have value systems that may be less consistent with entrepreneurial activity especially where this activity implies risk, innovation, growth and the investment of profit (2005). Such is the case for Samoan culture in terms of accumulation of wealth (Dunlop, 1999) and innovation and change (Cahn, 2008). Fa'aSamoa and business principles such as savings which promote growth and development can sometimes cause tension in the entrepreneurial environment (Cahn, 2008). Furthermore, development for Samoans does not mean replacing fa'aSamoa with a rising gross domestic rather there is a preference to support an underlying moral economy. Moreover, development is a foreign concept to Samoan, as we have always wanted to improve ourselves but without having to compromise our collective well-being according to Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009).

A good place to start is to define what fa'aSamoa means. Several authors offer definitions. But one definition is simply articulated by Lilomaiava-Doktor as: Samoans understand "culture" as every day, lived fa'aSamoa (2009). I take this to mean that it is the way Samoan people live on a daily basis, their way of being and how they see the world. For the purpose of this research Cahn's succinct explanation of the fa'aSamoa is adopted:

> *"Fa'aSamoa is used to define the culture of the Samoan people; their way of life or way of knowing. It is a tool for understanding the world and the relationships Samoan people have with each other, the church, outsiders and the environment"* (2008, pp. 3&4).

The next important aspect is to understand the key dimensions of fa'aSamoa; the dimension of the extended family (Dunlop, 1999) is paramount. It is conceived of as 'one body, one blood' and made up of individuals foremost as integral members of family (aiga) irrespective of where they currently reside, and individuals are constantly reminded of their important contributions to the collective welfare (Lilomaiva-Doktor, 2009). This mentality of upholding the interests of the family is such a stronghold and

can be viewed as detrimental to the profitability and survival of the business when business principles and fa'aSamoa are incongruent, which causes tension and impacts on the economic development negatively (Cahn, 2008). Nevertheless, from a Samoan perspective cultural and social capital is always upheld as a priority in the family. This is a major contrast to western entrepreneurship which has an opposite focus and approach, that is, the business is the priority. In Western entrepreneurship the direct measure of success for enterprises relies on the accumulation or abundance of financial and physical capital (Morrison, 2008) which contrasts with the Samoan entrepreneurship influenced by fa'aSamoa social, where the abundance of social, cultural and natural (land and environment) capital is valued more (Morrison, 2009; Lilomaiava-Doktor,2009).

Another key dimension is that the kin group is organised around the chief or 'matai' system and village institutions such as the 'fono' village council and women's committee (Dunlop, 1999; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009) and church. Matais are selected very carefully and it can be a competitive process. As such potential title holders must possess certain qualities as they ultimately become guardians of family resources. Qualities such as wisdom, commitment to family / collective wellbeing and in-depth knowledge of family history and ancestry are expected of matais. An extension of this and of equal importance is relationships. These matter significantly to Samoans and fa'aSamoa value this condition believing that when this is positive then goals and objectives of the collective are achievable. Fundamentally, the Samoan way of living is premised on relationships (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009). According to some, relationships are more valuable than the more modern efficacy money (Meyer, 2001). So, specifically it is the relationships within family, church, village, and community settings that are significant and influential. The hierarchical structure within each institution determines how the members relate to one another. This is more pertinent for Samoans who live in Samoa, but also for those who live away and adhere strictly to the fa'aSamoa. The higher the individual is in the hierarchy the more respect, attention and care they can expect to receive from the collective. Mostly, every member understands their role or 'know their place' therefore act accordingly because of their innate understanding of the relationships (Dunlop, 1999). The key point here is that the role of relationships in

times of hardship and adversity can be a solid and stable source of comfort and tremendous support for members of the collective.

The uniqueness that can be drawn from the fa'aSamoa that contributes to the distinctiveness of Samoan entrepreneurship is the set of principles on which the Samoan culture is founded. These principles are: respect (fa'aaloalo), love and compassion (alofa) reciprocity, service (tautua) and relationship (Dunlop, 1999; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009; Morrison, 2008; Cahn, 2008). One of the aspects of this research lies within the fa'aSamoa principle of reciprocity. So it is worthy to understand the underlying motivation(s) behind this often controversial practice and behaviour pursued by the Samoan people living on and off island. Essentially it is seen in the daily sharing of goods and labour but more visibly in the public exchanges of fine mats, goods, and cash at 'fa'alavelave' (family obligations)   such as funerals, weddings, and church openings. The sharing, exchanging and gifting (Cahn, 2008) of goods is significant in all aspects of life (Morrison, 2008) for Samoans and linked to a form of 'social' savings (see Fairbairn-Dunlop 1991, O'Meara, 1991). This concept of sharing, exchanging or gifting of resources between enterprises differs conceptually from Kirzner's definition of entrepreneurship that it is "a set of competitive behaviours that drive market process" (1973).

However, it is when excessive reciprocity overlaps into business activities that tension can develop and disharmony sets between the business and fa'aSamoa (Cahn, 2008). Some argue that the 'fa'alavelave economy' is seen only as a means of squandering of economic gains resources (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009). Adding to this thinking, is the concern of when it places the donor under financial strain thus having the opposite effect from its original intent, which is given in the spirit of care love and compassion. Instead despair, anxiety and even bitterness can be felt by the ones offering help. The other argument is when the true essence of the fa'alavelave system is motivation and it is abused resulting in families putting themselves under economic pressure to contribute traditional and cash resources when fa'alavelaves occur unexpectedly e.g. funerals, natural disasters. It is the financial support that most find demanding since increasingly participation in the cash economy is the norm and the expectation of financial assistance over traditional resources increases (Morrison, 2008). So, under pressure to comply with cultural obligation, individuals can sometimes find themselves

in financial hardship. Nevertheless, fa'aSamoa promotes the interplay of key principles of 'alofa' (love and compassion), 'tautua' (service) and fa'aaloalo (respect) which manifest into reciprocity in times of hardship and adversity. Some believe that it is inter-connectivity of these principles during critical times that seem to offset the hardship and strain that these situations represent, or at least for the recipients. The donors on the other hand offer help in faith and hope that the act will be reciprocated sometime in the future.

The value of respect is another important concept to Samoans. Especially when dealing with the elderly, an authoritative figurehead and representative of the church workers. Samoans demonstrate this value through spoken language, deed or actions, and mannerisms such as eye contact and in service. The higher the individual is ranked within the family, village and church determines the degree of respect offered by other members of that group.

2.2 Perseverance in an enterprising context

Therefore, when location and social disadvantage influences vulnerability in addition to limited choice or when self-employment is out of necessity one can only but look to increase one's ability to persevere or face loss such as ancestral land, culture and a unique place in the world. This is a grim outlook. In a statement, van Gelderen concedes that:

> *In a culture that is often focussed on instant gratification and immediate success, the ability to persevere may well be in decline. Ever increasing uncertainty, change and competitiveness calls for more perseverance rather than less (2012, p644).*

Since a key objective of this study is to better understand persevering behaviour in adverse situations this drives the need for an overview of what studies have been conducted in this realm from an enterprising perspective. In recognising that there is a dearth of literature on 'perseverance' in an entrepreneurial context van Gelderen's work stimulates discussion in this research domain and sets the scene by stating that because

"...any entrepreneurial task or activity may require perseverance. The list of potential setbacks is endless, and their occurrence may make it difficult to keep up initial levels of motivation" (2012, p.630).

On this basis van Gelderen defines perseverance as *"continued goal striving in spite of adversity* and further argues that it is a core competency for the enterprising individual *(2012)*. Hence, this research adopts this definition which focusses on goal progression in terms of dealing with setbacks and the associated emotions that can sabotage initial motivation and therefore have a negative impact on overall goal achievement.

The perseverance literature covers three small streams of research concerned with entrepreneurial perseverance. The first stream looks at 'perseverance as duration' which concentrates on task effort but under these circumstances there is little or no evidence of adversity thus provides minimal guidance of behavioural strategies to undertake. The second stream treats perseverance as a trait where attributions and beliefs support tendencies to persevere but are immeasurable of perseverance itself. Authors in this school of thought defined perseverance as the tendency to persist and endure in the face of adversity. The third stream investigates encounters with adversity, without explicitly focussing on perseverance. Alternating between loss and restoration orientation helps with grief (Shepherd, 2003); delaying failure allowing anticipatory grief helps with actual grief (Shepherd et al, 2009); self-employed better at coping with problems and solutions oriented compared to employed (Cope, 2003); Cope and Watts (2000) using critical incident method concentrate on learning from adversity linking with wider literature that relates hardship to personal growth. This study has an alliance with all three streams and from which can draw valuable insights and knowledge to inform this study. However it is the third stream that this research which will be of more value to by explicitly focussing on perseverance.

Consequently, this provides an opportunity for van Gelderen's work to make an important contribution to the third stream of research by (1) developing a descriptive process model of perseverance and (2) focussing on action and behaviour through outlining the various strategies that enterprising individuals can employ in situations that require perseverance (2012).

The process model of perseverance is founded on the premise that the rate of progress toward a goal determines whether negative or positive affect arises which then if a lack of goal progress occurs can lead to reassessment of outcome expectancies accompanied by self-doubt. Inevitably obstacles, setbacks, difficulties and adversity occur which typically means that progress toward the goal is delayed or stalled from which negative feelings and doubt may ensue (Carver and Scheier, 1998). It is in these situations that van Gelderen proposes such a model can of be practical benefit to the user in order to maintain a reasonable state of confidence and positive feeling.

This study adopts van Gelderen's process model of perseverance to gain better understanding and therefore in terms of strategies employed by the micro-entrepreneurs in response to the impact of the tsunami on their businesses where the ultimate goal is rebuilding them.

The process model looks purely at being descriptive and does not offer a combination of strategies that works best neither from the point of view in making progress toward the goal. There are four categories where in category A are perseverance strategies that directly affecting the environment aim directly to overcome adversity. In category B include strategies that directly affect the input function. Whereas category C refers to strategies that involve the goal and finally category D involve strategies that increase ones coping options (increasing self- regulatory). The details of each category are covered in the methodology section when the questionnaire and closed questions are discussed.

2.3 Natural disasters and the Pacific

A key phenomenon of interest to this research is natural disasters and the growing intensity of these events in the Pacific region. What is important is the impact of these on vulnerable communities with respect to their social and economic development and an understanding of the responses of enterprising individuals within the communities to these events require further investigation. A review of studies conducted in this field provides important context and informs the researcher during the investigation.

Hopefully in the process discover where future focus can be directed to support this work.

What we have learned is that the Pacific Island nations have always been prone to natural disasters but the rising sea levels and climate change have increased the intensity of these states of nature in recent times thus increasing their vulnerability (Hague, 2003). More importantly, is that research findings inform us that a change in the frequency of tropical cyclones is unlikely, but the intensity will grow to between 10-20% more intense, thus creating more catastrophic impacts from waves, surges and wind (Jones, Henessy, Page. Walsh & Whetton, 1999 cited in Barton, 2001). In his study Hague investigated the state and nature of vulnerability of selected countries in Asia and the Pacific countries in which environmental disasters are defined as 'disasters with a natural trigger' such as an earthquake, drought, and famine, flood, landslide, high wind and volcano and 'other' (2003). The study revealed vital findings as in the majority of the 'naturally triggered' events occurred in west, Southeast and South Asian nations including western South Pacific territories; that these same locations can experience more than one tropical cyclone a year (Berz, 1990) and are more susceptible zones to tropical cyclones, attributed to the warm ocean conditions with sea surface temperatures of at least 26 degree Celsius (Hague, 2003).

The problem becomes more alarming when climate change and rising sea levels threatens the habitability and sovereignty of Pacific islands (Barnett, 2001). However, the current debate is that rising sea levels is a mid to long term issue for Pacific island countries and the more imminent problem is the impact of enhanced climatic variability (e.g. stronger hurricanes and storm surges and more frequent and severe droughts). The problem gets worse because the impact is felt by island systems already stressed by unsustainable development (Brookfield, 1989; Burns, 1999; Lewis, 1990; Olsthoorn, Maunder, & Tol, 1999) and on drought (see Meehl, 1996, cited in Barnett, 2001). Another argument is that most research attention and policy development has been focused on rising sea levels even though research reveals that in spite of all the collective efforts by country members of the Kyoto Protocol and even if all emissions of greenhouse gases ceased after 2020, the sea level rise of 14-32cm is still likely. This leaves a gap in areas of more pressing importance such as not having a full appreciation of the impact of these events thus lacking proper policies and strategies to aid the

recovery and adaptability to disasters at a national, community and individual level. So this tells us we need to shift our focus towards understanding the impact and how to better respond, persevere and adapt.

Therefore, a keen interest of this investigation is in the impact of these natural disasters on already tender social and economic structures of island nations like Samoa should trigger some interest in the response of micro-entrepreneurs in the aftermath period. The current literature is deficient in this area and more attention is needed to make a significant difference. One example is Narayan's study looking at the macroeconomic impact of natural disasters on a small island economy such as Fiji, which provides empirical evidence that "natural disasters negatively impact on private income, consumption, savings, real GDP and real national welfare" (2003). Similarly, Hague asserts that the relationship between economic development activities and natural disasters is a relatively new focus but increasing in the attention. From these so far the prominent issue and key theme of disaster vulnerability is poverty and the socio-economic marginalisation process which not only directly affects individuals but also their collective disaster-coping abilities (2003, p.471). In relation to Samoa and the macro effect of the tsunami, the UNDP report outlined that:

> *"the estimated economic losses on an annual basis to include: loss in contribution to GDP by hotels and restaurants from affected areas estimated at SAT $10m; loss value in "ownership of dwellings" in affected area 0.09% of GDP; loss of subsistence agriculture production from damage to home gardens and livestock at SAT0.54million; loss of wages and salaries income from employment in destroyed enterprises estimated at SAT $11.8 million per annum. In terms of damages to individuals, communities and Government infrastructure initial estimates range between SAT $106 million to SAT $168 million (2010, p.3)".*

So, whilst this provides useful information in terms of the extent of the damage, what is unknown is how long it will take the nation and all affected to recover from such loss. This question is not explored in this study but is worthy of further research.

2.4 Behavioural response to disasters

In understanding behaviour relating to pre and post natural disasters the author relies on Sunseri's literature review for guidance. The review provides a glimpse at response behaviours with respect to disasters and examines two case studies of two earthquakes in Kobe, Japan and Los Angeles, USA (2005).

What is useful to know are the key topics Sunseri extracted from the literature. These include distinguishing between response behaviour relating to collective, household and individual behaviour. Also recognising what is behaviour mythology associated in a disaster context demystifies panic, and looting behaviour whilst denying and practical behaviours are all examined and discussed. Moreover the relationship between disaster and recovery is explained (2005).

According to Smith and Belgrave, collective behaviour is strongly influenced by themes such as social structure and social interaction (2003) also enduring social relationships is important argue Aguirre, Wenger & Vigo (1998) to distinguish between collective and institutionalised behaviour and to identify the dynamics causing the collective behaviour. Household behaviour is mostly explained by the cultural and cognitive variables in response behaviour (Asgary & Willis, 1997). These themes are of significance to this research because they strong supply the idea that social and cultural dimensions such as norms, values and practices are strong factors as to how one behaves pre and post tsunami. On the other hand, individual and group behaviour responses differ and depend on pre-disaster personality (Glenn, 1979). If this is correct, when we think of the Samoan context we can assume that the fa'aSamoa strongly influences the response behaviour pre and post tsunami in 2009. In fact both, collective and household behavioural responses resonate well with this community because the way in which one responds is based on family structure which in turn is influenced by the 'matai' system and the institutions such as the church, village and community groups.

Literature on disaster mythology describes panic flight as being associated with intense fear automatically results in irrational flight the running in any direction without thought given to a rational escape route (Fisher, 1998) and it conjures up images of havoc, disorganisation and chaos" (Quarantelli 1954) panic behaviour is typically seen as irrational, antisocial, impulsive, non-functional, maladaptive and inappropriate"

However, most contemporary disaster research has found that immediate 'panic' responses to threatening situations are quite uncommon. Instead, responses typically develop sequentially, over a period of time (Tong & Canter 1985). People tend to wait for information about a situation, and look to others for help in interpreting cues of potential threats cues before taking action (Feinberg & Johnson 1995; Tong & Canter 1985). Thus, clarification of ambiguous cues by threatened individuals is seen as an interactive process that precedes any reactions.

Sunseri goes on to highlight theoretical explanations proposing psychologists view is that the main impetus of behaviour results from cognitive perceptions developed by human interaction including that which is social and cultural (Dooley et al, 1992, Mileti and O'Brien, 1992). This suggests that individuals behave according to their social and cultural conditioning developed over time and dependent on other notions of environment and space.

2.5 Vulnerability in context

The construct of 'vulnerability' is often used in risk, hazards and disaster research (Cutter, 1996) and one needs to appreciate the relationship between vulnerability and the Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship environment. Therefore a brief overview of this phenomenon is useful for this study. According to some authors, vulnerability has not been easy to define (Barnett, 2001). Hence, Cutter identifies eighteen definitions from the hazards literature expanding on the broad definition of vulnerability as 'potential for loss' but stresses that after much research vulnerability still means different things to different people (1996). The hazards literature suggests that location and social disadvantage initiates vulnerability (Barnett, 2001) and often expresses as income poverty (Cutter, 1996). As such, geographic and social disadvantage feature as key restraints from a list of seven that disadvantaged people typically face when they consider self-employment (O'Donnell, et al 2003).

Initially, the study of vulnerability has had to address the biophysical elements as a response to the climate change and rising sea levels but also to complement this primary focus, is to also include a study on the social vulnerability aspect, both of which,

are important dimensions of this research. In response to this situation a full vulnerability assessment has become now more common practice to satisfy the needs of these two equally important and integral areas in alleviating potential income poverty and social disadvantage that typically follow the destruction. Nevertheless, the bigger issue here is the question of habitability of the islands which is a major policy concern in the region. So, there is a call for a more comprehensive assessment of vulnerability of the "whole island systems is where the full gamut of biophysical, social and the biophysical-social interactions" deserves total consideration (Barnett, 2001, p.979). Whilst habitability is not the pending fate for Samoa, it would still be unwise for Samoa and other island nations to neglect these types of assessments for decision and policy makers so they can be better prepared for natural disasters. There is much to learn from the Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tokelau.

2.6 Resilience explained

Associated with the phenomenon of natural disaster is the notion of resilience. Any discussion involving natural disasters and vulnerable communities includes understanding resilience as a major outcome of these conditions. Hence, Hollings (1973) defines resilience as "the persistence of relationships within a system" and "the ability of these systems to absorb changes of state variables, driving variables, and parameters, and still persist" (p.47). So, in other words, in spite of change the persistence of relationships still prevail. Barnett proposes that in terms of climate change and sea level rising in Pacific countries, it is important that the pursuit of resilience is integral to the development of adaptive capacity, that is an ability to learn from and learn to re-organise to meet changed conditions (2001,p.984). Barnett goes on to say that resilience is most often cast in terms of response to impacts which are essentially negative in nature, however, a society which is flexible and able to shift rapidly is also able to exploit any positive opportunities that might arise in an uncertain future (2001).

The relevance of the literature for this study is the existence of studies that demonstrate adaptation strategies developed over time from a Pacific context. There seems to be

sufficient evidence available to show that people have maintained habitation of the Pacific islands during periods of substantial exogenous and human-induced environmental changes although at times adaptation at times traumatic (see Kirch, 1997; Nunn, 1999, 2000). Campbell argues that Pacific Island societies have historically had a range of practices that made them resilient to climate extremes, and that since colonisation these have been modified to suit changed political and economic circumstances (Campbell, 1990, 1998). Barnett identifies a list of these practices that have enabled Pacific peoples to overcome such conditions: Social interaction as shown in Campbell's study of cyclone response in the Banks Islands of Vanuatu in which Campbell locates pre-colonial resilience of people in well-established and complex of political and social interactions among the island group (1990). The typical forms of interaction included marriage, trade of food surpluses and the circulation of shell money. Furthermore, trade between communities and islands was normal practice and a strategy subsequently after a natural disaster as in the case of Banks Island in Vanuatu, and in Samoa and Tokelau after cyclone Ofa (Fauolo cited in Campbell, 1999; Hooper, 1990). Nevertheless, this requires good social relations with "neighbours" argues Torry (1979). Barnett asserts that diversity and reciprocity are two concepts that are characteristic of strategies to withstand hard times triggered by natural disasters (Barnett, 2001). Diversity refers to planting of diverse arrays of plants in gardens and through biodiversity in the immediate environment which provides for famine foods when garden foods fail. Reciprocity refers to 'give in return' or to counter another's offer of support (Barnett, 2001). Consequently the chains of dependency between communities provided resilience to sudden shocks (Boyden, 1987).

However, there is a view that interdependency chain amongst Pacific islands that was their coping system against adversity has been replaced with an interdependency chain that has shifted from community-island-island group to community-island-international. Campbell believes that the reciprocity between island groups is no longer a strong factor rather a dependency on influences outside of the integrated and interdependence system that stimulate mutual and sustaining benefits for all stakeholders (Barnett 2001, p.987). This is interesting theorising by Campbell which aligns well with this research to test whether there has been a shift from reciprocity between island groups to dependency on outside influence that is from international

benefactors. Perhaps this has been attributed to migration further abroad and the steady growth of the tourism sector.

The hope is that this brief overview of the literature in relation to the key constructs has helped to create the landscape on which to build further discussion in Chapter 5.

The next section Chapter 3 is the methodology section which explains the research methodology chosen and the rationale for the approach undertaken by this study. It also provides a description and justification of the methods employed in the data collection and analysis stages.

3.0 CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The aim of the study is to investigate the entrepreneurial behaviour when dealing with uncertainty and overcoming obstacles. The author applies van Gelderen's descriptive model of perseverance to understand the level of perseverance used by the Samoan entrepreneurs and suggests a menu of perseverance strategies as a guide.

There are several factors to consider when looking at my choice of methodology. Firstly I think it very important to locate myself as a Pacific researcher since being of Samoan descent qualifies me so. Secondly, my research is based in Samoa on Samoan micro-enterprises impacted by the tsunami (2009) which places the participants in their own natural environment. It is established that Samoan entrepreneurship aligns well with indigenous entrepreneurship theory. Finally, when you are a Pacific researcher engaged in Pacific research then the ultimate goal is to serve the Pacific community. This is a privilege but comes at a price and with sacrifice. Pacific research nearly always acts in the best interest of the researched (Tupuola, 1994; Baba, 2004). Therefore the methodology must align itself to this aspiration. Hence, careful consideration and design is necessary to give respect to the cultural perspective that it deserves. With this in mind, if Pacific is the focus then the outcome or destination will always be to benefit the collective.

3.1 What are the Pacific voices on methodology for Pacific research?

Increasingly, Western and Eastern methodologies are no longer the only option for academics and researchers due to pioneering and innovative Pacific scholars and researchers who found it problematic that researching Pacific communities without specific ethnic based methodologies. The landscape has indeed changed. Urged on by a common belief and desire to develop an approach that contradicted the ethnocentric view but rather to be grounded on Pacific values and the embedded-ness of practices that would invoke cultural sensitivities and spiritual nuances providing a more accurate representation of the truth and alignment to the Pacific peoples being researched (Tupuola, 1994; Baba,2004). Tupuola challenges Mead's findings based on a

controversial study on Samoan adolescence from which then began the development of a more culturally sensitive methodology for Samoan research (1994, p180). It concerned and frustrated Tupuola that Mead's study was the main and in some cases the only point of reference for undergraduate and postgraduate studies on Samoan adolescent girls. The findings of Meads study have been regarded as very controversial and highly contentious; criticised for its inaccuracy and misleading representation of the participants' reality. In fact, Tupuola describes the issues raised in the study as "disgusting and offensive" (pp176-177). So, in her own research Tupuola was adamant "to minimise exploitation and on-going ethnocentrisms" as integral to her approach throughout "by prioritising the cultural and gender needs of both the researcher and participants" (p.180). Whether intentional or accidental, the fact remains when researching other cultures it is important that the reality and truth is retold with a sensitivity that leaves the community dignity intact and not damaged. This is especially relevant when dealing with such poignant experiences of participants who have suffered great loss.

Another pioneer in non-Western methodologies, and more specifically on indigenous research methods is Linda Tuhiwai-Smith's whose work contained in *"Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples" (1999)*. Tuhiwai-Smith revolutionised the world of research for indigenous researchers. Wilson in her review of Tuhiwai-Smiths book highlights the power of research and representation (2001). Tuhiwai-Smith warns researchers of the need to critique their own "gaze" and to reflect on the potential for their representations to be encoded as the "truth and for the alternative readings to be marginalised (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Referring that researchers 'gaze' has not always been true representation of the researched, but assumed as the universal truths, therefore marginalising the truth of the indigenous people.

Baba adds that Pacific research needs to be culturally inclusive. Research is an avenue where indigenous voices have been heard but through constructs that are 'etic' (Baba, 2004).

Hence, a variety of methodologies have been developed over time and become available and accessible to both Pacific and non-Pacific researchers. However, Mafile'o (2005) stressed the need to have an ethnic specific base approach, as there is danger in

assuming or asserting that a Pacific methodology is a 'one size fits all' or generic model, believing that a culture should be able to hold on to its own uniqueness, celebrating standing from the base of its own culture, customs and traditions. This approach is about being culturally specific and when one researches anything to do with Samoa, inevitably, the fa'aSamoa or Samoan culture has to be considered and embedded in the study for reality and accuracy of meaning.

One can choose to apply these new approaches to use in isolation or what is also recommended for use is a mixture of Western and Pacific to achieve desired and optimum results. This expectation is a work in progress according to Pacific academics who assert that ideally it is about the co-creation and or co-construction of new layers adding to the richness of the existing platforms (Vaioleti, 2006). This is important since the robustness and rigor of Pacific research methodology strengthens the reliability and validity of findings; two pertinent areas that come under close scrutiny by Western academics for being traditionally in deficit.

Clearly Pacific research methodologies need to be defined for non-Pacific researchers but Pacific researchers can get it wrong too. Vaioleti claims that "even Pacific researchers, endeavouring to create Pacific knowledge with their own people, must adhere strictly to research methods that are foreign to them. The impact of such action sanitises out elements such as unseen loyalty to kin system, actions associated with recognition of spiritual or cultural order, church obligations and deep cultural concepts that affect Pacific people's realities..."(2006). Vaioleti makes a valid point and highlights key reasons why this may happen. Firstly, Pacific scholars and academics either get too comfortable with the use of western methods. Second, they find it more convenient to utilise the western approaches. Finally, there is no other option. Whichever way, they can miss the opportunity of capturing those all important cultural and spiritual nuances that reveal the underlying truths that dictate and inform how and why Pacific people carry their lives the way they do.

Qualitative versus quantitative or both?

My research topic is a strong determinant for choosing a qualitative framework as an appropriate choice for my methodology. The most influential factor is that it is ideal for understanding the experiences of a community especially under traumatic circumstances whilst respecting their environment. This then dictates the way in which we approach the participants that is with respect, building caring relationships and in a reciprocal manner. This is important if the process is to withstand the varied complexities that come with learning from a traumatic but enriching situation.

The qualitative methodology is predominantly based on interpretive and naturalistic paradigms (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) providing a framework designed to favour the researched and to protect their knowledge, integrity and their environment during the study. It has been well established that "researchers often study phenomena in their natural settings, attempting to make sense or interpret their research objects in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Glaser and Strauss, 1965; Denzin and Lincoln 1994a). It was important that the participant's stories emerged naturally and without influence encouraging aspirations of grounded theory even if it meant the original aims and objectives of the study had to be altered in the process. This fits with the principles of interpretive thinking, which uses inductive reasoning which is formed when allowing the themes and patterns to emerge from the interview narratives (Klenke, 2008,) .

The goal here is always to keep an open mind on the problem, collecting the evidence and then using it to construct a picture of what happened. Furthermore, working 'bottom up' is a great technique in that it works by moving from the specific observations (evidence) to the broader patterns. So I began with specific observations and measures, from there I would try to spot patterns and regularities from which I could then formulate some tentative hypotheses that I could explore, and finally end up developing some general conclusions.

Another significant factor for using qualitative approach is that it takes an empathetic attitude to the people being researched. Dealing with trauma requires a tremendous amount of empathy. One thing is handling people's stories another is working with people who have lost a spouse, a father, mother, children, and livelihoods. Empathy

implies compassion, patience and sincerity. Additionally, it promotes smaller sample sizes that quantitative, which is appropriate in this context and the collection of data in words which are analysed for themes is preferred. However, many also view a multi-methodology as an ideal approach (Makela and Turcan, 2007; Bryman, 2004).

Grounded theory (GT) in entrepreneurship research

The theoretical approach to this research uses grounded theory. In particular, like Morrison, *"grounded theory in critical interaction with relevant literature has been developed in the attempt to elucidate the essential characteristics of Samoan indigenous entrepreneurship and its cultural relevance"* (2008). This study also appreciates the influences of other key approaches such as 'hermeneutics' formed on the basis that the central issue is 'verstehen' or understanding of written text. Furthermore it concentrates on gaining a 'phenomenological' perspective with elements of symbolic interaction. This places emphasis on people's reaction to an event depending on how they interpret the situation. Makela and Turcan defines grounded theory simply as

> *"...theory derived from data that has been systematically collected and analysed using an iterative process of considering and comparing earlier literature, its data and the emerging theory (see Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998)."*

Grounded theory methods provide the researcher flexibility to work with both qualitative data (unstructured interviews) and quantitative data (systematic questionnaires) (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994a). This combination is most useful in acquiring rich, reliable data. I am researching a relatively un-researched area so grounded theory in this situation is particularly effective and especially when there is little empirical validation of current perspectives (Eisenhardt, 1989) or where a new perspective is sought (Hitt et al. 1998). Also, grounded theory is effective for when detailed reasons are required to explain the existence of an issue assert Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu & Finau (2001) and more notably, it is befitting of studies with a strong ethnographic flavour.

Consultation

In Pacific research it is paramount to consult caution Anae et al,

> *"One of the main purposes for consultation is to help resolve possible contentious or difficult issues in the research process before the project starts. Initial and on-going consultation can prevent problems from arising in the research process unforeseen by researchers working in isolation. It can also help for overcoming problems that may develop"* (2001, p.22).

This advice prompted me to ensure that I was effective in my approach by consulting at the start of the research and that the appropriate people were consulted. In particular, Anae, et al, are clear about the need for consultation from defining the research question (2001) to the dissemination of the research findings. They argue that consultation at the outset helps ensure that both the researchers and the Pacific communities will benefit from the research project by matching research interest with local needs". So I know I had to seek consultation about my research topic and questions and my process. By doing this reassured and confidence that this was not just about me but about giving something back to the community under observation. There is a view that some research is driven by commercial, political and personal needs. Violet poses a relevant question and asks researchers "who is this going to be useful for?" (2006, p.23). My answer is 'yes' it fulfils a requirement to complete my master's qualification. But then the dreaded question that follows is so, to what end will this be of benefit to others? I am hopeful that this research will be useful to the individuals and communities affected by the tsunami of 2009 and that the wider global community can learn from the rich experiences of the participants. Therefore, to help with critical areas of the research and to inform my decisions I consulted the following people:

My first consultation was with a very good friend and colleague, the Director of Pacific Centre at Unitec who has a large Pacific network in NZ and Fiji. Her advice was to consult widely and regularly throughout the process.

Subsequently, I contacted the CEO of Women in Business Development Inc. (WIBDI) in Samoa. I had a lot of positive input from the CEO and after several emails, phone calls and face to face conversations on the issues I wanted to address in my research and the possibility of using WIBDI as my host organisation we reached an agreement as to how I would go about it. Most importantly I received affirmation that the research would benefit the rural communities affected by the tsunami.

Next, I consulted with another colleague, a respected member of the Samoan community in New Zealand, whose family suffered significantly from the tsunami. I wanted to gauge his feelings and advice on my (1) topic (2) timing of my interviews and (3) gain another perspective on a choice of methodology. Again, I received great support and sound advice especially on methodology, framing of questions and was reassured that the timing would not be an issue and that his community and particularly his family members impacted would receive the research in good spirit. His comments and support meant a lot to me because in a sense he was giving me his blessing to proceed.

It was also necessary to talk to one of the psychologists from New Zealand who supported the tsunami victims immediately after the event. After being introduced by the CEO of WIBDI we connected by email communication and I received invaluable insight from a trained professional who supported the survivors throughout this ordeal. This guidance made me aware as to how I might address potential issues during the interviews and how to strategies for these.

Finally, I also discussed my topic and research intent with several colleagues and senior lecturers at Unitec and Massey University. They imparted invaluable insights on conducting research moreover they shared with me various disciplinary knowledge that I would find useful on my journey. They indicated a shared interest in Samoan entrepreneurship and the application of perseverance strategies in a very dynamic environment.

The consultation with everyone proved helpful not only in building confidence before going into the study but also in gaining the support from my community which was invaluable especially when I was immersed in data collection. For example, WIBDI was integral in the major aspects of data collection and especially in ensuring that the cultural practices that I was inexperienced in would be adhered to. Furthermore,

consultation helped with the issues surrounding choosing an appropriate methodology. Consequently the idea of using a hybrid approach for my methodology would be best in yielding optimum results.

Methods

To induce the best from the research participants meant choosing the most appropriate and effective data collection methods. Linking natural disasters to the notion of critical incidents is significant as the importance of specific critical incidents in the stimulation of learning from these (Burgoyne and Hodgson, 1983) was a relevant step for the study methods. Learning through experience is continuous (Cope and Watts, 2000); unconscious even informal (Marwick and Watkins, 1990); also both, unintentional and accidental (Murphy and Young, 1995). Therefore, Cope and Watts warn that *"for these grounds, makes trying to build an understanding of this phenomenon in a research setting presents significant methodological challenges* (2000, p.17)*,* and problematic even to the research, if not conducted appropriately.

This lead to the critical incident technique recommended by Cope and Watts for its design focus on "critical moments" in the life of the owner and the business and that the "perceived criticality" of the event(s) would make them easier to recall and through the interview process, the antecedents of each event, its resolution and what was learned from the incident could be explored in some detail (2000). The critical incident methodology aligns well to the qualitative researcher's need to "deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretative methods, always seeking better ways to make more understandable the worlds of lived experience that have been studied" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.12).

The two primary techniques for sourcing data is based on the semi-structured approach in which the main method was the 'face to face' interviewing of participants where I digitally recorded the 'talanoa' (talk) sessions to capture their stories in understanding the impact of the tsunami on the owner and the business; more importantly to get an improved sense of what their attitudes, perceptions and learning outcomes were towards the key themes as a result of having experienced a 'tsunami'. In the interviews,

I asked specific questions on the relevant topics for discussion. This is covered in more detail later in this section.

Additionally, I needed a complementary method to collect very specific questions so I used a more structured quantitative format by using a questionnaire to source explicit data to better understand the participants' behavioural responses in relation to perseverance strategies in the pursuit of goals in an entrepreneurial context.

I was apprehensive about this approach and was not sure how this would be for the participants and wondered how they would cope with the questions as they were very specific and to the point and some situations and concepts would be familiar to them of needed to be significantly contextualised for meaning on their part and therefore answer the questions to suit our purposes. However, as the next section explains, my concerns were alleviated.

Interviewing tsunami survivors

With all this to consider, I was plagued with a big feeling of inadequacy. I kept asking myself: How does one go about this kind of research when there is a question of how much knowledge and training do I actually have in dealing with survivors of a tsunami? How do I support the participants when they feel emotional when reliving that fateful day. Further, how do I ensure I have the right support for myself throughout the entire process? I get apprehensive as the sense of great responsibility takes over and triggers a thought that would reoccur throughout the whole research that "I must get it RIGHT". I felt a lot of pressure.

My feelings of apprehension were allayed as I researched how others worked with similar participants who had experienced a tsunami to see how they dealt with such convoluted and sensitive issues such as: (1) human emotion and dealing with pain and (2) the participants speak little or no English they are mostly, if not all, inhabitants of the rural villages on the South Coast of Upolu island, Samoa;. These two issues presented a situation that needed cultural sensitivity but also required finesse in

recognising psychological issues; the richness and quality of the data would be dependent on these capabilities.

The wisdom offered by Dudley et al as a result of their study provided some guidance. They share some insights when dealing with tsunami survivors in their work (2009, p.158):

> *"Tsunami survivor interviews are unlike most in that there are no second takes. For many survivors this is not telling of a story but the reliving of an intense emotional experience, the most traumatic experience of their lives."*

Also, they caution that:

> *"Interviewees must be allowed to recall and describe events without coaching.... and interruption and should not be interrogated with closed questions."*

This was very helpful during the interview process, but it does not diminish the enormity of the situation.

3.2 The Chosen methodology

I chose to follow the guidelines set out by Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu & Finau in their Pacifica Education Research Guidelines (2001) because it reassured me that the aims and objectives of my study whilst adhering to key principles and best practices is suited to researching Pacific people but also capable of delivering academic rigour and robustness. In essence these guidelines are:

   a) sensitive to contemporary Pacific contexts (including inter and intra ethnic dynamics (Tiatia, 1998; Anae, 1998; Tupuola, 1999);
   b) capable of embracing existing Pacific notions of collective ownership (Fana'afi 1986);
   c) capable of embracing collective shame (Mavoa and Sua'ali 2001);
   d) capable of embracing collective authoritarian structures (Sua'ali'i, 2001; Anae 1998; Coxon 1997):
   e) capable of withstanding the test of time

Once immersed in the study I found that I was indeed working between two methodological paradigms Western and Pacific and fortunately they complemented one another well. For example, as established, the qualitative research approach predominantly prefers working with smaller sample sizes and uses the interviewing technique that promotes an unstructured format therefore allowing the participants relative freedom to tell their experiences. The added benefit is that these parameters are suitable for working with Pacific peoples. Nonetheless, as suggested by Pacific researchers, for optimum results key adaptations are needed when dealing with Pacific peoples such as enforcing values like building the relationship first, practicing reciprocity and upholding mutual respect (Tupuola, 1994, Lilomaiava-Doktor, 1999).

Sampling and the Participants

Having specifically chosen to study entrepreneurs, it dictates the need for my sample to be representative of this population. The micro entrepreneurs are selected on the basis of two key factors: the availability of the participants on the day of visit and local knowledge of WIBDI field staff. As mentioned earlier, I purposefully chose to research individuals and not organisations as my level of analysis therefore aspiring mainly for theoretical relevance and representativeness (Davidsson, 2004). This meant I needed to make sure my approach to sampling individuals as the level of analysis satisfied the requirements of contemporary entrepreneurship research study that was (1) worthy of pursuit and (2) the process and implementation were conducted in the appropriate manner. Davidsson's assertions on this matter forces me to concentrate on one of the four areas of focus when sampling individuals, that is, how structural and situational factors influence entrepreneurial behaviour. This condition places the emphasis on how entrepreneurs respond to change brought on by structural and situational factors.

To satisfy validity and reliability issues Davidsson suggests that on the individual level of analysis (2004) researchers should refer to distal (personality and personal background) and proximal (goals, interests and intentions) explanatory variables based

on distinctions made by Delmar (1996). This perspective recognises that other outcome measures than survival, growth and financial could be used, such as goal achievement, skill development and satisfaction (van Gelderen, Van der Sluis and Jansen, 2005). Goal achievement is chosen because it is a key variable of interest when studying perseverance (van Gelderen, 2012) and it would be helpful to understand it better in relation to indigenous entrepreneurship and natural disasters.

Purposive sampling is the preferred sampling method and moreover it works well in a Pacific context (Anae et al, 2001, p.32). This technique provides for sampling by using a set of criteria for selecting participants, determined by my research question. Therefore, key criteria for my participants would be that they: (1) had experienced the tsunami; (2) managed or owned their business at the time and (3) willing to share their experiences. The beauty of this approach was the associated flexibility and relative ease switching between working with either a fixed number of participants at the beginning or to adapt to theoretical saturation mode once there it was clear that there was no new data being collected after each stage of analysis.

Davidsson warns of sampling issues when using individuals as a level of analysis and refers to entrepreneurs as not being a well-defined population but a hazy moving target (2004, Ch5, p.70).

> *"...the researcher should try to do better than using any available list...but sometimes, it may be necessary to start from such a frame, but then additional information collected from the respondents can be used to distil a sub-sample that is better qualified from a theoretical point of view".*

This is a comforting point made by Davidsson as it addresses the issue of credibility. I felt that, in this case, it was necessary to start from this sampling frame due to the nature and sensitivity of the critical incident and the cultural aspects. I was initially apprehensive about which sampling method to use but found that elements of quote and snowball sampling found their way into the process either by default or inadvertently to accommodate the unpredictable nature of the individuals and environment under study.

Due to the nature of the study particularly in dealing with tsunami survivors I was keen to understand what others did when researching similar individuals and in particular what to look for in potential participants. Dudley et al's criteria for participant selection for their study on videoing tsunami survivor stories gave me good direction (2009) included: a) the individual's personal experience during tsunami event; b) the ability to effectively communicate this experience and c) to have a clear lesson that can be learned from the experience.

I settle on using criteria one from Dudley et al's list plus my own criteria listed below for the participants' selection criteria: 1) in business at the time of the event 2) a member of WIDBI organisation 3) a resident of the Lalomanu and Falealili districts

The sample of twenty-one participants yielded two primary groups, vegetable farmers and beach fale operators. I decided to categorise the participants into these two main groups because firstly they are typical of the types of micro-enterprises in the rural Samoan setting. Secondly, it would be helpful for the data analysis process especially for making comparisons between the two groups, thus increasing the robustness of the research. Four interviews were not included in the analysis due to two audio recordings were lost in transit and another two audio recordings could not be transcribed as they were subject to inaudibility and poor quality issues with the recorder equipment.

In Group One are the vegetable farmers. A total of eleven altogether, of which nine are female and two are male. Whereas, in Group Two there are seven beach fale operators of which five are female and two are male.

Recruiting and Interviews

I consulted with WIBDI's general manager who worked closely and with me to identify the locations and therefore participants along the impacted South Coast line. The participants were then selected by the host organisation using my set criteria. My main thinking behind giving WIBDI this responsibility of recruiting stemmed from a desire to mitigate the risk of harm to the participant as a result of the reliving traumatic experiences such as loss of family and homes and the possible dealing with on-going

hopelessness and grief as a result of that tragic event. To reduce risk of harm, a certain level of trust needed to be already in place between the researcher and the researched.

I my ethics application I covered key strategies to offset potential risk to the participants. However, instinctively I knew that my local guide had the right attributes to be my interviewer (1) she was well known, trusted and respected by the local business community along the Aleipata and Falealili districts and (2) she is family member of one of the prominent families significantly impacted by the tsunami and (3) is a 'matai' (chief). However, sometimes being too well known in the community or have a high status may influence the participants to respond in a certain way or withhold vital information because of the 'matai' status of the interviewer. To address this, we discussed possible obstacles and decided that throughout the interviewing stages we would have short briefing and debriefing sessions before and after each interview. The objective of each session was to identify any areas of influence that either of us may have on the interviews or interviewees. For example, discuss how the questions were delivered and recognise times when we felt tempted to 'put words' in the mouth of the participants. In the pilot testing of the questions we discovered that this was happening especially after reading the transcriptions. So in the 2nd phase of data collection this improved a lot as the interviewees were given freedom to answer the question as they interpreted the question and we only intervened when we felt that there was a lot of digression. We used probing questions as a technique to bring them back to the question. Overall, my initial reservations of using my chosen interviewer were allayed as the benefits outweighed the negatives.

In the end knowledge, experience and established relationships were essential to a successful data collection process therefore quality rich stories from which to untainted emerging themes could be extracted. Moreover, it generated comfort and confidence that the participants would be cared for throughout the entire the process, due to the collaborative efforts between me, WIBDI and also others with whom I had consulted.

Recruiting interviewers and participants

I decided to use my principal adviser from WIBDI as my interviewer. This was based on several capabilities integral to a Samoan context such as: local knowledge, fluent Samoan speaking in formal and informal speech and familiarity of participant business history.

For the interview types and facilitation we adopted the commonly used and most effective technique for Pacific people, that is, face to face interviews (Anae et al, 2001). Here the authors recommend using proper introductions and closing of interviews to suit the circumstances and participant, in particular the practice of cultural protocols that might need to be observed when introducing oneself to family or community. In support, to ensure her research had the Samoan spark Faletolu, insisted that her research needed to include elements of the Samoan culture so that participants were able to feel 'connected' and 'included' in the process (2010).

Here my principal cultural advisor briefed me well and ensured these practices were carried out throughout as and when required on our behalf. In all, if not most of the interviews, at the beginning of the interviews a formal process of *fa'aaloalo* (respect) takes place. This is where the participant will formally welcome us into their home and makes us feel very welcomed. Then in response the guests or interviewer will (1) acknowledge the speaker who is the host and participant and thanks them for accepting and welcoming us and (2) offers a brief explanation for our visit. It would not be appropriate to proceed with the interview until this protocol has been performed. So the importance of a fluent Samoan speaker who was also knowledgeable of the traditional fa'aSamoa is highlighted here. Other Samoan protocols also adhered to throughout the interview process might be the receiving and accepting of refreshments can be a formal situation especially if the participant is a matai (chief).

Similarly, in the closing of interviews the adherence to customary Samoan way of giving thanks and appreciation for the time spent is important. Sometimes a gift is exchanged at this point, but we established earlier in the consultation process that an allowance would be paid only if the participant was required to come into to town, Apia for the interview. This would pay for their return travel and light meal whilst in town. I was initially surprised of this advice as I was expecting to carry out the common practice of a

'mea-alofa' or gift but was advised that for the organisation, this practice was not really necessary nor encouraged as the spirit of sharing their experiences for a common good would be dictated by financial gains in return which stimulates dependency; a behaviour the organisation believed did not necessarily help local people and communities in the long term. This was good enough rationale for me as an 'outsider' in this case.

Whilst I speak the Samoan language I did not feel I was the best person to conduct the interviews for reasons already explained. Additionally, I wanted to observe the participants during the interviews. I also felt that my level of Samoan speaking was inadequate to convey the questions with clarity. This was an important aspect of the interviews as it encouraged a good flow of conversation for the interviewees from which they could tell their stories. The role of the interviewer did not extend to the analysis of the data.

All the interviews, with the exception of two, were conducted in the Samoan language. These two interviews were conducted in English because the participants spoke good English and were comfortable to be interviewed in English. During the interview we employed the Pacific approach of the 'talanoa' or the 'kakala' approach, accepted in grounded theory research as a suitable model Vaioleti (2006) when in engaging with Pacific people. In the 'talanoa' process the focus is removing barriers that could cause an uneven flow of information. So this physically meant sitting cross- legged on a concrete floor covered by mat in the participant's home in a space void of any furniture in between the researcher and researched. This created a good space or 'va' between the researcher and the participants. In the event when the participants came into town to the WIDBI offices for the interviews, the interview setting was arranged in such a way that the interviewer and interviewee sat side by side rather have a table in between them. By observing this norm for Pacific people fostered good relationships and it encouraged a 'talanoa' style in which the participants felt relaxed and that they had the freedom to be expressive without interruption.

It was also decided that during the interview there will be some flexibility in that the interviewer can re-phrase the questions, if initially the participant did not understand

the meaning of the question and that it would be alright for that to continue until the participant fully understood the question.

We established research parameters with participants at the outset in which it was clearly explained to them what the research will and will not be covering. This was verbally conducted by going through with them a Samoan translation of the information sheet. Anae et al, assert that this is important to alleviate any false expectations that the interviewee might derive and or address any misrepresentations that the interviewee might perceive (2001). In spite of our good intentions here, there were times interviewees still needed to inquire as to whether potential financial support for their businesses could be sourced as a result of their participation or from the research. Our response was regretful that the study could not guarantee such an outcome but honest about its desire to use their story to encourage, benefit other communities outside of their immediate environment. This aspiration seemed to please and uplift most of the participants.

3.2.1 The interviews

As established earlier the interview questions were used to ascertain the extent of the impact of the tsunami on the participant's family business using a semi-structured approach where the interviewer asked eight broad open questions. The four general stages of the period-in-question were used to structure enquiry and were invoked by asking the following questions 1-4:

Q1: Describe the state of your business before the tsunami
Q2: Describe the extent of the damage by the tsunami on your business
Q3: Describe the recovery process specifically in relation to your business
Q4: Describe the state of your business after the tsunami

Furthermore, key topics such as behavioural competencies and coping skills under adverse conditions; demonstrating perseverance and resilience under extreme conditions were the focus of questions 5-8:

Q5: Describe a time immediately after the tsunami that tested your coping skills.

Q6: What support did you have in place for you your family and staff members?

Q7: Describe the development of your business as a result of the tsunami.

Q8: Tell me about a time when you came up with an innovative solution to a challenge as a result of the tsunami.

To support the broad line of questioning the use of probing questions is an effective interpretive tool that would look beyond the ideas (Angelides, 2001); it is suggested device to tease out what we really learned from the participants' account. Angelides argues that when participants "are asked to analyse critical incidents in which they were involved, people are often emotionally charged. Therefore we need a system of doing this that minimises these difficulties (2001, p436)". As a consequence of this suggestion I employ the use of probing questions throughout the interviews. Examples of these as follows:

When asked to describe the state of the business before the tsunami struck the probing questions were:

- What was your role in it?
- What role did others play in it?
- How did you go about dealing with this?
- What preventive systems did you have in place to cope with hazards and emergencies such as cyclones and hurricanes?

When asked what support system they had in place for themselves, their family and staff members the probing questions were:

- How did you recognise the need for help?
- How did you go about getting the right support / help?
- What do you differently?

All the participants decided to continue with their businesses or another business post tsunami even though in several cases this meant delaying the rebuilding a while after the event for varying reasons. However, it seemed that most of the participants were

motivated to start rebuilding almost immediately for economic reasons and because there was limited to no choice.

Questionnaire for perseverance strategies

The other method I used was a questionnaire format to gauge what perseverance strategies were employed by the participants. I used closed questions asking participants to choose the best option to describe what they actually did from a menu of practical strategies based on van Gelderen's descriptive process model compromising of four categories. What needs to be clear is that the survey questions asked the participants to select options for what they did and of importance to them as opposed to what perseverance actions they felt were most effective. So, the results will reflect on the intensity of use rather than what strategies were most effective. This does limit the scope of analysis but it provides a good starting point from which one can draw some relevant explanations, discussion and conclusions.

Furthermore, in practice the respondents can use all, none, or a number of these options at the same time. It would have been preferable to have asked the respondents to select accordingly but this was overlooked at the time of data collection. I was also unsure that the options would be easily translated into Samoan, without losing their meaning in the translation but in the end the approach I took proved adequate.

Category A: This includes perseverance strategies that directly affect the environment progress as increasing effort find alternative ways to reach goal, enlisting the help of others to solve the problem, suppress competing goals and activities so as to focus on solving a problem devise a plan and seek information. Also restraint coping as a mechanism is an option.

Category B: These are strategies that directly affect the input function or (re-appraisal). Here the focus is what aspects of the situation that can help one persevere such as positive reappraisal which can occur in several ways: 1) transference (Baumeister and Heatherton, 1996) that is taking a long term view. This approach, the transcendence of the immediate stimuli, is the objective and looks at the original vision or motive therefore taking the focus off the immediate problem, thus puts current obstacles into perspective and seeing things in a brighter light and generating hope;2) another

positive reappraisal strategy directs the attention of efforts to positive aspects and 3) attributes adversity to external, unstable and specific causes, based on Seligman's work on learned optimism that uses optimistic attribution, but also acknowledges the main issue is realism', so argues for flexible optimism where a number of reality checks reside (1991). Nonetheless when dealing with adversity the overall preference lies with optimistic attribution style.

Category C: Perseverance strategies involving the goal. The 3 strategies are (1) larger goals broken down into sub-goals (2) framing issues as learning goals rather than performance goals (Elliott and Dweck, 1988; Kaplan and Maehr, 2007) and (3) scaling back of goals relating to persistence (Carver and Scheier, 2003; 2005).

Category D: Perseverance strategies that increase ones coping options (increasing self-regulatory strength) also social support and distractions.

3.2.2 Perseverance questions

Perseverance strategies that directly affect the environment

Question One:

What action did you choose to deal with constraining factors caused by the tsunami?

a) I eliminated the constraint. How did you do this?
   i.   Tackled the problem head on
   ii.   Increased my efforts
   iii. Found alternative ways
   iv.   Enlist help from family, friends community
   v.   Devised a plan
   vi.   Sought information
b) I refrained from taking any action
c) Other

Perseverance strategies that directly affect the input function (re-appraisal)

Question Two:

Which of the following strategy did you apply to the events following the tsunami?

a) Transference (taking a longer-term or wider view)
b) Directing the attention to positive aspects

c) Attribute adversity to external, unstable and specific causes

d) Social comparisons

Perseverance strategies involving the goal

Question Three:

What did you do in terms of your business goals as a result of the tsunami?

a) Larger goals were broken down into goals

b) Framed issues as learning goals rather than as performance goals

c) Scaled back goals

Perseverance strategies that increase one's coping options (increasing self-regulatory strength)

Question Four:

What did you do to help you cope better with the events of the tsunami on your business?

a) Impulse control

b) Sought temporary distractions

c) Sought social support

       i.   Venting emotions

      ii.   Turning to religion

     iii.   Turning to sources of inspiration

d) Practiced self-regulatory strength

The Analytical Process

My primary approach to this study is using qualitative research in particular with regards to the data collection methods and data analysis methodology. The reasons for this choice have been covered in an earlier section of this chapter. However, both qualitative and quantitative research has been referred to in the study. For example, the use of a questionnaire to understand the perseverance strategies was used in the data collection. There is a perception that qualitative research is the easier choice but in

reflection I share the view that "qualitative enquiry, although essential to management and organisational research is also difficult to do" (Fendt & Sachs, 2008).

There is a lot of emphasis placed on the qualitative data yielded from twenty interviews of micro-entrepreneurs from the main areas impacted by the tsunami. I employed grounded theory as the mode of analysis (Yin, 1994) in tandem with relevant literature, observations; the researcher's personal and diary notes, video clips and local knowledge because of the lack of tested theory regarding entrepreneurship in this context.

Each interview was transcribed and translated from Samoan to English by a Samoan language expert. The process of 'back-translation' was contemplated by the researcher but due to time and cost constraints this did not occur. This concerned me as I felt it could present minor validity issues but my translator is an expert in her field and had just completed a major Samoan translation project for the Ministry of Education. Also, I felt confident in my own Samoan language capability to review the transcripts critically several times throughout the process: (1) on receipt of English transcripts (2) during coding the data and finally (3) throughout analysis mode. So, when I was in doubt or uncertain of meaning of the English words used in the translation I would refer back to the recordings of the interviews for context. What also helped was being able to recall the actual interview event and remembering the context of what had been expressed by the participant at the interview. The individual Samoan transcripts are saved and filed in both original and table format.

Subsequently, I created a table for each interview transcript and went through each individual question and summarised each one and repeated this process until I was confident that the key themes for the four phases under inquiry was captured: (1) state of the business pre-tsunami (2) the state of the business post-tsunami (3) how each entrepreneur coped with the adversity and (4) finally what innovative solutions or developments gained as a result of the tsunami. Themes have been identified through a process of data reduction' by using descriptive, topic and analytical coding (pp. 85- 102) as well as using categories (Richards, 2005) and a series of 'concept extractions' (Maylor & Blackmon, 2005).

The end result produced a summary of summaries which contained the key topics and themes that had emerged from the data. I then transferred the summary of summaries from the tables of the transcripts onto an excel spread-sheet which listed all of participants, the questions and the corresponding summaries. I repeated this exercise three times before I was satisfied with the outcome. I then printed this spread-sheet onto A2 paper from which I was able to extract the key themes again based on this composite collection of the participants' responses thus producing a synopsis of what was significant to the participant.

In an effort to achieve 'accurate evidence' Glaser & Straus advocate the use of comparative analysis (1967) which implies the need for fact. However, they assert that "in generating theory it is not the fact upon which we stand but the conceptual category that was generated from that" (p.23) is the focus. So, my analysis compares two main business categories. The participants were classified into two primary business categories: CAT 1 Vegetable farmers (VF); CAT 2 Beach Fale operators (BF)

The two categories also had secondary business activities such as crab sea fishing, sewing, selling food products in local school. This was common practice as micro-entrepreneurs and families often use their natural environment so whatever they are able to grow or catch they would sell any surplus after their consumption is met for income. But because the types of secondary activity were varied it was preferable to use the primary category as the basis for making comparisons between the two groups.

A process of triangulation was performed to analyse the qualitative data from the interviews and the quantitative results of the questionnaire.

The following is the format used for this research:

i. Approval from Massey University Human Ethics Committee (See Appendix One)
ii. The CEO WIBDI (host organisation) in Samoa was approached in relation to its willingness to participate as host. Also to act as local experts on all matters relating to the Samoan culture, political, social, economic and other environmental factors that would be of interest to the research project.
iii. The CEO was provided with the research project brief and general requirements for participants.

iv. Consulted widely with relevant members of the (1) Pacific and Samoan community (2) Colleagues and senior lecturers at Massey University and Unitec NZ and (3) psychologists and psychotherapists experienced in supporting severe trauma victims / survivors. They were consulted on the research topic and framing of research questions as well as the methodological approach stage (pp29-31).

v. Participants were identified by WIBDI Projects / Office Manager and asked in person. This was done by conducting via purposive sampling and then random visits to their homes in the villages and seeing if they were home. An information sheet about the project was translated from English to Samoan by WIBDI and handed to potential participants following the formal 'welcoming' process. All but one participant visited agreed to participate either on that day or on the agreed scheduled date at WIBDIs office in town.

vi. Interviewed participants: Phase One interviews: In this phase the pre-testing of the instrument and questions for effectiveness especially for context, understanding and meaning. There were seven participants in this phase in which all were interviewed in their homes at their villages. Phase Two interviews: In this phase there were fourteen participants, of which eleven were interviewed at the offices of WIBDI in Apia, Upolu. The remaining three were interviewed at Sunset View Beach Fales on the island of Manono Tai, off the coast of Upolu which was also affected by the tsunami.

vii. The duration of each interview was approximately one hour to one and half hours long. Each interview was carefully taken through the information sheet (see Appendix Two) before being asked to sign the consent documents (see Appendix Three). In all cases the participants were advised that if they were uncomfortable or felt distressed during the interview process as a result of the memories provoked by the questioning, then they had the option to either stop until they felt comfortable again to resume their response and or to withdraw entirely from the interview. This was necessary in some cases, but none of the participants withdrew from the interviews and or study.

viii. Questionnaire was translated from English to Samoan and participants completed these at the end of each interview. The researchers were on standby for questions.

ix. Interviews were then transcribed in Samoan then translated to English by a Samoan language expert and checked by the researcher.

x.   Data analysed using descriptive, topic and analytical analysis and triangulation of qualitative, quantitative data and current review of the literature.

xi.   Questionnaire responses were analysed by comparing the frequency of response to each question by the 21 participants. This was ascertained from the use of histogram charting techniques.

The participants have contributed a very rich and vibrant picture of their experiences from such a critical and traumatic event as the tsunami of 2009. As the interviews progressed, the researcher and interviewer became more relaxed and comfortable with the process, the interviews converted easily into the 'talanoa' style conversations which not yielded good rich data but it seemed to also allow the content of the conversation to lead the direction. Despite my anxieties about triggering strong emotions for the participants' by asking them to relive their traumatic experiences, they were surprisingly, very willing to tell their story. This is evident in the results section, their willingness to openly share and contribute to the learning process shines through. What seemed clear to me was that they had an understanding that through their participation in this study can aid and improve conditions for themselves, their families and other communities.

4.0 CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 The interviews

The interviews yielded themes such as diversity, reciprocity, adaptation, recovery and development. As there was no way to predict how the participants would respond, the resulting discussions were not necessarily produced in a linear fashion. This is particularly obvious with the responses to the pre-tsunami and post tsunami questions whereby participants tended to jump around in their recollections of these phases. For example a number of participants when asked about the state of the business before the event did not focus on this aspect but jumped to when the tsunami struck and immediately after that.

Describe the state of your business before the tsunami

Initially, especially in the pre-test phase, participants used this first question as an opportunity to offload everything they had experienced about the tsunami and therefore did not respond specifically to the question. For example, the response was less about the state of the business and more about re-telling anything they could recall about that fateful day and including ensuing thereafter. After the first three pilot interviews we changed tact as instead of taking one hour maximum for each interview we were spending in excess of one and half hours, a luxury we could not afford. So, from this point on we had to be clear that our inquiry was about their business at the time the tsunami struck. When they continued to digress we politely redirected them back by asking questions such as "so in terms of your business, can you please elaborate?" This worked well. However, I sensed that for majority participants it was really significant for them to be asked to share their experiences so we did not push it when the odd participant ignored our attempts to rein them back in. This was not a big issue.

Vegetable farmers' (VF) responses

Participants involved in growing fruit and vegetables or owned a plantation are categorised as VF. Some entrepreneurs were also engaged in alternative activities that

supplemented their income such as fishing, weaving and selling food in the village and wider community.

For this group, the key themes that emerged about their businesses before the tsunami were: *the entities were family owned and operated businesses, workers included mother and father and children, no employees, a lot of hard work, business tracking quite well and savings in case of emergency.* For example to have savings was a necessity according to VF participant 17 for "unexpected occurrences"; for VF participant 12 to "prepare for hard times" and VF participant 20 preparing for natural disasters.

What is difficult to ascertain here is the meaning of unexpected and hard times as these could refer to 'fa'alavelaves' (family obligation) and which can often be referred to as a constraint thus cause tension.

Beach fale operators' (BF) responses

The BF group include businesses engaged in the tourist sector. They are typically low budget and 'no frills' Samoan traditional fale accommodation situated on the beach front. Some of the BF businesses also grew vegetables and or maintained the family plantation as complementary business activities.

When asked about the state of their business prior to the tsunami key themes such as the entities were *family owned and operated by mother, father, children and extended family. Another important matter was that these businesses had been 'doing really well'* implied by comments such as 'always at *full occupancy'* as in the case of BF participant 5 and for BF participant 4 this was manifesting through *'expansion'* of her business with a mountain lodge that was being built at the time and *'reinvesting'* in the business as a result of more corporate clients for BF participant 3.

Another significant theme that emerged from the responses was that there was intense fear and signs of irrational flight both of which are signs of panic behaviour (Fisher, 1998) and "conjures up images of havoc, disorganisation and chaos" (Quarantelli 1954, p268)". *We were shocked when we saw the huge wave approaching. We were panicking and there were no preparations.*

Panic behaviour is typically seen as irrational, antisocial, impulsive, non-functional, maladaptive and inappropriate. For the majority of the participants the common behaviour included: irrational, impulsive and inappropriate behaviour. For instance BF participant 3 experienced all of these responses

> *"My husband came running up with the wheelbarrow calling out for everyone to get out from the house. Something is happening, a huge wave is coming. He threw the wheelbarrow at me at the back, but I just jumped out at the back and ran towards the forest."*

However, there is a contemporary view that posits 'panic' behaviour is uncommon rather "people tend to wait for information about a situation and look to others for help in interpreting cues of potential threats cues before taking action" (Feingberg & Johnson, 1995; Tong & Canter 1985). This type of behaviour occurred also. For example:

BF participant 9: *It was just the tourists who knew what to do. When the earthquake happened they all went up hill, but just didn't think about it.*

BF participant 11: *All of us who were training as ECE teachers we had training that when an earthquake occurs, we must go to higher places. So that was what I wanted to do to run to the mountain.*

Some participants tell us that they were led by others as in the case of BF participant 9 who took his cue from the tourists and copied them. But with BF participant 11 she had been trained and therefore knew what to do and therefore responded accordingly. So, it would seem that both 'panic' and the more developed & structured (Tong & Canter, 1985) behavioural responses to the tsunami occurred. Each strongly depended on whether one had received any previous information and training or not. The question is if everyone affected had received prior proper training and received the appropriate information about natural disasters would it have made any difference to the extent of the damage or overall responses to the tsunami? My view is there would be little or no difference in terms of extent of damage. However with regards to behavioural responses at the time of the event I assert that because the tsunami had not been experienced before by the Samoan people coupled with the lack of education and training attributed to their responses to it. Samoans mostly only experienced cyclones

and hurricanes. Also relevant here are the economic theories which propose that human response to disaster risks is influenced by economic resources.

Describe the extent of the damage by the tsunami on your business

This question was the perhaps the most straightforward to answer for all the participants but it was also the most emotional.

VF responses

When asked to describe the extent of the damage this groups reflections implied total destruction leaving a sense of hopelessness. Further they contained strong emotions such as sadness, fear, shock and depression because everything was lost home and business. For example, VF participant 1remembers "Everything was lost, broken and destroyed; I felt depressed"; VF participant 2 "Everything was destroyed; I lost all my tools for my business; fishing gear, garden tools"; and VF participant 5 "I was upset as majority of business was destroyed all our hard work was destroyed!" Such devastation and loss, stimulated immediate responses to the situation like quitting and not re-build. Such was the case for VF participant 5 and VF participant 18 who when recalling the memories both said this "I felt like quitting."

BF responses

Similarly for the beach fale owners the extent of the damage brought on by the tsunami generated everything was destroyed and lost. The question evoked strong emotions also and in addition to feelings of shock and fear, they also felt panic and anger on that fateful day. BF participant 9 says "everything was destroyed; felt panic; I wasn't thinking straight". BF participant 10 recalls that "everything was destroyed; felt shocked & panic, I never thought a tsunami would happen and there were no preparation or training programmes in our district." As for BF participant 16 her initial response to this question: "My feelings? I was agitated; not thinking straight...everything was destroyed."

I wonder why 'panic' is felt more by this group? I can only assume that maybe this is due to the nature of their business as they carry the extra responsibility of the safety of their guests as well as for their families. Unlike other entrepreneurs their sole concern was

for themselves and family. Although none of the participants explicitly refer to guest safety at this point of the interview, but throughout the interviews especially when post-tsunami developments are discussed this issue of safety and preventative measures for family and guests becomes apparently significant to these entrepreneurs.

On the surface it seemed as if the beach fale group experienced greater loss in terms of their business than the vegetable farmers. This was deducted from the reports made of beach operations right on the beachfront whereas vegetable gardens and plantations away from the coast and uphill. This does not diminish the loss felt by the vege farmers.

Describe the recovery process specifically in relation to your business

When asked to describe the recovery process the participants automatically referred to support in terms of financial, clothing, food, cooking equipment, and other essential household items. But after distilling it further to the business needs the main picture consisted of clearing of land, rebuilding of facilities essential to business activities e.g. beach fales, learning and developing new skills. The new skills are mainly focused on horticultural and agricultural practices for vegetable gardening in particular the organic farming promoted by WIBDI and the traditional plantation work. The tsunami seemed to highlight the need for people not only to continue with the practice of having dual and even multiple sources of income but to also look at ways of advancing methods so that quick results therefore profit could be realized faster. VF participant 19 remembers that WIBDI helped with best horticultural practice and business and advice during this recovery phase.

This diversification of products / service is a strategy for adapting to change forced on them by natural disasters and reflection that making the most of one's natural resources readily available to the family thus the collective.

VF responses

The vege farmers quoted help received primarily from family, the Samoan government, departments and agencies e.g. Samoa Tourism Association (STA)and Small Business office (SBEC), NGOs like Samoa Red Cross (SRC) and WBDI. Family help consisted of overseas and from within Samoa. The responses of following participants are

characteristic of this group. According to VF participant 2 there was "a lot of help offered such as seeds plants, fencing material and building items and also training programmes". Also VF participant 12 confirms that her "son (in Australia) bought fishing gear and tools for plantation; young men from village helped with plantation. We also received Aid from other countries. I did the planting; received help from children." Similarly, VF participant 19 mentions "The Red Cross was a big help. Government departments helped and government farming and business programmes."

In most, if not all cases the family and collective were heavily involved in the process of rebuilding. The majority of the help needed was in the form of physical labour as the participants referred a lot to hard workwith plantation work or clearing debris resulting from the tsunami, building and or developing new paths or escape routes from the coastline up to the mountains. This was clearly indicated by VF participant 18 who remembers that for her crab fishing business they "had to clean the riverbed clear and clean the water; then build our house. Also family helped and also Red Cross. My husband and kids had to work hard to rebuild our business. "Also, VF participant 15 affirms that "families, government and church all helped with the recovery process as well as STA and SBEC. Everyone helped to clear the roads and debris."

BF responses

The recovery process for the beach fale group included firstly similar organisational support as did the vegetable farmers from the Samoan government, Red Cross, families, (overseas and local) churches, villages near and far. Initial steps such as assessments of work needed to rebuild followed slowly but steadily after health problems were tended to for some. An interesting outcome for this group is that only one beach fale operator chose to discontinue and focus on another means of income generation. It is particularly fascinating considering that this group had experienced the most physical devastation to their businesses. Moreover, two of the entrepreneurs in this group lost a total of eighteen members of their immediate family including their father and children. This represents 8% of total lives lost in the tsunami. Tremendous loss is painful would undoubtedly be very tempted to remove themselves from the environment and relocate to another area or country even such as New Zealand.

So, what is it that drives such people to carry on under extreme adversity? Such is the case for BF participant 4, a courageous and determined entrepreneur handed the mantle by her father and siblings to run the very popular family business in Lalomanu with the help of her husband and children. Even during the interview she is in pain, almost two years on she is still suffering from re-occurring health problems caused by the tsunami. She recalls that immediately post-tsunami "I was in hospital mostly, but I kept thinking about how to re-start such as plans to build house up on the hill and to start building the mountain resort. Government, NGOs and Red Cross all supported." Similarly, BF participant 5 admits that for her the recovery process was *"slow as I was very sick and I was in Australia a lot after the tsunami. The Australian government was very helpful and offered financial assistance, plus training and support in relation to surf and marine safety for locals and tourists."* This response does not reflect the pain felt as she coped with the loss of her beloved daughter who came home to look after the business while she took a break in Australia.

All in all, in the recovery process financial aid came directly from Samoan government and overseas families and friends to fund rebuilding homes and facilities. Other resources donated by NGOs namely SRC and WIBDI also local churches contributed much to the recovery process, the Mormon church was particularly notable for their practice of 'saving' or 'storing' for hard times. VF participant 17 "We were quite well prepared since our church The Latter Day Saints trained us to be prepared for difficult times for example bags of rice and so on. Government had training but we had not been informed."

Describe the state of your business after the tsunami

In this section we enquired about the state of each business post-tsunami. This was confusing for some because when we piloted the questions we noticed that the responses to this question seemed very similar to responses to Question 3, the recovery process. This was evident from the repetition of the responses. Alternatively, participants replied by saying "I thought I just covered that in the last question". This was difficult to address so with subsequent interviews we were mindful of this and asked the questions together and used probing clarifying and probing questions to

generate the information we lacked providing a more descriptive and meaningful picture of the business at this critical stage.

VF responses

The themes that emerged were: business was second priority to rebuilding family, starting from scratch and relocating up to the mountains plus hard work. This was the situation for VF participant 12stating that "it was neglected for a year because I was so sick; had to rebuild family home first, business was in developmental stage". Also for VF participant 13 the "business was 2nd priority; built family home and sorted basic essentials first; started from scratch (rebuilding the business)". So if the business was the only source of income for the family then this meant that for the majority it was not until the family unit was settled and re-established could the focus be on the business needs. Suggesting that financial support then came from extended families in Samoa and overseas until income generation from the business activities could be sustained. In Western terms this is a long time to be without reliable and consistent means of financial injection for survival. Nor would extended families be expected to carry other families for this length of time. The notion of reciprocity; sharing and exchanging of resources, an important dimension of the fa'aSamoa is tested here.

BF responses

These businesses felt the decline of the tourist market as overseas visitors stayed away immediately after the event. And they also started from scratch. However, a rare situation was reflected by BF participant 4 who responded that there was "only money in bank, cars and insurance". In the scheme of things this was substantially more than majority other participants who had no such contingency resources to fall back on. And one operator had only the fales on the hill left standing but until the tourists returned these fales remained redundant until the tourist market picked up again. Because of the nature of their business, some of this group benefited from their international guests who had heard of their plight and donated funds towards their rebuild. One participant did not refer to them as guests but rather they had become part of their extended family after many years of staying as guests in the beach fales.

Describe a time immediately after the tsunami that tested your coping skills

The aim of this question was determine a situation that stretched the entrepreneur beyond his/her limits immediately after the tsunami. This question seemed awkward at first since all the participants had survived a traumatic event, therefore had already coped with a lot by this time. Nevertheless, it was not until after reading the transcripts that the point of asking this question was to establish what were the major obstacle(s) looking back on the situation that influenced their motivation to continue with their goal striving. Some factors were obvious and some were not. Moreover, the important issue here was finding how they coped and overcame these trials.

VF responses

The situations varied in testing the coping skills of the vegetable farmers. The situations were poor health; lack of resources especially financial means required for everyday living and lacking confidence to continue which stems from inadequacy to meet family daily needs. Because even though some money had been distributed from government and other agencies, majority of this went towards building materials for new homes. The on-going need for cash to buy food and other necessities was testing. Also lack of equipment and tools needed for the gardens and plantation and the lack of water supply for household use as well as needed to irrigate the gardens during the drought season.

VF participant 1 "No money to fix car and stove for the business; coped by relying on my husband and children".

VF participant 12 "Coping with illness; I coped by relying on brothers and sisters to support me and my children; my faith / God helped me a lot. Kept working despite fatigue and poor health".

VF participant 2 "I lost my confidence and courage to move forward and poor water supply and irrigation so cabbage garden perished; my faith in God kept me going".

Faith and God featured significantly as a means of coping for the vege growers. The power of prayer by them and others on their behalf seemed helpful and participants found that their survival and overcoming trials was attributed to God's grace and mercy. This idea gave them comfort and a sense of gratitude a rather than self-pity

Hard work kept many of these family businesses focussed on the goal and future rather than on the present. Clearly being vulnerable and disadvantaged by the , out necessity and having no other alternative but to use the natural environment to grow food for family first and then sell the surplus for income, or vice versa.

BF responses

Main factors that tested coping skills for the beach fale group were fatality of family members, poor health and lack of money, food and other basic essentials. There was also a sense of hopelessness because of the uncertain future which emerged from the responses. For participant BF participant 4"my health and the loss of seventeen members of my family, including my baby were tragic factors that tested her most, but later becomes her biggest reason for continuing the family business. Her "faith and family" helped her to cope". She recalls:

> "It was hard. I was at the hospital for 4 weeks…around that time I hardly had any rest…so my brain its going all the time where to start and where how to start…(pause) and this is the first thing I wanted to do was to rebuild because there was nothing here for us… and umm when I got out from the hospital so of course I had to finish the house for us cause we didn't have a house so I have to finish the house so that we would have a place to stay and then after that I started straight away. And it was a good move to restart the beach fales just giving us especially me giving us courage to move on…give me strength…and even though it was hard I have to do it…ahhh it was for the sakes of me and my children, my nieces and nephews that were living here in Samoa. So I did it, not just for me … I did it for me and my family."

Similarly for BF participant 5 the loss of her daughter caused her health to deteriorate, but also her *"family and faith"* helped me cope.

Next to loss of lives was lack of money and hard work which tested BF participant 11, but in spite of this they just "continued to work hard". Whereas BF participant 9 "realising that everything was lost so suddenly and facing an uncertain future therefore unsure of what to do" tested coping skills.

What support did you have in place for you, your family and staff members?

In response to this question the participants focussed on the kinds of support they received from others rather than what they had in place for family and staff. What came through clearly was the reciprocation of support which is expected given that this is one of the driving principles of the fa'aSamoa.

VF responses

For the vegetable growers, most of their operations did not have paid employees as mostly their own children and extended family members worked for the business. VF participant 1 says that there was 'family support and my husband & children. Also for, VF participant 12 there was the 'extended family; daily prayer; using aid from external parties wisely. We had no staff. This suggests that family support was innate implying a clear understanding of each other's role exists plus everyone ensures that they do well by family in their duties. VF participant 19 upholds this view 'supporting each other; each doing their allocated job well'.

Characteristic of the support offered is that it is practical and meaningful to the family/collective unit. Since most of the participants were female, they mostly assumed the role of the mother and took care of the family. VF participant 15" I focussed on being the mother and took care of family. I cooked for the workers and family." The menfolk provided the physical labour and decision making whilst the children largely supported the business/family by completing assigned tasks by either mother or father that needed to achieve business goals. Although not much was mentioned about moral or emotional support, however, this is implied through their belief in God; faith and prayers offered comfort, hope and peace.

Where did support come from?

As previously mentioned the businesses received support from a range of different sources and notably this originated from WIBDI, Red Cross, Samoa Tourism Office and SBEC. The kinds of support from these organisations were important for re-building during the recovery period. The nature of the business determined what physical resources were distributed to the community. As for the horticultural and agricultural businesses, typically the items provided were seeds and plants, garden tools and

equipment, fencing material and manual labour. Additionally, intangible support like business advice, coaching and mentoring was provided by WIBDI, STA and SBEC and according to the participants significant in the recovery stages.

According to VF participant 2:

"There were heaps of help we got after the tsunami. Seeds and also plants, some started to grow, and there were some important programmes provided for us. We got some gifts through the village and also from friends in New Zealand and European people who came for holidays. They contributed towards the building of our house…and the government, the Red Cross and other companies in terms of food and clothes. We also got heaps from other companies within our country."

The tourist sector based businesses received mostly building materials

BF participant 9: *"We received a lot of support, not only the aids from the government for our houses and also support from our church of Jesus Christ of the Latter - Day Saints who helped me with one of the houses."*

BF responses

This group similar to VF where support is not an individual role but a collective one, where equally everyone takes responsibility and the interchangeable significant roles that family and faith play is again highlighted in this process. For example, BF participant 5 stated that the *"support was there for each other; collective care. Also faith and prayers were important."* Interestingly BF participant 4 who suffered the tragic loss of several of her family members not only did it test her ability to cope but uses this same critical incident to fuel her motivation to continue with the family business. She says: *"the memory of my father and other family lost in the tragedy keeps me motivated to move forward. Additionally, family, faith, my prayers and international support from guests"* that allowed her to cope. Whereas for BF participant 16 her support was *"in post tsunami my primary role was being mother and took care of family; prioritised tasks for the family members".*

Describe the development of your business as a result of the tsunami

VF responses

The vegetable farmers concentrated their effort on up-skilling, diversifying and strengthening family skills and family legacy. VF participant 2 *"hard work to re-build; up-skilled; teaching and coaching my children to work hard and be prepared always; Also safety is important"*. Whereas, VF participant 12 needed to *"look at different ways to support the family, that is, diversify activities"*. She is developing family plantation again but, keen to look at other means of generating income. Likewise, VF participant 17 offers that

> *"...at that time, we started to do our plantation and also the seeds and plants which were given out by the government. I also wove mats and now ladies are beginning to come and buy them, so that was also another source of income. I was also beginning to earn money for sewing children's clothes and school uniforms."*

The development for future generations was important for VF participant 18 which meant to uphold a family tradition in crab fishing especially extending this to deep sea fishing; adapting as a result of the destroyed river-bed whilst strengthening her family legacy in this area. Equally important was diversifying her skill-set in growing horticultural and agricultural products.

BF responses

This group differed in that the development focus for their businesses as a result of the tsunami featured significantly on quality of the facilities, safety and security procedures and preventative measures against natural disasters for example escape routes and safety gear.

It was almost as if the tsunami was a wakeup call for a lot of the beach fale operators on the coast. Implications of being caught off guard despite being prone to cyclones and hurricanes obviously they had never been tested this severely before. For example, BF participant 9 said that "the tsunami taught us lesson; be prepared. Now have own way (escape route) up the mountain."

BF participant 3 advocates for *her "new fales being built to use better quality building materials for durability"* to withstand sustain future disasters, although a strong sense of reality existed that if another tsunami occurred it didn't matter what how well built the new fales were they would still be destroyed. An opportunity to employ local people for their skills e.g. weaving for roofing thatches. Also work hard and being creative were other areas of improvement.

Whereas BF participant 5 her motivation to develop her business further by improving evacuation procedures; ensuring better escape routes clearly visible and known to both family and guests ; plus preventative measures such as training in CPR for staff and locals; install sirens, get life jackets and life-saving boats. Similarly, BF participant 16 *"re-thinking where to build was major decision for us; bigger and more comfortable for visitors also safety and security".*

Describe a time when you came up with an innovative solution to a challenge as a result of the tsunami

The total annihilation of the tsunami forces the participants to re-evaluate their position by taking what they've learned from this critical incident and re-think their past practices and performances in relation to their businesses. Being innovative means can mean different many things, but largely it requires a fresh and novel approach and solution to an existing challenge. It can be big or small. The responses from the participants in relation to this request mostly demonstrated a change in practice, method and or technique without changing the nature of the business itself. Like VF participant 2 who chose to adopt the organic farming methods and practices strongly advocated by WIBDI with its members, explores environmentally friendly practice of growing his produce. However this change takes time, in fact 3 years for full accreditation according to WIBDI consultants. Others diversify and look at dairy and poultry farming to supplement existing business activities. Whilst being less dependent on others is an aspiration for VF participant 2 who admitted:

> *"Since the tsunami and relocating to higher ground I am not as dependent on others in the family to do most of the manual work; I am much more involved in the plantation which gives me a lot of satisfaction and enjoyment".*

VF responses

Diversification meant finding alternative business activities for some, like VF participant 12 who explored dairy farming and VF participant 19diversity meant to expand into poultry farming. Whereas for VF participant 17 improving work ethic; greater independence; desire to be less dependent on aid from others and greater preparedness was being innovative in solving immediate income challenges.

BF responses

For beach fales finding a good balance between western and traditional style beach fales is worth the money spent in the long run according to BF participant 3. She says "fusing better (imported) building materials for endurance and sustainability; these are more expensive but better quality." Also, BF participant16 "tsunami forced us to improve for the tourists...changed from traditional to more western style fales".

Alternatively, BF participant 4 looks on the brighter side of the tsunami and admitted that: "Despite the adversity the tsunami has spread our brand further overseas; online presence improved e.g. better website presence fast tracking of our expansion plans." Yet innovative solutions for other beach fale operators means building a new escape route according to BF participant 9.

4.2 The questionnaire

The participants were asked 4 questions to determine the perseverance strategies they adopted to overcome adversity and persist with goal striving in terms of their business. The focus was on four areas where the strategies used affected: (1) the environment where immediate solutions involve eliminating the constraint and restraint coping; (2) the input function or re-appraisal of the situation (3) the goal by scaling back, breaking down larger goals and so on and (4) coping options such as increasing self-regulatory strength or turning to religion.

The participants were asked to choose the option that best described the strategy most often used in each situation.

All twenty one participants completed the questionnaire which yielded the following results:

Perseverance strategies that directly affect the environment

Results

12 participants increased their efforts

4 participants tackled the problem head on

2 participants enlisted help from family & friends

2 participants devised a plan.

All respondents eliminated the constraint whereby majority (57%) did this by increasing their efforts. 19% tackled the problem head and remaining 24% had either enlisted help from friends, family and community or devised a plan or found an alternative.

Perseverance strategies that directly affect the input function (re-appraisal)

13 participants applied transference (taking a longer term or wider view)

8 participants applied directing the attention to positive aspects

62% of the participants chose to look beyond their immediate problems and focussed on longer or wider view as a way of staying positive thus coping. By revisiting original vision / goals one hopes that the initial energies can re-motivate and help preserve. The other 38% directed their attention to positive aspects to address their dilemma. Here the participants focus on the original goals of the business.

Perseverance strategies involving the goal

10 participants framed issues as learning goals rather than as performance goals
9 participants scaled back goals
2 participants broke down larger goals into smaller ones

48% of sample approached business goals by reframing the issues as learning goals rather than performance goals meaning that instead of focusing on the act of actually performing the goal one focuses on learning from the experience and using it to ultimately attain the goal performance down the track.

43% scaled back the goals making them more achievable. An example used from the interviews is instead of selling goods at the market in town, servicing the immediate district and village is the focus. This eliminates extra costs e.g. transportation. And 9% broke down larger goals into smaller manageable goals.

Perseverance strategies that increase one's coping options (increasing self-regulatory strength)

10 participants sought social support whereby:

- 3 participants turned to religion
- 2 participants turned to sources of inspiration
- 5 participants did not choose any of the options for 'social support'

8 participants practiced self-regulatory strength

1 participant sought temporary distraction

1 participant exercised 'impulse control

1 participant left blank

5.0 CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

In spite of some variability in the participant descriptions relating to the impact of the tsunami on their businesses and the perseverance strategies adopted to overcome the obstacles and overall I found that there were several similar themes.

I have attempted as best as possible to organise these main ideas into sections however they are often interconnected so where this has occurred I have referred to the other sections. Where necessary I have also made comparisons between the two groups, the vegetable growers and the beach fale operators, to highlight any significant variations between the two groups. Whilst at the same time to integrate these findings with existing literature and to use these as a basis for explanations or to extend on current thinking for this particular context.

5.1 The role of fa'aSamoa

The responses revealed that Samoan entrepreneurship indeed has a strong close attachment to ancestral territories and natural resources as promoted by literature (Peredo et al, 2004), collectively owned by but under strict control of the family 'matai' (Morrison, 2008). The enterprises were all family owned and operated micro-enterprises. It seemed that they lacked in financial and physical resources but they made up for these by having excess social, cultural and natural resources. These enterprises seemed to be "doing really well" according to the participants. So the overall impression from this was that the businesses were experiencing times of prosperity and harmony. Cahn asserts "that when this kind of harmony is present then it is because the micro-enterprise and the fa'aSamoa blend well together. It is reasonable to assume that this was true for these micro-enterprises. However, for the majority of the participants, prosperity might represent surplus cash flow and a full repository of physical resources (Morrison, 2008), but for indigenous entrepreneurship prosperity seems to mean

having surplus in the natural, cultural and social reserves to uphold the needs of the family and the collective (Morrison, 2008; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009).

Overall what seems clearer is that the findings support Peredo et als (2004) assertion that Samoan entrepreneurship as an extension of indigenous entrepreneurship differs from other forms of entrepreneurship. Especially where its goals and outcomes are for the good of the 'aiga' (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009) and motivated mostly out of necessity and not because of an opportunity (Frederick & Kuratko, 2008).

The analysis suggests that it is the voice of the beach fale operators that resonates with prosperity indicating that the tourism sector is perhaps the more prosperous choice of business along this coastline. A significant factor for this condition can be attributed to family land being on prime location, that is, on the South Coast of Upolu where stunning beaches are prominent. In contrast, the vegetable farmers talked about 'hard work' and saving for 'hard times', but they also acknowledged good times for their businesses. In fact both groups talked about savings but others mentioned being in phases of reinvestment and expansion before the tsunami hit. I found that the motivation behind savings was based on 'preparedness' for difficult times and unexpected occurrences. The interesting thing here is that although only one participant referred to saving for hard times in terms of natural disaster in preparation for natural disasters, others did not qualify what they meant by 'hard times'. To me this implied a broader meaning for hard times to include 'fa'alavelaves' (obligation) which has been established that in the fa'aSamoa it is an important, and sometimes controversial aspect of a Samoan's life (Dunlop, 1999; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2001). Fa'alavelaves can be viewed by many as difficult times because they require a lot of financial and cultural capital plus there is also an element of surprise for example, one cannot predict a death nor when an extended member of the family gets married. If unplanned they can catch people off guard when they may not have any of the resources for the fa'alavelave at that precise time. This can explain for the lack of savings for most of the Samoan entrepreneurs thus leaving no reserves for emergencies. But this seems to be compensated for by the principle of reciprocity.

One of the aims of this study is to understand the issues faced by the entrepreneurs post-tsunami when rebuilding their businesses and to get an insight as to how they overcame these challenges.

5.2 Social recovery versus economic recovery

When asked to describe the extent of the damage the participants portrayed a devastating picture caused by the tsunami. There was an element of predictability in the information received when taking into account the magnitude of the disaster. Immediately one envisages such themes of hopelessness and futility where the main issue is the need to rebuild from nothing. These represent significant constraints for the business owners and the surveyed group highlight these areas. Listed below are some of the key areas which are not presented in any particular order:

- Issue 1: Illness & on-going health problems inflicted by the tsunami;
- Issue 2: Dealing with trauma / family loss
- Issue 3: Lack of capital
- Issue4: Lack of key physical resources
- Issue 5: Poor physical infrastructure

So when faced with what to do first and where to place focus, energy and resources it becomes a question of priority in terms of social and economic recovery. Which comes first? Sunseri's assertion raises a very good point that:

> *"Social recovery facilitates economic recovery and economic recovery facilitates social recovery. A significant part of social recovery is the return of individuals to work. Critical to individuals returning to work is the process of their employer company returning to business-as-usual (2005)".*

I tend to agree with Sunseri's point about returning to work being a big aspect of social recovery but the tricky part is the ideal of returning to "business-as-usual" that is questionable especially in this situation as many of the participants focussed on overcoming health problems, rebuilding family homes; relocation to another area in the district and savings or insurance.

Furthermore, how does one focus on business when several members of your immediate were lost in the tragedy coupled with health problems caused by the tsunami? This is the difficulty BF participant 4 wrestled with and tested her coping abilities. Clearly, one can understand why as these are very traumatic experiences requiring effective persevering strategies to help her overcome these obstacles and achieve that ideal 'business as usual' status. According to the results from the perseverance questionnaire the use of self-regulatory strength where social support was sought helped the participants mostly to cope with these trials.

Subsequently, the question then becomes what is the priority under these circumstances. Is it social recovery or economic recovery? Sunseri (2005) argues that they are reliant on each other but acknowledges there is insufficient literature to confidently support that the relationship between social recovery and economic recovery is a collaborative one. Some entrepreneurs focus on social recovery first like BF participant 4 whose priority was finishing the family home was a priority *"as we had no house and then after that I started (the business) straight away."* while addressing her health issues. On the other hand some participants focussed on both social recovery and economic recovery believing working on these two areas concurrently was necessary. What was clear is that in the recovery phase there is a myriad of critical decisions to be made requiring an intimate understanding and accurate assessment of the family's situation in order to get the priorities right. This is an expected and fundamental skill of the entrepreneur hence 'matai' (chief) of the family (Morrison, 2008).

5.3 Recovery and development

Recovery can mean several things, however what is often called the recovery process after a disaster is development. This is the recovery process in which the population improves its level of adaptation to its environment and lowers its future vulnerabilities (Dynes, 1993). Moreover, recovery is not a linear process; decisions made during the emergency phase will affect the recovery process argue Durham et al (1993).

I tend to agree with Dynes' view that recovery after disaster is development because normally people have learned as a result of the experience (Cope & Watts, 2000) and therefore use this to build on and improve and become more resilient thus less vulnerable.

However, I am curious about Durham et al's comment about the decisions made during the emergency phase, that is, they can determine the outcome of the recovery process. Therefore, whilst focussing on the recovery process it is worthwhile spending some time to explore the emotional and behavioural responses of the participants for context. I took this to mean that if poor and irrational decisions were made during the emergency response phase then obviously this will have negative implications for the recovery process for the enterprises. Conversely, if positive decisions were made then the outcome during recovery will be good. The common feelings expressed during that period immediately after the event were that of deep sadness, fear, shock and even depression. Some described their emotions as being in a 'panic', not thinking straight and anger. The remoteness of the idea that a tsunami would ever hit Samoa was another attitude that emerged from this group, which caught them off guard. These outcomes as a result of such a natural disaster are reasonable and to be expected by what we have already seen and by media coverage and literature on such occurrences. So nothing was a surprise. But what is implied is that participants who panicked did not have the knowledge and or the training about tsunamis and this is what caused their behaviour. Whereas others who responded in a more structured manner knew something about earthquakes and tsunamis and had received some form of training.

Also I agree with Mulhanda's (1992) argument that safety is a function of income and wealth and poorer people are more vulnerable to environmental risks because they are in houses with fewer safety features or in marginal locations in terms of environmental quality and other hazards. The majority of the sample population affected by the disaster fit the profile outlined by Mulhanda and therefore at risk because they claimed that (1) did not know about the training programmes and (2) could not access these anyway because they were held in Apia which was problematic for most due to transportation challenges such as lack of transport and cost. So with this knowledge it is evident that by creating better awareness through community based localised training programmes and accessible educational material about earthquakes and tsunamis this

can significantly reduce the risk of harm to lives. Also it can reduce the damage to physical resources thus increasing better responses at the emergency stage achieving ultimately better outcomes in the recovery as proposed by Durham (1993).

Recovery, development and entrepreneurship

Questions five to eight explores the recovery period, development and innovative solutions to challenges as a result of the tsunami. I found that recovery and development can mean the same thing. What also emerged was that the innovative solutions to the problems were similar to the developmental changes taking into account overall improvement and reducing future vulnerability. Hence recovery is about development which in turn is about innovative solutions.

When I think of improvement and development following a disaster it stimulates a sense of hope. Thus to me, Sunseri's assertion that recovery is an opportunity in which the affected population improves its level of adaptation to its environment and also lowers its future vulnerabilities (2005) is accurate and hopeful. The participant reflections of the recovery process uncover the following themes: (1) hard work e.g. clearing of debris and developing the land and physical infrastructure (2) up-skilling e.g. developing new business management skills; (3) adaptability e.g. diversity and adopting new techniques and (4) focusing on better quality e.g. re-building of facilities of better quality and improving procedures and processes;

Development means hard work

Work involving the re-establishment of physical infrastructure such as improving access to relocation areas, upgrading of access tracks and reinstatement of damaged seawalls. Also community buildings such as churches, schools and health centres (Samoa Red Cross Society Review, 2011) were damaged therefore much of the hard work focussed on either repairing damages on these structures where possible. This involves all the community. This can pre-occupy resources and energies immediately after the disaster. But it also requires a lot of careful assessment, planning and capital to account for best practice and better quality for durable outcomes to reduce future

vulnerability. The type of hard work included: resettling of the family on new location; clearing land and then cultivate in readiness for vegetable gardens and planting work.

WIBDI, Oxfam and Red Cross contributed significantly towards this part of the recovery process not only with income generating ideas but with the implementation and follow up support. WIBDI helped their member families but they also extended their services and support to all families affected by the disaster. With the assistance of Oxfam, the programmes which were specifically aimed at reducing future risk and vulnerability and improving sustainability enticed families to participate and to change for the better. It would seem that these programmes proved very successful in helping families cope. The type of items distributed as part of the programmes run by WIBDI and Oxfam were organic seedlings, some seed funding, tools and new methods and equipment specifically introduced to increase adaptability and reduce risk in the context of disaster management.

However, the fact remains that some participants still faced issues as a result of their new locations and livelihood choice with lack of adequate water supply to irrigate their gardens as well as access roads and tracks to new homes as key challenges. However, the introduction of rainwater harvesting methods and equipment alleviates this burden except for when periods of drought that this can be an on-going issue. At the time of the study for VF participant 2 the irrigation problems are still a concern despite these new techniques. *"That's where we got the money from. Because the sun has been shining continuously for a long time that is why that cabbage is like that it is not growing well because of the hot sun."*

Evidently, the government has since upgraded access roads and tracks to relocation areas, but the travelling distance without transport between their new home and the rest of the original community presents new challenges especially since the new settlements are a long way inland and up-hill. Additional bus services in the morning and afternoon can greatly assist, but it needs to operate cost effectively to cover expenses but also at a fare local people can afford and therefore use the service. Perhaps a subsidised fare system could be explored for a reasonable set period to help with the re-settlement phase or at least until means of providing for families' basic needs proven to be adequately met.

Development and up-skilling

Learning and adopting new techniques comes through as another strong theme from the participants' recollections of the post-disaster period. We know that the Pacific islands have always had a range of practices that made them resilient and these have been modified to accommodate change (Campbell, 1990). Barnett's view is that the notions of diversity and reciprocity are behind the majority of these practices that have withstood hard times triggered by natural disasters (2001, p.986).

Diversity refers to planting of diverse arrays of plants in gardens and through biodiversity in the immediate environment which provides for famine foods when garden foods fail (Barnett, 2001). Many families whose coastal plantations were destroyed also started up vegetable gardens; even families whose plantations were inland and were not damaged diversified to complement their main income. The vegetable gardens provide fastest option for regeneration of livelihoods taking between 8-12 weeks to harvest the produce (Oxfam Report, 2010). In support VF participant 2 concurs *"This was the area where we quickly planted our plants to get the money to help us at that time. We had beans. This area here was really good, but we have moved to the back. There is still a lot which needs to be developed, but it's on hold at the moment due to other things which needed to be done first".*

A new diverse range of techniques and capabilities emerged also as a result of the disaster. The new skills as already mentioned earlier are new techniques in horticulture with a special focus on transitioning farmers from conventional methods to organic agriculture advocated by WIBDI.

Also learning new business management skills learned from WIBDI and SBEC is widely accepted and gratefully received by some the participants believing these will enable them to be more productive therefore more profitable faster.

Development and better quality

Development in post-disaster recovery includes the rebuilding of homes, churches, village meeting houses, community and business facilities.. The participants revealed that the timing of the re-build of business facilities was a function of several factors but also acknowledged the recovery of family needs, health and access to capital as key determinants. Also the nature of the business was a driver. A priority for the beach fale owners', secondary to the family recovery, was to rebuild their new beach 'fales' almost immediately. Similarly, the vegetable farmers talked about replacing tools, equipment, improving farming techniques and fencing materials and again this after family needs met. However, in most cases the income from their livelihoods needed to be re-generated in order to get basic things like shelter, food and water forcing entrepreneurs to juggle both social and economic goals during this recovery process. But what emerged also was that rebuilding and development corresponded with improvement of the 'input' whether it was the raw materials, labour, process or technique. So, better quality focussed on durability, sustainability, resiliency, and safety. As a result of seeing the destruction impacted by the tsunami forces the participants to think hard and carefully about their choices for future development all the while taking into account the mitigation of risk by improving safety measures. In fact when asked about the developments which arose from the tsunami the participants shared that sourcing new and improved building materials based on their durable and sustainable qualities was of significance. Also the importance of safety concentrating on escape routes, proper evacuation procedures, access to appropriate safety gear and equipment was critical for all entrepreneurs in the study, Perhaps more so with the beach fale owners who are in the business of providing and caring for guests and tourists.

Despite this aspiration quality implies a more costly option and associated expenses such as insurance to protect the investment from potential loss which in turn expensive due to the high risk involved of being in a disaster zone. Both cost and extra expenses are problematic for most of the participants who are already established as vulnerable, disadvantaged and struggling to meet basic needs such as food and water supplies on a regular basis. So this is not an easy issue to address, but as BF participant 3 advocated

there was no option for their business and promotes that their re-build was an opportunity to build for change and this meant better building materials than the last time.

> *"Look at the fales, the timber is import timber and they are expensive, plus corrugated iron and thatches. We bought the sugar-cane leaves, and also paid six women to weave the thatches. Six women a week and we pay them 30 tala a week not including their food. I prepare the food. All of these things, if you don't work, and go out to look for things, you can't do anything".*

Additionally by using traditional practices and techniques thus creating local employment in the process provides an ideal situation for her business and the community at large.

Quality also extended to improved customer service for the comfort of guest, developing positive work ethics and strengthened family legacy for future generations came from participants

5.4 The role of reciprocity, the Government and NGOs

Reciprocity refers to 'give in return' or to 'counter another's support' (Barnett, 2001). The role of reciprocity as established by Barnett and others resonates strongly with this study. As already maintained, fa'aSamoa promotes this concept of reciprocity; an inherent part of their being, Samoan people reciprocate automatically. So is it any wonder then that this practice or strategy is key and fundamental in sustaining the Samoan people in times of hardship and extreme deprivation? No, it is not really a surprise. However, it is when the whole community faces the same adversity that this practice can come under pressure. This was the experience for the people of the Aleipata and Falealili districts on the South Coast of Upolu. It is in this situation that reciprocity will came from faraway places. A universal reciprocal effect occurred as the majority support came from family and non-family; Samoan and non-Samoan world-wide. But Campbell argues that this trend represents a shift from community-island-island to community-island-international which has influenced the reciprocity between islands to a dependency on outsiders (1990).

Nevertheless, in spite of this shift, throughout the recovery phase the support was tremendous and unprecedented for Samoa (Red Cross Report, 2011) as there had not been a natural disaster of this magnitude before. But there seemed little concern about where the support came from as it all happened very quickly and there was a multiple sources of support including 'aiga' (family), people, communities, governments, countries, government agencies and NGOs who came to help. Sunseri (2005) refers to this behaviour as 'human convergence' and suggests that the "impact of the convergences of messages, people and supplies moving into the areas of treatment, relief and information centres on social organisation following a natural disaster is considerable." The affected locals were overwhelmed by the level of support; the participants expressed deep appreciation for all the support and acknowledged some more than others. For example, VF participant 1:

> *"Many people have come to help us and we have realized that we have received more now than before the tsunami. .... So it really gave us the strength to carry on and to develop our families."*

VF participant 1 was so moved by this level of support that it motivated her to persist despite the adversity. It can be linked to what Frederick and Kuratko (2010) assert that being disadvantaged may stimulate one to become more entrepreneurial. Her story of the events reveals that VF participant 1 struggled with health problems. The business post-tsunami was still not at a desired level but because she received a lot support she feels an obligation to 'carry on'. Definitely, homelessness, void of livelihood and essential resources places one in a position of disadvantage and vulnerability. This coupled with limited choice heightens the need to be creative and solution oriented.

Other elements of the fa'aSamoa also came to light. The notions of 'relationship and service' were evident throughout the participant responses particularly in reference to the relentless support from families overseas. Sunseri talks about the collective and household behavioural responses in disaster situations. In relation to both collective and household, the behaviour of the 'aiga' (family), village and church to the dilemma of the affected are based on the social interaction and enduring social relationships (2005) that exist within these environments. The key actors in these structures are 'matais' or chiefs, village council of chiefs and ministers (or pastors) of the different churches

represented in each village. All participants observed the fa'aSamoa and all seemed to understand the relationships with the family, village and church which in my view enabled a relatively smooth recovery process because leadership in fa'aSamoa is rarely challenged or questioned so all take direction(s) from the 'matai'. As such, all consultation by government and NGOs were directed to either the 'matai' of each family and or via the village council of chiefs from which all the relevant information is disseminated to the individual matais.

Overall, in the recovery process the role of Samoan culture or fa'aSamoa is a key influence. This is strongly represented by the principles of respect, love and compassion, reciprocity, service and relationships are strongly represented. There seems to be a positive relationship between recovery and development in this context and on a sublevel, a strong relationship exists between development and hard work, up-skilling, and better quality. The sub-themes of diversity and adaptability were evident and seemed to co-exist in this dynamic environment.

However, ensuring reduction of further risk and vulnerability requires a lot of investment of both financial and human capital to achieve desirable levels of independence, resilience, sustainability and economic profitability. This translates to adequate support from the government for a sustained period or when the ideal of 'business-as-usual' is achieved. To overlook this simply means poor quality and lack of adequate safety systems therefore no change and no development thus the cycle repeats itself and the dependency and vulnerability continues.

5.5 Persevering behaviour in the face of adversity

According to the interviews and results of the questionnaire when faced with adversity Samoan entrepreneurs have a higher tendency to eliminate the constraints by increasing their efforts. This was demonstrated by the 'hard work' the participants referred to in removing the immediate obstacle(s) that were blocking their goals such as clearing the land before planting could start and clearing the debris from the riverbeds before fishing could resume. Further, Samoan entrepreneurs generally tackle the problem head on and prefer to enlist help from family, friends and community which is consistent with the Samoan culture (Dunlop, 1999; Lilimaiava-Doktor, 2009)

and supports entrepreneurship in a Samoan context (Cahn, 2008; Morrison, 2008). Interestingly, none of the participants refrained from taking any action which seems to reflect a determination and resilience from this group of entrepreneurs. There are plenty of examples like this in the study thus affirming van Gelderen's view that this type of problem-focussed coping orientation supports perseverance (2012).

There appears to be positive relationship between perseverance in an entrepreneurial context, fa'aSamoa and maintaining a positive attitude. This explanation emerges from the Samoan entrepreneur's strong tendency to perceive their situation differently, by choosing to look beyond their immediate problems, focussing on the longer view as a way of staying positive thus coping. How is it that they do this? The results suggest that there is an underlying common factor; a resilience that is inherent of the Samoan people which links to their ability to persevere due to their faith and belief in God as a primary means of support and coping. I argue that this innateness comes from a history of vulnerability and being disadvantaged due to natural disasters resulting from climatic change (Hague, 2003; Barnett, 2001) experienced over many centuries (Wendt-Young, 2010). The entrepreneurs under investigation strongly assert that they have sustained their families and their businesses by carrying out certain practices and principles associated with their faith and church which are firmly embedded in the traditional framework of the fa'aSamoa.

Again these are consistent themes drawn from the interviews where when faced with immediate and long-term problems the Samoan entrepreneurs replaced fear about the future with positive attitude and inspiring thoughts. This is shown by the 38% of the participants who directed their attention to positive aspects to address their dilemma. In terms of perseverance, goal setting and achievement the Samoan entrepreneurs under these conditions tended to focus on the original goals of the business. This strategy maintains that the entrepreneur's revisited their original vision and goals in the hope of gaining initial energies thus become re-motivated and help them to persevere with their current trials. The role of the 'matai' as the entrepreneur (Morrison, 2008) seems to have an influence on this outcome since the 'matais' have the ultimate responsibility for the family and the associated collective resources. Moreover, especially since the 'matai' is the one who sets these goals thus no-one has more intimate knowledge about these goals than the 'matai'. Hence, 'responsibility' is a strong

driver and motivator for this goal orientation when propelled out of necessity and obligation and when in response to a major crisis.

How did they do this? For many entrepreneurs they approached these goals by reframing the issues as learning goals rather than performance goals. This meant that instead of focusing on the act of actually performing the goal one focuses on learning from the experience and using it to ultimately attain the goal performance down the track. A good example of this is VF participant 2's attitude and expresses that natural disaster preparedness is *the lesson I have learned is that you must always be prepared. Because, we know now it is not the end of everything. When it's finished, you can start again. So we must always be prepared for these natural disasters in this world."*

What is also a tendency for Samoan entrepreneurs is to scale back goals thus making them more achievable. An example of this is the participant, who was forced to sell his produce within his immediate community instead of selling goods at the market in town due to lack of income for transportation into town. Some, although to a lesser degree, preferred to break down larger goals into smaller manageable goals.

5.6 Perseverance and the role of religion

There seems to be a positive relationship between the role of religion and increasing self-regulatory strength category as a means of coping. The findings support this assertion whereby the majority of the participants (48%) who sought social support, a third of this group turned to their 'faith' for that support. This explanation is also supported by the data from the interviews. Furthermore, others found social support by turning to sources of inspiration. Also learned from the interviews, is that some participants were motivated by the overwhelming support received locally and internationally. Perhaps their faith represents a source of inspiration for many of the participants. What would be interesting to understand better is how they managed to achieve this exactly. In my view, I propose that they did this through regular prayer. I take this stance because the participants referred to 'praying' and offering 'prayers' frequently in their interviews. Van Gelderen asserts that practicing self-regulatory strength needs to happen before adversity is faced as it increases resilience in the

medium and longer term, therefore readily employable (2012). I proffer that Samoans pray regularly and frequently, that means on a daily basis and throughout the day. This suggests that they are well rehearsed in self- regulatory control. So it is very likely that when they are in a difficult situation or facing an adversity Samoans will offer a prayer to God to ask for help thus represent for them a key strategy for coping. On this basis, I posit that culture and faith are influential factors for Samoan entrepreneurs when employing self-regulatory control strategies. Moreover, the act of prayer seems to positively contribute to the perseverance ability of Samoans when faced with adversity regardless of context.

6.0 CHAPTER 6: LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

As discussed in the methodology section it was very important to capture a fair representation of micro-entrepreneurs as a sub-population. However my chosen method of sampling exposed potential for bias in the results due to the un-random nature of choosing the participants. Despite this I felt that each interview was so passionate, sincere and authentic from which I could still draw many common themes to produce a very rich and audible collective voice. After conducting half of the interviews I gathered a sense of commonality and by end of the interviews I strongly questioned whether a more random approach would have yielded a different result. The results revealed that whilst each participant experience was different nevertheless there were also more similarities than differences in 1) their behavioural response to the crisis and 2) the impact of the tsunami on their lives. This suggests that a bias in the results would be difficult to detect.

Another issue was that most of the participants from Upolu were mostly located in the Aleipata district and a few from Falealili. However, the inclusion of Manono Tai micro-entrepreneurs provided a different perspective given that they live on a smaller atoll off the South-East coast of Upolu. The main reason for the limited choice of the sample was because the majority of WIBDI businesses affected by the tsunami were concentrated in the Aleipata district. Furthermore, time and budget constraints were other considerations. Because of this the researcher could only make 1 visit to each household identified by WIBDI field staff. This meant that if the chosen person was not at home at the time of the visit then it was a matter of moving onto the next WIBDI member on the list. If the opportunity presented itself to repeat this research in a comparative study with another Pacific country then it would be worthwhile altering the research design to include randomisation of the sample for better representation to increase validity and reliability of the data.

The perseverance process model adapted from van Gelderen should have been modified to accommodate the focus of indigenous entrepreneurship on the collective rather than being too focussed on individual's actions. Therefore, in future research of similar nature the questions should reflect this tendency. Another limiting factor was the

forced choice format of the survey which restricted the participants to one option thus impacting on the scope of the analysis.

I am of the view that qualitative research can be more challenging than its counterpart quantitative research. I take this stance because working with substantial text and undertaking the strenuous processes of data reduction and analysis difficult and time consuming, but the work can be magnified yet again when dealing with another language. The majority of the interviews were conducted in Samoan and two interviews were completed in English. The issues started when I underestimated the degree of complexity in transcribing and translating the interviews; I felt that this aspect of the data collection and analysis phase was extremely taxing and it impacted greatly on time and budget of this project. I engaged in the services of an expert in this field. Hence, while the work involved was highly valued and of great significance to the research, I did not feel in control of this process; especially since the required skill and expertise in this area is very scarce. Therefore, the warning here is that conducting research in another language can be problematic and requires special attention and careful management so as to not compromise the quality of the data in the process. My experience has left me wary about researching in a non-English speaking context but this was not in a negative way rather that I have gained a deeper respect for what is involved.

I did not have the time to interview government agencies and NGOs such as the Samoa Red Cross, Disaster Management Office, Samoa Fire Service and church and community leaders. This would have provided a broader context in terms of the support extended to all of the participants who highlighted that this was a strong theme in the recovery and development and a key contributor to entrepreneurial perseverance for the Samoans. However, collecting the detailed views of these important organisations also did not fall within the scope of this research. Nevertheless, the role of the government and its agencies, NGOs and churches was strongly felt during this critical period and perhaps deserving of its own research focus to better understand the relationship between the role of these key actors and Pacific entrepreneurship development post natural disaster.

I feel that as a result of completing this research future research opportunities should be directed at more studies on the impact of natural disasters on island systems already stressed by unsustainable development.

There are definite benefits to be gained where a better understanding of behavioural competency in the face of significant adversity and particularly in another Pacific context can help to mitigate harm, reduce vulnerability and poverty caused by the devastating effects of natural disasters. Moreover, building and improving capability for these communities under threat is a local, regional and global responsibility and further research can inform better policy making in the identified areas of priority.

6.1 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the study was to answer key questions to help understand natural disasters, vulnerability and perseverance in the Samoan context. Achieving this aim has been an intriguing experience where the journey itself has given me so much more appreciation for the participants and their environment than I had anticipated or hoped for.

I have learned so much from the participants' experiences and the knowledge that I have acquired has given me a deep understanding and respect for them, what they do for their families and community and their contribution to the body of knowledge. One of the important lessons I have learned is that in Samoan entrepreneurship, perseverance is much more than a set of strategies rather it is a lifestyle. Largely this has come about as a result of having to live in a dynamic natural environment threatened by the effects of climate change and rising sea levels that they have had to adapt to these conditions without compromising the fa'aSamoa and faith. What seems to be true is that fa'aSamoa and faith have a positive influence on the level of perseverance in Samoan entrepreneurship.

The study concurs with existing views that indigenous entrepreneurship is unique as it differs from other types of entrepreneurship due to the familial ties to ancestral territories and natural resources. This is true of Samoan entrepreneurship. Other distinguishing features include the roles of family, the collective, culture and faith within the business and that a good blend of all these things creates harmony and prosperity. And that disharmony occurs when these aspects are neglected, but Samoan entrepreneurship compromises the notions of profit, savings and reinvestment which are Western based principles. By the same token, it is widely understood and accepted that financial success is not necessarily the measure of success for indigenous based enterprises, rather social, natural and cultural capital are more desirable. In the pre-tsunami period the general feeling from the participants was that they experienced varying degrees of prosperity.

However, the impact of the tsunami caused 'total destruction' wiping out all that was good and prosperous. To reach a state of 'business-as-usual' the rebuilding was 'hard work'. Overwhelmed by the 'human convergence' that normally follows a disaster of

this magnitude, Samoan entrepreneurs were motivated to persevere and overcome hardship. Rebuilding was made possible with the generous support of many: Samoan government, families, NGOs, international visitors and guests. Nevertheless, this did not negate the enormity of the issues the participants faced post-tsunami period. Samoan entrepreneur behavioural responses to disaster consistent with level consistent with level of training, education and communication received with respect to disasters, in particular tsunamis. What has transpired is a need to improve this area by providing more training programmes at village level and to investigate what are the effective means of communication and dissemination of relevant literature in educating communities about all potential disasters which can strike in the region.

This research agrees with Mulhand (1992) in that safety is a function of income and wealth which needs to be addressed, not only in the case of Samoa but for all vulnerable communities in the Pacific region. Essential safety gear and equipment are preventative measures that participants have referred to as being areas in which the Samoan government, NGOs and other external parties can collaborate to provide local people with these basic essentials. But what some participants have inferred was that they the entrepreneurs need to learn from this experience and invest in their own safety also, assuming that the main reason for this is that if they live on the coastline presents a great risk.

As expected there many issues to deal with post-tsunami and so the question posed by Sunseri about what is the priority when both social recovery and economic recovery are at stake, becomes relevant (2005). Overall Samoan entrepreneurs prioritised family over business, but recognised the criticality of business to family progress. Hence out of necessity Samoan entrepreneurs' transition into recovery mode and this highlights their level of adaptability under such extreme circumstances. In my view both social recovery and economic recovery must happen concurrently for the attainment of positive outcomes but more so in reduce dependency and vulnerability for Pacific communities. Whilst the support provided immediately after from NGOs and government agencies namely WIBDI, Oxfam, STA and SBEC was tremendous and appreciated, what emerged is that perhaps STA and SBEC continued a bit longer until entrepreneurs back on their feet.

I have found that in the Samoan entrepreneurship context recovering from a disaster, Campbell's view that recovery means development (1990) is appropriate. The focus of this phase is on improvement with a view of reducing risk and vulnerability therefore enhancing lives. The participants discussed themes of better quality in terms of new buildings, new skills and capability building, new systems and equipment. But these have financial implications and to reach a certain level of quality and durability therefore sustainability, requires reliable financial, physical and moral support from relevant stakeholders. What tends to happen is that the burden falls largely on overseas families to sustain this aspiration, but normally this support is already exhausted and under strain from efforts immediately after the disaster. Therefore the quality desired can be compromised as families often settle for the cheaper raw material to build and the new acquired skills may not be fully learned unless proper supervision continues until acceptable level is achieved. So the cycle repeats itself. Unfortunately there is no easy solution due to competing priorities such as regular water supply, improved sanitation system and reinstating infrastructure which normally dictate as to where the resources should be utilised. The government is reliant on intelligence gathered from its own agencies and NGOs such as WIBDI, Red Cross and Oxfam to make competent decisions.

As a result of using van Gelderen's descriptive process model as a guide to determine what strategies were used by the Samoan entrepreneurs to overcome the adversity in terms of their businesses it was found that their intensity of use concentrated on the strategies which seem to resonate with themes of limited choice and necessity that abounds with groups that are subject to vulnerability due to location and social disadvantage. Also what came through clearly was the role of religion and faith demonstrated by their regular almost automatic practice of self-regulatory control through prayer. The role of culture is relevant here also and consistent with the interviews which yielded many responses where participants resorted to prayer in times of trouble and conflict seeking comfort and peace during these times in addition to seeking support from families and others. I assert that was in these times of prayer that the Samoan entrepreneurs were practising self-regulatory control.

With this knowledge I can deduce that the persevering strategies Samoan entrepreneurs employed under adverse conditions are influenced by their social and

cultural context. However, what would have been more helpful to the study is to ascertain the effectiveness of these adopted strategies and , using van Gelderen's descriptive model more effectively to understand the collective focus rather than on individuals.

In conclusion this research therefore proposes that Samoan entrepreneurs when dealing with uncertainty and overcoming obstacles they are very reliant on strong institutions of family, village and church for support in which they are also integral members preferring to be guided by the fa'aSamoa and their faith. It is normal for them to reciprocate supportive behaviour, adopt diverse methods and practices all the while being highly adaptable to changing climatic conditions. Moreover, it is found that their tendency is to use perseverance strategies that involve addressing their problems head on through using means such as seeking social support from their church and community. Further, there is an innateness to look beyond the immediate crisis into the future and to remain positive preferring to learn from the adversity which helps them to re-evaluate their goals and using their strong self-regulatory capability heavily influenced by their faith.

6.2 REFLECTIONS

Qualitative research conducted in a natural setting is rich, dynamic and exciting but it is also demanding. In particular when research is conducted in another country where social, political and cultural dimensions combined with language barriers can extend the intricacies of conducting research to another level. Obviously extra care and attention is needed to accommodate for cultural protocols. Then there is the need to consider logistical matters, acclimatising to the environment, technological requirements and factor in contingencies. Certain processes need careful planning and organisation such as the data analysis phase, one should allow extra time for transcribing interviews and translation process to avoid unnecessary delay which can potentially compromise the quality of the data.

Initially I thought completing my thesis over a two year period would be advantageous and in some respects it is but it can also be problematic especially when managing with full time employment, family and other commitments. The perception was that there would be plenty of time to complete the milestone activities but in reality and in practice 'unplanned' events occur and energy and passion for the project fades over time. So for future guidance it helps when your research topic is linked as close as possible to your passion and or work, otherwise it becomes a struggle to stay focussed and excited about your research.

One of the areas that I have truly enjoyed about my research has been working with WIBDI. This is because of the type of work they do with and for the families and their communities and additionally the 'values' that drive their organisation resonates well with me. WIBDI I have found is influenced by the needs of the families and the environment, hence their growing popularity in the region for their work with organic farming and other innovative solutions. As my host organisation they taught me a lot about working alongside micro-entrepreneurs in Samoa to arrive at a better understanding of their challenges and the ways in which they can be supported to make their own decisions and be in charge of own destiny.

Again, I am especially grateful for the time with the participants who have humbled me with their incredible stories of courage, faith and hope. Whilst the study itself was about understanding persevering entrepreneurial behaviour I felt that much more was achieved; a deeper and richer connection with a community undeterred by one of the most destructive of nature's forces, a tsunami. The participants demonstrated that despite extreme loss an inherent resilience and determination passed on by their ancestors exists and that their responsibility is to pass on this legacy to the next generation. In a future research project I would like to spend longer periods immersed in the community to a get a fuller appreciation of their world.

There seems to be an unspoken acceptance of that old Samoan adage, but for the entrepreneurs in this study it is received with a persevering spirit that is unique and relative to the people of the Pacific:

"E lelei aso ma e leaga aso."

"There a good days and there are bad days".

7.0 APPENDICES

7.1 Appendix One: Ethics Committee Approval

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
ALBANY

29 June 2011

Malama Solomona
c/- Dr M van Gelderen
College of Business
Massey University
Albany

Dear Malama

HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL APPLICATION – MUHECN 11/046
Samoan Entrepreneurship and the Aftermath of the Tsunami in 2009

Thank you for your application. It has been fully considered, and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, a reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Ralph Bathurst
Chair
Human Ethics Committee: Northern

cc: Dr M van Gelderen
College of Humanities & Social Sciences

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

Research Ethics Office
Private Bag 102 904, Auckland, 0745, New Zealand Telephone +64 9 414 0800 ex 9539 humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

90

APPENDIX TWO

Samoan Entrepreneurship: Coping with the aftermath of the tsunami of 2009.

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher(s) Introduction

My name is Malama Solomona I am a Masters student in the Masters of Management programme at Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand. The final part of my post-graduate programme involves is completing a research thesis on a subject of my choice. My research topic focuses on the entrepreneurship in Samoa and the effects of tsunami on micro enterprises. I am conducting the research on entrepreneurs who are or have been registered with the Women In Business Development Inc. located in Apia, Samoa and have the approval of the organization to carry out the research.

Project Description and Invitation

What I am doing

I want to investigate how the entrepreneurs in Samoa have coped with the tsunami of 2009.. Specifically, to find out what they did (not do) to overcome the obstacles in order to start over again. By participating you will be helping many interested people, groups and particularly vulnerable communities to understand the issues, and more importantly, key action and strategies in dealing with and overcoming the devastating effects of natural disasters in the Pacific region and beyond.

If you agree to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form. This does not stop you from changing your mind if you wish to withdraw from the project. However, because of our schedule, any withdrawals must be done within 2 weeks after we have interviewed you.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

I will be inviting 30 entrepreneurs who are or have been registered with Women in Business Development Inc. (WIBDI) in Upolu and Savai'i to participate. Entrepreneurs will include members who have survived and not survived the tsunami.

There may be some discomfort experienced by entrepreneurs as a result of re-telling their stories and events from the period in question. .

Project Procedures

What it will mean for you

I would like to interview you and talk about

- What you did that helped your business recover from the effects of the tsunami
    - What worked versus what didn't work
- The support system you had in place before and after the tsunami
- What would you differently next time?
- What development your business has had since the tsunami

Samoan Entrepreneurship: Coping with the aftermath of the tsunami of 2009.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: ....   Date: ....

Full Name - printed ....

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