‘AN EDUCATION SYSTEM CHARACTERISED BY EQUITY’:

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN SAMOA

1995-2005

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ABSTRACT

The problem investigated in this thesis arose from my professional practice as a consultant with regard to educational reforms in a number of countries, including Samoa. This created an initial interest in why different policy options were chosen by different countries in response to similar problems. Observation of the implementation of reforms in various contexts also created questions as to why the implementation of reforms often seemed to lead to new formulations of the original arrangements, resulting in development but little change.

A prior review of evaluations of educational reform programmes showed that many educational evaluations are confined to matters of technical advice inputs, resource management and the achievement of milestones. This study however, considers other factors relevant to the successful achievement of an educational reform programme situated within a particular social, political and historical context.

In particular, this thesis reports on a critical evaluation of the development, between the mid-1980s and 1994, of a policy aimed at producing an education system "characterised by equity" (Department of Education, 1995) in Samoa and then on the results of the implementation of that policy between 1995-2005. The study focused first on the differences in the performance of student groups based in the national Year 8 secondary school selection examination and in their subsequent access to secondary schooling and to the achievement outcomes in Year 12 over the period between 1994 and 2008. Information was gathered through analysis of national examination results databases. Additional information was gathered through interviews and questionnaires from senior educational system managers and from the principals of a sample of four secondary schools. Questionnaires, aimed at gathering socio-economic data, were administered to 2000 students and their families from Years 9, 11, 12 and 13 at the sample schools. The evidence showed little change in the patterns of achievement between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The system had expanded but the patterns of inequity remained unchanged.

The reasons for the selection of the reform options that resulted in the maintenance of disparities through the 1995-2005 programme were found in the history, culture and political setting of Samoa.

Because of the small size and ethnic and cultural homogeneity of the population, the evaluation was based on the theories of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's concepts of field practice and habitus showed how the policy options included in the reform programme were influenced by an underlying habitus that generated the desire for change but also constrained the achievement of the stated aim of a "system characterised by equity".

The research showed how the historical background to the patterns of advantage within the system and the structure and patterns of advantage that resulted from the reforms continued beyond the reform.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A conversation with Dr Edna Tait, Head of the UNESCO South Pacific Office in Apia at the time, in the transit lounge of Fuuamotu International Airport, Tonga during a mid-night aircraft refuelling stop was the stimulus for this research. It seemed like a good idea to my sleep deprived, jet-lagged brain. It has proven to be a wonderful journey of personal growth and understanding.

I wish to first acknowledge the support for this research given by the late Tautapilimai Levaopolo Tupae Esera, Director-General of Education in Samoa during this period. His interest in the study and his willingness to share his recollections, thoughts and experiences provided a base of assurance to this work. Tupae was well aware that although much progress had been made in educational development in Samoa there was much more to do. He was also aware that transformational change takes time. “We need to leave something for the next generation to do” was one of Tupae’s favourite summations.

I also wish to acknowledge the support and openness of the Assistant Directors of the Ministry and of the principals of the schools who were part of the study. They all provided time for me and shared their thoughts and perspectives willingly and assisted me to understand different ways of seeing the world. Their enthusiasm and passion for the development of education in Samoa is inspirational.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the many dedicated professional colleagues working in educational development in difficult settings who have sat through my many outbursts, rambling explanations and diagram sketching sessions in airplanes, bars, restaurants and offices in many places. I particularly wish to acknowledge the assistance provided by Ms Elaine Lameta who translated all my questionnaires and acted as a sounding board, cultural guide and translator during the project formulation, data collection and processing.

I have appreciated the support that I have received from my supervisors. I have been a difficult candidate. I have no doubt that they were frustrated by my working overseas in places where communication can be difficult. Yet they patiently guided my efforts. Professor Wayne Edwards and Professor Richard Harker helped me to get started and Associate Professor John Clark and Dr Penny Haworth have been invaluable in steering my fumbling efforts to a conclusion.

Finally I wish to acknowledge the support of my wife, Erena, and my children Rebekah and Christopher. I cannot really express what their support has meant. They have allowed me to follow an unusual profession assisting the development of education in developing countries. Erena has provided daily support though many international phone calls and emails and has listened for hours to my inner monologue of self-doubt as I have searched for ways to express the fleeting glimmers of ideas. Rebekah and Christopher completed their own university careers during the process of this study. They showed me the standard I should aspire to through their own diligence and academic excellence

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Working as an education system development adviser in developing countries for nearly 15 years has allowed me to be involved with many different education systems. It has presented the opportunity to reflect on the factors that shape the development, priorities and practices of education systems. International advisors assisting the implementation of education reform in developing countries are located within contexts that are very different from the social and cultural background of the advisor. This creates the need to try to understand the social arrangements, assumptions and mechanisms of the new context but it also challenges the assumptions and priorities of the advisor. Even though there are globalised educational policy frameworks that influence the local developments, educational reforms, whether in New Zealand or elsewhere, are located in the context of the social, cultural and educational story of that country or location. Any programme of reform within any education system needs to recognise that changing an education system is not just a matter of changing technical practice, it is a matter of recognising and responding to the cultural, social, and political factors in which the education system is located. Many well-reasoned and worthwhile attempts at educational reform, both in other countries and here in New Zealand, are less than successful because the countervailing effects of embedded social arrangements went unrecognised.

In 1994 the Government of Samoa established an education development plan for the years 1995-2005 which made the development of an education system "characterised by equity" (Western Samoa[1] Department of Education, 1995, p.9) a central priority. This thesis is a case study of the development and implementation of that programme of policy reforms over the period of 1995-2005. It presents the struggle of competing visions of how to expand secondary schooling in Samoa and draws attention to the influence of accepted mindsets on the choice of reform options and ultimately on the outcome of the reform. The case was selected because, in contrast to many nations, Samoa is small, culturally homogeneous, comparatively stable, has been independent since 1962 and is politically dominated by Samoans. Issues easily found in multi-cultural, multi-lingual societies with marginalised groups would not be so obvious in Samoa.

[1] The country name Western Samoa was changed to Samoa (officially the Independent Sate of Samoa) by constitutional amendment in July 1997.

Improving equity has been a central theme in educational development over many decades in both the developed and developing economies of the world. While there have been many studies, policy developments, significant investments, and strategies at both national and international levels, the outcomes of those efforts have been mixed. There is no denying that progress has been made against many indicators but success in other aspects has been less straightforward.

There are many complex reasons for this, including: political, social, cultural, and economic factors; and the mix of reasons are specific to each setting. As a result it is often easy to identify inequities within social patterns but it is much harder to explain why some inequities become resolved while others continue to resist change. To explain why those inequities continue to be replicated requires more than just a quantitative recording of results against measures. It requires an understanding of the setting and the clarification of issues that may at first appear to have no connection with the achievement of equity but which, when revealed and understood within the context, provide an explanation and an understanding of what has happened and what more needs to be done.

The 1995-2005 programme of education development in Samoa was a particularly intense period of reform in that country. It can be analysed within itself, focusing only on the completion of the activities, but to understand it fully requires a larger frame, with the development being seen as located within the context of the various interacting strands of educational reform, political reform and the interactions of the actors themselves that resulted in the development of the goals and objectives of the 1995-2005 reform programme and which may have contributed to the results achieved through the implementation of the plan.

Aiming at such evaluation requires approaches that focus on explanations, recollections, and the justification of decisions. Critical evaluation provides the basis to an approach which will aim at revealing underlying assumptions and explanations. The cross-cultural nature of the research using this approach requires humility and self-criticism on the part of the researcher and the recognition and critique of my own cultural, professional and academic filter systems.

1.2 OUTLINE

This thesis is organised in ten chapters:

Chapter 1 provides the introduction to the study with an explanation of the background.

Chapter 2 provides an outline of the case study with an introduction to the geographical setting and a brief overview of some aspects of the social organisation of the Independent State of Samoa. The chapter includes a short account of the colonial history of Samoa. A summary description of socio-economic patterns that are relevant to the appreciation of the issues related to the study of equity in the education system is also included. The focus of the case study is discussed.

Chapter 3 explores relevant theoretical issues. The concept of distributive justice and the basis of distributive justice within various social theories are discussed and issues of equity within public education systems are then considered. Some of the key issues that create and preserve inequities within an education system are examined. Issues relevant to a critical evaluation of the achievement of equity within an educational system are considered and theories pertinent to the interpretation of society and the theorising of the limits to social change are also examined, providing the basis of the critique of the achievement of equity within another culture.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology used to conduct the critical evaluation of the achievement of equity in the Samoa education system through the implementation of the 1995-2005 Samoa education reform programme. It describes the processes and instruments used to gather and analyse the data.

Chapter 5 describes schooling in Samoa. It examines the major socio-historical influences that have shaped the field and describes the resulting structures and factors shaping educational equity in the field. The chapter also describes the attempts to reform and reshape the field and the associated mindsets and ground rules that apply within it. It outlines the two reform alternatives that were developed in Samoa for secondary education during the 1980s and early 1990s and examines the rejection of one model and the acceptance of the other.

Chapter 6 reports the responses from the managers within the Ministry of Education and the principals of the four sample secondary schools to the changes that occurred between 1995 and 2005 in the structure and operation of the outcomes of the secondary school system. Their perspectives and positions in relation to the goals of equity of outcome, access and

treatment are reported. This information then combines with the material from Chapters 5 and 7 to provide the basis for the analysis in Chapter 9.

Chapter 7 provides a statistical description of changes in the patterns of access, treatment and outcome. An analysis is presented of the most advantaged groups and the factors that have the greatest impact on achievement.

Chapter 8 summarises the evidence presented in Chapters 6 and 7 to show the results of the reform programme in respect of the achievement of the equity policy goal in terms of access, treatment and outcomes in secondary education. The differences are compared to those patterns of inequities that existed prior to the 1995-2005 programme and any changes to those patterns is clarified. The resulting patterns are linked to the 1995-2005 policy framework.

Chapter 9 uses Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and practice as a basis for a critical evaluation of the success or otherwise of the education reforms in achieving the goal of a "system characterised by equity" (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.9). The resulting transformation or maintenance of the patterns of advantage and disadvantage in the field of education in Samoa are critically evaluated and underlying causations discussed.

Chapter 10 is a reflection of the reasons for the study, the intention of the research and an evaluation of the approach and methodology. It also reflects on the wider significance of the study and indicates possible future areas of research in Samoa as well as in wider international settings, particularly in those developing countries that have implemented rapid expansion of their education systems over the last two decades.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an introduction to the study. Section 2.2 gives a brief overview of the Independent State of Samoa. It describes its geographical setting and provides a brief account of some aspects of social organisation. The chapter includes a short summary of the colonial history of Samoa. A summary description of socio-economic patterns that are relevant to the appreciation of the issues related to the study of equity in the education system is also included. Section 2.3 then introduces the focus of the study.

2.2 SAMOA

Samoa is a small country in the South Pacific Ocean. It is located in the tropical region between 13 and 15 degrees south and between 168 and 173 degrees west. It is about 3500 km north of New Zealand and consists of 10 islands of which two, Savai'i and Upolu, account for 96 percent of the total land area of 2,831 square kilometres (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Samoa: geographical setting

Source: www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/samoa.html

The islands have been occupied by Polynesians for about 3000 years, developing a strong and distinctive culture which is known as *faasamoa*, or the Samoan way of life. Social cohesion is a key consideration of *faasamoa*. The *aiga* or extended family is the central social institution of faasamoa. The head of each aiga is a customary chief or matai. This position is bestowed as a result of agreement by family members. Traditionally, the family matai is responsible for the well-being and status of the family by administrating family affairs effectively. Even with the changes in Samoan society, more than 80 percent of the population still live within the matai system which is particularly strong in the rural areas and at village level. It provides a

strong safety net for social and financial security and is a significant component in personal and group identity.

The country has been impacted by European colonial history. The islands were first sighted by Europeans in 1722. In 1830 John Williams and Charles Barf, missionaries for the London Missionary Society, arrived and introduced Christianity which was adopted and readily adapted by the Samoans.

Germany annexed Samoa in 1899. New Zealand seized the islands in 1914 with the onset of World War I and continued as the administrator under a League of Nations Mandate. Following World War II preparations were begun for independence. In 1947 the Samoa Legislative body was reformed to reflect the Samoan majority. Western Samoa became the first Polynesian state to regain independence in 1962. In July 1997 Western Samoa formally adopted the name Samoa.

The system of national government integrates with faasamoa and traditional mechanisms of local government (Meleisea, 1987; So'o, 2002; Va'ai, 1999). The unicameral parliament has at least 47 seats, all of which are elected by popular vote. There are two electoral rolls, one for Samoans, the Matai roll, and the Independent Voters roll for non-Samoan citizens. The majority of seats are voted for through the Matai roll while the Independents have two seats in parliament. All members of parliament must be matai and integrated into the Samoan cultural systems of local group identity and governance. Universal suffrage was adopted in 1991. Prior to that time only matai voted on behalf of the interests of the family grouping that they spoke for. As a consequence, traditional interests and power balances have been and are of great importance. Samoa has 11 district sub-divisions reflecting traditional groupings and alliances of matai titles and these groupings are still important. Village councils have considerable local authority over the organisation of communal life. Consequently, the inevitable centralisation of the national government has countervailing forces, with the traditional groupings seeking localised access to opportunity and services.

Superficially, Samoan society appears remarkably homogeneous. The population is ethnically homogeneous. The 2001 census showed that the 92.6 percent of the population were Samoan, 7 percent of European- Polynesian mixed ancestry, and 0.4 percent European. The vast majority of the population (99.7%) identified themselves as Christian, the main denominations being the Congregational Christian Church (34.8%), Methodist (15%) and Latter Day Saints (12.7%) (Government of Samoa, 2003a).

However, there are stresses within Samoan society which are increasing social stratification and creating inequalities in access to opportunity, wealth and social outcomes.

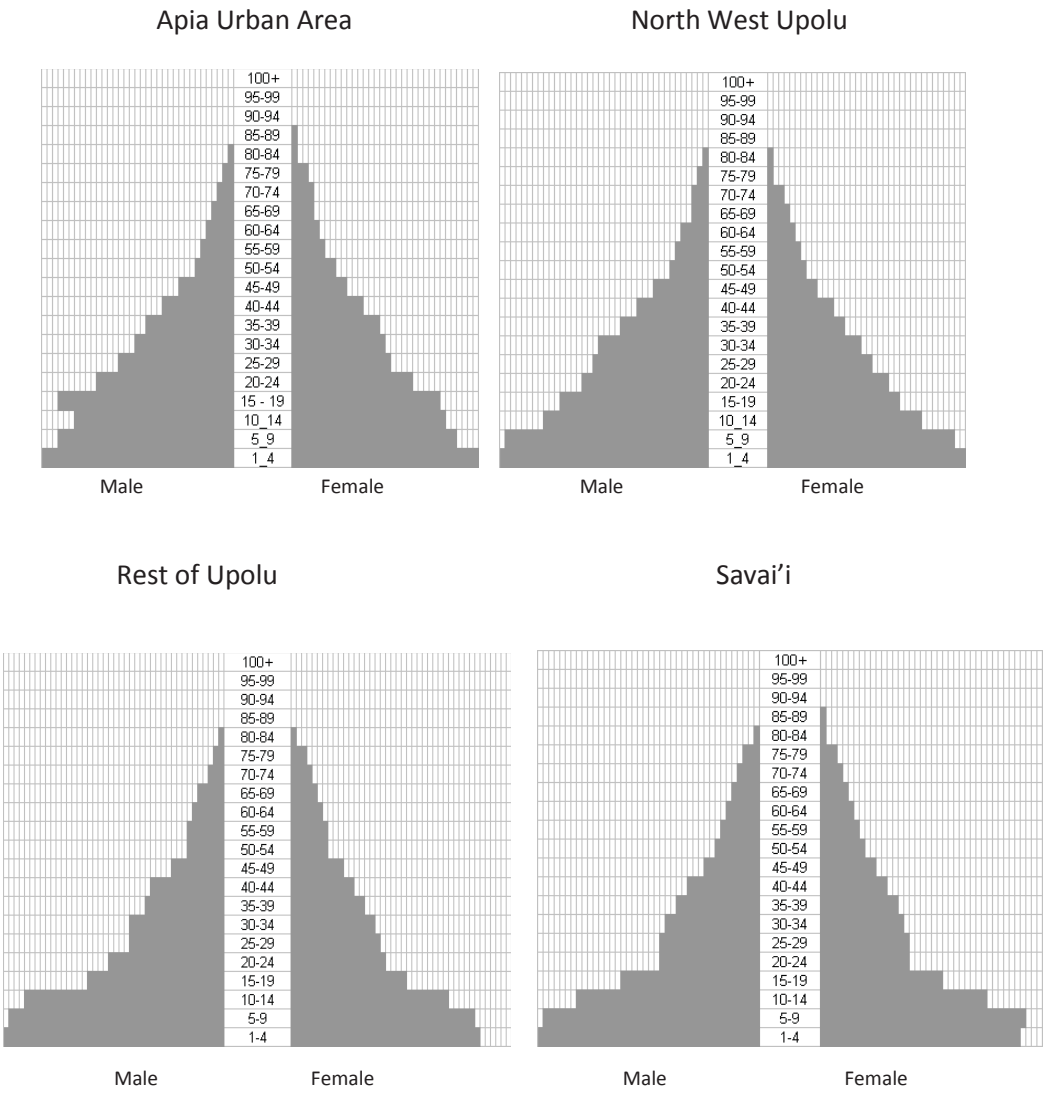
Population growth rate is problematic. Natural increase was relatively high and as a result the population profile shows the characteristics of strong growth with the lower age cohorts dominating. The 2001 census showed a total population of 176,710, giving a 10 percent increase in the 1991-2001 census period (Government of Samoa, 2003a). In 1999 the median age was 19.4, with 36 percent in the 12-29 years age bracket (Government of Samoa, 2003a). Similar results are given in the 2001 census with 30 percent of the population in the 10-24 age group and 37 percent in the 1-14 year old range (Government of Samoa, 2003b).

In 2001 75.8 percent of the population were on the island of Upolu and 24.2 percent on Savai'i (Government of Samoa, 2003b). There was little change in 2006 (Government of Samoa, 2007). Population densities on both islands are greatest in the coastal lowland regions and with 79 percent of the population living outside the Apia Urban Area (AUA), both islands are necklaced by villages strung around the coastline.

Since the time of European contact the capital, Apia, has been the site of greatest urban development. Apia is located around a small harbour on the northern coast of Upolu. Urbanization has concentrated people in the AUA and along the North-West coast of Upolu. At the time of the 2001 census 21.98 percent of the population lived in the AUA with an additional 24.04 percent located in North West Upolu, this being the coastal lowland area between Apia and the western end of Upolu which includes several of Samoa's largest employers and the airport. The 2006 census shows the AUA population is now 20.78 percent of the total population, representing a slight relative decline.

Internal migration has also resulted in significant differences in the age/sex characteristics of the population in the four statistical regions (Figure 2.2). All the age/sex pyramids have broad bases indicating significant natural increase. However, the effects of migration can be seen in the higher age groups. Savai'i shows significant loss of population in the post-school working age groups of 20-24 and above, no doubt the result of migration to Upolu in general and Apia in particular. The Rest of Upolu pyramid also shows significant loss starting in the 15-19 age groups. This would be the result of migration to AUA for education as well as employment. AUA shows surplus in the 15-19 age group, particularly for males, as a result of in-migration for education and employment (Government of Samoa, 2003b).

Figure 2.2: Population distribution by age and gender for the statistical regions



Government of Samoa 2007

Samoa had a Human Development Index (HDI)[2] of 0.785 in 2005, placing it 74th on the worldwide rankings. This is seen by the Government of Samoa to be the result of increased life expectancy (to 70.8 years), a rising adult literacy rate (to 98.6%), increased enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary schools, and a growth in average incomes (Gross Domestic Product per capita of US$2,543 in 2006) (Samoa Ministry of Finance, 2008, p. iv).

While the HDI ranking is explained by positive social development there is, however, considerable inequality of income distribution and in access to quality education, formal

[2] The Human Development Index is an internationally recognised index administered by the UN and used to indicate the development of countries. It is a composite human development index combining indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income into a single statistic index. It is used to rank the HDI of countries at set points in time and also to monitor the trends of countries over time.

employment and income-generating opportunities (Samoa Ministry of Finance, 2008, p.2). Urbanisation and the growth of formal urban-based economies are commonly associated with increased social and economic inequalities spatially within a nation and also within the community at any one location.

Samoa has a small economy with heavy reliance on development assistance (both bilateral grants and concessional loans), remittances from overseas workers and trade imbalances. The economy is heavily dependent on agriculture and agro-processing industries, comprising 18.4% of GDP in 1998. Much of the population relies on subsistence farming and fishing as well as on cash crops which include copra, taro (a traditional food crop which is exported to Samoans living abroad), cocoa, and bananas. The agricultural base is extremely vulnerable to natural disasters. Two major cyclones in 1990 and 1991 and a taro leaf blight in the early 1990s resulted in severe economic setbacks (Asian Development Bank, 2000).

Low levels of investment in the economy and sluggish employment growth are of particular concern. The number of young people entering the labour force each year has been growing steadily and ranges between approximately 3500-4000 annually but the number of new jobs created has been less than 500 a year throughout the 1990s. The relatively unfavourable employment prospects have been a major factor contributing to large emigration flows. Migration for new employment was 4-5000 annually for the period 1998-2002 (Government of Samoa, 2003a, p.23) with many of the emigrants being males aged 20-30, who have sought employment abroad. It is estimated that up to 70% of post-secondary-trained Samoans emigrate (Asian Development Bank, 2000).

Distribution of economic activity is very uneven. The AUA dominates with an estimated 70 percent of GDP generated either directly or indirectly by activities undertaken in the AUA (Apia Urban Planning Project, 2001). Manufacturing in the AUA accounted for 18 percent of GDP, commerce and retailing 15 percent and transport 11 percent. The Fugalei Market in Apia handles 60 percent of agricultural sales and a further 10 percent are conducted by the roadside in the Apia area, meaning a surprising 70 percent of the agricultural contribution to GDP is also made in Apia. Additionally a high proportion of commercial fishing catches are landed at the Apia Fisheries Wharf (Ibid., 2001).

The 2001 census reports that most formal employment is in urban areas with the greatest number of wage and salary workers in the AUA, which also had the highest average wages

and salaries. This was followed by the North West Upolu area and the Rest of Upolu. Savai'i, on the other hand, had the fewest wage and salary workers and the lowest average incomes.

In 2002, Samoa had a Gini coefficient[3] of 0.43 for income inequality. This is similar to other mid-level developing nations and was also similar to Malaysia and Thailand. The difference is that the Samoan variations occur within a much smaller geographical area. At the national level, the richest 10 percent of households earned 31 percent of total income, while the poorest 10 percent of households earned 1.8 percent of total income. There was little variation between the regions in the extent of inequality, but average levels of income and expenditure varied between regions, with North West Upolu being the poorest region (Samoa Ministry of Finance, 2008, p.2).

There is no official figure for the incidence of poverty in Samoa (Abbott & Pollard, 2004, p.125) and the networks of family links provide considerable support to many of the poorest. However, many people and their families experience hardship arising from poverty of opportunity. This is manifested in three ways: (i) a lack of access to basic services; (ii) a lack of adequate resources to meet basic household needs and customary obligations to the family, village community and church (these obligations absorbed 10% of household income in 2002); and (iii) a lack of opportunities to participate fully in the socioeconomic life of the community. The groups identified as most vulnerable to hardship include landless individuals and families, the unemployed (especially unskilled youth who are found mainly in new settlements nearby to Apia), single income households, isolated rural households, families with many children and the elderly without family support. The disabled are also vulnerable (Centre for Samoan Studies, 2006, p.30).

The socio-political culture is complex. On the one hand the culture emphasises the group and has strong and active mechanisms for distributing wealth within the group while on the other hand there is competitiveness and the desire to gain advantage for the individual and the group. In addition, the society has been impacted by colonisation, globalisation and the economic reality of funding development from a weak economy with the associated need to rely on international assistance and influence. The consequence is a complex policy milieu where the interplay of the past and the present, the need for change and the desire to

[3] The Gini coefficient is a commonly used mathematical measure of inequality. It is the ratio of the area that lies between an ideal line of equality and the calculated Lorenz curve. The Gini coefficient can range from 0 to 1. A low Gini coefficient indicates a more equal distribution, with 0 corresponding to complete equality, while higher Gini coefficients indicate more unequal distribution, with 1 corresponding to complete inequality.

maintain continuity with the past impact within a small society in a confined geographical setting.

2.3 THE CASE

This case is bounded by the geographical setting of Samoa and by the period. The period 1984-1995 saw the development of the policies for a major restructuring of the Samoan education system to produce a system that was more responsive to the emerging economic and social needs of the country. The development and implementation of these policies were embedded within the policy milieu of the time. This study examines the extent of change brought about by these policies within this setting.

During the 1970s and 1980s, social pressure had been building to expand the education system to include reasonable access to quality secondary schooling. During the same time professional educators had also been involved in over a decade of debate about the structure, purpose and scope of education in Samoa. During the 1980s attempts were made to respond to the issues with a radical restructuring of the secondary school system to improve equity.

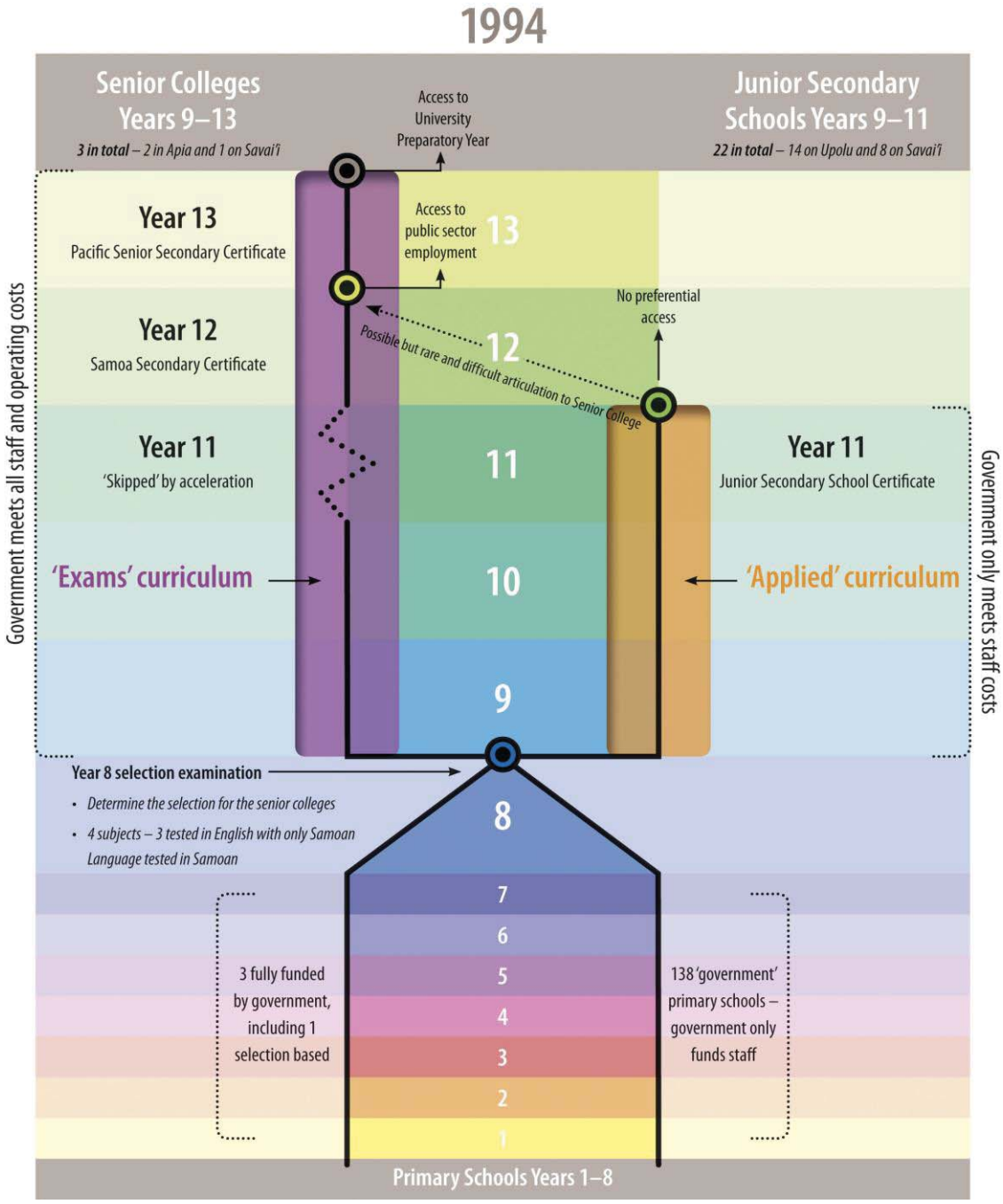
However, in the latter part of the 1980s the nation entered a period of economic hardship, political volatility and social unrest. There was an unprecedented strike by public servants, street demonstrations and six governments in the 1980s (Lawson, 1996). The stable government that finally emerged articulated a vision of broad social benefit from national development. Universal suffrage was implemented and programmes to facilitate development in the outlying areas of Samoa were formulated. As a result the radical educational restructuring of the mid-1980s was discarded as not being consistent with the new national vision of equitable development.

A further attempt at reform was facilitated by two destructive cyclones, Ofa and Val, in 1990 and 1991 that created significant damage to the infrastructure of the country. Following the cyclones, a World Bank team was invited by the Government of Samoa to assess the infrastructural refurbishment of the national education building stock. This also provided an opportunity to determine what other reforms should be considered within the structure, scope and purpose of the education system.

The World Bank (1991, 1992) evaluated the Samoa education system as being unsatisfactory in many ways. The system was characterised by low participation rates, high attrition rates, a

narrow curriculum, teacher-dominated pedagogy, and by policies, practices and structures which favoured some participants and actively discouraged others. The secondary system in particular was described as inequitable and inefficient. The secondary system had a dual-stream structure made up of three government-operated senior colleges offering Year 9-13 programmes with a further 22 government junior secondary schools offering Year 9-11 programmes (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Structural characteristics of the government school system 1994



After Western Samoa Education Policies, Western Samoa Department of Education 1995

The junior secondary schools were staffed by government teachers with lower qualifications than those at the senior colleges, followed a different curriculum to the senior colleges and received no operational funding from the government, relying on local district funding for resources. In addition to the government schools, there were a number of mission-run colleges and one private college that offered Year 9-13 programmes.

Access to government senior secondary education was limited and highly selective with entry to the three government senior colleges dependent on performance in the national Year-8 selection examination (Figure 2.3). Junior secondary schools offered the vast majority of students - particularly rural students - inferior opportunities. The junior secondary schools only offered Yrs 9-11 and terminated with the Junior Secondary School Certificate examination in Year 11 (Figure 2.3). The senior colleges, on the other hand, provided the Year 12 Samoa Secondary School Certificate which as a leaving qualification gave access to public sector employment. The senior colleges terminated at Year 13 with the Pacific Senior School Certificate where good performance resulted in access to the University Preparatory Year. The senior colleges were fully funded by the government while the junior secondary schools were funded by the community (Figure 2.3).

The combination of the selection process, poor facilities and many inadequately-trained teachers contributed to poor quality performance throughout the secondary system (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995). Wastage in the system was high. In 1995 16% of the Year 8 cohort dropped out before entering Year 9. Of the students who entered Year 9, 54% dropped out before entering Year 12. The World Bank recommended that significant system restructuring was necessary as part of the reconstruction effort as a way of expanding the system and improving the quality of education (World Bank, 1992).

Following a programme of national consultation funded by New Zealand's International Aid & Development Agency (NZAID) (Coxon, 1996, 2003), the Government of Samoa published a ten-year framework in 1995 for the development of education in Samoa. The stated intent of the reforms was to develop an education system "characterised by equity, quality, relevancy and efficiency" (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.9). Each of the characteristics was defined within the policy framework. The definitions of equity are of particular interest to this study.

The broad consultation within Samoa showed a consensus that 'equity' contained the idea of equal opportunity, the notion that providing all individuals with equal access to schooling

ensures a fair system, but also that all students must be dealt with fairly in terms of treatment. Fair treatment was seen as resulting from the removal of policies that advantage some groups and disadvantage others resulting in differential outcomes (Coxon, 2003). The disproportionate support for single-sex boys senior secondary schools by the government and the limited opportunity to access secondary schooling by rural students were seen as examples of the existence of such inequities. A focus on a more appropriate distribution of educational resources was deemed to be a central issue in the achievement of equity.

The policy document set out the equity intentions:

> The concept of equity requires that the system will treat all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity. Policies which advantage some social groups and disadvantage others will be avoided, while those which address existing inequalities in access, treatment and outcome will be promoted:
> *Access:*
> - structures which enable equitable access through the secondary system to all students so that no student enters a course of study which has been defined as terminal;
> - access to a comprehensive range of educational experiences which will enable students to make informed choices about their future;
> - and equal access to educational programmes for special needs students.
>
> *Treatment:*
> - a comprehensive and enriching programme which provides opportunities and challenges for students of varying interests and abilities, and allows for individual differences;
> - the opportunity for all students to achieve educational potential regardless of socio-economic status, gender, geographical location or previous educational experiences;
> - and adequate instructional time and effective instruction by well qualified and trained teachers across all subject areas and at all levels of the system.
>
> *Outcome:*
> - assessment and evaluation policies, procedures and practices for both school-based internal assessment and external examinations, which are perceived as fair and objective measures of achievement, and which reflect

> the principles and purposes of the curriculum (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, pp.11-12).

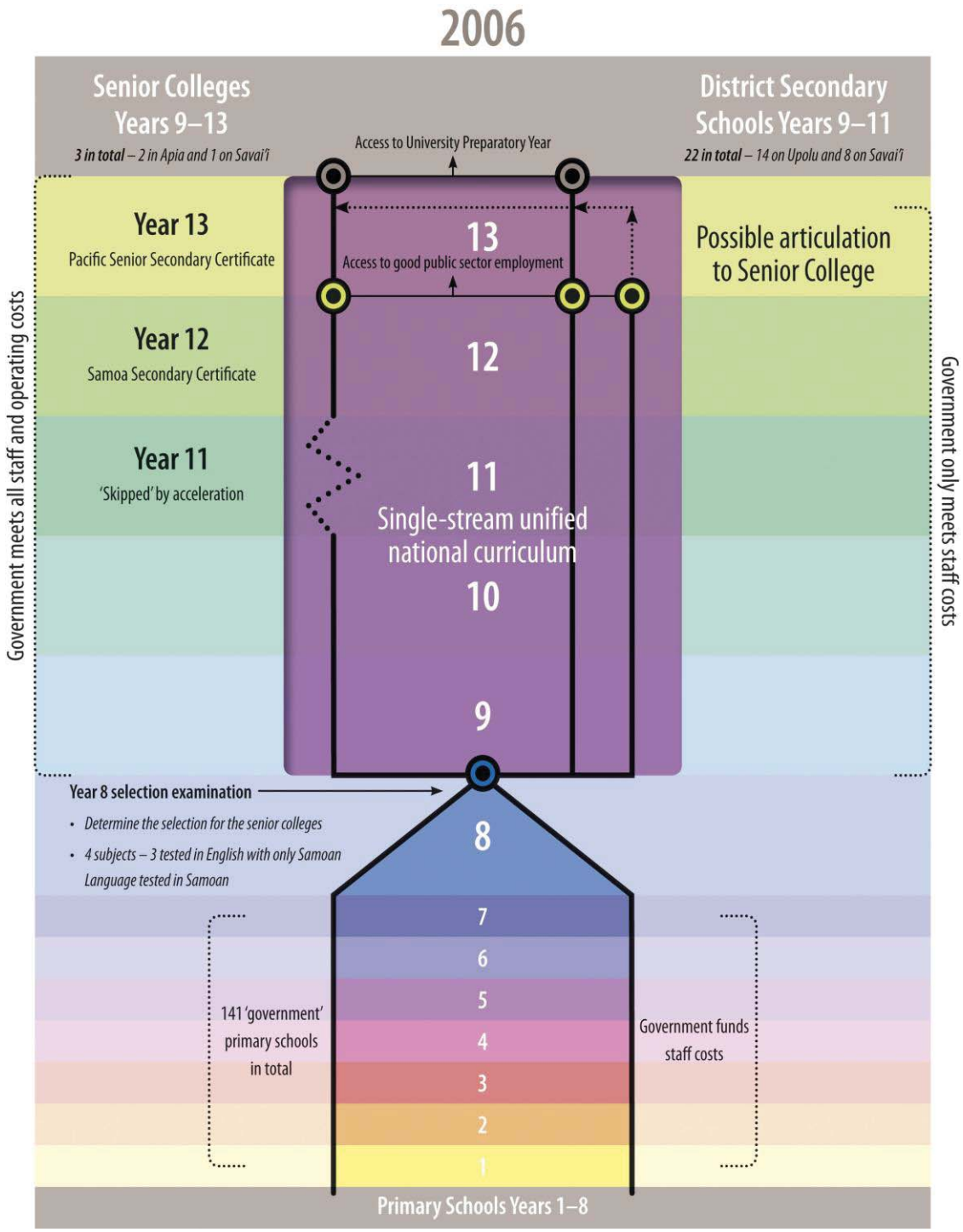
Implementation of the policy framework started in 1995 through a programme of parallel and interrelated projects aimed at developing the education system "characterised by equity, quality, relevancy and efficiency" (Ibid., p.9) financed by the Government of Samoa assisted by Samoa's international donor partners, primarily Australia, New Zealand, the European Union and Japan, with significant loan support from the Asian Development Bank. The emphasis was on the achievement of equity through the removal of obstacles to accessing learning that related to gender, location, resource allocation and equal opportunity to gain fair outcomes.

The programme included the reform of the secondary school system as a major focus. The existing dual-stream curriculum, where the students in senior secondary schools were prepared for senior level examinations while the students who attended junior secondary schools were offered a curriculum focused on 'applied' subjects, was reformed. A single-stream curriculum was developed for all secondary schools and has been implemented progressively. An extensive programme of secondary school refurbishment and provision of new equipment was initiated to improve the capacity of district schools to deliver educational services to higher levels and with greater curriculum coverage. An extensive programme of teacher in-service training was implemented to increase the capacity of teachers to be able to provide teaching and learning programmes in support of the new curriculum and the inclusive goals of the reform programme. The secondary school examination system was also modified and the Year 11 Junior Secondary School Certificate was discontinued so that students in those schools did not terminate but were able to progress to Year 12 for the Samoa Secondary School Certificate. A programme to progressively upgrade the Junior Secondary Schools to be able to offer Year 12 and 13 was initiated.

Some reforms that may have been expected to be part of the 1995-2005 package were not included or were scheduled for the 'medium-term'. There was no change to the structure or management of the senior secondary schools. The Year 8 selection examination continued unchanged. The differential funding regime between the senior colleges and the junior secondary schools was also maintained.

Figure 2.4 shows the structural characteristics of the secondary school system as it appeared in 2006 at the end of the 10 year reform programme. The dual-track curriculum has been replaced by a single-stream curriculum but the schooling system structure remains divided with the selection process continuing to divide the two tracks.

Figure 2.4: Structural characteristics of the government school system 2006



2.4 THE PROBLEM

The problem addressed in this thesis is to determine to what extent the 1995-2005 programme of reform in the Samoan education system has in fact overcome the obstacles that created inequities within the education system and resulted in the system achieving the equity that was anticipated. It is to determine why the system was perceived as inequitable and why the reform programme may, or may not, have been effective in achieving equity.

Reform programmes generally bring change within a system but they do not necessarily cause transformation within that system. Designing a reform programme is problematic. The project designers are limited by their own frames of reference and within an acceptable range of options. Implementation is often dominated by 'managerialism' where the reform agendas are converted into activity programmes of component projects, defined inputs and required product outputs. Monitoring of inputs and outputs is undertaken to ensure project efficiency. There is a danger that such monitoring replaces evaluation. In that case, once all the outputs are produced the programme can be deemed to be complete and if all activity measures have been achieved the reform project can be nominated as being successful. However, that does not mean transformation has taken place and that obstacles have been removed and access increased. When intervention programmes are assessed the reasons for success or failure are frequently explained at the level of activity management without examination of other deeper, less obvious but nonetheless powerful reasons that may exist.

To really come to grips with the issues of development within significant and complex social systems such as education it is necessary to also consider the deeper underlying issues.

- What were the hoped-for goals and objectives of the stakeholders and beneficiaries?
- Why this particular menu of interventions and reforms and not a different selection?
- Why were some parts of the programme pursued vigorously while other parts were ignored or left incomplete?
- Was the system transformed or was it merely reproduced in a larger frame?

CHAPTER 3: REVIEW OF THEORETICAL ISSUES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There are observable differences in the participation and performance of students within any educational system. Accounting for these differences is not straight forward. The differences cannot just be explained by the individual differences in the intelligence of the individuals. It is well established that factors such as family background, socio-economic group and marginalization as a result of gender or ethnicity exert considerable influence on the performance of various groups (Halsy, Heath, & Ridge, 1980; Nash, 1993, 1997). Access of different social groups to education and the issue of socially differentiated performance have led to the consideration of issues of distributive justice and equity in education systems. The 1995-2005 Plan to develop an education system characterised by equity made these issues a matter of concern to the education system of Samoa.

The first sections of this chapter explore the concept of distributive justice and the basis of distributive justice within various social theories. Issues of equity within public education systems are then considered. Some of the key issues that create and preserve inequities within an education system are examined. The cultural basis for the equity construct is explored. Issues relevant to a critical evaluation of the achievement of equity within an educational system are considered and theories pertinent to the interpretation of society and the theorising of the limits to social change are also examined, providing the basis of the critique of the achievement of equity within another culture.

3.2 DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Distributive justice relates to the way social goods, generated by cooperative action, are distributed to the members of a society (Rawls, 1999)**.** There have been and still are many different distributive arrangements in different societies. The different arrangements have had different beneficiaries and many supporters. However they may not necessarily be just or equitable.

Equality, Equity and Desert

Although often used synonymously in conversation, 'equity' and 'equality' are different terms and are open to markedly different interpretations and uses. Equality deals with actual patterns of distribution of social goods among particular groups (Bronhoffenbrenner, 1973). Equality is frequently seen as individuals or groups with the same characteristics being

treated in exactly the same way. Aristotle described distributive justice as the equal distribution of goods among people who are equal and unequal distribution among people who are unequal. Aristotle's view would mean that it would be unjust to treat those who are equals in respect of relevant criteria in an unequal way. However, it would be similarly unjust to treat people who were unequal in respect of those criteria in the same way.

In this case equality is essentially "justice as regularity" (Rawls, 1999, p. 441). Because such equal or unequal treatment is often measurable, determining equality is amenable to statistical measurement and to analysis based on variation from an expected equal situation.

Equity, in contrast, refers to fairness and fairness is a more subjective judgement. The term 'equity' places emphasis on notions of fairness and justice, even if that requires unequal distribution of goods and services (Valli, Cooper, & Frankes, 1997).

Rawls (1999, p.6) argued that defining a just basis for the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation was a basic step for any society. He argued that developing a just basis has priority over defining the good to be distributed because:

> A just social system defines the scope within which individuals must develop their aims, and it provides a framework of rights and opportunities and the means of satisfaction within and by the use of which ends may be equitably pursued. The priority of justice is accounted for, in part, by holding that the interests requiring the violation of justice have no value. Having no merit in the first place, they cannot override its claims (Ibid., p.28).

Rawls (1999) proposes that within any society there needs to be a set of principles that facilitate choosing amongst various possible social arrangements that could be used to determine the division of advantages and for underwriting the proper distribution of distributive shares (Ibid., p.4). He proposes two principles; first, that "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for others" (Ibid., p.53) and, second, that social and economic inequalities should be arranged so that they are both to the "greatest benefit of the least advantaged persons" (Ibid., p.65), and "attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of equality of opportunity" (Ibid., p.53).

Clark (2006) argued that it is crucial that social goods be understood in a particular way:

> They are that which each and every one of us, by virtue of being members of particular groups, are entitled to have either as a welfare right or as a non-interference right. Some of these are universal by virtue of our being human beings; others are legally granted in accordance with age criteria (p274).

In this sense, fairness lies not in the realisation that marginalised groups need to have more resources allocated to them but in realising that if they are members of a group that has certain social goods as of right then their actualisation of that right is only fair.

Clark also argues that social goods, as articulated by Rawls (1972), are in terms used by Rawls, "to denote an intrinsically valuable end state to which what we do is directed….In short social goods refers to that which is ultimately desirable (Clark, 2006, p.274).

On this account, a society that had granted all children within the society the right and legal obligation to attend school and had made equity of access, treatment and outcome a goal or desired end state of that schooling system, would then need to take action to arrange the system in such a way that it facilitated the least advantaged most to ensure they gained the end state.

3.3 EQUITY, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND POLITICS

However, the philosophical considerations noted in the previous section are not necessarily actualised within all societies. The reaction of societies and individuals to the issue of equity/inequity depends on prevailing political and social philosophies of social justice. There are considerable political differences related to the issues of social causation, individual agency, individual and group merit and the right to benefit from utilisation of opportunity. There is also dispute over the responsibility of the society towards less advantaged or marginalised individuals and groups.

Ideologies of social justice

Within the western liberal tradition "education is often perceived to be the great equalizer in an otherwise unjust society" (Mills & Gale, 2007, p. 433). However, this view cannot be automatically assumed to be universal. There are many perceptions of the problem of the difference in the relative successes of different categories of students and many prescriptions for the solution and for the roles and responsibilities of the state or other actors in implementing any solution. A general commitment to equality in education may disguise significant differences in the underlying philosophical and political assumptions. Gutmann (1987) observes that whether explicitly and coherently or not, education policy proposals

presuppose some kind of political theory. Where such assumptions are not articulated, the parties in an international or cross-cultural discourse are frequently surprised by the assumptions of others.

There have been a variety of philosophical and political conceptions of equity in western social history. Examples range from systems that provide benefit based on social status to those that compensate for social disadvantage. For example, modern Libertarianism neither accepts the notion of social causation nor the idea of a role for the state in rearranging society to compensate the disadvantaged. Libertarians assume that our circumstances are the result of our life choices. Wealth comes to those who are fortunate and those who speculate. It ignores the idea that individual choices are subject to constraints and coercion because of poverty, race, gender or other similar factors. Libertarianism holds that an unequal pattern of results cannot be used to justify taking some individual's resources in order to promote the welfare for others. As a result, Libertarians object in principle to the redistribution of goods by government. Libertarianism sees that there is no justification for the state to treat people unequally. The state should not intervene to move advantage or opportunity from one individual or group to another. There should be no compensatory actions. Government intervention is seen as coercive. The function of equality of educational opportunity is not to equalise results but to ensure that individuals are free to pursue any form of education that they freely choose (Barusch, 2002; Howe, 1997).

Robert Nozick (1974), in *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, argues that inequality does not necessarily indicate injustice if it results from a process that treats people fairly and equally. Nozick argues that the natural lottery may be unfortunate for certain individuals but that does not make it unfair (Howe, 1997). Nozick disputes the notion of communal responsibility for poverty. Libertarianism is based on the free-market/free-contract principle. The fact that a free market results in disparate incomes is not a sufficient cause for intervention. Distribution of goods that result from free exchanges among consenting adults are just, no matter how unequal, and the resulting distribution, no matter how unequal, is also just despite the fact that certain individuals start life with significant disadvantage. Consistent with this philosophy, Libertarians oppose any coercive action on the part of the state to equalise opportunities in education and in jobs.

In contrast, Liberal conceptions of social justice do ascribe to the underpinning notion of social causation and hold that society should take action to promote social justice. However,

Liberal thinkers have taken different approaches to defining justice. In his essay, *On the Connection Between Justice and Utility*, Mill (1863) argued that justice must be understood as that which is most 'useful' to society as a whole – or, to use his terms, that which generates the highest 'utility' – the greatest good or well-being for the greatest number. Utilitarianism argues that while the happiness of each person is valued equally and all have an equal claim to all the means of happiness, this is conditioned by "the inevitable conditions of human life and the general interest in which that of every individual is included set limits to the maxim" (Sterba, 1980, p.103). Mill argued that unequal access to the 'means of happiness' is justified but only when it is in the interest of society as a whole. As such, the utilitarian view may tolerate inequality if it produced greater good for society, regardless of its implications for the poor (Howe, 1997).

In contrast to Mill's view, Rawls (1991) argued for deliberate action on the part of society to address inequity on behalf of the least advantaged members of society. He argued that individuals can be neither credited nor blamed for individual attributes, like intelligence, talents, health, or gender. When he theorised the ideal basis for distribution of primary goods he sought distributive justice including the fair distribution of material economic goods and services but also non-material 'social goods', including opportunity, power and the social bases of self respect. As noted earlier, he derived two principles when determining a just basic structure: (i) that each person should have an equal right to an extensive system of equal basic liberties, and (ii) social and economic inequalities should be arranged so that they are to the greatest benefit to the least advantage. Such liberal views are typically construed as a 'compensatory' view. That is, the deliberate compensatory movement of society's social and material goods, including education, to the least advantaged, is based on the notion of the need to provide mechanisms to maximise the opportunity to compete for such goods by the least advantaged.

The liberal framework has been criticised because it is ultimately based on the notion that individuals can actually act according to their own intentions, choices, and goals. It assumes that the compensation for the disadvantage of an individual or group of individuals will allow them to achieve the outcomes achieved by others. This assumption is criticised because it fails to recognise the role of structural cause and coercion in explaining oppression (Young, 2002).

Structural theory

The notion of structural cause points to the existence of significant conceptualisations underlying a society that binds the social actions of the society and the individuals in it and structures access to social goods. Durkheim (1895) and Spencer (1886) noted that the relationships within society are organised and ordered through underlying structures such as social class, economic status, gender, affinity groups, language use and the like. Sociological theory proposes various ideas related to the impact and effect of these structures on the relations and life opportunities of individuals and groups.

Functionalism

Functional theory, as proposed by Emile Durkheim, assumed that the goal of social processes was to maintain a coherent and effective whole. Consequently, he sought the social processes (social facts) necessary to establish and maintain order. He held that social facts were all the ways in society that exist independent of the individual which nonetheless could exercise an external constraint on individuals (Durkheim, 1895; Thompson, 2004).

Functionalism provides a rationale for inequity within a society by arguing that it is functional and necessary as it results in the individuals with the greatest talent filling the most functionally important positions and roles. In this view, a just society is one where there are equal opportunities for all to gain social and economic advantage. The differences between individuals or groups are the result of fair competition based on merit and talent rather than on class or religion or other factors. This view means that inequity exists within education systems and action should be taken to remedy it but only insofar as it relates to equality of opportunity (Sadovnik, 2007).

Conflict theory

Conflict theory holds that interest groups are motivated by self-interest and that societal arrangements are the result of continual conflict between interest groups (Collins, 1941). Marxist social theory posits the notion that individuals and groups within a society not only have different levels of material and non-material resources but that the dominant groups arrange affairs in such a way as to exploit the subordinate groups and continue to take actions to reproduce that advantageous exploitation. Marxist analysis explains social inequality in economic terms and proposes that the capitalist process of production not only produces goods but also produces and reproduces itself (Marx, 1976).

Conflict theory argues that schools function in the interests of the dominant groups. It may be that schools should be democratic and meritocratic but conflict sociologists point out that the evidence does not support this (Sadovnik, 2007). Marxist analysis explains social inequality in economic terms and proposes that the capitalist process of production not only produces goods but also produces and reproduces itself (Marx, 1976).

Marxists criticise the liberal compensatory view because such actions may ameliorate the material disadvantage but still value the status quo and the mechanisms of acquisition and control. The liberal view still values those things that are valued by the advantaged groups and defines success as achievement against those values. It recognises disadvantage as not having the basis to succeed within that values system. It does try to assist the disadvantaged to gain that basis but it does not unravel or transform the fundamental system of advantage. To overcome this, it is necessary to understand the underlying paradigm and challenge the assumptions by including the perspectives of those groups that have been historically excluded when negotiating which educational opportunities have worth.

The liberal compensatory agenda can also be criticised because it does not perceive the nature of inequity and in many situations this misunderstanding then means that it is assumed that the transfer of material goods will result in equalised performance.

The limits of the compensatory distribution of material resources in education

Compensatory distribution of material items relevant to the production of education has been one course of action taken by governments to rectify the inequalities in the provision of the conditions necessary to achieve the expected results. However, the impact of the compensatory redistribution of items such as buildings, teachers, materials, revised curricula and funding has been contested.

Research by Hanushek in the 1980s showed that there was a negligible relationship between the resource inputs and the educational outcomes (Norton, Sanderson, Booth, & Stroombergen, 2000). It also challenged the notion that shifting resources towards disadvantaged schools was a satisfactory means of equalising outcomes. Because the effect of socio-economic background and culture of the students was a much more powerful influence on outcomes, the effect of using school resources to compensate for disadvantaged backgrounds was always going to be ineffective. If Hanushek's propositions were valid then the distribution of resources in education systems was for political rather than educational reasons.

Hanushek (1986) examined the measures of inputs into seven different variables: teacher/pupil ratio, teacher education, teacher experience, teacher salary, expenditures/pupil, administrative inputs, and facilities and found that a large proportion of the coefficients were statistically insignificant (at the 5% level). As a result, he concluded that the empirical evidence suggested no strong or systematic relationship between school expenditures and student performance.

Hanushek's work has been subject to considerable criticism. His conclusions have been criticised on the basis of the methodology. Hedges, Greenwald and Laine (1986) examined the same evidence as in Hanushek's (1986) study while correcting for estimate standard errors and outliers, and concluded that increased funding does matter. Hanushek's conclusions have also been criticised for being based on measures that were not sensitive enough to reveal the impact of resourcing. Subsequent research has shown that the use of different and more sensitive measures does show the positive impact of increased resources on school achievement. Boozer and Rouse (1995) found that class size has a positive effect on academic achievement. Kruegar (1997) found that class size has a significant effect on test scores (5-8%), family background has a similar sized impact, lower achieving students benefit more from smaller classes, and some schools are better at achieving improved performance with smaller class sizes than others with teacher characteristics having only a weak effect on test results.

Increased resourcing also increases the years of schooling available to students. It is generally concluded that additional education has a positive effect on student test scores and on their future income. However, there is disagreement on the magnitude of the impact. Griliches (1997) argued that other factors such as family background, ability and so on will obscure the effect on educational outcomes. Studies cited by Norton, et al, (2000) find that the effect on incomes or test scores of an additional year of education is probably around 6-8 percent and certainly less than 10 percent (Angrist & Kreuger, 1991; Ashenfelter & Kreuger, 1994; Blackburn & Neumark, 1993; Card, 1993).

Resourcing decisions also constrain the curriculum provided in schools. Where staffing formulae respond only to roll size, larger schools gain more staff places. Consequently, larger schools have a greater likelihood of having an adequate supply of teachers with a range of subject specialities, enabling them to create specialised programmes to cater to greater student needs. In the same market, smaller schools can only focus on core programmes. In

New Zealand, studies showed that a secondary school roll of 400 was found to be sufficient to provide an adequate curriculum (Monk, 1984). Maximum curricula responsiveness in Australia was found to require a roll of 800 (McKenzie, 1989).

In circumstances where resources are limited, targeting resources is an option that is deployed. Studies show that certain individuals benefit more from additional resources than others. Ashenfelter and Rouse (1999) argue that such individuals cannot be broadly classified by ethnicity, gender or socio-economic group, making targeting difficult (Ashenfelter & Rouse, 1999 cited in Norton, et al, 2000). Targeting also becomes philosophically contested as to whether it is for maximum benefit (compensatory approach) or maximum effectiveness (utilitarian approach).

Considerable recent research has been conducted in the United States as the result of school districts across the country asking the courts in the 1970s to rule on equity cases in all but five states. The sustained research has shown that unequal funding brings unequal results (Biddle & Berliner, 2002). It has also shown that the quality and distribution of instructionally relevant resources such as teachers is an important factor (Holmes, 2001). Hattie's (2009) meta-analysis synthesis concluded that the major contributors to student learning were the teacher, the curricula and the teaching experience. He pointed out that attendance at a particular school mattered less to students of the same ability than the influences of these factors. This assumes that teachers of equal ability are distributed ubiquitously so that the equally capable students can have the same experience.

Beeby (1966) had pointed to the centrality of the professional development of teachers in improving the quality of education in developing countries. Suggesting that the development of teachers from being ill-educated and poorly-trained to being well-educated and well-trained was the mechanism to improve the quality of education by making it a richer, more meaningful, better quality experience.

Beeby, (1966) saw the development of the national system as passing through a series of phases of educational practice that progressed , depending upon the increasing capability of the national teaching service, from being unorganized and having very low standards and a narrow range of practices to one characterised by a variety of content and methods and accommodating individual differences. Guthrie, (1980), supported Beeby's identification of the teacher as the key change agent in the classroom but criticised the model as basing the description of the ideal classroom practice primarily on British-influenced schooling systems.

Guthrie held that the valuing of such practices was culturally-based. This may be the case but it does not negate the underlying argument that, by whatever standards of practice, some teachers are more capable than others and that the quality of education improves with increased numbers of teachers with greater capability.

There is an additional aspect that needs to be considered. Beeby saw the national system developing through a set of stages with the teachers displaying the stage capabilities. The problem is that in any education system the teachers will display a range of abilities and practices. However, distribution of the teachers may not be equitable with teachers of greater or lesser capability being concentrated in different patterns. The justice of such distributions of teacher capability needs to be examined because many education systems concentrate the most able teachers in preferential locations and then restrict access through selection systems that favour the advantaged. This is certainly the case in Samoa.

The distribution of resources, including teacher resources, is important but it is not sufficient of itself to compensate for social disadvantage. Wide experience has shown that the compensatory distribution of the items of production does not result in fair access to or utilisation of social goods. Experience shows that disadvantaged groups frequently remain disadvantaged because they are unable to maximise the use of resources that are made available. In spite of the policies for equality of opportunity and equality of outcomes, unequal outcomes continue to prevail for disadvantaged groups (Male & Lameta, 1999).

3.4 DEVELOPMENT OF CONCEPTS OF EQUITY IN EDUCATION

Initially, post-World War 2 social policies in developed countries focused on equality, particularly the concept of equality of opportunity. However, Renwick (1986) characterised equality of educational opportunity as a portmanteau phrase packed by different individuals and interests, with a variety of meanings, policies and expectations, all justified in the name of equality of educational opportunity but potentially creating quite different outcomes.

Clark & Jordan (2005) argue that, whether at the macro level of the system or the micro-level of the classroom, the decisions that are made in respect to the ways different groups are allowed to engage with the education system are fundamentally ethical. The decisions are made on the basis of views about equality of opportunity, treatment and results.

They argue that equality of opportunity allows every student an equal opportunity to enter the system but it is up to each student to use whatever resources they possess (intellectual

ability, motivation, etc) to get as far as they can. Such a notion is educationally crude because while it equalizes entry the children enter with a wide range of abilities and resources, so are likely to experience a wide range of outcomes.

Renwick (1986) holds the position that a policy of equality of educational opportunity is most favourable to those with advantages and abilities because the education system helps them to make the most of their abilities. He points out that it is not so advantageous for the disadvantaged, serving only to draw attention to their lack of ability and advantage.

Equality of treatment requires that all should be treated equally. Clark & Jordan question the ethics of treating students, who start unequally, with *equal* treatment because they are likely to finish up unequally. It is also likely that the initial gap in achievement will be compounded by the end, resulting in even greater inequality.

Clark & Jordan also suggest that accommodating the possibility of equality of results in a more ethical arrangement of the education system. It is assumed that given time, every student has an equal chance of reaching a certain level of outcome with almost all students meeting minimum standards, though some students will progress beyond this. The time and resources needed for different individuals and groups to meet the standards would vary. This means that unequals are treated unequally in away that leads towards equality of results. These arrangements mean that the least advantaged would be treated unequally and more favourably than the most advantaged.

Practice does not necessarily develop to favour the disadvantaged.Burbules, Lord, & Sherman (1982) identified three types of practice relating to equitable opportunity and access which they labelled Formalism, Actualism and Compensatory Actualism. Formalism and Actualism are procedural views of equal opportunity where the opportunity lies in the application of procedural rules governing access to opportunities whether or not persons actually take advantage of them. They identified Formalism as the most basic level of intervention. It emphasises the equality of opportunity and assumes that the equality of opportunity lies completely in the consistent and impartial operation of rules for access whether people take advantage of the access or not. Under this view there is little consideration of compensation for disadvantage. Utilisation of the opportunity is believed to be based on individual ability and effort. In contrast, Actualist approaches did consider what actually constituted an opportunity. Actualists accept that it is insufficient to provide the possibility of an opportunity formally without considering what other barriers might in fact restrict access. There is a

consideration of the ways people differ and an acceptance that the response might require different and appropriate treatment, including the availability of various compensatory alternatives.

Burbules et al., also articulated the existence of a third position, attention to equal results. Under this focus results are equalised through any of four mechanisms (1) same results, the goal is the strict equalization of outcomes; (2) same progress where the effort is to work toward the goal of equal progress from each person's relative starting point. This goal does not promise the narrowing of differences; (3) minimal achievement levels, this alternative aims for the attainment of some minimum common level of achievement for all persons under consideration, however much some persons may go beyond it thereafter. This approach makes no claim to reduce inequality. The fourth position, proportionate results, is aimed at achieving roughly proportionate representation from each subgroup of society (Ibid., p.183).

Gillborn and Youdell (2000) analysed the writings of various educational commentators (Apple, 1993; Foster, Gromm, & Hammersley, 1996; Halsey, Heath, & Ridge, 1980; Valli, Cooper, & Frankes, 1997) and discerned four different interpretations around the concept of equal opportunity.

- *Equality of access and provision***:** Halsey et al., (1980) identified several separate but related understandings of equality of opportunity. The most limited approach, consistent with Burbules, Lord and Sherman, stressed the role of formal explicit barriers to access and participation, such as restrictions on the gender or religion of participants in an organisation. Inequality by this definition would rest on members of one or more social or ethnic groups openly being denied access to particular schools or examination systems on the basis of their ascribed identity. This is the most conservative definition of the concept.
- *Equality of circumstance*: Halsey et al., (1980) identified a second understanding, which emerged before the mid 1940s. This perspective focuses on the inequalities of circumstance (such as poverty) that can bar certain groups from equal participation in practice despite the abolition of any formal barrier to access.
- *Equality of participation (treatment*): Writing in relation to the North American literature, Linda Valli and her colleagues isolated an understanding of equality in terms of participation and treatment. Included in this definition are “the structures and

processes that define everyday life in schools" (Valli et. al., 1997, p.254). This includes both the formal and the 'hidden' curriculum such as 'biased testing, and other arrangements' that give structural force to inequalities of race, gender and class (Beane & Apple, 1995, p.11).

- *Equity of outcome*: A further understanding of equity, present in international literature, concerns the substantive outcomes of education.

> Equality of outcomes refers to the result of educational processes: the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling. Equitable outcomes of schooling would decrease, if not eliminate, group differences in school achievement, attitudes, drop out rates, college attendance, and employment (Valli et. al., 1997, p.225).

This last perspective of equity came to prominence in Britain in debates concerning the selective public education (in the 1960s and 1970s) and on the education of children from minority ethnic backgrounds. It has been most prominent in critical education research (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000). While it is important to acknowledge that the individual skills and efforts of teachers and students do result in successful achievement, the critical approach moves beyond the notions of individual choice and effort and focuses on questions concerning those defined as 'winner' and 'loser' by the system. It is concerned with the structural exclusion of groups and looks beneath the surface of formal treatment to identify the discriminatory effects of institutional practices (Dorn, 1985, p.21).

Critical analysis adopts this perspective and assumes there is no inherent reason why members of one socially defined group should not achieve average results on a par with any other such group. If there is no inherent reason why members of one socially defined group (based on class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, etc) should not achieve average results on a par with any other such group then differences between groups are likely to be caused by inequalities in the provision of the conditions necessary to achieve the expected results (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000).

Coleman & Marjoribanks (1975) considered that, on the whole, 'equality of educational opportunity' was a mistaken and misleading concept. They argued that the concept of equality of opportunity only has value to the extent that the opportunity relates not to the educative process itself, but to what can be achieved in later life and only then to the idea that schooling leads in the direction of equal adult opportunities. They further pointed out

that ‘equality of outcomes’ was also unattainable given unequal environments and ‘equality of inputs’ failed to address the issue of how much education was required**.**

In the New Zealand context, Nash (1997, p.128) argued that the provision of equivalent forms of schooling in urban and rural areas, a more or less standardised curriculum and a national examination system were intended to create not only the necessary resource conditions for equality of educational opportunity but also the real achievement of social equity in education. In his judgement, this goal has not been reached.

Notwithstanding the lack of overall success in achieving a social equitable system in New Zealand Beeby (1986) saw the idea of equality of educational opportunity as having value as a coordinating “myth”. While the goal of equity may not be reached, the idea provides a coordinating influence. It lays down a criterion against which all other purposes can be judged (Beeby 1992) and through this function stimulates the on-going endeavour to attain the goal. Nash may very well be correct in his assessment of the failure to meet the goal of social equity in education but the attempt brought beneficial change to the education system.

3.5 SOCIAL POWER AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

The question of how equity is understood and expressed needs to also be partnered with the question of how inequities are recognised and rationalised. Foley (1997) holds that deficit approaches begin from the assumption of a reference point from which inequalities can be determined and this influences the development of policies, processes and measures to promote equity. Dominant groups see themselves as the referent point and see the disadvantaged as lacking the characteristics of the dominant group. Disadvantaged or marginalised groups are problematized through deficit models. The consequential public administration processes are then designed to compensate for the perceived deficits. The dominant group sets out to solve the problems of the marginalised group through solutions defined by the dominant group. This perpetuates the dominant/subordinate relationship and favours assimilationist approaches rather than inclusivist approaches (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Marginalisation occurs through power-elite groupings excluding others. Marginalisation occurs through the systematic disrespect of one group by another, through not being recognised as having or being able to articulate a distinct and worthwhile view, and through cultural domination where new patterns of value and interpretation which are alien are imposed by one group on another (Cook-Sather, 2002; Gewirtz & Cribb, 2002; Power &

Gewirtz, 2001). Colonisation produced just such an effect where the colonisers defined what was worthwhile and controlled the mechanisms for access while the values of the indigenous populations were devalued and discounted. This effect is independent of numeric superiority; it is the result of the seizure of the power to define goals, values and actions. Even where the colonisers are in the minority the effect of colonisation is to disrupt and marginalise the colonised. In this way it is possible for the majority of a population to become excluded.

Continuation of disadvantage is as a result of disadvantaged groups being excluded from being part of the policy-making elite. It is the nature of the relationships within the education policy setting systems as well as in the classroom that sets the foundation for reducing disadvantage. Therefore, considerations of social justice must also encompass relational justice. The relationships between the individual, the community and the state must be examined to ensure fairness. This has particular significance for those nations where the colonial experience changed the structure of relationships in society and ensured the marginalisation of many people. Social justice is also about effecting change to the nature of participation and rectifying the injustices that result from some learners being unable to actively engage with the learning (Male & Lameta, 1999).

Critical educational theory argues that power is produced and reproduced through the education system. Schools perpetuate inequality because of the social construction of knowledge and curricula by the powerful and by the definition of worthwhile knowledge and by the ideological interests it serves (Luke & Gore, 1992; Popkewitz, Franklin, & Pereyra, 2001).

The potential for reproducing inequity and disadvantage lie within the core educational structures of the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment systems. The curriculum and associated assessments set what becomes recognised as the valued learning and consequently act as a powerful shaping influence on the society, regulating learning, legitimizing achievement and rationing access to opportunity. The disadvantaged cannot engage equally with the learning because of the obstacles that lie within the items such as language, culture, inappropriate curricula, pedagogy, and assessment. Schools can be seen in two ways: as a mechanism to assist individual students to get ahead and, on a much larger scale, as a mechanism that only lets certain kinds of individuals possessing certain types of knowledge to get ahead (Apple, 1981). Critical educational theory also holds that the curriculum is a selection of knowledge that is a key part of a deliberate agenda of social

reproduction or change. As such, the intent of the curriculum and the beneficiaries of its operation are legitimate focus points of investigation. If some groups are advantaged over others then the curriculum has, in itself, imposed a further structural inequity.

Bourdieu (1986) used the concept of capital to describe the way in which social power can be accumulated and utilised to shape societies. He held that capital can present itself as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and property. It can also present as *cultural capital*, being "educational credentials and familiarity with bourgoise culture" (Wacquant, 1998, p.216) which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital. Capital can also present as *social capital* which is the network of friends and other social contacts that an individual has. Bourdieu contended that these forms of capital, either in objectified or embodied forms, take time to accumulate but have the capacity to produce profits and to reproduce themselves in identical or expanded form.

Bourdieu argued that cultural capital was "a major determinant of life chances and that, under the cloak of individual talent and academic meritocracy, its unequal distribution was helping to conserve social hierarchy" (Wacquant, 1998, p.216). He highlighted the role of the cultural capital of the individual or group as the mediating device that allows the individual to understand and utilise the distributed resources (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu described three types of cultural capital - embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Embodied cultural capital consists of the internalised experience and knowledge acquired through life. It is the result of socialisation and includes language, culture and ways of thinking. Objectified cultural capital consists of physical objects, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., and is only transmitted in its materiality. But the transmission of the object itself without the transmission and embodiment of the cultural capital means that the objectified cultural capital remains inaccessible. Cultural capital appears in institutionalised forms through academic credentials such as school records, educational qualifications, curriculum vitae and the like. These institutionalised forms testify to the accumulation of cultural capital by the individual and are signals of acceptability to entry into forms of employment or other social and economic advancement.

Centre-periphery distribution of cultural capital and advantage

Bourdieu demonstrated the advantage that students who were located in proximity to the cultural centre have when he provided an account of this effect within France. He drew attention to the disproportionate success of the urban professional elite within the

educational system and correlated that success with the possession of the requisite cultural capital that was valued through the education and examination system (Crossley, 2008; Harker, 1985). Such a situation effectively forced the possessors of the rural devalued cultural capital to acquire the urban culture to ensure success and as a result replicate the urban social structures and hierarchies.

Centre-periphery theories were initially conceived as an explanation for the relationship between 'central places', that is, locations where economic, social and demographic power has been concentrated and the surrounding areas that are exploited to give the central place additional advantage (Christaller, 1972). This perspective has also been used as a metaphor to explain the relationship between colonising powers, the global 'centre', and the colonised regions that were exploited for the advantage of the coloniser. The theory suggests that the centre gained greater power and socio-economic advantage by exploiting the periphery (Frank, 1978). The periphery is dependent upon the centre. It is a useful framework for understanding relationships between spatial or conceptual locations of disproportionate power, economic and societal dominance and the less advantaged periphery even if they are within the same country.

In the case of colonised countries the relationship of centre and periphery needs to be understood first in terms of the historical change of the location of power and advantage and then in the spatial arrangements of the system of production and reproduction of that advantage. The establishment of the colonising structures in a society generally took place in a centralised location that had transport, communication and trade advantages. These centres were also the location of the development of the physical manifestations of advanced development – government buildings, commercial activities and the centres of politics, judiciary and education. They were the central location of the new cultural capital and dominance. Having gained this status, the relationship with other parts of the country takes on the characteristics of the centre-periphery metaphor and becomes a social construct that binds the social action of the society and individuals.

Bourdieu's explanation of educational exclusion and differential outcomes is that schools exclude precisely by creating the belief that the educational system does not exclude and this therefore forces people to accept that their performance is the result of individual capacity rather than as a result of preferential dispositions within the system and as a result of the system valuing and rewarding the knowledge and behaviours of the preferred groups

(Bourdieu, 1964; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). Consequently, Bourdieu argues that it is the culture of the dominant group that controls the economic, social and political resources which is embodied within schools (Mills & Gale, 2007). In other words, educational differences are frequently 'misrecognized' as the result of 'individual giftedness' rather than group-based differences. The abilities measured by academic criteria are often defined and valued because of the close fit between the advantaged class cultural habits and the demands of the educational system and the criteria which define success within that system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). The 'cultural capital' that is acquired through familiarity with the dominant culture aids success. This capital, consistent with other forms of capital, is not distributed equally and its utility is disguised by the idea that school achievement is the result of individual capability and this helps to conserve social hierarchy (Wacquant, 1998).

Bourdieu held that the injustices of allowing certain people to succeed, based not upon merit but upon the cultural experiences, the social ties and the economic resources they have access to, often remains unacknowledged in the broader society (Ibid.). Ignorance of the underlying mechanism means that the system reproduces itself by legitimating the culture as it stands and producing agents capable of manipulating it legitimately (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp.59-60). The system maintains "the pre-existing order, that is, the gap between pupils endowed with unequal amounts of cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1998, p.20) 'behind the backs' of actors engaged in the school system—teachers, students, and their parents—and often against their will because they themselves are products of the system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). That is, those involved in reproducing this social order often do so without either knowing or wanting to do so (Bourdieu, 1998). Rancière (1991) had the fictional school master, Jactot, finally realise that although schooling was the mechanism that was supposed to result in equality it is also the mechanism that delays the achievement of social equality. However, teachers in particular and educational managers in general, frequently do not see and often do not intend the social sorting that schooling imparts on students (Mills & Gale, 2007).

3.6 THEORISING CHANGE

Even though an understanding of the underlying social structures may have been realised and the processes of reproduction been appreciated, change is difficult to make. The macro-level theories of social change, such as Marxism and social conflict theory, suggest perpetual structural conflict and change processes that are inevitable but are the result of large scale societal shifts.

The further problem with many of the classic structural theories is that they focus on and define single causes. Marxism, for example, defined economic groupings as the boundaries of conflict. Durkheim's functionalism also focused on factors external to the individual and minimised the role of agency within society.

Fortunately, Weber expanded the theoretical constructs to consider other factors, proposing that social action was also defined by factors such as culture and politics (Morrison, 2006). Weber perceived the mix of class, status group, and power group as independent although interacting forms of stratification. Consideration of social arrangements, as being the result of the interaction and interplay of a number of factors, has led to the development of other explanations. Bourdieu's work, for example, melds the influences of structures with social agency and synthesises economic and cultural capital as influences on choice and action. This provides a more nuanced appreciation of the processes at play within a society.

The problem with too great a reliance on structural theory is that it reduces the role of human agency in change. It doesn't really examine the interface between the social situation and the individuals who make the choices to make change or not to make change.

Ethnographic and interpretive approaches provide the means of theorising about social processes at the micro-level where the individual interacts with their lived reality. At this level, researchers and theorists have examined the ways individuals assess social interaction and react to it.

> In the hands of interpretive theorists, culture is not merely a pale reflection of structural forces; it is a system of meaning that mediates social structure and human action. Social actors no longer function as passive role players, shaped exclusively by structural forces beyond their control; they become active sense makers, choosing among alternatives in often contradictory circumstances (Mehan, 1992, p.3).

The explanations of neither the exclusive societal level models nor the exclusive individual level models entirely consider the lived reality of those engaged in the design and management of social systems. This lived reality contains the elements of structural bounding and of individual interpretation. The exclusively societal level perspectives and the exclusively individual level perspectives are illuminating but they fail to draw attention to the fact that individual decision-makers are located within a multi-faceted environment that includes the summation of both of those theoretical perspectives. Individuals are being asked to act within

a set of mores and rules that have proceeded from historical decisions in which they were not necessarily part.

Coleman (1990) advanced the macro-micro theory which focuses on the transitions between the societal level and the micro-level. Benjaminsen states that

> Coleman emphasises analysis of how the structure of positions that constitute social organisation is brought into existence, and how individuals that fill out the positions are motivated, and how such a system of motivations are maintained. However, social structure does not determine the actions of individuals completely. Space for action is left open, which gives the actor the possibility of making choices. Coleman assert that a rational choice model holds more explanatory power than compared to supposing the actor does not act rationally (Bejaminsen, 2003, p.4).

Coleman is indicating that the individual actors will act in ways that are not necessarily structurally bound but are consistent with what has gone before or what the objective is.

Popkewitz (1999, p.31) suggests that post-modernist approaches reject the dialectic that has power vested in oppressor groups that have historically dominated and repressed other groups, believing that this dichotomy of oppressors and oppressed closes down any consideration of other ways that participation and action within a society are controlled. Post-modernists locate the problem more broadly in all the conditions in society that qualify or disqualify individuals for participation and action. The focus for change is then not just in the overthrow of the oppressors but in more broadly changing the conditions that confine the possibilities for agency.

Bourdieu, field dynamics and the action of agents

Bourdieu held that the characteristics of a social field are not fixed, and it is possible to trace the history of its specific shape, operation and range of knowledge required to maintain and adapt it. To do so is to understand how change happens or does not happen within a field (Thomson, 2008, p.72).

Bourdieu provided an explanatory framework of an active system where the on-going engagement between the social environment and the human agent shaped and continues to shape both. He describes it as:

> a philosophy of action designated at times as the dispositional which notes the potentialities inscribed in the body of agents and in the structure of the situations

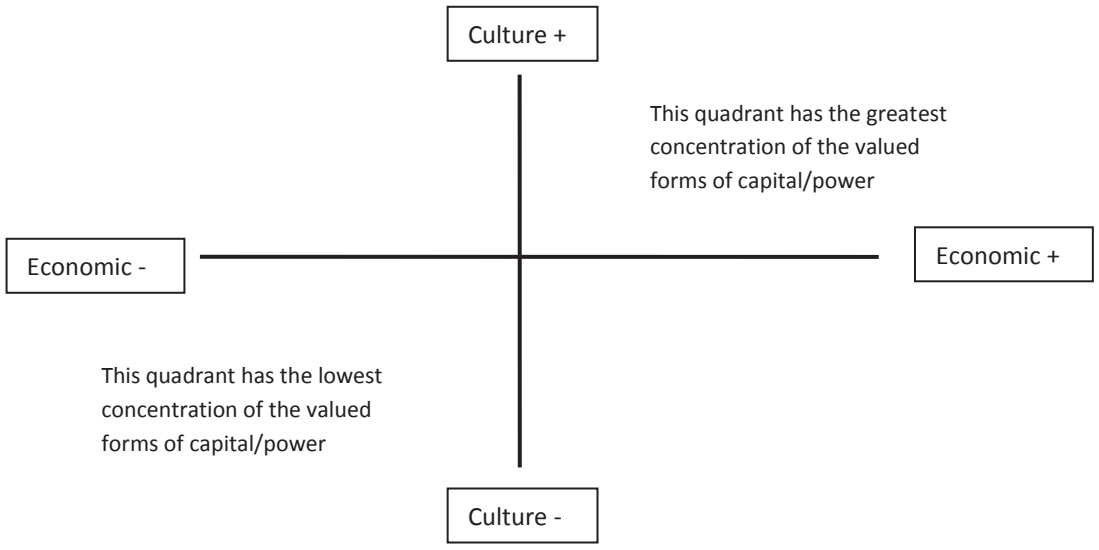
where they act or, more precisely, in the relations between them (Bourdieu, 1998, p.vii).

He focused on interpreting the repetitively reinforced practice of people in the environments that they are in and argued that:

> Legitimation of the social order is not… the product of a deliberate and purposive action of propaganda or symbolic imposition; it results, rather, from the fact that agents apply to the objective structures of the social world structures of perception and appreciation which are issued out of these very structures and which tend to picture that world as evident (Ibid., p.vii).

Bourdieu (1989) conceived each field as a site of struggle that has, "as the stakes, … the specific authority characteristic of the field under consideration" (p118). It is a space where ideas and groups contest for control and where structures, systems and symbols are established. The field is occupied by agents or groups that have differential influences based upon their control of economic and cultural capital (Figure 3.1) (Bourdieu, 1998).

Figure 3.1: Influence of Cultural and Economic Capital of Field Dispositions



Source: Bourdieu 1998

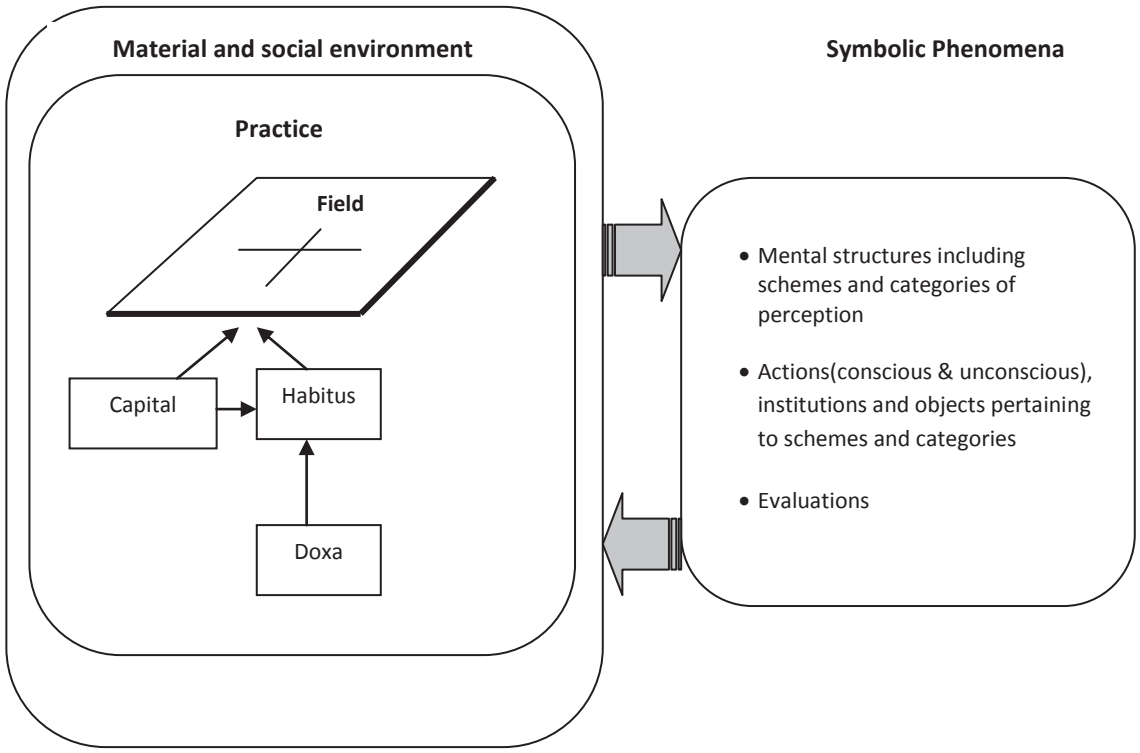
Agents and groups are positioned across the field according to the cultural and economic capital that they hold. The agents are located in the space in such a way that the closer they are together the more they have in common. The agents and groups with the forms of capital that are congruent with the dominant power cultures and behaviours congregate in the upper right quadrant. They have the social networks to mobilise interests and they are

connected closely with the mobilisation of economic capital. The lower right quadrant has the groups and agents that may hold economic capital but are not as congruent with the dominate power cultures and not as closely with the relevant social networks. The upper left quadrant is the converse with appropriate cultural capital but an absence of accumulated economic capital while the lower left quadrant lacks the necessary capital in all forms.

The state of course has significant power at its disposal because it can control the distribution of the various types of capital and the relative value of each of the types of capital (Ibid., p.42). This gives the state a great deal of power in determining the shape and rate of change within the field.

Bourdieu (1998) argues that the practice of human agency is the result of the interplay of three concepts – field, habitus, capital and the power relationship between habitus, capital and the agents distributed in the field. Bourdieu sees the area of practice as a social space which can be conceived as a flat plane or field. The objective structures on the field are the result of the influences on the agents in the field (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Relationship of Bourdieu's components of practice and symbolic phenomena



The constituents, dispositions and linkages of the groups are complex and subtle. Bourdieu theorised that the most important influences on the practice of the field were those unrecognised and in many cases unconscious patterns of behaviour and belief about what was and was not possible, what was and what was not normal. Habitus is the habitual way of thinking that is the consequence of the constantly recurring patterns of life - beliefs, values, conduct - that engender an accepted way of doing things and provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives "without consciously obeying rules explicitly posed as such" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.76). It orientates the actions and inclinations of actors without directly determining them. Bourdieu described habitus as being further underpinned by *doxa,* referring to the unconscious acceptance of forms of social arbitrariness that exist in any society and which contribute to the reproduction of the social institutions, structures and relations (Deer, 2008). It is intuitive knowledge shaped by experience that results in acceptance of the arbitrary relational predispositions in society.

Bourdieu (1977) contended that doxa provide legitimacy to arbitrary social arrangements by misrecognising arbitrariness for what it is through being unaware that there may be an issue of legitimacy of the arbitrariness. Deer (2008) holds that a sense of limits becomes internalised by the field practitioners through acceptance of the arbitrariness of the established social order along with the justifications and conditions embedded in the processes in a field.

Doxa, then, are sets of field-specific beliefs that inform the shared habitus of those operating within the field (Ibid., p.125). The specific socio-historical conditions of the emergence of the field are ignored or forgotten and the constructive doxa becomes unquestioned. As a result it limits the options for change.

Codd (1990) characterises habitus as being both the source of new perceptions and practice but at the same time prescribing limits to what is conceivable as the new perceptions and practice. It is this very paradox of appearing to be creative while having a limited capacity for improvisation that reveals the constraint of social conditions even where we believe there is choice and free will (Bourdieu, 1990).

Bourdieu also argued that there is a further element that needs to be considered to fully understand the field arrangements. Symbolic phenomena are a strong influence on the human agent, providing an unconscious guide as to what might be acceptable (Figure 3.4). By symbolic phenomena, Bourdieu meant the mental structures held within the mind of the

individual or individuals, including schemes and categories of perception, as well as institutions, objects and evaluations that related to the schemes and categories (Jain, 2006).

Bourdieu's explanations outline a feedback loop between the symbolic phenomena and the material and social environment in which practice takes place. They are products of the engagement between the material and social environment and human practice, as well as contributing to the creation of that environment (Figure 3.4).

In any situation we do what we think is best and what we think is best is generally the same as or similar to what we thought was best in preceding similar situations. The reason we did it in the first place and continue to do it is because it conforms to our symbolic schemas and the unconscious evaluative criteria. This legitimates the decision which in turn legitimates the result thus perpetuating both the material and social environment and the symbolic schemas.

That does not mean change does not take place. Harker (1990) argued that that practice is always in the process of reformulation as the relationship between structure, habitus and practice interacts with changing historical circumstances (p100). He held that historic circumstances exert pressure for change but changes to practice are also the result of the perception of the historic circumstances by the actors. However, he held that the perception filter itself is also a product of habitus.

Thus, change to the material and social environment takes place in association with and synchronised with change in the symbolic environment. Sustainable change cannot proceed in the one without change proceeding in the other. There will be reaction and resistance to those proposals for change that offend against the norms of what is acceptable or not and valid or not. But there will also be adjustment to the pressure for change, albeit slowly.

It is this analytical and explanatory framework that provides the basis for illuminating the course of developments in the secondary school system of Samoa over the period of 1995-2005.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the methodology used to conduct the critical evaluation of the achievement of equity in the Samoan education system through the implementation of the 1995-2005 Samoa education reform programme. It describes the processes and instruments used to gather and analyse the data.

Positioning the Researcher

Participating in the critique of another social or cultural group requires a clarification of the position of the observer/researcher.

I am a middle-aged, middle-class New Zealander of European ethnicity. As such I am an 'outsider' with respect to Samoa and do not have the intimate 'insider' knowledge that is the natural position of native-born Samoans. However, I have been involved in education professionally for 30 years as a teacher, as a government policy analyst, and as an international development consultant. I worked intensively as a consultant in the Samoan education system for six years in the period 1998-2004. In that time I was a participant in, and contributor to, the changes made in the school sector as a result of the implementation of the 1995-2005 plan. Over that period I led the project that redeveloped the secondary school curriculum. I was a consultant in the Samoa Department of Education Institutional Strengthening Project team advised the redesign of the Samoa Department of Education management and operational structures and systems as part of the institutional transition to becoming the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. I was also Project Management Specialist managed the Government of Samoa Education Sector Project tasked with developing secondary school facilities to accommodate the new curriculum, training teachers to deliver the new curriculum and providing learning materials and resources.

In these roles I provided technical and management advice in development projects related to the implementation of the policy. My roles were to ensure the efficient and effective completion of activities and the production of the various buildings, training programmes and materials. I was involved in planning meetings and discussions as well as operational supervision and during the process I had the opportunity to observe some of the effects of the implementation of the policy. However, I realised that I had no way of evaluating the effects. I had no knowledge of the context, or of the underlying decision making frameworks,

or of the goals that the Samoans were trying to achieve. I did not go to Samoa to conduct research but my involvement in Samoa caused me to start to look for ways to understand the developments and the effects. The research was not part of my work but grew out of my attempts to understand the changes in Samoa. The approved research programme began toward the end of my professional activities in Samoa when my work in the school sector was complete and I was engaged in policy development in the post-school sector.

This research is an attempt to evaluate some of that work. It is not, and can never be the story of the changes from an 'insider' perspective. It is an examination by a 'participant-outsider'. As a result it may not have the finely textured and subtle understandings that could be provided from the 'insider-perspective'. Nonetheless, as the result of the close working relationships that I had with senior government officials I was able to participate in discussions and observe the decision-making processes. I had similar access to officials from donor organisations and to the staff in schools. However, there is a disparity of interest that must also be acknowledged. Samoa and Samoans are the stakeholders in the education system and have the ultimate interest in that system. The researcher is an outsider with comparatively insignificant stakeholder interest. This balance of interest is recognised and respected. It is intended to be respectful to the people of Samoa and their efforts to develop their society. At the same time, it is intended to provide some critical illumination of the issues and, as a result, to provide some enrichment to the on-going process of educational development in Samoa.

4.2 APPROACH: A CASED CRITICAL EVALUATION

This study is a critical evaluation of a particular situation bounded by a place and a time. It is an exploration of what change really took place and what did not change at all and whether or not the stated goal of achieving an education system characterised by equity was realised. It attempts to explain the reform and to provide a critical evaluation of the results (Merriam 1988).

Case studies can be subject to criticism about the validity and worth of the research. They can be criticised because the specificity of the situation may not yield generalisable results. In response, Yin (2003) argued that a case study is an empirical study of one instance of an object of study but it can be valid if it has a discernable and rigorous methodology based on the systematic appraisal of valid evidence.

Ragin (1992, p.21) argues that validity is not dependent on quantity but rather on the consistency of the data at a number of collection points. He also argues that a case study is a case of something. There is a bounded limit, or case to the subject, which brings clarity to the research procedures. Consequently, case studies describe the setting in which the case is bounded.

Case studies are also criticised as frequent examples of already existing understandings; "recurrent patterns are the main product of the enterprise of historic scholarship" (Smith, 1991, p.375, also cited in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p.183). However, Cohen, Manion and Morrison hold that case study research is an approach "…that seeks to understand and interpret the world in terms of its actors and consequently may be described as interpretative and subjective" (p181). They further suggest that the case study approach can establish cause and effect in real situations, particularly those which provide examples of real situations and are useful in situations that not susceptible to numerical analysis. Such an approach is considered most useful in this research where the goal is a deep understanding of the complex interplay of factors in one situation.

Critical perspectives assume that, in the arrangements and dispositions of any society, there are underlying system constraints that shape advantage. Critical approaches attempt to reveal how inequities are structured through entrenched power bases which then reproduce the inequities of the status quo (Buchanan, 2002). Any evaluation of the attempt to achieve the stated policy goal of a system characterised by equity must consider whether the programme resulted in transformation of the system or whether it merely disguised the continuation of the current systems of advantage.

Evaluation of reform programmes within developing countries frequently focuses on the inputs, the efficiency of the deployed resources and activities to achieve the activity performance measures. The achievement of the measures is then seen as an indicator of the achievement of the goal. This managerialist approach does not deconstruct the context to understand the transformation of the system or otherwise (Soule & Press, 1998). In his evaluation of educational developments in Pakistan, Buchanan (2002, p.53) criticised the tight, technicist, problem-solving approach to evaluation of educational issues and made the specific decision to reject the technical-problem solving approach because it:

> ….presupposed that the problems involved will be technical ones requiring technical or administrative solutions, thus obscuring the socio-cultural and political

> implications of the policy decisions (Coxon, 1996, p.241, cited in Buchanan, 2004, p.53).

Coxon herself, writing about the process of developing the 1995-2005 policy in Samoa, emphasised that the underpinning

> … process should be a 'critical mode of analysis' which highlights the importance of the social context: it should be critical in intent, so that the sources of inequity are exposed (Coxon, 1996, p.241).

Critical evaluation assumes that the concepts of equity are not absolute but are localised within the world-view of a particular culture and in the values of the political system that distributes resources and opportunities. An evaluation of the equity arrangements within a particular education system must start with some understanding of the underlying world-view, political philosophies and societal relationships (Adams et al., 2000; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Thrupp, 1991). However, the status quo in any society needs to be reviewed, the societal arrangements analysed and critiqued to ensure that they have the capacity to fulfil the objectives of the policy (Carspecken, 2001).

Bourdieu's methodologies locate within both the case study framework and within the critical analysis framework. The concepts and methodological approaches that he outlined provide an approach to researching and understanding the development and implementation of education policy (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu saw that the analysis of the practices of people, in this case in the production and implementation of policy in a particular place at a particular time, allows an understanding of why the particular result occurred. Bourdieu's perception was that, because of the influence of habitus, practice should not be seen as a fully considered and wholly rational act and therefore it should not be researched as one. It should rather be researched as being situated within an environment of the accepted habitual ways of thinking and of operating within the particular field of practice. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and logics of practice offer not only a methodology for research but also for the explanation of the development and implementation of policy reforms (Rawollie & Lingard, 2008).

Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant,1992) gives an account of what it means to analyse a field by thinking in terms of three distinct levels that direct the researcher to (1) analyse the position of the subject field, in this case education, in relation to the field of power, (2) map

out the relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which the field is the site, and (3) analyse the habitus of agents, that is, the systems of dispositions they have internalized because of the social and economic environment that conditions their thinking.

Because of the inevitable need to make subjective judgements on the practice of others, Bourdieu also insisted that researchers recognize that critical evaluation is not value neutral. As a result, the researcher needs to recognise and acknowledge their own personal background and the inherent personal biases as well as the historical, ideological moment in which they live because these factors will influence the direction of their research (Mills & Gale, 2007). Bias can come from the social origins of the researcher (for example, gender, class, nationality, ethnicity, education, etc.). Bias can also come from the research approach as well.

The approach adopted in this study is based on Bourdieu's framework. The approach sought first to establish a basis for the evaluation by understanding and describing the context and the relationship to the social and educational setting. Steps were taken in this case to also elicit insights into the views and priorities of the educational managers in the system. These two strands provided a foundation for evaluating the reforms. Information was then gathered to allow any changes in the patterns of equity in the system to be analysed and the change to be evaluated.

4.3 CASE SCOPE, FOCUS, ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITS

The study is restricted to the reform of secondary schooling in Samoa. The structure and purpose of secondary education has been a contested area for many years, particularly through the 1980s and 1990s and was the site of changes to structure, access and curriculum in an attempt to develop a system characterised by equity. This, then, is the place where the transformation or continued reproduction of the system is likely to be most obvious. It was also assumed that the contest of ideas over secondary education would reveal underlying understandings, assumptions and dispositions of power that would condition the development and implementation of the programme. This assumption was based on the high level of participation by the Samoan government, senior managers and the community in the development and implementation of the programme.

The 1995-2005 reform programme was developed by a local committee of key Samoan educators with assistance from an international technical adviser. Coxon (1996, 2003a,

2003b) has discussed the issues related to the interface between the global agendas and the local vision in this case. She makes the case that the local committee and other local parties were significant in the development and resisted international agendas that did not mesh with their intentions (Coxon & Taufe'ulungaki, 2003).

Based on the work of Coxon (1996) and grounded in the observed reality of discussion and operation within the Samoa Ministry of Education and other ministries, the research assumes a high-level of engagement, ownership and shaping of the policy development and implementation process by the managers within the education system. It also assumes that such an important reform would attract significant public interest.

Although the programme was implemented with the assistance of some international technical advisers working with Samoan counterparts and with financial aid grants from donor agencies there was no loss of local participation or control. The Ministry of Education Executive Management Committee was the key executing group with the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) coordinating overall activity and with other members having management assignments for various components of the reform package. Direct participant observation by the researcher of the interaction between the managers of the Ministry of Education and the international groups who, while supporting the developments, were also trying to shape objectives and operational practice, led the researcher to see that the Ministry of Education Executive Management Committee was the key site of the interaction between the international technical assistance and the local vision. Most of these interactions were not recorded in any way. Many meetings were not minuted and often decisions went unreported. However, the researcher, in a consultant capacity, was present on many occasions and observed consistent positions and agendas expressed by Ministry of Education staff that continued to assert local priorities over international proposals.

The Ministry of Education Executive Management Committee was the critical fulcrum in the implementation of change. The group consists of the senior managers of the Ministry and sets the strategic and operational priorities and activities. It is the group that interfaces with the political structures, the international donors and the staff of the Ministry. The understandings, goals, commitments and intuitions of that group are an important filter to the interpretation of the policy and for the implementation of the plans. As a result this group became the focus of interest. The practice of this group is bounded by a particular society, history, culture and socio-economic and political systems. Consequently,

perspectives of this group are a valuable resource in understanding the mindsets behind the reform process. As a result, questionnaires were administered to the Ministry of Education Executive Management Committee.

The study focused on the development and implementation of the equity policy in the 1995-2005 reform programme. However, because the policy debates regarding equity in the Samoa secondary education began much earlier, the research also reviewed the history of the education system to see the development of the structures of inequity and the development of field practice and habitus. The period from the mid-1980s to the early-1990s was subject to particular attention.

The research assumes that the implementation of the equity policy, which was designed to broaden opportunity and remove barriers to achievement and advancement, would result in changes to the patterns of achievement and advancement shown in examination records.

There are three points within the Samoan education system where particular outcomes exercise a major impact on the educational career of the students. The first is the Year 8 national examination which determines whether students are eligible to go into the government senior colleges. Performance in the selection examination is a life-impacting event. The second is the Year 12 Samoa School Certificate examination which influences progression to Year 13. The third is Year 13 which is the termination of secondary schooling and results in selection for a University Preparatory Year where further selection can result in international tertiary scholarships. Advantageous selection at Year 8 has the potential for compounding advantage in the subsequent years. As a result, each of the examinations has had high stakes for the students. At each stage the selections provide further opportunities for some and exclusion for others.

The examinations are centrally organised and are provided nationally. Students compete nationally. The examinations at Years 8 and 12 are completely under the control of the Samoa Ministry of Education while the Year 13 examination is organised through the South Pacific Board of Educational Assessment (SPBEA) which is a regional body. The SPBEA administers a regional examination, the Pacific Senior Secondary School Certificate (PSSC) to students in Tonga, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Vanuatu, Tuvalu and Nauru. The examination is taken at the end of Year 12 in all countries using the examination except in Samoa where the examination is taken in Year 13. Consequently the Year 13 examination, the marking systems and the moderation processes are not under the control of the Samoa

Ministry of Education. As a result, the focus of this study is confined to the Year 8 and Year 12 examinations controlled by the Ministry of Education.

It was expected that there would be increased participation in the key Year 8 and Year 12 examinations. It was also expected that groups that had been previously marginalised would gain increased entry into the senior colleges. It was expected that the achievement by different socio-economic groups would become more randomly distributed over time.

Four secondary schools – Samoa College, Vaimauga College, Lepa/Lotofaga Secondary School and Amoa Secondary School - were selected to demonstrate the effects of the reform period. Samoa College, the premier senior college, had been a senior college providing Years 9-13 education prior to 1994 and its status and characteristics had remained unchanged throughout the period. The other three secondary schools (Vaimauga College, Lepa/Lotofaga Secondary School, and Amoa Secondary School) were district junior secondary schools that were examples of schools that had been beneficiaries of the 1995-2005 programme. The school buildings had been refurbished, staffing increased, and the schools were starting to expand their offerings from Years 9-12 to also include Year 13. Vaimauga College was a district secondary school in the Apia peri-urban area which had been targeted for growth. It had major infrastructural upgrading which increased its capacity. The school was granted permission to provide Year 12 and 13 programmes after the facilities upgrade. The facilities at Lepa/Lotofaga Secondary School, located in the rural southwest of the island of Upolu, and Amoa Secondary School, located on the rural northern coast of the island of Savai'i, had also been upgraded but the schools were still only offering Year 12 programmes as they had not received permission from the Ministry of Education to provide Year 13 programmes. These four schools provide the basis for the comparative study of the benefits of the education reforms in the secondary school system.

The school principals have the role of educational leaders and management executives within the school. As a result they have the role of leading the implementation of the reforms within the school. Consequently a questionnaire was administered to the principals of the four schools seeking their understanding of the reform agenda and their assessment of any changes that had occurred was important.

The student populations of the four schools were also reflective of the broad categories of the secondary students that were being impacted by the reforms – rural Savai'i, rural Upolu, peri-urban district school and the senior college – and as a result a questionnaire was

administered to the students of the sample school seeking socio-economic data about the students and their families.

Section 4.4 provides details of the format of the questionnaires and the processes for administration.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION

4.4.1 Statistical data

Statistical data related to all secondary school enrolments and student achievement in the Year 8 and Year 12 examinations was extracted from the Ministry of Education Manumea and Examiner databases. The data was used to provide evidence of any system-wide changes of patterns of secondary school enrolment and achievement resulting from the 1995-2005 reform programme.

Electronic records were only initiated in 2000. Earlier records were held in hardcopy. These were made available to the researcher but some had become heavily damaged due to poor storage. As a result, statistically valid comparisons with pre-1995 performance are limited. Data is presented in Chapter 7 for sample years between 1994 and 2008. The sample provides some information for 1994 as a baseline and extends beyond the 2005 end date of the reform programme to ensure validity of the identified patterns and trends. The sample is sufficient to establish reliable trends and statistical tests.

Budget data for the four schools was also collected from the Ministry of Education, and from the sample school principals, to provide evidence of any changes of the patterns of budgetary support to schools. As part of the implementation, the government had committed significant funding to upgrading the infrastructure, furnishings and equipment in selected district secondary schools. However, the on-going operational funding of the school provides the quality inputs that support learning in the school. It was assumed that the implementation of the equity policy would result in significant changes to operational budgets and government support for secondary schools.

4.4.2 Interviews

Academic literature related to the educational reforms of this period is limited. There is a small body of literature, much of it written by Samoan researchers, related to the early stages of the development of the education system in Samoa and this provided much of the material describing the history of the system. However, there is little literature related to the

particular period of the study. Data related to the development and implementation of the 1995-2005 programme came from two sources - primary documentation in the form of project plans and reports, and secondary documentation in the form of books and theses and from interviews with key senior managers.

Information was gathered about the perceived problems and development priorities in the Samoan education system prior to 1994 and the development of the goals of the reform programme. This was done through researching documents related to the development of the formal education system in Samoa to identify the stages of development and the issues that surrounded the emergence of the particular structure and operation of the education system.

Three key individuals who had participated in the policy development and in the planning and implementation of the project were interviewed to gather information on the historical developments. The interviews explored the policy debate that occurred during the 1980s and the context that preceded the development of the 1995-2005 education plan. These individuals were selected because the significant positions they have held in the system over many years meant that they had been participants, observers and critics of developments during the relevant period. They were also selected because they have been and still are significant opinion formers and decision-makers within the education system. They have had a significant influence on the formulation and implementation of the reform programme. As a result their recollections, understandings and rationalisations have been factors in shaping the achievements reached so far.

The interviews were transcribed and analysed to differentiate: descriptions of the chronology of events; statements that reported the debates, discussions or reasoning that were concurrent with the events; and personal opinions regarding the validity of the reasons and the efficacy of the actions. Data from the interviews that was relevant to the explanation of the development of the 1995-2005 plan was included in the explanation of the history of the development of education in Samoa in Chapter 5.

The information underpinned the description of the education system of Samoa as it existed prior to the 1995-2005 development plan. It allowed an explanation of the background and context and the outlining of the social and policy issues that were factors in the development of the current configuration of the education system, including access and the distribution of resources.

4.4.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were administered to the Assistant Chief Executives, the principals of the selected sample secondary schools and to the students and their families of all Year 9, 11, 12 and 13 students and their families from the four sample secondary schools to allow analysis of the relationships between socio-economic factors and patterns of student achievement.

Assistant Chief Executive Officers

A questionnaire was administered to the Assistant Chief Executive Officers (Divisional Heads) who are members of the Ministry of Education Executive Committee and who are in charge of divisions that are relevant to the development and operation of the education system. The questionnaires were provided to the:

- Assistant CEO Policy and Planning
- Assistant CEO Curriculum, Materials and Assessment
- Assistant CEO School Operations
- Assistant CEO Corporate Services
- CEO of the Samoa Qualifications Authority (former Assistant CEO Policy and Planning)

Three responded.

The questionnaire is contained in Appendix A. It has two sections. Part A was a preliminary set of questions aimed at exploring responses to understandings of the concept of equity. The questions in Part B were aimed at exploring understandings about the implications of the stated equity policy in the operations of the Ministry of Education. Analysis of the questionnaire provided an understanding of the logics of practice in the Ministry of Education.

School Principals

A similar questionnaire (Appendix B) was administered to the principals of the four secondary schools that had been selected as sample schools for the study. All four principals responded to the questionnaire.

The questionnaire administered to the school principals was similar to the questionnaire administered to the Assistant CEOs of the Ministry of Education. The questionnaire had two parts. Part A was the same set of preliminary questions administered to the Assistant CEOs in the Ministry headquarters and aimed at exploring responses to understandings of the

concept of equity. The Part B questions were aimed at exploring understandings about the implications of the stated equity policy for the operations of the schools.

The questionnaire explored the level of understanding and support for the reforms, along with information regarding the equity of treatment of students within schools.

Students and their families

A questionnaire (Appendix C) related to the socio-economic background of the students and their school careers was administered to the students in the sample schools. This information was then matched with examination results to identify the factors that are significant in determining examination achievement.

The timing of the administration of the questionnaire in 2006 was primarily to capture the data from the 2006 Year 9 students and to allow comparison between their progress and achievement and those of earlier students. The 2006 Year 9 students were the first Year 9s following the end of the 1995-2005 reform programme and as a result would be the beneficiaries of any reforms during that period.

The questionnaire was administered through a booklet which contained versions of the questionnaire in both English and Samoan. The questionnaire and the process of administration were approved by the Massey University Research Ethics Committee. The questionnaire documentation included an explanation of the purpose of the questionnaire and invited responses from the student and their family. The response could be in either Samoan or English.

There has been considerable research into the factors that affect achievement by students which showed the important influence of socio-economic factors, social class, ethnicity, location and family factors. The New Zealand Ministry of Education Best Evidence Synthesis (2003) found that socio-economic status is an important factor in children's achievement. The data also showed that children from lower socio-economic status groups have significantly lower achievement than middle and high SES children. The synthesis also suggests that parental income during the early years of childhood (0 – 5 years) continues to affect a child's achievement throughout primary schooling even if the family income improves over that time (Ibid., 2003).

Studies of children's educational achievements over time have also demonstrated that the socio-economic status of one's parents is a major factor in differences in educational

achievement. (Graetz, 1995). There is a positive effect from high levels of human and material resources within the family. Children from such families have higher levels of achievement than those who do not have such resources. The impact of parents with high levels of parental education, particularly mother's level of education, familiarity with academic learning and knowledge and ability to access other resources was significant. Home environments that include a wide range of learning experiences in language, literacy and mathematical experiences also display higher levels of achievement. Families that have the resources to be able to provide wider educational experiences, have higher achievement than children whose families do not have these resources (Ibid., 2003). It has also been shown that differences in achievement within a school population that are related to gender and socio-economic factors have been found to remain consistent and generally increase over time (Sammons, 1995). Duncan and Murnane (2011) point out the growth in the income-based gap in the test scores of children in America over the last 60 years. For children born around 1950 the income of families at the 80th percentile was 3.1 times that of the 20th and there was difference of about half a standard deviation between the test scores of low-income and those children from wealthier families. Fifty years later the income gap had increased to 4.1 times and the test score gap was twice as large and growing. In contrast, racial gaps in test scores have diminished over the same period.

Home language also is related to children's achievement. Children whose home language is the same as the medium of instruction have higher achievement than those who do not. Educational outcomes are negatively affected if there is a difference between the languages which children speak at home and the languages used in the educational system. Studies for both developed and developing countries show that school pupils who have a home language that is different from the language of instruction experience higher dropout rates (Van Dyken, 1990; Benson, 2000; Klaus, 2003; Benson, 2005). They also have higher repetition rates (Hovens, 2002; Lewis, 2006) and they also exhibit a pattern of lower levels of attainment and achievement in general (Rosenthal, 1983; Rumberger, 1998; Hampden-Thomson, 2006). Disadvantaged groups such as rural children, poorer groups and girls have lower school attainment and achievement when there is a difference between the home language and the language of instruction (Hovens, 2002; Benson, 2005; Lewis and Lockheed, 2006). Smits, Huisman and Kruijff, (2008) found that mother-tongue instruction reduces non-participation for the 7-16 year old age group. They found that that children of linguistic groups that are more concentrated in rural areas experience greater attendance problems,

and that the beneficial impact from mother-tongue instruction on these children is greater than for urbanised children.

The questionnaire also sought information about the gender of the respondents to allow analysis of the gender-related patterns in participation and achievement in the Samoa schooling system. Gender is a factor in school participation and achievement. Countries that have policies that encourage equality of participation have a much smaller difference in gender-based participation than countries that do not (Unterhalter, Rajagopalan, & Challender, 2005). However, in those countries that do not take active measures to promote equality the participation by females in schooling is much lower than participation by males. Females also tend to drop out of schooling earlier than males due to social customs, poverty, and exploitation (Obeng-Denteh and Amedeker 2011; Cairns, Cairns, & Neckerman, 1989; Cardoso and Verner, D 2006). Lower participation and early drop out result in marked differences in rates of literacy, numeracy and income. Where females are encouraged to remain in school, their achievements match or exceed the achievement by males (Gibb, Fergusson, & Horwood, 2008; Kutnick, Jules, & Layne 1997).

The Student and Family Questionnaire therefore examined the impact of these social factors in the patterns of achievement in the education system in Samoa. The factors examined were gender, location, language, family and socio-economic indicators. A basket of variables including house architecture, land ownership, household appliances and occupation, were used to indicate wealth. These are the same indicators that are used in the Samoa Census. The formulation of the questions was the same as that used in the Samoa Census. This provided assurance that the questions were valid indicators and that the patterns of responses could be validated by comparison with the analysis of the Samoa Census.

The questionnaire included items that elicited data related to the following areas:

(a) Characteristics of the students:

- identity – name, age, gender, ethnicity
- location – home village, village of residence, current school
- educational history – current school, history of schools attended, history of school classes
- language capabilities - language of best understanding, language of best expression at school

- participation in after-school study activities – home study time, participation in extra classes
- experience of other cultures – living overseas.

(b) Socio-economic characteristics of the family

- Parents employment status
- Parent occupation
- Parent living overseas
- Housing – style of house, ownership of house, ownership of the land
- Sources of family income
- Family possessions
- Language spoken most often at home
- Educational achievement of the parents

The questionnaires examined social factors that are related to the differential performance of groups in education systems. The factors examined were gender location, language and socio-economic indicators. A basket of variables including house architecture, land ownership, household appliances and occupation, were used to indicate wealth. These are the same indicators that are used in the Samoa Census. The formulation of the questions was the same as that used in the Samoa Census. This provided assurance that the questions were valid indicators and that the patterns of responses could be validated by comparison with the analysis of the Samoa Census.

Copies of the questionnaires were batched for individual classes according to enrolment information provided by the school and delivered to the individual classes in a box for distribution to the students and for subsequent pick-up.

Data was entered into a Microsoft Access database by four bilingually-capable Samoan data entry operators supervised by the researcher. The data was then transferred to Microsoft Excel spreadsheet format and coded by the researcher to allow analysis using SPSS 17.

Permission had been granted by the Minister of Education and the Chief Executive Officer of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture for the researcher to have access to the examination records held by the Ministry of Education.

Electronic records of examination results were available in the Ministry of Education Examinations Division databases from 2000 for both the Year 8 examination and the Year 12 examination. The records were held in separate Microsoft Access databases. The databases were copied from the Ministry records. The Candidates table, which includes candidates' names, school, date of birth, and the examination records of aggregate marks and aggregate grade, were copied to Microsoft Excel spreadsheet format for descriptive analysis and for matching with the data from the student and family questionnaire.

For the purposes of descriptive analysis of the examination data, the students' individual identities were deleted. The analysis focused on the individual examination record and its relationship to impersonal data such as school type, school ownership, school regional location, rural/urban location and gender.

Because there was no consistent individual identifying code assigned to students within the education system it was not possible to have automatic matching of examination grades and the personal socio-economic data. The analysis of the relationship between the personal information of the socio-economic questionnaire and the examination record could not avoid using names as one of the matching characteristics. However, once the match was made the individual name was deleted and the analysis focused on the examination record and the coded socio-economic data.

Matching of Samoan names can be difficult. It is common for individuals to have very long names with several syllables and many letters. As a result individual names are often abbreviated in common usage. The abbreviation or compression will then enter official usage in Ministry of Education databases. The number of words in names can also vary considerably between individuals, and individuals and their families may choose to use any of the given names as the identifying name of the child. Family names may also change with the addition of hyphenated family names as a result of the formation of a reconstituted family or adoption. The matching of student examination records with the socio-economic data was done manually. Matches were allowed if the family name was the same, if the given name in the record was the same or was an abbreviation of a larger given name recorded in either the questionnaire or the examination record, and if class level information matched date of birth information.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF DATA

Patterns of system expansion were identified through the increasing numbers of schools, increasing enrolments and increasing completions of examinations. These basic characteristics were reported in tabular and graphical form. Raw scores were converted to simple percentages.

Responses to the questionnaires from the Ministry of Education managers and the school principals were transferred verbatim to a matrix to allow analysis of individual responses and comparison of responses. Responses were analysed for statements of fact, statements of opinion or causal connection and for identification of outcomes and evaluations of the outcomes.

The analysis of the factors influencing equity was through the use of hierarchical regression of aggregate examination marks against the variables of island location, urban/peri-urban location versus rural location, school controlling authority, and when relevant, against socio-economic characteristics such as occupation, wealth and language use. Hierarchical regression enables the identification of the impact of a variable. Each iteration of the regression adds another variable and reports the result in the R Square value. The model also reports the change in R Square value. This gives the differential effect of the additional variable. The change in R Square identifies the variable with the greatest impact on the examination score. Trending the R Square change over time allows the relative impact to be analysed to determine any changes in the value and any change in the relative impact with respect to the other variables.

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study was conducted in an international, cross-cultural, bilingual environment so any risks to the conduct and validity of the study had to be managed.

The first significant risk was the influence of my work as a consultant. In particular the need to clarify the difference in relationship between me as a consultant and the staff of the Ministry of Education and the school principals and the relationship between them and me in the role of researcher. As a result care had to be taken to ensure that material such as personal opinions, speeches or private notes and correspondence that had been collected as the result of my engagement with individuals and groups prior to my conducting the research could not be used in the research. General and widely published materials such as policy statements, planning documents, published articles and statements could be used. However,

the data from interviews and questionnaires was only collected after permission had been granted for the research to proceed by the Samoa Minister of Education and the Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHEC). Each participant was fully informed about the research and my role as the researcher before data was collected and all participants gave signed permission. In addition, the Samoa Ministry of Education databases were not accessed for research purposes until the Chief Executive Officer had given permission which was granted only after MUHEC had approved the research. The purpose of the research and my role as researcher was also discussed with the head of the information division in the Samoa Ministry of Education.

The second significant risk results from the study being a critical evaluation with the objective of exposing the underlying structures and attitudes. The term 'critical' can be perceived as criticising and implying fault, and in a small society such as Samoa there is risk to the individuals involved in having their decisions and actions scrutinised in this way. It is the intention of the study to illuminate the situation to allow a greater understanding to assist development, not to be an exercise to assign praise or blame to any individual. In addition, unless the participants were assured of 'safety' they would be reluctant to expose or criticise actions, opinions and motivations. The study needed to maintain the trust of participants and the confidence of the Government of Samoa as well as maintaining the validity and reliability of data collection and analysis.

Information about the study was provided to the Samoa Minister of Education and to the CEO of the Ministry of Education. Approval to undertake the study was sought from, and granted by, the Minister of Education. In every instance, before an interview was conducted or data gathered the researcher introduced the study and explained the nature of the research, and in particular took time to clarify the meaning of the term 'critical evaluation'. This was also accompanied by documents, approved by the Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee, explaining the study and allowing the participant to choose to be part of the study or to decline (Appendices A, B and C).

The researcher sought advice from Samoan advisers on culturally appropriate conduct and discussed the interpretation of the data with those advisers.

Formal permission was gained from the Samoa Ministry of Education for the use of the statistical data held in the Educational Management Information System. The types of

statistics used, and the statistical analysis applied, were explained to the CEO of the Ministry of Education.

The third main risk results from the cross-cultural and bilingual background of the participants. Misunderstandings can easily arise in such a situation where both the researcher and the participants may interpret words and concepts differently. Data collected through interviews and questionnaires were a significant part of the research design. Interpretation/translation has been managed carefully in the conduct of data collection and subsequent analysis, particularly the discourse analysis of any interview transcripts in the Samoan language.

The questionnaire and interview documentation were translated from English into Samoan and respondents had the option of using either language. The interpretation/translation strategy included bilingually-capable interviewers being available for all situations as needed. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Any Samoan language responses were translated into English. The translators were required to note the interpretation decisions and choices made for key conceptual words and phrases so a record could be kept of the decisions made in respect of translating from English to Samoan or from Samoan to English. In actual fact, all of the interviewees responded in English. However, because of the inferential aspects of translation the researcher needed to be sensitive to nuances of the language. Consequently, all transcripts were verified with the participants before analysis and the findings discussed with them following the analysis.

All participants were provided with information regarding the research to enable them to make an informed decision regarding their participation in interviews or as respondents to questionnaires.

The questionnaires were discussed with each Ministry of Education manager and with each of the school principals. The rational, focus and format of the questionnaire was explained and the approved information sheet was presented and discussed with the managers (Appendices A1 and A2) and with the school principals (Appendices B1 and B2). The confidentiality of participant responses was explained. The option to participate or decline was explained. The consent form was also presented and discussed with the managers (Appendices A3 and A4) and with the school principals (Appendices B3 and B4). All respondents signed the consent form.

The Student and Family Questionnaire was provided as a booklet containing the information sheet in both English and Samoan (Appendices C1 and C2), and the Participant Consent Form in both English and Samoan (Appendices C3 and C4) and the questionnaire in both English and Samoan (Appendices C5 and C6). The school principals and staff were also given copies for their information.

The focus and scope of the interviews were explained to the interviewees prior to the interview. The interviewees were asked if they wished to participate or decline. Consent forms were presented and explained (Appendices D1 and D2).

CHAPTER 5: HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SYSTEM 'CHARACTERISED BY EQUITY'

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the major influences that have shaped schooling in Samoan and examines the consequential structuring of inequity within the education system. The chapter also describes the attempts to reform and reshape Samoan education and the associated mindsets and 'ground rules' that influenced policy choices. It outlines the two reform alternatives that were developed in Samoa for secondary education during the 1980s and early 1990s and examines the rejection of one model and the acceptance of the other.

The establishment and expansion of the school system in Samoa changed education in several key ways. The development first moved education from a fairly ubiquitous traditional system to a centralised, formalised and rationed system. Secondly, equitable access to the system became a struggle between the 'centre' and the 'periphery'. Development of the system has followed a repeated pattern where the initial stage of development or expansion of the system to a new higher level takes place on a narrow front with only a few 'centre' schools. This phase is then followed by another where access to that new level of education is expanded to cover additional areas. Interests at the periphery are placated by the promise that while early developments at each stage obviously do favour some groups over others, this advantage will be mitigated by a later development stage when access is expanded. However, with each iteration of the cycle, the advantage compounds to the same groups. The Samoa 1995-2005 plan is set within this struggle. The dissatisfaction with the advantage that the 'centre' has over the 'periphery' was the pre-condition that led to the 1995-2005 plan.

5.2 PRE-EUROPEAN CONTACT TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

Ma'ai'i (1957) describes pre-European traditional education as informal and proposes three stages within the education process. The first stage of the Samoan child's education was carried out at home. The main purpose was to socialise the child and establish a framework of knowledge, skills and attitudes that would place the child within the family and community structures and condition the child for further development. The primary teachers were the parents and other adults of the aiga (extended family). The accepted ethos of the community, the myths and legends, proverbial sayings and songs and dances would have been the primary guiding framework. The desired outcome would have been primarily attitudinal. Ma'ai'i points out that politeness and respect for one's elders are among the treasured values

in Samoan society and these were qualities that the community looked for in the "well educated boy or girl" (p.166).

Ma'ai'i' defines a second stage related to the expansion to the child's setting from the extended family to wider groups within society. It would have involved the initiation into wider social groupings, the boy*s* into the group of untitled young men (*aumaga*) or in the case of the young girl into the *aualuma* (association of young women). The child would have received preparatory training from their family to make this change but it would still have brought new experiences, insights and requirements. The girl of marriageable age was expected to be competent in the women's tasks of weaving and the like while the young man needed to be proficient in fishing, agricultural tasks, food preparation and the *'ava'* ceremony. This change of status included visible signifiers such as tattooing in the case of the young men. Ma'ai'i describes the purpose of this stage as the promoting of the close association between the individual and the environment, both physical and social.

The third stage of education was the acquisition of knowledge and skills necessary for full participation in the social leadership of the community and in economic activity. Social leadership was the domain of the orators and chiefs. This was not achieved by everyone. The teaching of economically valuable skills such as house-builder, canoe-maker and the like was usually done through a form of trade guilds. The learning methods used were observation and participation, typical of apprenticeships anywhere. In general there was no knowledge withheld that would help make a child a useful person, except that knowledge related to esoteric law, and medicine (Galo, 1966). Some knowledge, such as genealogies was restricted only to those individuals to whom it applies. It was important that the individual was well versed in these matters and would need instruction and practice.

Galo also emphasises the embedded nature to the education, pointing out

> that the cardinal points of education include its execution as an activity of kinsfolk as well as its practicality (not in the sense of being directed to economic ends) and arising from actual situations in daily life (Galo, 1966, p.14).

Commentators see this type of education to be primarily about social continuity (Baba, 1986) and the reproduction of the extant society. It was a kind of apprenticeship and as such had the characteristics of fitting the 'situated learning' model of Lave and Wenger (1991). This is a view of learning that places an emphasis on the social character of learning. The participation

is, at first, peripheral but that gradually changes in engagement and complexity as the learner becomes less of a 'newcomer' and more of an 'old-timer'. Lave and Wenger align learning with performing tasks, arguing that by engaging in the performance of tasks in ways that are congruent with those of the expert practitioner, learners also engage in discourse as part of that practice. Such a community-based education process is aimed at social continuity and normalisation. The education, however, did result in the acquisition of useful knowledge and skills. Ma'ai'i' (1957) argues that Samoans were aware that being well educated within the social framework brought advantage and that the attitude which sees education as a process with material rewards, as a product with a marketable value' was ingrained in the Samoan mind during the informal pre-European days before contact.

5.3 ESTABLISHING FORMAL SCHOOLING

This section describes the stages of development of formal schooling in Samoa and the structure of the education system. It traces the increasing role of the government in schooling, the establishment of the senior colleges and the introduction of the dual-track secondary school system. It highlights the normalisation of the pathways of advantage and disadvantage.

5.3.1 Missionary Period 1830-1900

The arrival of London Missionary Society (L.M.S) missionaries in 1830 marked a point of dramatic change in the style and operation of education. The missionary period saw the introduction of a western-style formal education system characterised by specialised learning institutions with established curricula and formalised methods.

Coxon (1996) makes the point that the objective of the missionaries was to spread the 'Word of God' and create a good Christian society. Consequently, the establishment of formalised schooling was seen by the missionaries as necessary to achieve this objective. The records of the L.M.S show that the missionaries' programme was very successful. Within ten years of the settlement of resident missionaries, local Samoan students were being trained at the Malua Seminary, a residential theological college which combined theological training and general education. Fifteen years after the arrival of the missionaries the whole of the New Testament had been translated into Samoan, was widely available and was being read by the newly literate, converted Samoans. A quarter of a century after arrival the whole Bible had been translated and distributed and self-supporting village ministries had been established (Ma'ia'i, 1957, p.168).

Baba (1986) recognises a wider implication of the introduction of missionary education. He sees a fundamental shift in the purpose of education from social continuity to that of social change.

> The missionaries were concerned with total social change and both the church and the school played a part in that effort. The islanders were not only converted ... they were also introduced to new and more "civilised" ways of living, based on Christian principles. The school became an agent of change [as opposed to indigenous education's agency of social continuity] and it taught the package of skills necessary for living in what was conceived...as constituting a Christian society (Ibid.,p69).

The period also saw Samoan individuals and society beginning to come to terms with the changes and starting to take advantage of the new opportunities for their own purposes.

In the first instance of the 'centre-periphery struggle', the Samoans refused to follow the usual missionary-instigated procedure of having students leave their villages and move to central mission stations for education and training; consequently, village pastor schools were set up throughout the country (Coxon, 1996). This was an important manifestation of the Samoans' underlying world view where it is desirable for each village to have the requisite services – church, school, shop. Davidson (1967) maintains that Samoan Protestantism never became the L.M.S. ideal because the Samoans would not move from their villages. Fono (village council) and matai (chiefly title holders) opinion had to be taken seriously by the pastors and their missionary supervisors, with the result that church structures took on a 'distinctively Samoan character'. Nonetheless, the western-style education system started to impact on the Samoan ways as well. The pastors' schools were regulated with a syllabus for the year printed and circulated, and end-of-year examinations held in Samoan grammar, simple arithmetic and scripture. Formalised assessment, ranking and selection entered the system. There was a required standard of 50 percent in each subject to allow promotion (Tanielu, 1995).

However, education beyond primary level was carried out in boarding schools. The L.M.S established two post-primary schools in Western Samoa – Leulumoega and Papauta on the island of Upolu. Leulumoega Boys High School was established in 1890 and was originally intended for the sons of chiefs. Later this was expanded to include able students who had passed an examination in the District Preparatory Schools. Leulumoega was a stepping stone to Malua Theological College. The curriculum covered theological preparation but also

included manual and industrial work with a syllabus similar to English Technical Schools of the time (Galo, 1966).

Papauta was a college for girls. The girls came directly from village schools. The purpose of the education provided was to prepare the girls to be exemplary Christian women, to be able to be nurses, teachers and the like, and most importantly to be suitable partners for the pastors training at Malua Theological College (Galo, 1966).

During this period, Malua Theological College incorporated not only theological preparation for the ministry but also teacher training. This combination prepared the pastor to perform the educational tasks at the village Pastor's school as well as pastoral work.

In the same way that Baba sees the introduction of the missionary school as a mechanism for social change, Davidson (1967) also recognises the significance of Malua Seminary in producing pastors/teachers with high social standing who prized their education and wished their children likewise to do so. Pastors' families produced future pastors, school teachers, government clerks and wives of important chiefs. He noted that the church education system added a new upper class of educated people to the Samoan social structure. These developments started the self-perpetuation of a class of people who gained advantage through education, but it also provided a mechanism and a model for others to follow suit and take advantage of the new pathway to social prominence and reward.

By the end of the nineteenth century, other church groups and missionary societies had established similar arrangements with village schools aimed at conversion and the introduction of 'civilised' ways and post-primary schools, usually boarding schools, for the most able students where they could receive an education covering academic and practical skills. The post-primary schools also allowed the selection of the most able for advanced training relevant to serving the church. By achieving success within this education system individuals and their families could gain high social status, access to material benefits and the chance to 'ease the way' for similar success by their dependents.

The introduction of formal schooling changed the traditional education process. Both Mai'ai'i (1957) and Galo (1966) describe the education system of the pre-contact, community based, subsistence economy as being fairly open and inclusive. There were some specialisations based on gender roles and some knowledge restricted by rank. However, within these broad parameters individuals could access mentors of the necessary skills easily and within any

locality. However, the school concentrated formal education at specific locations. The expertise, equipment and facilities were concentrated and the teaching and learning processes standardised and regulated in an effort to enhance educational consistency, opportunity, quality and to increase through-put. This then removed education from being part of the community and places it in the domain of the 'expert'. While missionary contact did not manage to transform the organisation of production in many other areas of Samoan society it did in education (Meleisea, 1987).

The newly introduced formalised education system came with all the ritual accoutrements of restricted access, enrolment, regular attendance, reports, certification of achievement, graduation ceremonies, and in the case of pastors the additional religious ceremonies of commissioning. All these accompanying features added to the prestige and value of the new formal education provision in contrast to the traditional, inclusive, family and community-based informal education system.

The introduction of schools with new methods and new knowledge not only changed the way education was conducted, it also changed social relationships relevant to access and success. The means to define worthwhile knowledge and the definition of a well-educated person, as well as the means of producing and validating such a person, moved from the community-base to the institutional-expert base of the formal educational system.

This shift of location immediately resulted in a disparity of esteem between the institutional-school and the community education. The school was seen as the location of new, rare and valuable knowledge allowing the acquisition of skills that were previously unknown. The fact that it was linked to missionary activities would have given the knowledge an additional divine cachet. The arrangement and delivery of that knowledge was also formally organised. The community-based education would have been seen as common knowledge, ubiquitously available, with little organisation. The missionaries portrayed the knowledge that they had available as the product of superior culture and the community-knowledge as the result of a simple society.

The Samoans would have had little basis upon which to critique the new knowledge and methods. The skills were new and useful and therefore it would have been seen to be advantageous to acquire them. This, combined with the close association between the conduct of the school and the preaching of Christian truths and the norms of European schooling processes, would have set the dynamics within the classroom. The teacher was

seen as the respected giver of knowledge while the students were submissive acceptors. Because the education was conducted in a facility separated from daily activity and theoretical in nature there was little immediate application. The institution-school was dominated by pedagogy based on the transmission of knowledge where learners were expected to acquire the right knowledge.

This then became the new norm for education. The traditional system of education was then cast as being of lesser value and lesser status. This view applied not only to the knowledge available but also to the methods used.

5.3.2: Establishing the government system 1900-1914

Between 1900 and 1914 Germany had colonial control over Western Samoa. During this period several developments in education occurred that have had on-going influence in the system structure and in conditioning mindsets. The first was the establishment of the first three non-church schools in Samoa. They were all located in Apia on government land and supported by government resources. The first, in 1905, was located at Leifiifi, near Apia, and was for expatriate and 'local European' children. The second, established in 1908, was located at Malifa, adjacent to Leifiifi, and was for Samoan children. It was built by the local villagers on a piece of government land and with materials provided by the government. The government also supplied the teachers. The third was a boarding school for boys, also established on government land at Malifa in response to a request from the matai that some of their older sons should gain training that would allow them to work as government officials (Ma'ia'i, 1957). The government resourced the post-primary boarding school at Malifa with buildings, teachers and equipment.

The development of these schools for Samoans was significant because they established schools that were attached to the government and not to the missions. They were also on government land rather than village land. They were also in response to Samoan requests to establish some opportunities for students to gain education relevant to government service. This established the 'centre' of the government schools system as being in Apia and providing preparation for government service. It was the initial step to draw government resources, interests, and ultimately policy into education in Samoa. The scope, purpose, structure and access to that system would inevitably become matters of public concern and government policy. Policies related to the expansion and improvements in education were only focused

on the formal, institutional system. There was no parallel interest by government in the informal community-based education.

5.3.3 Formalising the national schooling system: League of Nations Mandate

New Zealand landed an expeditionary force on 29 August 1914 and occupied Western Samoa. Following the end of World War 1 Samoa became a League of Nations Mandate administered by New Zealand. As such, even though it was to be administered as an integral part of New Zealand territory, New Zealand was under an obligation to ensure that social development was relevant to the Samoans. The purpose and impact of education in Samoa had to be considered. The education system could not be an 'assimilationist' system (Galo, 1966). The New Zealand government was inclined to promote state responsibility for a national, secular system of schooling modelled on the New Zealand system (Coxon, 1996).

Developing such a system was difficult because there was no coordination within the education system, with the government sector and the church missions acting as separate entities. The new administration adopted the policy of attempting to develop a satisfactory national system that encompassed the various sub-sectors (Ma'ia'i, 1957).

In 1923, the New Zealand administration in Samoa established an advisory Education Board of Samoans to assist with the expansion of the education system (Wendt, 1965). The 1923 Samoa Education Conference agreed that the system should have the following general characteristics. The schools within the system were placed in a unified classification of Grades. The village Pastor's Schools were reclassified as Grade I schools and continued to be taught by pastors. Grade II schools were at sub-district level and offered classes up to Year 4 taught by Samoan teachers following a prescribed syllabus and hours of instruction. Attendance was compulsory for 4 hours 4 days per week. It was also envisaged that there would be Grade III schools at district level. There would be 4 on Upolu and 2 in Savai'i. They would headed by teachers of European ethnicity with Samoan assistants. English was to be the language of instruction. Schooling was to be controlled and conducted by the government. Pupils of Grade II could qualify for entry into the Grade III schools by sitting an examination at the end of Grade II schooling. The syllabus was to include elementary technical subjects. The schools would not be boarding schools and attendance was not compulsory. Age of admission was to be between 14 and 16 years.

In 1923 the government sector only provided places for 150 students through the three schools under its control while the bulk of schooling was provided through the 31 Grade I and

Grade II mission schools and the Pastors Schools with a total enrolment of 13,000 in 1920 (Ma'ia'i, 1957, p. 195). Nonetheless, the government had begun to exercise pressure to shape the provision of schooling within a national system.

Curriculum policy was also impacted by the conditions of the Mandate. It was seen that education needed to be harmonised with the future needs of the Samoans, the environment and the fact that the majority of Samoans would always live in Samoa. At the 1925 Samoa Education Conference it was agreed that education should be adapted to the environment and should prepare the majority to be self-reliant and to return to village life. It was felt that such education should focus on agriculture to improve village income, health to improve life expectancy and population numbers, and the development of vocational skills and knowledge to facilitate economic development (Galo, 1966). While this focus on relevance may have been a reasonable idea at the time it nonetheless established the framework of a two-tier system. High level education preparing students for advancement was rationed to a few schools while 'relevant education' would be made available to the masses.

The Samoans wanted other things. There was constant pressure to expand the schooling system and to establish more schools in the districts to provide access to the type of education available within the Grade III schools (Galo, 1966).

> Popularity of this higher education (as in Malifa, Vaipouli, Papauta, Marist and Faleula) to many native boys, and girls, has caused many requests to be made by the natives for establishing of Government schools in various parts of Samoa.
>
> These requests were made without regard to cost, and more important still without regard to the present and future occupational needs and opportunities in these underdeveloped lands. Outside of Apia with the exception of Pastors and Native officials, the natives are obliged to work on their plantations to provide food for their families and to produce copra for the acquiring of money with which to furnish their individual and communal needs (Government of New Zealand, 1924).

Expansion of the system was made difficult due to a lack of adequate resourcing. The New Zealand government was reluctant to commit itself to the needed level of resourcing if it could be avoided (Coxon, 1996; Ma'ia'i, 1957). It was decided that the only course available was for the education system to be funded through a mixed base including the government, the churches and the villages.

That is not to say that progress was not made. By 1945 there were still only 32 Grade II and Grade III mission schools but the number of government Grade II schools had risen from 2 to 107 in 20 years. There had been no increase in the number of government Grade III schools.

While there was a strong community desire for schooling, the lack of resourcing to meet the demand and a collective inability and unwillingness to envision alternatives to the school system as it had been established resulted in the rationing of entrance to higher levels of education becoming accepted as the norm.

5.4 Attempts to improve equity in the secondary school system 1953-1995

The three senior colleges, Samoa and Avele in Apia and Vaipouli on Savai'i, were all eventually established by 1953. They provided the complete secondary cycle. The expansion of the secondary school system through the establishment of the junior secondary schools began with the establishment of Aana No 1 Secondary School in 1956. A further 20 were established in the following 38 years. The establishment of these schools was intended to expand the provision of education, but it also established the dual-track secondary system that still exists.

The development of the district secondary schools started because Samoans wanted an expansion of opportunities in the secondary system (Owen, 2006). The secondary school system of just three senior colleges only provided limited access through selection at Year 8 and so it was more appropriate at that time for a district to have their own secondary school (Interviewee 1). But people wanted their own district secondary school to offer the same standard of education as the senior colleges (Interviewee 2) and there was public disappointment with the development of the district secondary schools because the Western Samoa Department of Education was unable to provide the schools with staff and resources that were comparable to the three senior colleges. There was public controversy in relation to the curriculum and educational standards of the district junior secondary schools. From their inception until 2002, the district junior secondary schools offered a curriculum for Years 9-11 that was of a lesser standard to that offered in the senior colleges.

While the schools could not offer the same standard of education as the senior colleges, the Department saw the development of the schools as an opportunity to try to provide education that was more relevant to the lives of the students and the community. In the late 1960s Dr Faanafi Ma'ia'i, the Director of Education, introduced Samoan language as a subject of study into the curriculum in an attempt to improve relevance (Interviewee 2). This was not

appreciated by many of the public. In fact, they said that the Ministry was really relegating the junior secondary schools to a third rate status by providing such a curriculum.

Before the early 1970s there was little in the way of an organised curriculum for the district junior secondary schools (Interviewee 2). During the 1970s a Curriculum Unit was established in the Western Samoa Department of Education and an active programme of development took place. Between 1971 and 1975 a Year 7-10 curriculum was developed as part of a combined project including Samoa and Tonga (interviewee 2). Curriculum development continued through the 1970s.

The participants in the curriculum development process were motivated by the thought that the curriculum should be relevant for Samoa. It is recollected by surviving participants as an attempt by Samoans to determine what Samoan children should learn in schools. It is recollected that in workshops at that time people would talk about the right for self determination and localisation. Localisation meant trying to ensure that what was taught in the schools was relevant to the needs of the people. Such a view was considered to be progressive by the educators and social activists involved. The introduction of Samoan language in schools as a subject was part of the progressive view. However, it was contentious. This was a deviation from the accepted purpose and model of education held by the community. People were used to the model of secondary education portrayed at the senior colleges. There was criticism that the district junior schools curriculum was different to that at the senior colleges. It is recollected that many parents were of the view that children needed to go to school to study English and to learn about other people in other cultures. As a result they did not need to study Samoan or study about Samoa because they lived in Samoa and should know those things anyway (Interviewee 2).

People were pleased that district schools were being developed but not necessarily supportive of what the schools were doing. It appeared to expand access and participation in the secondary system but it actually maintained the status of the senior colleges and was seen to offer an inferior education to those that went to the district junior secondary schools. There was controversy over whether this provided a fair and equitable solution for those that did not gain entry into the senior colleges (Interviewee 2).

5.4.1 Attempted reform of secondary education 1986

The 1981-1985 education development plan proposed the first change in the structure of the secondary school system since 1925. In 1984 the Minister of Education made it a priority to

develop and implement reforms across the secondary school system and also to establish a university. A Policy and Planning Committee was established in the Western Samoa Department of Education with the Minister as chair and about eight members. The committee acted rapidly, developing a reform model that strengthened the role of the district secondary schools in the system. It also sought to have a curriculum that was based on the 'progressive relevantist' directions of the 1970s curriculum movement.

The reform called for a two tiered secondary school system to replace the dual parallel track system of the senior colleges and junior district secondary schools. The first tier, Years 9-12 would be provided at the district schools. It would be a broad formal programme of academic and general secondary schooling. This would be accomplished at the district level by making the junior secondary schools into comprehensive district schools providing Years 9-12. The Year 8 selection examination would be abolished and all students would attend the district junior secondary schools, whether rural or urban, for Years 9 -12. There would be no opportunity to enter the senior colleges at Year 9. Selection for Years 13 and 14 at the senior colleges was to be based on the results of Year 12 national exams. These results would then provide the intake for Samoa College, which was to be transformed into a tertiary secondary school offering only Years 13 and 14 courses (Giombi, 1986, p.10)**.**

The model was an attempt to increase access and the course options and occupational skills of students by combining both the academic and technical curricula at the district secondary schools. This would increase opportunity for occupational and social mobility (Ibid., p.6). At the same time it would provide for a more equitable distribution of the educational resources as a further incentive for rural students to remain in their district schools. This would reduce the urbanization of youth for education by providing intervening educational opportunities. It was also hoped that it would enhance community and family participation in the education process and provide a unifying common experience for all students.

Giombi (1986) interpreted the policy as a rejection of the unfair selection of a small number of students into the senior colleges and the denial of a reasonable level of equal opportunity for others. It was an acceptance of the role of the school system in promoting social and educational equality. It was hoped that by improving rural education services the effects of a two-tiered social system, with the urban wealthy classes standing in political and economic contrast to the rural subsistence farmers, could be minimised. Giombi explains that the reforms were a direct response to the debates among the community of educational leaders

about equality of educational opportunity. This was an attempt to enhance social equality and cohesion.

The development and implementation of the reforms took place against a background of considerable political unrest which started in the early 1980s. In 1981 the Samoa economy was performing poorly and the consequential constraints on public spending resulted in a 3 month strike by the Public Service Association. The resulting election on 27 February 1982 was won by the Human Rights Protection Party (HRPP). However, the results were overturned in September by the Supreme Court upholding charges of electoral fraud and as a consequence voiding the election of two HRPP candidates, including the Prime Minister. The leader of the opposition, Tupuola, was named Prime Minister. However, subsequent by-elections resulted in an HRPP majority. HRPP became the government on 30 December 1982 with Tofilau Eti Alesana as Prime Minister

At the 1985 elections the HRPP again won with a majority but it did not survive its term intact. A split in the HRPP saw eleven HRPP members defect to form a coalition with the Opposition and the budget was defeated in December 1985. The Head of State refused to call another election. In 1986 a new coalition government was formed. The coalition won the vote in the April 1988 election by a single seat, but a defection by one member to the HRPP enabled the HRPP to regain power and Tofilau Eti was returned as Prime Minister (Lawson, 1996, p.148).

This unsettling political scene impacted on the implementation of the reforms. Implementation started in 1986 at a time of political and social volatility. There had been little consultation with the wider community during the formulation of the reform plan and as a result there was little familiarity with it and so little support.

However, the plan was implemented immediately. Years 9, 10 and 11 were phased out of the three senior high schools starting with Year 9 in 1986 and children had to enrol in the district junior secondary schools. There was immediate reaction from a variety of community groups. The reforms were perceived as an expansion of the lower-standard junior secondary school component of the secondary system rather than an expansion of the more desired senior secondary component. Up until this point Leifiifi Intermediate School, a government school located on government land, had been a feeder school for Samoa College. Students at that school were on a preferential pathway to entry into Samoa College. When the parents of 1985 Year 8 students at Leifiifi Intermediate found that the children would not be proceeding

to Samoa College but rather would be attending Leifiifi College, a government school but not one of the three senior colleges and without selective entry standards, there was immediate negative reaction. Similarly, the parents of students at other schools who also held ambitions for their children attending one or other of the senior colleges also reacted negatively and there was considerable discontent. The implementation of this model was strongly resisted.

Additional discontent focused on the proposed closure of Avele College in 1988 so that it could become the site of the newly established university. This caused objections from all the past pupils. In 1987 protesters marched through the town to Parliament. There were petitions and public meetings of protest. The protesters did not want their school to shut. Closing one of the senior colleges would have diminished the status of the past and reduced the opportunity to reproduce that particular status in the future. That does not mean that people were unsympathetic to the call to expand opportunity but it was a strong rejection of any move to dismantle the status quo arrangements and the superior position of the senior colleges and the opportunity for worthy students to enter those schools. Some respondents interviewed as part of this research identified this protest as the major event that stalled the whole reform because the past pupils associations were politically very powerful.

In 1988 the change of government brought a change of policy. There was so much criticism of the system changes that the government elected in 1988 under Tofilau Eti decided to go back to the pre-1981 system of having the Year 8 selection examination for entrance into the senior colleges that would also return to providing Year 9-13 courses. The 1988-1990 Education Development Plan made it a priority to:

> revert Samoa, Avele and Vaipouli academic colleges to the old system of having Form III to Form VI in their school calendar year [and] that two new colleges similar in academic status to those [academic colleges] be established, one in Savai'i the other in Upolu. The site of the new college in Upolu to be Leifiifi, the one in Savai'i to be at Faasalele'aga (World Bank, 1991, p.15).

The government reopened Avele College and in 1989 pupils were selected through the re-established Year 8 examination. Further, there were examinations in Year 8, Year 9, Year 10, and Year 11 in addition to the Year 12 and Year 13 examinations at the top level (Interviewee 1).

By 1989 the first attempt to reform the secondary schooling system had collapsed. Public resistance to a change that was perceived to take away the opportunity of advancement, combined with the need for the government to pacify vested interests within an unstable electorate, had overwhelmed the reform.

5.4.2 Second reform attempt 1995-2005

The second attempt at the equitable reform of secondary schooling in Samoa was initiated in the early 1990s. It rose out of a new set of challenges and opportunities. The HRPP continued to promote a philosophy of social and economic reform. The government held a referendum on universal suffrage in October 1990 and as a result changed the constitution to extend suffrage to all citizens over the age of 21. This immediately increased the legitimacy of government but also increased the accountability of government to the wider constituency. The wider constituency had already showed its support for equitable access to good quality education. The constitution was also changed to extend the term of government from 3 years to 5 years, thus providing the opportunity for the government to establish more comprehensive and strategic development plans.

Educational change was also facilitated by two destructive cyclones, Ofa and Val, in 1990 and 1991 respectively, that created significant damage to the infrastructure of the country, including many of the schools. Coincidental with the aftermath of the cyclones, a World Bank team was scheduled to conduct a review of developments in the education sector. The team was invited by the Government of Samoa to also assess the refurbishment needs of the national educational infrastructure. The situation provided an opportunity to conduct a broad review to determine what other reforms should be considered within the structure, scope and purpose of the education system.

The World Bank report recognised the need to rebuild the school infrastructure but that this should be part of a long term development which would improve the low quality education and also address critical issues of equity and efficiency (World Bank, 1992a). The report identified the long-standing issues related to equity, quality and efficiency that predated the cyclones but which should form the back-drop to the new development programme:

a. Limited access to senior secondary education;
b. Inequitable structure of secondary education through a two stream system which provides inferior opportunities for the majority of students who are enrolled in junior secondary schools with poor facilities;

c. Low quality of education, particularly in primary and lower secondary schools which lack equipment, books, materials, and for which the teachers are not sufficiently well trained;
d. Lack of relevance of courses to employment, including a failure to properly implement vocational studies at junior secondary level;
e. Very inefficient use of resources as a result of small schools with uneconomic class size, low pupil to teacher ratios, and a short school day (Ibid., p.7).

The World Bank report recommended a strategy to rebuild the system and to resolve the identified issues:

a. Improve access and equity in secondary education by restructuring the system to provide a single stream;
b. Improve the cost effectiveness in primary education by rationalizing the distribution, number and size of schools and so reduce capital costs of rebuilding the schools and also reduce recurrent expenditure on teachers' salaries;
c. Rationalize junior secondary schools by establishing specialist centres with well-equipped and staffed facilities for science and applied subjects, each serving a cluster of schools;
d. Improve quality in primary and junior secondary education by allocating savings from teachers' salaries to the provision of equipment, books and materials and to upgrade the teachers (Ibid., p.9).

The most pressing need at the time was to rebuild and refurbish the system infrastructure. Finalisation of the infrastructure plan required that the issue of rationalising the number and size of schools needed to be addressed first. Ministry of Education staff identified schools that should be closed and consolidated with others. Communities reacted immediately and mobilised community protests and confronted the government. The government backed down and the consolidation programme was shelved.

School rationalisation and closure is always an issue that causes reaction in any community. However, in Samoa it was going to be a difficult if not impossible task due to the socio-cultural background. Governments have the power to force rationalisation in westernised countries because the schools operate within a very different social environment. The school is often located on government land, operated and resourced by the government and viewed as an asset. The vast majority of schools in Samoa are located on village land under

traditional ownership and governance. That in itself restricts the government's power in Samoa to decide the future of the school because the village fono (council) has pre-eminence in relation to village issues. The school buildings are often built by the villagers themselves using resources they have provided or which have been supplied by a third party such as another country's official donor support or through an NGO which has entered into an agreement with the village. The members of parliament, whether government or opposition, are all matai (holders of traditional chiefly titles) and as a consequence not only represent the community but also embody the community identity. The community institutions are not seen as assets but as part of an expression of community identity and self-reliance. Members of the Government were not able to resist the community pressure to maintain the status quo and keep the schools open. In this setting, decisions about school number, size and location do not necessarily respond to economic rationalism but rather to issues of social identity and cohesion.

Tautapilimai Levaopolo Tupae Esera, appointed Director-General of Education in 1992, played a significant role in shaping the new development agenda. Tupae shared his views about the 1980s proposals in interviews and discussions. He felt that overall the proposals were a good attempt at expanding the secondary school system. He did, however, think that the development was not consultative enough and the implementation was too rapid.

He thought that the implementation of the 1980s plan was flawed because he felt it did not resolve the resource differential between the government-funded schools and the district junior secondary schools. He was of the view that bright children would be trapped in the under-resourced district schools while less-able children living in the town area would be able to attend the still-existing government-funded primary schools which could provide better quality education. The result would be that children from the government-funded schools would be able to achieve entry to Samoa College while the more-able but less well-educated district children would not.

He wanted attention to be paid to the poor resourcing of district secondary schools first. The senior colleges had more and better resourcing and as a result could provide better quality education. Providing better resourcing to the district schools would close that gap and reduce the differential effects of the dual track system.

On the surface it appears to be a not-unreasonable position. It seems a sensible implementation step in the process of achieving the equity goal – close the resource gap

towards equality with the senior colleges and then when the differential is minimal the reason for selection will no longer exist and as a result selection would be unnecessary and would be discontinued. It is evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

He saw the lack of consultation in the mid-1980s as a source of grievance and understood the negative reaction but he also felt that the government that came to power in 1988 overreacted to the changes that had occurred when they re-established the system in a way that was too restrictive and rigid. He favoured the development of a reform programme that resulted from extensive consultation.

Noting the reaction to the rationalisation programme and the other issues raised by the World Bank mission, the Government decided to prepare a more considered development plan covering the 1995-2005 period. A Programme Planning Committee was established to develop the policy and implementation programme. Coxon (1996) provides an intimate account of the policy debate within the Programme Planning Committee. She explains that the committee first discussed the difference between the concept of equal opportunity and the concept of equity. The concept of equal opportunity underpinned official educational policy in Western Samoa since the 1950s. The assumption had been that providing all individuals with equal access to schooling ensures a fair and just education system. It was held that achievement and advancement were the result of individual merit – ability plus effort. The concept of equity on the other hand implies that the differences in outcomes between groups are, to a large extent, due to inequitable treatment within the system, and that these need to be controlled through educational policy and practice if equity is to be ensured (Ibid., p.252).

Coxon points out that the World Bank (1992) had focused particularly on the lack of access to senior secondary education, especially for students in district secondary schools. The limited provision of senior secondary places had the effect of increasing entry competition and disadvantaging the rural students (Ibid., pp.15-16). The World Bank had also identified the resourcing differential between the village and district schools and the government urban schools as an inequitous situation (Ibid.,p15). The lack of quality resources, the poor curriculum and lack of opportunities for advancement resulted in poor retention in the district schools.

Coxon (1996) explains that the committee:

> decided that the concept of access in terms of equal opportunity to education at all levels should be subsumed within that of equity; and that equity should imply not just equal access but also equal treatment in terms of access to the knowledge the school has to offer, and full participation in the practices of the school for all groups of students. It was felt that the achievement of equitable outcomes for all groups of students, and the improved rate of retention throughout the system required to enable progression through higher levels of education, meant that the experiences schools offer should be broad enough to meet and enrich existing knowledge, skills and attitudes of all (groups of) students which would enable them to achieve to their full academic potential. The implications of this for the structures of learning and teaching - curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation – were noted (Ibid., p.252).

Coxon further explains that the committee agreed with the World Bank that inequities for rural students were a priority. They also felt that for reasons of gender equity the one single-sex boys' senior college should become co-educational while at the same time the relatively poor academic performance of boys, especially in primary school, which negatively impacted their opportunities for advancement, needed to be addressed. They also recognised that the system in 1994 advantaged English-language competent students and this needed to be redressed. The committee actually thought this to be a clearer indicator of educational advantage than socio-economic background.

The distribution of educational resources was seen as a central issue in the achievement of equity. The commitee recognised the tension between the demand for equity and the availability of resources within the nation's tight financial constraints. It was felt that if the concept of equity was integral to policy decisions, the only means of redressing inequalities was to either employ redistributive policies which shift resources from the advantaged groups to the disadvantaged or to acquire additional resources which would be dedicated to the disadvantaged groups – girls at senior secondary level, rural village schools at primary and the district secondary schools.

After extensive community consultation by the committee the government chose the second option, maintaining the basic structure of the secondary school system, gaining assistance to create a single-stream secondary school curriculum and borrowing money to rehabilitate and

expand the infrastructure of the district secondary schools to increase enrolments and to expand the curriculum offerings.

The new plan for secondary education system was less radical than the 1986 model which had proposed significant structural and educational reform. The 1986 model had tested the elastic limits of change and had met resistance because it was unorthodox. The 1994 model stayed within the limits of what had been shown to be the acceptable boundaries of change. The proposal fitted within the accepted mindsets. It maintained the dual track. It maintained the status of the senior colleges as the 'gold standard' of the government secondary school system while at the same time proposing the upgrade of district secondary schools. As such, it was inclusive and progressive enough to point to a worthwhile education future and conservative enough to be located within the acceptable parameters of change.

It maintained the dual track structure of the secondary system but proposed reforms that would result in all junior district secondary schools being progressively upgraded to a standard similar to the senior colleges. It postulated that dissimilarities and disparities between the tracks would be reduced and the differences in the schooling options would become irrelevant. The dual track curriculum would be revised and redeveloped into a single-track common national curriculum offered by all schools. Redundant assessments would be removed to reduce obstacles. The district secondary school curriculum offerings would be expanded and the schools would progressively offer the complete secondary cycle as resources became available. The Year 8 selection examination would be phased out in the short to medium term as the need for selection became unnecessary. It proposed that if this programme were implemented it would result in an education system "characterised by equity" (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.9).

CHAPTER 6: APPRAISAL OF SECONDARY SYSTEM REFORM BY EDUCATION MANAGERS AND PRINCIPALS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

While the equity policy is clear that the focus of the reform is on achieving equity of outcomes, it is also clear that the attainment of equitable outcomes rests on the operational practices of equitable access and treatment as factors that enhance the possibility of equity of outcomes.

This chapter reports the responses from the questionnaires that were completed by the managers within the Ministry of Education and the principals of the four sample secondary schools. The questionnaires provided information about the changes that may have occurred between 1995 and 2005 in the structure and operation of the outcomes of the secondary school system. They also explored the perspectives and positions of the respondents in relation to the goals of equity of outcome, access and treatment. This information then combines with the material from Chapters 5 and 7 to provide the basis for the analysis in Chapter 8.

6.2 PROCESS

The three Assistant Directors of Education (A/D) who had the most direct operational impact on the implementation of the policy reform in schools - the A/D Policy, Planning and Research; the A/D Curriculum, Materials and Planning; and the A/D School Operations - were invited to respond to a questionnaire designed to gain insight into their perspectives and positions with respect to the issues of equity of access, treatment and outcome within the Samoa schooling system. The Chief Executive Officer of the Samoa Qualifications Authority was also invited to respond to the questionnaire because she had previously been the A/D of Policy, Planning and Development and was still a member of the Ministry of Education Executive Committee. The principals of the four sample schools were also invited to respond to a similar questionnaire.

The questionnaires were designed to lead the respondents through a series of stages that moved from eliciting simple descriptions of the education system as it was in 1994 and in 2005, seeking descriptions and justifications of their everyday operational issues, to finally eliciting their appraisal of the reform and their perspectives on the major changes that may still be needed to achieve equity in the system.

The two questionnaires covered the same topic areas. While the question items within the questionnaires cover the same issues the wording of the questions is contextualised within the two versions depending on whether the respondent is a Ministry of Education Assistant Director or a school principal. This allows any difference in perspectives to emerge.

The questionnaires have two sections. Part 1 focuses on school operations and Part 2 on the congruence of the respondents' appreciation of the issues embedded in the equity policy. Part 1 School Operations is further subdivided in to an exploration of five areas – (1) Selection and enrolment of students; (2) School curriculum; (3) School funding and resourcing; (4) Outcomes for students; (5) Changes. Part 2 Policy is also subdivided into five areas – (1) Cultural Concepts; (2) Opportunity factors; (3) Student success factors; (4) Evaluation of the System; (5) Policy (Appendix A).

The questionnaire format allowed the collection of written responses which were transcribed verbatim into a table to facilitate analysis of individual responses and the comparison of responses between the individuals in each questionnaire category and comparisons between the responses in the two categories of respondents, thus revealing the existence of positions that were common and those that were not.

The questionnaires, combined with the two interviews conducted with senior-level educators, were used to identify the basis for the evaluative framework of the equity programme.

6.3 RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRES

The following sections (6.3.1-6.3.5) set out the responses of the Ministry of Education managers and the sample secondary school principals in relation to the focus issues. Attention is drawn to any differences in position or perspective where these occur.

6.3.1 Outcomes for students

The school principals indicated that under the current circumstances some of the graduates of their schools went on to further study at university or polytechnic, some gained paid work and some went back to unpaid family work. Two respondents saw these results as acceptable. Two indicated dissatisfaction.

However, three of the four sample school principals understood that the term 'equity of outcomes' referred to the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling as a result of the educational process (Table 6.1). The Ministry of Education managers also thought that equity

of outcomes referred to the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling as a result of the educational process and that it was achieved by the removal of policies that advantage some groups and disadvantage others resulting in differential outcomes.

Table 6.1: Understanding of the concept of equity of outcome

5a Concept		Definition	Principals' definition match			
			P1	**P2**	**P3**	**P4**
Equity of opportunity	1	Resulting from the removal of policies that advantage some and disadvantage others resulting in differential outcomes	1	2	4	1
Equity of access	2	Concerned with formal explicit barriers to access and participation	2	5	2	5
Equity of treatment	3	Concerned with the structure and processes that define everyday life in schools	3	1& 3	5	3
Equity of outcome	4	Refers to the result of educational processes: the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling	4	4	1	4
	5	The notion that providing all individuals with equal access to the schooling ensures a fair system				

All the principals indicated that an acceptable outcome for their students would be the chance to continue their studies in tertiary institutions.

To continue education to Tertiary or USP or Samoa Polytec, Nursing school & others (Principal 1)

They should progress to university studies- like any college student in Apia (Principal 2)

I think they should all seek unpaid wok because they have now reached Yr12-13 level - which gives them chance to go to Tertiary education and further studies (Principal 3)

Complete their secondary education then goes on to graduate (Principal 4)

The principals identified financial costs, lack of sufficient teachers to allow the school to provide a range of courses, increasingly difficult study with the higher levels of schooling and personal issues such as lack of family support or the family needing the student for work as the likely causes of drop-out.

The Ministry of Education managers also thought that equity of outcomes referred to the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling as a result of the educational process and that it was the result of the removal of policies that advantage some groups and disadvantage others resulting in differential outcomes.

In contrast to the very focused view of the school principals on the acceptable outcome from schooling for their students, the Ministry managers defined a wider variety of acceptable outcomes from the educational process. A/D1 thought that further study or paid employment, if the family did not need the students for unpaid work, would be acceptable. A/D2 thought that it would be acceptable if the students were able to leave school with the ability to make reasonable choices. A/D3 thought that being a reasonable citizen was an acceptable outcome.

The more intense focus of the school principals is no doubt a response to the greater connection with the lived experience of the students who attend their schools but who have been denied the opportunities and the outcomes that have been available to others due to constraints within the education system.

6.3.2 Beliefs about issues impacting on achievement

Culture

The possible impact of embedded cultural beliefs or practices that advantage some individuals and groups over others was explored. The questionnaire sought identification by the respondents of the cultural practices and an explanation of the effects.

Only one of the Ministry of Education managers (A/D2) responded to this question. The respondent identified the traditional village hierarchy as a reason why some people may have had more advantages to succeed than others. However, the respondent did not think that the hierarchy had the same impact now as in the past, indicating an expansion of opportunities. The respondent pointed to the fact that families from the whole range of levels have members who have become successful.

Two of the district secondary school principals (Principals 2 and 3) provided insights into the beliefs and practices related to accessing and benefiting from advantage.

One of the school principals highlighted the impacts of cultural practices, first identifying that social and economic status brings advantage for some:

> *The concept that the Chief's children/pastors' children tend to receive special treatments or are offered special learning opportunities or that the pastors children should be sent to town schools.*
>
> *The village children get their education in the villages; and the parents with the good education/good jobs seek for schools in Apia to accommodate their children although they did not pass the entrance exams* (Principal 2).

The principal also believes that the difference in opportunity has a negative impact on the self-esteem of the disadvantaged child:

> *The ignored child withdraws and doesn't want to take part - the fear of mixing with the privileged children. The privileged child dominates/bullies or insults the ignored child; town students are high-minded. The parents with children in town are not supportive* [of the local school]. *They don't show any appreciation regarding children's performances* [at the local school] *not any encouragement* [and] *the school does not get much support from the community in terms of resources* (Principal 2).

On the other hand, Principal 3 perceived positive benefits of cultural practices for the individuals involved:

> [The concept that] *people who do service for the village, pastor, teachers, the community etc; people who have served their elders and get their blessings; a family with a good history background; children that attend Samoan pastors school and Sunday school; families of students' who give full support to school activities, church activities and village activities* [should get reward]
>
> *A Samoan understanding that when the eldest child in the family succeeds in school the rest of the siblings will succeed as well.*
>
> *These concepts may have a positive impact on a person. That particular person may be urged to work even harder and try to achieve what the parents or elders in the*

family wished. The family's service to the community receives blessing. These blessings will go to the children and most likely the children will do good in school (Principal 3).

Principal 4 claimed no knowledge of any cultural practices that would lead to some people having more advantage than others and suggested that it is the individual's responsibility to create their own advantage:

I personally believe everyone is equal. As we say, if there's a will there's always a way to succeed. It's a matter of priority and importance.

If priorities are wrong likewise we have to accept the consequences (Principal 4)

The different perspectives may be the result of the fact that some of the sample secondary schools are embedded in the rural communities, where cultural practices have a direct impact on the community and individuals, while others are in the urban area where traditional cultural patterns are weaker.

Socio-economic factors

The questionnaire sought to elicit the opinions that the Ministry managers had of the reasons why students succeed or not. The respondents were asked to rank a series of statements, with the most important as number 1 and the least important as number six. There were two respondents (A/D1 and A/D3) and they ranked the items differently (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Ministry Managers Ranking of Student Success Factors

3.	Student Success Factors	A/D1	A/D3
	Student Succeeds because	Rank	Rank
3f	Because of the language they speak	1	3
3e	Because of where they live	2	1
3b	Because of their family background	3	2
3c	Because of their parents occupation	4	6
3a	Because of their own intelligence	5	4
3d	Because of their ethnicity	6	5

While there are differences in the ranking both respondents identify the language the students speaks, where they live and their family background as the three most important determining factors from the list offered while the students' own intelligence, their ethnicity and their parents occupation are the three least important factors.

There were greater differences amongst the school principals. Two principals from district secondary schools ranked the factors in exactly the same order, valuing the student's own intelligence as the most important factor with family background and ethnicity as the next two most important factors.

Table 6.2: Principals 2 and 3 Ranking of Student Success Factors

Q3.	Student Success Factors	Principal 2	Principal 3
	Student Succeeds because	Rank	Rank
3a	Because of their own intelligence	1	1
3b	Because of their family background	2	2
3d	Because of their ethnicity	3	3
3c	Because of their parents occupation	4	4
3e	Because of where they live	5	5
3f	Because of the language they speak	6	6

The response pattern in Table 6.2 is actually consistent with the findings of Giombi (1986) who found that achievement in the rural areas was more likely to be the result of intelligence because of the smaller socio-economic range within the rural villages.

Principal 1, from the other district secondary school, ranked the factors differently, agreeing that intelligence was the most important while the factors of where the student lives and the language they speak are the next two most important factors (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Principal 1 Ranking of Student Success Factors

Q3.	Student Success Factors	Principal 1
	Student Succeeds because	Rank
3a	Because of their own intelligence	1
3e	Because of where they live	2
3f	Because of the language they speak	3
3d	Because of their ethnicity	4
3b	Because of their family background	5
3c	Because of their parents occupation	6

Principal 4 identified family background as the most important for student success, while parents' occupation is the third ranked factor. The students' intelligence is the second ranked factor while language, ethnicity and residence are seen as the least important factors (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: Principal 4 Ranking of Student Success Factors

Q3.	Student Success Factors	Principal 4
	Student Succeeds because	Rank
3b	Because of their family background	1
3a	Because of their own intelligence	2
3c	Because of their parents occupation	3
3f	Because of the language they speak	4
3d	Because of their ethnicity	5
3e	Because of where they live	6

Principal 4 was the only respondent who identified parental occupation as an important factor. This response perhaps represents the greater influence of socio-economic factors in the urban setting.

Beliefs about equity of access to learning and equity of school funding

Part 2 Question 2 of the questionnaire was common to both the questionnaire for Ministry of Education managers and to the questionnaire for School principals. It explored the respondents' agreement or disagreement with a series of statements related to factors governing student access to learning. The statements explored the areas of differential treatment on the basis of gender and on the basis of ranking and selection. The questions also explored agreement or disagreement with the current funding system and alternative arrangements. Figure 6.5 presents the responses

Equity of access

The responses of the Ministry of Education managers and the school principals showed support for equalised access.

All respondents agreed that all students should have the same opportunity to attend school. They rejected any notion of educational advantage based on gender, especially the idea that either boys or girls should have more or better education than the other gender, agreeing that boys and girls should have the same educational opportunities.

All but one principal agreed that all students should have the same opportunity to study the same subjects in the curriculum.

All respondents rejected the notion that the whole community benefits from having some schools with the best teachers teaching the best students while most students attend less

well-resourced schools. They agreed that the most qualified teachers should not just be deployed in selected schools but should be spread throughout all schools.

Table 6.5 Beliefs about equity of access to leaning and school funding

Q2.	Do you agree with the following statements:	A/D1	A/D2	A/D3	P 1	P2	P 3	P4
2a	All students should have the same opportunity to attend school	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2b	All students should have the same opportunity to study the same subjects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2c	It is right that more able students are selected to go senior colleges	N	-	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2d	The most qualified teachers should be teaching the most able students at senior colleges	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2e	The most qualified teachers should be spread around all schools	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2f	All the community benefits from having some schools teach the best students with the best teachers while most students go to less well resourced schools	N	N	-	N	N	N	N
2g	All schools should get the same amount of money	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2h	All students should get the same amount of money spent on them for education	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2i	If students are from wealthy families the government should spend less money on their education than for poor students	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2j	All schools should get the same amount of money from the government	N	Y	-	N	N	Y	N
2k	The government should not fund any schools. All schools should have to raise all the funds	N	N	-	N	N	N	N
2l	Boys should have more / better education than girls	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2m	Girls should have more / better education than girls	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2n	Boys and girls should have the same educational opportunities	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

However, other responses showed less uniformity about the issues related to the different tracks of secondary schooling. There was mixed support for the operation of the current selected track.

Only two of the Ministry of Education managers indicated a position on the issue of selection into senior college. One agreed with the proposition that it is right that more able students are selected to go to the senior colleges while the other disagreed. The school principals were also split on this issue with two of the four school principals agreeing that it was acceptable that the more able students are selected to go to the senior colleges.

While all the Ministry of Education managers rejected the notion that it was acceptable that the most qualified teachers should be teaching the most able students at the senior colleges, two of the four school principals thought it was acceptable.

Funding

All respondents rejected the idea that the government should not fund any schools and that schools should have to raise all the funds they need. This response showed that they all held the view that the government should have an active role in funding education. Funding systems are one important mechanism that governments have for steering change within the education system.

The majority of respondents disagreed with the idea that the government should spend less money on educating the wealthy than they do on educating the poor. Only one respondent held the view that the government should spend less on educating the wealthy and more on the poor. This suggests that there is little support for compensatory funding systems based on poverty. It is an affirmation of the commonly heard statement that all Samoans should be treated the same.

The majority of school principals agreed that all students should get the same amount of money spent on them for education. This is consistent with the notion of all Samoans being treated equally but also suggests support for the idea of increasing the funding of the under-funded students to the levels of their counterparts in well-funded schools.

Two of the school principals thought it was acceptable that all schools should get the same amount of money while the other two disagreed with the idea that all schools should get the same amount of money from the government. All of the Ministry managers supported equal funding of students but their opinions were also split on the notion that all schools should get

the same funding. This response pattern indicates that there is no settled view in the professional community regarding the funding of schools.

The agreement with the idea that it would be desirable to fund all students to the same level seems inconsistent with the divided support for funding all schools to the same level. However, it is an indication of an acceptance of the equality of individual students while at the same time supporting the continued impact of the dual-stream structure of the school system. The current system makes it difficult to think of alternatives. All students may be able to be put into the same category and therefore have the same rights but schools are still seen as being members of different categories with different rights.

Compensatory assistance

The questionnaire explored the respondent's understanding of the idea that equity can mean treating people differently. The respondents were asked to suggest reasons for having different rules for different people in respect of access or treatment or outcome.

Two principals expressed views that showed that they understood (1) the need for differential support to overcome disadvantage:

> *Because no one or not everyone is the same, in terms of abilities/potential/ownership etc. More should be given to the least developed schools to heighten them to the expected standard reached by the well developed school* (Principal 2).

and (2) the need to respond to individual differences :

> *People are brought up differently and come from different family backgrounds. People also learn at different paces. So people should be dealt with differently* (Principal 3).

One of the Ministry managers reasoned that differential treatment should respond to what people consider as priorities depending on their economic, physical location and social status. Another suggested differential treatment should bring the disadvantaged up to the same level as those already advantaged.

These comments reveal understandings that should result in a policy which moves resources and opportunities to those sectors of the education systems that are disadvantaged. However, all the respondents, whether they were Ministry of Education managers or school

principals, were emphatic that the public would not accept differences in access or treatment between students.

These responses reflect important underlying pressures and the public understanding of the operation of an education system 'characterised by equity'. The evidence from history and of these contemporary comments suggests that the public are looking for a solution that maintains the current structure but increases their chance of participation in that structure.

6.3.3 Evaluation of changes in the system

Possibly because of the varied views on issues related to the system change it appears that the 10- year programme has delivered partial and incomplete change. In many ways the system still operates as it always has done.

Selection and progress

All the respondents noted that the Year 8 examination was still being used in 2005 in exactly the same way that it had been in 1994, with the top 400 ranked students being selected to enter either Samoa College, Avele College or Vaipouli College. There had been no change to the requirements and to the selection process.

All the sample schools streamed their students into class groups according to student ability. Student ability was determined through the Year 8 national examination and by internal school examinations. Initial classification into Year 9 is the result of the Year 8 national examination. But the schools reclassify students at the end of the academic year as a result of internal examinations. Where there is only one class group in the year level there is obviously no reclassification.

Progression depends on performance in school examinations. Two of the district schools have poor performers repeat year levels. Students do not appear to have to repeat either Year 9 or 10 but may repeat Year 11 or 12 to improve their chances of better examinations grades. Reclassification of class groups at the next level depends on school examination results.

Teachers in all the sample schools provide instruction using both English and Samoan languages. One district school requires English to be the dominant language of instruction. Another principal respondent pointed out that the instruction must be in English but

> *the students performance often bend the teachers to give instructions in Samoan. Mainly in Samoan.* (Principal 2)

All the examinations that determine selection and progression are conducted in English, except for the subject of Samoan Language which is conducted in Samoan.

Resourcing schools

This section of questions sought to identify if there were still any differences in the funding of the schools.

The respondents indicated that in 1994 the government provided district secondary schools with teachers and stationery while all other funds had to be raised by the school committees. The government senior colleges were fully funded through the government budget.

Only one respondent provided a reason indicating that it was because the

> *Government did not have the funds or the inclination to allocate funds to district secondary schools.*

The other respondents did not suggest reasons.

All respondents agreed that the differential funding did have an impact on the student achievements in 1994. One respondent elaborated that the

> *differential funding would have allowed the senior colleges to buy more and better resources/materials for teaching.*

All respondents agreed that the schools were funded in exactly the same way in 2005 that they had been in 1994. One of the respondents added that the district secondary schools that had been upgraded to provide Year 9-13 programmes and are now referred to as colleges are still operating as secondary schools in respect of funding. Another respondent did acknowledge that those new colleges had been renovated and rebuilt as a result of the Education Sector Project 1 and did now have facilities and equipment.

The responses revealed (1) that there was a large range of fees charged by schools and (2) that in addition to its larger government allocation the senior college also charged fees. The spending budgets for the sample schools in 2006 ranged from ST$35 000 at one district school to approximately ST$300 000 at the senior college for the same year. Table 6.5 shows the data for 2006.

Table 6.6: Annual School Fees ($ST) Charged per Child by Sample Schools 2006

Year level	District secondary schools			Senior College
Y9	150	90	40	200
Y10	150	90	45	200
Yr11	150	90	50	240
Y12	150	120	55	240
Yr13	210	150	60	240

The difference in funding between the government senior colleges and the district secondary schools and colleges was explained as the result of government funding of the senior colleges although one respondent did point to the possibility of additional funding being made available to district secondaries and colleges for consumables.

All respondents agreed that the differential in funding and resourcing would have an impact on the student achievement in 2005.

School Curriculum

All respondents indicated that subject selection at school was restricted in the district junior secondary schools in 1994. The respondents identified various restrictions. They identified the systemic restrictions that resulted from the dual-stream curriculum that existed in 1994 where the district junior secondary schools could only offer the Year 9-11 curriculum. The reform of the curriculum into a single-stream curriculum had removed that particular restriction.

Additional restrictions resulted from the shortage of subject specialist teachers and facilities in many schools, and the in-school restrictions that resulted from academic streaming. The situation in 2005 still involved restrictions as the result of shortages of subject specialist teachers and facilities. Some Ministry of Education managers believed that students with higher academic abilities still had more or different subject options than lower ability students. The other two did not think that this was so. However, none of them thought that higher ability students should have more or different subject choices.

The school principals held that all schools comply with the national curriculum which prescribes a compulsory core set of subjects at Years 9-11. Other optional subjects are provided by schools according to the availability of staff. All the sample schools appear to allow student choice of optional subjects within the constraints provided by staffing. They claimed that lower ability students have the same subject choice opportunities as higher

ability students but at one school students are provided with advice on their subject choices. The three district secondary schools appear to moderate the difficulty of the teaching and learning activities for lower ability students.

6.3.4 Changes that the respondents thought had occurred

This section of the questionnaire sought to clarify the perceptions of operational change within the school environment in terms of equity of participation and of access and the improved equity of outcomes.

The respondents identified various developments since 1994 that they thought had resulted in progress towards equity in the education system. One respondent (A/D 1) identified the change of some single sex schools to co-ed schools; the development of the single stream curriculum for secondary education; the upgrading of Junior Secondary schools to include Years 12 and 13; and the upgrading of school buildings and facilities through the Education Sector Project Phase 1, as being positive changes.

Another (A/D 2) saw the curriculum development as important along with the overall government recognition of the value of the contribution of those outside Apia to the development of Samoa and the government attitude of what is good for Apia is good for the rural districts also.

The idea that boys and girls have equal opportunities in secondary school in terms of entry and choices in subjects was also seen as a positive development (A/D 3).

Changes in the system of teacher deployment were also seen as progressive. In 1994, teachers were posted to all secondary schools on the basis of the number of classes in the school. By 2006 significant changes had been made to the teacher deployment system and teachers were now allocated to schools on the basis of a teacher/student ratio. One respondent (A/D 2) said it was a 1:20 ratio and another (A/D 1) said it was 1:25 and added that there were special provisions that applied to smaller schools. Principal 4 noted that these were policy ratios and did not necessarily represent reality. Secondary-trained teachers are allocated to secondary schools and colleges while primary teachers are allocated to primary schools. This was a change from 1994 at which time most secondary teachers were actually primary trained.

The principals of the district secondary schools identified changes, including the increased chances that students (of both good and average ability) now have to enrol in any subject of

their choice. More students have participated, and now have the chance to go on to higher classes than before. They also saw increased benefits for their students by the introduction of new active learning styles such as research components in the curriculum and the use of library opportunities as positive developments.

6.3.5 Changes the respondents thought should occur

When asked to identify further changes that they thought would be necessary to result in a system characterised by equity, two of the district secondary school principals identified changes that they would make to the school management. They identified the need for more direct involvement by parents in the school management. They felt that current school committees were representative of the village communities in general and not the parents. The community was not necessarily as responsive to student learning and the teachers' needs as parents might be. Allocation of resources was also not as well managed as it might be. The principal of the senior college, which does not have a school committee at all, also sought more community involvement.

The third district secondary school principal wanted to expand opportunities for enrolments at Year 13 and to increase the range of out-of-school learning opportunities.

Lack of funds was identified by all the principals as the key obstacle to change at the school level. The district secondary school principals identified the village council/school committee politics as an issue:

> *The reps* [representatives] *from each village for the Board of committee were selected from the village Council although the reps do not have children at the school. So the concern for effective school development lacks* [is lacking]. *Unlike the parents, they must feel for their children sitting on the mats, and would probably speed up fund-raising for furniture. On the other hand, decisions made in the villages are normally carried out by the Village councils - if the chiefs are happy, they go along with the motion, otherwise, the plan is rejected* (Principal 2).

A perceived lack of support from the Ministry for change was identified as an additional obstacle by the principals.

Managers

The Ministry managers had a focus on changes needed at the system level. Many of the suggestions were radical.

All respondents agreed that removing the Year 8 exam as the selection method for access and participation in secondary schooling is essential to improving equity.

Two respondents (A/D 1 and A/D 2) suggested major changes in the management of the senior college system. They suggested that in addition to removing the Year 8 exam selection role, Samoa College, Avele College and Vailpouli College should also be run by school committees in the same way as the other schools or that the students should go to their own district secondary school or college. One (A/D 2) suggested that Vaipouli College should be closed or turned into something else. It was also suggested that all teachers in the secondary schools ought to have university degrees in their subject areas.

When asked to provide a reason for these changes, the respondents felt that the Year 8 exam ranks students for selection into colleges and so there is a restriction on the entrance to secondary education. As a result of the better funding from government, senior colleges can afford better resources and facilities compared to the district secondary schools and colleges who depend on their school committees. They felt that as long as top students are selected to go to Samoa College, Avele College and Vaipouli College, and those colleges are more generously funded, the other schools will be considered second class by teachers, parents, students and others. They felt that the district secondary schools and colleges should enjoy the participation of all their children rather than just those who did not make the top selection. It was felt that these changes would give children the chance to advance in their own schools.

One manager (A/D 1) thought that the students would then have the same opportunities for secondary education. By reducing the importance of Year 8 selection the respondent believed that teachers at the primary level would not narrow their teaching to just match the Year 8 examination prescription. A second manager (A/D 2) believed that the children would benefit by staying with their families and participating fully in village and family 'things'.

These views are almost exactly the same as those suggested in the mid-1980s. While the Assistant Directors may have felt that the 1995-2005 full-secondary option was bringing change it is obvious that they favoured the more radical mid-1980s model as the way to bring equity to the system.

One respondent (A/D1) identified government policies as an obstacle to the changes necessary to result in equity. Another (A/D 2) saw it as being an ingrained mindset that

Samoa College and the other senior colleges are better. The respondent summarised this mindset as “urban better, rural awful”. The third respondent (A/D 3) saw the obstacles as money and resources.

6.4 Summary

The professionals within the education system did identify changes that occurred within the education system during the reform programme as being positive and helpful. But while they see that change such as curriculum reform and the consequential expansion of opportunity for rural children as very positive they still identify the underlying structure of preferential advantage as being the fundamental obstacle within the system to equity of opportunity and equity of outcome. The responses by the Ministry of Education managers were very focused on the need for further radical change to the education system. The school principals were also focused on the changes needed within the macro-system and were equally conscious of the unchanged in-built systems that led to advantage for some students over others.

These responses were given in 2006 at the end of the reform plan. However, many of the reforms were not fully implemented until just before the end of the reform plan period and as a result there was little data available at the time to indicate the extent of the changes and benefits that would accrue as a result of the implemented reforms.

Appropriate statistical data was collected in the following years to provide the basis for analysis of the effects of the changes within the system. The analysis of the data is presented in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 7: THE EFFECTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS ON THE EQUITY OF OUTCOMES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In 2008 a handful of students completed Year 12 and sat the Year 12 Samoa School Certificate examination one year ahead of the other graduates from the national 2005 Year 8 cohort. This accelerant group shared a number of characteristics that made them different from the rest of the 2005 Year 8 cohort and which exemplify the characteristics of the most advantaged students in the system.

All of the students in the accelerated group had been in Year 9 at Samoa College in 2005 and 93 percent were still there in Year 12. Most of them (65 percent) had attended primary schools located in the Apia peri-urban areas in the districts. All of them lived in European-style houses with 69 percent located on freehold land. The majority of parents (69 percent) worked in urban-based occupations as professionals, technicians or clerks. The majority (59 percent) of the students indicated that English was the language that they used best to express themselves at school. This mix of characteristics made them different from their peers in rural Upolu and in Savai'i.

The rest of the 2005 Year 8 cohort from other government secondary schools, exemplified in this study by the Amoa, Lepa/Lotofaga and Vaimauga secondary schools, sat the Year 12 Samoa School Certificate examination at the end of 2009 because they were at schools that were not permitted to adopt the accelerated option of skipping one year of secondary school.

In contrast to the urban-based students, the students from Amoa and Lepa/Lotofaga attended primary schools in their rural areas. Most of them lived in modest homes with predominately Samoan fale architecture located on customary land. Over 80 percent of the students identified Samoan as the language that they used best to express themselves at school. Only 21 percent of parents had occupations classed by the Government of Samoa as professionals, technicians or clerks but over 40 percent of fathers were planters or farmers.

A social environment that included no locations of advantage would exhibit an entirely randomized pattern of participation and attainment. This was not the case within the Samoa education system in 2006. The research explored the randomness and significance of these patterns and identified some of the factors that enhanced or obstructed achievement. The differential pattern of achievement between the Samoa College students and their peers in

the district schools and colleges is associated with the regulatory environment and social environments within Samoa. The fact that those students were at Samoa College and that they displayed such performance was because they were the beneficiaries of a number of educational and social factors that were available to them but not available to others. This suggests that the goal of having a system that treats all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity and where policies which advantaged some social groups and disadvantaged others would be avoided, while those which address existing inequities in access, treatment and outcome were to be promoted (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995) may not have been achieved as a result of the 1995-2005 reforms.

7.2 ACHIEVEMENT PATTERNS AND THE RESULTS OF REFORMS

Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 provide an analysis of data from the Ministry of Education and the student survey that shows the effect of the reforms on patterns of achievement.

7.2.1. Factors affecting Year 8 examination achievement

Participation in the Year 8 national examination

Participation in the Year 8 examination has been increasing overall but there has been considerable variation between the regions of the country and different types of schools. Ministry of Education data enables participation to be examined by school type and by location. It recognises three locational categories. The Apia Urban Area includes locations in Apia township and in the peri-urban areas of Vaimauga and Faleata Districts. The Rest of Upolu category includes all rural locations on Upolu. Savai'i is treated as a single category of rural locations. Table 7.1 provides a summary of the trends in participation in the Year 8 examination over the period 2002-2008.

Completion of the Year 8 examination has been increasing. The numbers of students achieving a grade in the Year 8 examination increased overall by 13.9 percent in the period 2002-2008. The numbers of students from the island of Savai'i achieving a grade increased by 23.4 percent while the island of Upolu had a 10.7 percent increase in students achieving a grade in the same period. Urban students increased by 72.3 percent while rural students decreased by 4.1 percent overall. The numbers of students from government schools increased by 35.9 percent while mission school participation declined by 56.4 percent. The greatest change was for students from private schools achieving a grade in the Year 8 examination which increased by 604 percent in the 2002-2008 period.

Table 7.1: Summary of Change in Participation Rates in the Year 8 Examination for the Period 2002-2008

		Numeric Change	Percent Change
National		538	13.9
Upolu		309	10.7
Savai'i		229	23.4
Apia Urban		659	72.3
All Rural		-121	-4.1
Government Primary Schools		992	35.9
	Urban	630	125
	Rural	-75	-2.8
Mission Primary Schools		-605	-56.4
	Urban	-122	-31.9
	Rural	-483	-69.9
Private Primary Schools		151	604
	Urban	151	604
	Rural	0	0

Source: Ministry of Education Year 8 Examinations Data base 2002-2008

The number of female candidates achieving a grade in the Year 8 examination increased by 11.97 percent 2001-2008 while males increased by 9.11 percent. Female candidates have outnumbered male candidates since 2006.

Increased participation by some social groups, such as those from Savai'i, has not necessarily translated into the examination achievement required for advantageous selection and they remain marginalised from the core system of advantage.

Location and selection

The Ministry of Education makes the selection of students for entry into the senior colleges. An inspection of a sample of the Samoa College selection records held by the Ministry of Education (Table 7.2) shows three significant trends that appear to be contrary to the trends that would be expected as a result of the implementation of the equity policy.

Table 7.2: Sources of Samoa College Year 8 Selections 1994-2009

Years	1994	2003	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total	157	143	132	108	124	126
% Upolu	66.88	65.03	74.24	77.78	81.45	84.92
% Savai'i	33.12	34.97	25.76	22.22	18.55	15.08
	100	100	100	100	100	100
% Urban /Peri-urban selection	55.41	49.65	59.09	62.96	69.35	69.84
% Rural Upolu	11.46	15.38	15.15	14.81	12.90	15.08
% Government	100.00	96.50	86.36	83.33	89.52	70.63
% Mission	0	2.10	0.76	0.00	0.81	0.79
% Private	0	1.40	12.88	16.67	9.68	28.57

Source: Ministry of Education Senior College selection records 1994-2009

First, the data shows that 66.88 percent of the 1994 selections for the Samoa College 1995 Year 9, the base year for the policy implementation, were students from Upolu, including both urban-based and rural-based students. Savai'i-based candidates constituted 33.12 percent of the selections. Since then there has been an increasing proportion of selections from Upolu and a declining trend of selections from Savai'i. By 2009 selections from all Upolu sources constituted 84.92 percent of selections while Savai'i-based selections had fallen to 15.08 percent.

The second trend relates to the relative proportions of selections from urban/peri-urban districts of Upolu and the rural districts of Upolu. The data shows that the 55.41 percent of the 1994 selections were from the urban/peri urban areas while 11.46 percent were from rural Upolu. Urban/peri-urban sourced selections had dropped to 49.65 percent by 2003 with rural Upolu sourced selections increasing from 11.46 percent in 1994 to 15.38 percent in 2003. However, since 2003 there has been a trend of an increasing proportion of urban/peri-urban selections reaching 69.84 percent in 2009. This change has been a consistent trend starting during the 1995-2005 period and has continued into the post-reform period.

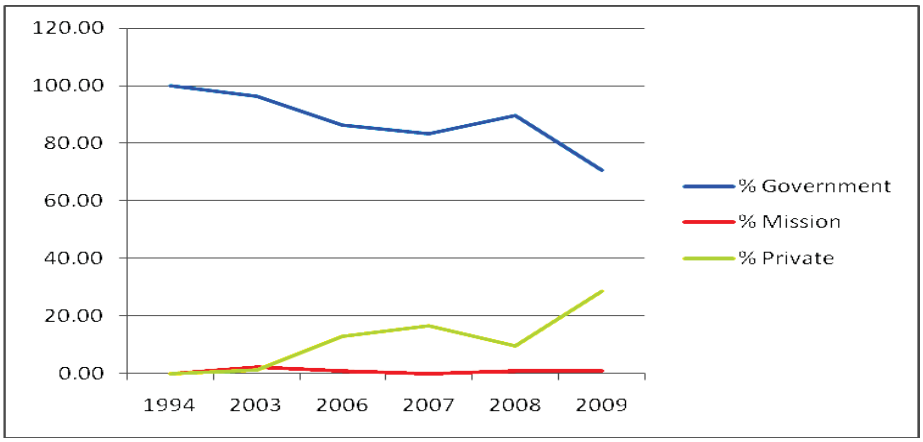
Ownership of school

Another significant trend is related to the second, above, and concerns the changing proportions of selections from schools with different controlling authorities. Primary schools in Samoa are classified by the Ministry of Education as either a government school with the Ministry of Education as the controlling authority or as a mission school controlled by part of a church mission or they are under private control and are owned by individuals or by some body corporate.

In 1994 all the selections for Samoa College were from government primary schools. By 2009 this had reduced to 70.63 percent. Mission schools existed, of course, but there were few selections from these schools into Samoa College Year 9 over the years. The students in mission schools do produce examination scores that would qualify them for selection, but as less than 1% of the selections in Samoa College are from mission schools, it is probable that they stay within their mission system for secondary education rather than move to Samoa College.

The proportion of selections from private schools is, however, increasing rapidly. In 1994 there were no selections for Samoa College from private schools because at that time no private schools existed. Since then several have been established and an increasing proportion of students entering Samoa College come from the private schools reaching 28.57 percent in 2009. This increasing trend has matched the decrease in government school selections (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Selection Trends from Government, Mission and Private Schools 1994-2009



Source: Ministry of Education Senior College selection records

Figure 7.1 shows an important social change. All the private schools are located in the Urban/Peri-urban districts of Faleata and Vaimauga. The schools charge fees that are higher than those of government and mission schools. As a consequence, they have attracted students who come largely from families with sufficient income to pay the fees. There is a higher likelihood that such families are well educated and have urban-based professional occupations.

Gender

Girls are over-represented in the entry cohorts to Samoa College. On average, females represented 60 percent of the Year 9 intakes in the period 1995-2002 while males constituted 40 percent. There have been annual variations with girls constituting a low of 48.7 percent in 1997 but constituting 70.3% in 2001 (Table 7.3). The male proportion of the intake has also varied from a high of 51.3 percent in 1997 to a low of 29.7 percent in 2001. Because they have a lower average grade than the girls the performance of the boys was compensated for through the selection score for boys being less than that of girls until 2006 when the practice was discontinued as a result of the perception that it was inequitable by favouring the boys.

Table 7.3: Gender proportions of Samoa College Year 8 selections 1995-2002

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	Average
Girls	57.9	59.0	48.7	64.3	58.7	57.0	70.3	64.9	60.1
Boys	42.1	41.0	51.3	35.7	41.3	43.0	29.7	35.1	39.9

The higher proportion of females being selected is because, as a group, females' examination results consistently have higher mean grades and a narrower range of grades and consequently a smaller standard deviation than males (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Description of Year 8 examination results 2002-2008

		2002	2004	2006	2008	Av
Female	Mean	222.78	220.99	224	223.11	222.72
	Median	220	218	221	223	220.50
	Std Dev	54.923	53.902	58.07	58.641	56.38
	Min	69	82	80	73	76.00
	Max	360	366	384	379	372.25
	Range	291	284	304	306	296.25
	Skewness	0.081	0.111	0.125	0.084	0.10
Male	Mean	193.67	196.14	193.89	194.35	194.51
	Median	188	190	189	189	189.00
	Std Dev	55.103	56.991	61.008	62.22	58.83
	Min	46	42	65	71	56.00
	Max	363	371	384	371	372.25
	Range	317	329	319	300	316.25
	Skewness	0.472	0.455	0.386	0.361	0.42

Data for selected years in the period 2002-2008 show that the average of the means for females was 222.72 with a variation of 3.01 between the lowest mean of 220.99 in 2004 and the highest of 224 in 2006. By contrast the average of the means for males was 194.51 with a

variation of 2.47 between the lowest mean of 193.67 in 2002 and the highest of 196.14 in 2004. Females have an average range of grades of 296.25 with the greatest range being 306 in 2008 and the lowest of 291 in 2002. The average standard deviation is 56.38 varying from 53.9 in 2004 to 58.6 in 2008. In contrast, males have an average range of grades of 316.25 with the greatest range being 329 in 2004 and with the lowest range of 300 being in 2008. The average standard deviation is 58.83 varying from 55.103 in 2004 to 62.22 in 2008.

The grade distributions also show a positive skewness for both genders indicating that the distribution of scores is asymmetric around the mean and differs from a normal distribution. Each of the years shows a positive skewness factor indicating the distribution of high scores extends further from the mean that the distribution of low scores. While the bulk of the scores cluster around the mean a few candidates have scores that are higher than expected results thereby skewing the distribution positively. However, there is a difference between the genders with the average skewness value of 0.42 for males being higher than females at 0.10. This shows that while the bulk of the boys' grades were generally lower than the girls there was a not insignificant tail of high grades in the male performances. The distribution of males shows a much greater clustering with aggregate grades of 200 or less than is the case for females. The distribution for females shows a greater proportion of candidates in the scores from 200-350 than for males. However males are still represented in the highest scores of all candidates accounting for the higher skewness values. The average maximum score of 372.25 is exactly the same for both males and females.

Females as a group out-perform boys but the highest performing boys produced equal or higher aggregate grades than girls in three of the four sample years in the period 2002-2008.

Significance of the variables

The Year 8 examination candidate files for all candidates from all schools including government, mission and private schools for 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 were analysed by hierarchical regression (R) to identify the variables that had the greatest value in predicting the Year 8 examination scores achieved by the students (Table 7.5).

Gender, whether a student attended a district school or a national school, the ownership of the school (state, mission or private), whether it was an urban or rural school and whether it was located on Upolu or not were the variables with the greatest statistical significance.

Table 7.5: Value of R for Year 8 2002-2008

Value of R	2002	2004	2006	2008
Gender	0.327	0.302	0.339	0.333
National/District	0.204	0.208	0.233	0.238
Ownership	0.202	0.19	0.225	0.226
Urban	0.158	0.159	0.189	0.156
Island	0.053	0.08	0.025	0.012

However, the statistical significance of the variables changed over time, with the Island variable declining from 0.53 in 2002 to 0.012 in 2008 indicating a decrease in the strength of the relationship between students' result and the island on which their score was recorded. The significance of other variables strengthened over the same period with the Ownership variable increasing from 0.202 to 0.226 showing a significant strengthening of the relationship between students' performance and whether the student was at a government, church or private school. The National school variable, meaning the government-run primary schools on the Malifa compound and the re-constituted primary school that replaced them, increased from 0.204 to 0.238. The Gender variable increased slightly from 0.327 to 0.333 as the already significant relationship of gender to results shown in the performance of girls over boys became stronger.

Having identified variables with significant relationships the relative importance of the additional impact of each of the variables on the examinations scores was revealed by the trends in the R Square values of each variable over the period. The larger the R Square change value the greater the impact. The trend over time in the R Square change value allows the relative impact to be analysed to determine any changes in the value and any change in the relative impact with respect to the other variables. This is illustrated in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: Value of R Square Change Year 8 2002-2008

Value of R Square change	2002	2004	2006	2008
Gender	0.066	0.048	0.061	0.055
Urban	0.022	0.019	0.035	0.024
Ownership	0.016	0.011	0.015	0.027
Island	0.003	0.006	0.001	0.000
National/District	0.001	0.007	0.003	0.005

R Square change for the Island variable was always small and, apart from an increase in 2004, has trended down from 0.003 in 2002 to 0.000 in 2008, indicating that not only has the statistical significance declined but the impact is now negligible compared to the other factors. Similarly, although the value for the national school variable increased from .001 in 2002 to .005 in 2008 it had much less impact than other values. While the Gender variable has the highest R square values in every one of the sample years the values have actually declined from 0.066 in 2002 to 0.055 in 2008. The R square value for the Urban factor has increased from 0.022 to 0.024 at the same time and the value for the Ownership variable increased from 0.016 to 0.027 in the same period.

The analysis indicates that gender makes the largest impact. The average marks for girls are higher than for boys and the range is generally not as large. Attending a school located in the urban area of Apia and the peri-urban areas of Faleata and Vaimauga has a significant effect. The increasing effect of the school ownership factor is a result of the rapidly increasing significance of private schools in relation to high examination achievement. The 'island' effect is diminishing while the difference between schools with 'national' enrolment catchment areas such as the Malifa Compound schools has also been reduced with the closure of the schools. This last factor was one of the stated goals of the 1995-2005 reform package. However, the strength of the village based urban/peri-urban schools, and most particularly the private schools, has maintained the strength of the 'urban centre' over the rural periphery.

Data collected through the student and family questionnaire from the Year 9 students at the sample schools, Samoa College, Vaimauga College, Lepa/Lotofaga College and Amoa Secondary School, was used to examine the relative impact of socio-economic and family factors on Year 8 grades and in selection into Year 9 at secondary school.

A total of 279 Year 9 students responded to the survey – Samoa College 101, Vaimauga College 54, Lepa/Lotofaga College 45 and Amoa 79. The questionnaire responses were matched to Year 8 examination results. The data was subjected to hierarchical regression analysis.

The R values showed relationships existed between examination grades and wealth, language of expression, mother's occupation, language of understanding and father's occupation. The R square change statistic shows that the variables with the greatest impacts on the achievement of the high examination scores needed to be selected to attend Samoa College

are the wealth of the family, comfort in using English as the language of expression and mothers' occupation (Table 7.7). These variables are all expressions of an increasing urban lifestyle. The greater significance of mothers' occupation than fathers' occupation may be due to the fact that many fathers have an occupation while mothers in rural areas are usually occupied in household work or other unpaid subsistence activity while mothers in the urban area frequently have paid employment. As such mothers' employment is an indicator of participation in the urban lifestyle and of greater family wealth. Increases in mothers' employment have had an increasing impact on student achievement.

Table 7.7: Relative value of socio-economic variables on Year 8 scores 2004

Variable	R	R Square Change
Wealth	0.466	0.217
Language of expression	0.607	0.121
Mother occupation	0.647	0.042
Language of understanding	0.498	0.031
Father occupation	0.614	0.008

7.2.2 Factors affecting Year 12 examination outcomes

System Growth

Implementation of some of the aspects of the 1995-2005 reform package began almost immediately.

The Ministry of Education started to allow the district secondary schools to offer Year 12 programmes with the number of schools offering such programmes expanding rapidly. This, combined with the cessation of the Year 11 Junior Secondary School Certificate after 1997, removed structural obstacles that had hindered the progress of students at the district schools. As a result, Year 12 enrolments also rapidly increased.

In 1994 there were only three schools – Samoa College, Vaipouli College and Leifiifi College - with Year 12 enrolments. Avele College reported no enrolments in 1994 as a result of the closure of the college in the late 1980s and the need to restart the school. However, it reported enrolments in 1995.

The expansion of the number of schools providing Year 12 programmes began in 1996 with six district secondary schools reporting Year 12 enrolments for the first time (Table 7.8). Five of the schools were located on Upolu and one on Savai'i. In 1997 a further 10 district schools

reported Year 12 enrolments. Six of the schools were on Upolu and four on Savai'i. A further four schools reported Year 12 enrolments in 1998 with one school on Upolu and three on Savai'i. In 2001 Fagaloa Secondary School reported Year 12 enrolments but the school has since been reorganised due to the isolation and small number of enrolments.

Within 3 years the change of policy had resulted in 20 district schools, that had never done so before, offering Year 12 programmes and all of them have continued to do so (Table 7.8).

The expansion of enrolments changed the proportions of the enrolments at different types of schools and in different parts of the country. The senior colleges had dominated the enrolment pattern in government schools prior to 1995 but this dominance also changed rapidly. In 1994 the senior colleges held 85.75 percent of Year 12 enrolments within the secondary school system. This peaked at 87.69% in 1995 as an effect of the reactivation of Avele College and then started to decline rapidly due to the increasing enrolments in the district secondary schools rising from 0 percent in 1995 to 19.86 percent in 1996. By 2007 the senior colleges only held 22.94 percent while the district secondary school held 65.85 percent of enrolments (Table 7.9).

The change in proportion reached the cross-over point in 1998 when the senior colleges held 36.68 percent of the enrolments and the district secondary schools held 50.71 percent.

Table 7.8: Increasing Year 12 Enrolments 1994-2007

SCHOOL	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Samoa College	236	159	180	220	161	136	172	132	185	145	148	174	180	158
Vaipouli College	113	102	70	86	88	74	75	76	63	61	48	70	60	67
Leifiifi College	58	56	48	51	142	159	199	221	177	247	204	187	223	173
Avele College		138	170	156	164	141	143	151	127	122	120	151	132	129
Vaimauga College			29	43	48	40	42	58	85	93	109	130	116	94
Aleipata Secondary School			24	31	40	36	33	32	39	45	42	39	42	41
Lepa/Lotofaga College			18	23	21	39	32	64	57	24	41	66	44	46
Palalaua College			17	25	25	26	32	45	50	63	91	84	67	57
Mataaevave College			16	17	32	31	31	24	44	39	32	59	43	51
Falealili Secondary School			12	23	39	37	33	48	44	43	47	60	49	29
Faleata College				40	41	42	53	65	57	54	73	69	50	49
Aana No.1 Secondary School				39	36	32	33	22	26	36	38	44	43	29
Palauli College				37	28	29	33	48	70	57	86	64	37	66
Lefaga Secondary School				29	25	18	14	16	26	27	19	13	14	14
Anoamaa College				23	22	40	22	33	30	38	31	42	47	57
Amoa College				16	13	17	15	27	34	33	41	63	57	86
Alofi o Taoa Secondary School				11	36	15	31	28	41	48	57	66	44	64
Palauli Sisifo College				11	21	19	48	23	39	15	45	43	35	29
Safata Secondary School				10	14	31	25	31	40	35	50	36	38	47
Sagaga Secondary School				7	16	16	22	19	18	20	13	23	21	29
Aana No.2 College					37	24	35	28	48	56	45	60	59	60
Itu-O-Tane No.1 Secondary School					34	26	38	42	43	40	34	34	33	25
Itu Asau College					30	31	34	46	63	65	65	104	109	72
Savai'i Sisifo Secondary School					13	20	36	52	43	52	54	57	34	71
Fagaloa Secondary School								4	9	5	0			

Source: Samoa Ministry of Education EMIS

Table 7.9: Changing Proportions of Year 12 enrolments 1994-2007

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
% Upolu	72.24	77.58	85.27	80.18	73.80	75.72	72.30	72.58	69.82	71.98	69.86	67.78	71.34	65.59
% Savai'i	27.76	22.42	14.73	15.70	23.71	21.59	25.02	23.82	25.38	24.13	24.53	28.54	26.32	30.14
% Senior Colleges	85.75	87.69	71.92	51.45	36.68	32.53	31.68	26.89	25.72	22.42	20.61	22.73	23.59	22.94
Samoa	57.99	34.95	30.82	24.50	14.30	12.60	13.97	9.89	12.69	9.91	9.65	10.01	11.41	10.24
Vaipouli	27.76	22.42	11.99	9.58	7.82	6.86	6.09	5.69	4.32	4.17	3.13	4.03	3.80	4.34
Avele	0.00	30.33	29.11	17.37	14.56	13.07	11.62	11.31	8.71	8.34	7.83	8.69	8.37	8.36
% Upolu Urban	14.25	12.31	13.18	14.92	20.52	22.34	23.88	25.77	21.88	26.93	25.18	22.21	24.67	20.48
% Upolu Rural	57.99	65.27	72.09	65.26	53.29	53.38	48.42	46.82	47.94	45.04	44.68	45.57	46.67	45.11
% Total Rural	85.75	87.69	86.82	85.08	79.48	77.66	76.12	74.23	78.12	73.07	74.82	77.79	75.33	79.52
% District schools	0.00	0.00	19.86	42.87	50.71	52.73	52.15	56.55	62.14	60.70	66.08	66.51	62.27	65.85

Source: Samoa Ministry of Education EMIS

While change came more slowly at the Year 13 level, the number of schools offering Year 13 programmes increased. The sequence of the Ministry of Education schedule for upgrading of a school's facilities before permitting the school to start Year 13 programmes has been a factor in slowing growth. But the Year 12 enrolment has increased because of the removal of the Year 11 Junior Secondary School Certificate from the schedule of examinations. As a result, the Year 12 examination is now the constraint on progress into Year 13 and this has also had an effect on Year 13 enrolments (Table 7.10).

With the reactivation of Avele, there were three schools - all the senior colleges - reporting Year 13 enrolments in 1995. Leifiifi College, the non-selection government-funded school, enrolled Year 13 in 1999. Vaimauga College enrolled Year 13 students in 2001. In 2004 there were an additional two schools. The first two district schools on Savai'i enrolled Year 13 students in 2005 as did two more schools from Upolu. Four more schools added Year 13 enrolments in 2006 to bring the total to 15 in 2007. There has been a parallel increase in the number of enrolled students with the total rising by nearly 200 percent from 262 to 763 in the 1994-2007 period (Table 7.11).

Enrolment proportions have also changed with the senior college share of enrolments declining from 100 percent in 1994 to 48 percent in 2007. The district schools have increased the enrolment share from 0 percent in 1994 to 34.73 percent in 2007 (Table 7.12).

Table 7.10: Increasing Number of Schools Offering Year 13 Programme

Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Number of Schools	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	5	7	11	15	15

Table 7.11: Increasing enrolments in Year 13 1994-2007

School	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Samoa College	241	211	200	120	251	198	184	186	163	199	130	156	171	183
Vaipouli College	21	29	30	25	36	65	59	71	63	62	86	66	77	82
Avele College		60	84	107	120	138	128	132	131	97	131	129	111	101
Leifiifi College						119	165	165	177	205	202	136	167	132
Vaimauga College								26	37	43	35	41	43	31
Palalaua College											42	33	36	34
Lepa/Lotofaga College											37	20	26	23
Amoa College												29	24	30
Itu Asau College												27	55	22
Aana No.2 College												18	17	18
Palauli Sisifo College												16	20	30
Mataaevave College													22	28
Anoamaa College													15	18
Faleata College													14	12
Palauli College													8	19
Lefaga Secondary School														
Savai'i Sisifo Secondary School														
Alofi o Taoa Secondary School														
Aana No.1 Secondary School														
Falealili Secondary School														
Aleipata Secondary School														
Fagaloa Secondary School														
Itu-O-Tane No.1 Secondary School														
Safata Secondary School														
Sagaga Secondary School														
TOTAL	262	300	314	252	407	520	536	580	571	606	663	671	806	763

Table 7.12: Changing Proportions of Year 13 enrolments 1994-2007

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Number of schools	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	5	7	11	15	15
% Upolu	91.98	90.33	90.45	90.08	91.15	87.50	88.99	87.76	88.97	89.77	87.03	79.43	74.44	72.35
% Savai'i	8.02	9.67	9.55	9.92	8.85	12.50	11.01	12.24	11.03	10.23	12.97	20.57	24.57	25.16
% Senior Colleges	100	100	100	100	100	77.1	69.2	67.1	62.5	59.1	52.3	52.3	44.5	48
% Samoa College	91.98	70.33	63.69	47.62	61.67	38.08	34.33	32.07	28.55	32.84	19.61	23.25	21.22	23.98
% Vaipouli College	8.02	9.67	9.55	9.92	8.85	12.50	11.01	12.24	11.03	10.23	12.97	9.84	9.55	10.75
% Avele College	0	20	26.75	42.46	29.48	26.54	23.88	22.76	22.94	16.01	19.76	19.23	13.77	13.24
% Upolu Urban	91.98	90.33	90.45	90.08	91.15	87.50	88.99	87.76	88.97	89.77	75.11	68.85	62.78	60.16
% Upolu Rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.9	10.6	13.4	13.8
% Total Rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.48	6.48	7.10	17.19	27.42	33.00	33.16
% District schools	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.48	6.48	7.10	17.19	27.42	34.74	34.73

Source: Samoa Ministry of Education EMIS

Curriculum offerings – Teacher supply

All four school principals and the Ministry of Education managers who responded to the questionnaire indicated that subject selection in the district secondary schools in 1994 was restricted in two ways. The most restrictive was the curriculum itself. In 1994 the dual stream curriculum was in operation and the junior secondary schools curriculum ended at Year 11 and only contained the Years 9-11 levels of the core curriculum subjects and the applied subjects with no higher level specialisations.

The other important set of restrictions resulted from the shortages of subject specialist teachers. Shortage of suitable facilities and equipment was also a significant constraint in specialist subjects. The reform of the curriculum into a single-stream removed the restriction that school-type determined curriculum offerings. However, the shortage of subject teachers continues. It appears from the questionnaire responses by the principals, and is confirmed by Ministry of Education 2008 data, that the national curriculum core subjects (Samoan, English, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies) are covered in government schools in Years 9-11. The schools also provide the main optional subjects of Business Studies, Design Technology and Food and Textile Technology (Table 7.13).

Table 7.13: Subject Offerings Years 9-11 in Government Schools 2008

	School Year level		
Subject	**9**	**10**	**11**
Samoan	24	23	23
Mathematics	23	23	23
English	23	23	23
Social Studies	23	22	21
Science	22	21	19
Business Studies	16	22	19
Design Technology	14	16	15
Food and Textile Technology	6	16	16
Agricultural Science	6	9	8
Computer Studies	5	7	6
Physical Education	5	5	5
Music	2	5	5
Accounting	1	1	
Religious Studies	1	1	3
Geography		1	2
Economics			2
Biology		1	3
History			1
Chemistry			2
Physics			
Development Studies			1

Source: Samoa Ministry of Education Statistical Digest 2008

Other optional subjects are provided by schools according to the availability of staff. All schools appear to allow student choice of optional subjects within the constraints provided by staffing.

In their responses to the questionnaire, the principals of the district secondary schools identified the increased chances of students (of both good and average abilities) to enrol in subjects of their choice as a beneficial change. The idea that boys and girls have equal opportunities in secondary schooling in terms of entry and choices in subjects was also seen as a positive development. More students started participating with the chance to go on to higher classes.

However, the Years 12 and 13 programmes in the district secondary schools were severely restricted by the availability of specialist subject teachers, facilities and equipment. While most of the schools maintained the senior levels of the Year 9-12 core curriculum, fewer of them were able to support more specialist subjects at the senior levels (Table 7.14). The shortage of specialist teachers and the lack of necessary facilities and equipment reduced the available options.

Table 7.14: Subject offerings Years 12-13 in government schools 2008

	School Year Level	
Subject	**12**	**13**
Samoan	23	15
Mathematics	23	15
English	22	15
Social Studies	-	-
Science	1	-
Business Studies	-	-
Design Technology	14	7
Food and Textile Technology	14	8
Fine Arts	5	2
Agricultural Science	3	2
Computer Studies	6	4
Physical Education	3	-
Music	-	-
Accounting	22	14
Religious Studies	1	-
Geography	23	15
Economics	19	12
Biology	15	10
History	12	9
Chemistry	11	9
Physics	8	7
Development Studies	-	1

Source: Samoa Ministry of Education Statistical Digest 2008

Notwithstanding the existing restrictions, the Ministry of Education managers and the principals saw the development of the single stream curriculum for secondary education as a positive development. The curriculum development and the upgrading of the district secondary schools to include Years 12 and 13 was seen as a sign of the overall government recognition of the value of the contribution of those outside Apia to the development of Samoa and the government attitude of 'what is good for Apia is good for Falealupo also'.

However, the capability of providing a wide range of courses to students is limited. Analysis of the 2008 Year 12 examination candidates file shows that while all schools presented candidates in four or five subjects, only five schools presented candidates in six subjects and only Samoa College presented candidates in seven subjects (Table 7.15). Opportunity has expanded but relative advantage remains.

Table 7.15: Presentation of examination candidates in Year 12 from government schools 2008

2008 Year 12	Number of Subjects			
	4	5	6	7
Aana No.1 Secondary School	Y	Y		
Aana No.2 College	Y	Y		
Lepa/Lotofaga College	Y	Y		
Aleipata Secondary School	Y	Y	Y	
Anoamaa College	Y	Y		
Mataaevave College	Y	Y	Y	
Amoa College	Y	Y		
Falealili Secondary School	Y	Y		
Palalaua College	Y	Y	Y	
Faleata College	Y	Y		
Itu Asau College	Y	Y		
Itu-O-Tane No.1 Secondary School	Y	Y		
Vaipouli College	Y	Y		
Alofi o Taoa Secondary School	Y	Y		
Lefaga Secondary School	Y	Y		
Leifiifi College	Y	Y		
Palauli College	Y	Y		
Safata Secondary School	Y	Y		
Sagaga Secondary School	Y	Y		
Palauli Sisifo College	Y	Y		
Savai'i Sisifo Secondary School	Y	Y		
Vaimauga College	Y	Y		
Avele College	Y	Y	Y	
Samoa College	Y	Y	Y	Y

Source: Ministry of Education 2008 Examinations Database

Financing

The Ministry of Education managers and the secondary school principals confirmed that schools were funded in exactly the same way in 2005 as they had been in 1994. The government senior colleges were fully funded through the government budget. The government provided district secondary schools with teachers and stationery while all other funds had to be raised at the local level by the school committees.

It was noted that the district secondary schools that had been upgraded to provide Year 9-13 programmes (and are now referred to as colleges) had been renovated and rebuilt as part of the Education Sector Project Phase I and now have new facilities and equipment. But in terms of operational funding they still operated as other district secondary schools and received no financing from the government apart from teachers and stationery and any materials supplied through development projects. This created a significant differential in funding between the fully funded senior colleges and the partially funded district secondary schools. In response to the questionnaire, the school principals provided information on the school fees for their schools (Table 6.5).

The data was combined with information suppled by the Ministry of Education on the funding provided to the sample schools for years close to the survey period. The combined information was used to develop an estimate of the average expenditure per head per school (Table 7.16).

The data shows that the government provides a salaries budget for all schools. Only the senior college is provided with an operational budget. The district secondary schools have to raise the operational budget through fees and other fund raising activities. The senior colleges charge fees in addition to the budget grant. All the district schools charge fees but there is a considerable difference between the fees charged by the schools (Table 7.16). As a consequence of these funding arrangements there are significant differences in the per capita spending available to the schools. The three year average per head per year was $ST 1687 in the senior college while the district secondary schools had a budget of $ST935 and $ST719 and $ST633 respectively.

The school principals and Ministry of Education managers who responded to the questionnaire were aware that the differential funding did impact on the quality of the learning programmes provided by the schools in 1994. One Assistant Director noted in the questionnaire response that the

"differential funding would have allowed the senior colleges to buy more and better resources/materials for teaching" (A/D 1).

Table 7.16: School Funding for Sample Secondary Schools

School	Year	Salary	Operating	Sub-Total	Enrolment	Govt input$ /head	Av Fee	Total/Head/ Yr	Av/Head/Yr
Senior College	2004-05	678223	429574	1107797	716	1547	224	1771	
	2005-06	794490	320250	1114740	785	1420	224	1644	
	2006-07	829350	356250	1185600	834	1422	224	1646	1687
District 1	2004-05	326599	0	326599	522	626	162	788	
	2005-06	422845	0	422845	545	776	162	938	
	2006-07	514278	0	514278	560	918	162	1080	935
District 2	2004-05	129480	0	129480	285	454	108	562	
	2005-06	157688	0	157688	242	652	108	760	
	2006-07	171203	0	171203	235	729	108	837	719
District 3	2004-05	169439	0	169439	304	557	50	607	
	2005-06	196126	0	196126	371	529	50	579	
	2006-07	244797	0	244797	370	662	50	712	633

The range of the differential had been known for a long time. Table 7.17 is an estimate prepared in 1999 as part of planning for the implementation of the Asian Development Bank-funded Education Sector Project Phase 1 school building programme.

Table 7.17: Relative Value of Funding per Head 1999 ($ST)

1999	All District Secondary	Samoa College
Grant	3,105,589	1,086.385
Enrolment	4,562	663
Per Head	681	1639

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The funding arrangements had remained unchanged at 2010. The district schools would only be able to close the differential gap by increased fundraising in communities that are already relatively poor.

Outcome of the Secondary School System

Although there have been increased enrolment in Years 12 and 13, particularly in the district schools, and increased participation in the Year 12 and 13 examinations, the improvement of outcomes has only been partial. The students in the district secondary schools are now able, in most cases, to participate in the Year 12 examinations and a slowly increasing number of students are able to participate in the Year 13 examinations but their examination grades are still over-represented in the lower percentiles of the examination results.

Outcome Pattern

The Year 12 examination outcome pattern evident in the sample years of 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008 is similar to the pattern exhibited in the Year 8 selection examination.

Females, as a group, continue to out-perform males as a group. Females have consistently had higher average scores in the Year 12 examination than males over the sample years in the 2002-2008 period (Table 7.18). Female scores are more tightly clustered than males with narrower ranges of scores and lower value standard deviations. Males, however, achieved the highest maximum scores in 2004, 2006 and 2008. The distributions of scores all display an asymmetrical positive skewness with the skewness of males having greater values than the skewness of females.

Table 7.18: Year 12 Examination Grade Characteristics by Gender

Female	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=1207	N=1304	N=1327	N=1253
Mean	217.94	199.48	203.79	207.22
Median	217	198.00	202.00	202.00
Std. Deviation	54.627	56.318	54.113	59.184
Minimum	49	0	46	63
Maximum	373	357	364	364
Range	324	357	318	301
Skewness	0.148	.086	.095	.172
Male	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=1023	N=1206	N=984	N=1013
Mean	211.38	186.84	185.22	186.14
Median	211	185.50	182.00	181.00
Std. Deviation	57.343	54.068	57.513	62.553
Minimum	31	40	32	40
Maximum	360	363	375	380
Range	329	323	343	340
Skewness	0.037	.188	.287	.269

Urban schools present higher examination scores than rural schools. Rural means are significantly lower that those of urban schools (Table 7.19).

Table 7.19: Year 12 Examination Grade Characteristics for Rural and Urban Schools

Rural	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=1021	N=1150	N=1140	N=1182
Mean	193.99	178.04	178.32	179.83
Median	193	179.50	179.00	179
Std. Deviation	47.978	47.415	46.451	50.825
Minimum	31	58	39	40
Maximum	324	295	304	331
Range	293	237	265	291
Skewness	-0.032	-.082	-.103	0.071
Urban	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=1209	N=1180	N=1171	N=1084
Mean	232.62	209.38	212.98	217.38
Median	233	211	212	219
Std. Deviation	56.16	58.72	59.76	66.20
Minimum	68	0	32	45
Maximum	373	363	375	380
Range	305	363	343	335
Skewness	-0.073	.001	-.046	-0.098

While minimum scores recorded in rural schools exceeded those in urban schools in 2004 and 2006, maximum scores have been consistently lower. Rural schools display negative skewness in the distribution of scores in 2002, 2004 and 2006 indicating that the distribution of low scores extends further from the mean that the distribution of high scores. This is the result of a significant number of candidates scoring lower-than-expected results and almost none scoring higher-than-expected results. The bulk of scores cluster around the mean, which is lower than the urban average but there is also a longer tail of scores lower than the mean than of scores higher than the mean. There is insufficient data to indicate if the positive skewness statistic, indicating a greater number of higher scores then expected in a normal population, in the 2008 data, is the start of a trend to reshape the symmetry of the distribution of scores. The scores from urban schools in 2002, 2006 and 2008 also show a negatively skewed asymmetry. However, the mean scores are significantly higher than the mean of the rural schools. The slight positive skewness in 2004 was not an indication of an overall change in the symmetry of the examination scores from these schools.

Government senior secondary colleges still perform better than government district schools (Table 7.20).

Table 7.20: Year 12 Examination Grade Characteristics for Government Senior Colleges and District Secondary Schools

Government Senior Colleges	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=531	N=446	N=457	N=449
Mean	249.13	227.04	230.59	242.77
Median	251	231.00	236.00	248
Variance	2426.501	2941.173	3111.212	3133.1
Std. Deviation	49.26	54.233	55.778	55.974
Minimum	70	40	68	87
Maximum	364	363	346	374
Range	294	323	278	287
Skewness	-0.298	-.246	-.308	-0.283
Government District Schools	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=686	N=865	N=855	N=870
Mean	188.42	172.88	174.71	173.9
Median	186.5	172.00	175.00	173
Std. Deviation	48.072	47.497	44.686	48.951
Minimum	51	58	39	43
Maximum	324	289	293	312
Range	273	231	254	269
Skewness	0.114	.007	-.150	0.082

Urban schools have considerably higher average scores but also have a wider range of scores and a higher value standard deviation. It is this particular set of values that need to be tracked over time as an indication of the impact of the main elements of the 1995-2005 reforms that were aimed at expanding opportunity and ensuring equity of outcomes.

Private secondary schools outperform government and mission schools. The mean scores of private schools are consistently higher than both government and mission schools by a substantial margin (Table 7.21).

Table 7.21: Year 12 Examination Grade Characteristics for Government, Mission and Private Schools

Government	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=1217	N=1311	N=1330	N=1319
Mean	214.91	191.30	194.67	197.35
Median	216	189.00	191.00	193
Std. Deviation	57.153	56.090	55.770	60.915
Minimum	51	40	39	43
Maximum	364	363	346	374
Range	313	323	307	331
Skewness	0.02	.133	.154	0.208
Mission	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=960	N=967	N=919	N=876
Mean	210.42	192.38	192.52	191.93
Median	208	193.00	192.00	190
Std. Deviation	51.537	51.179	53.752	58.701
Minimum	31	0	32	40
Maximum	372	357	344	346
Range	341	357	312	306
Skewness	0.113	.005	.039	0.084
Private	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**
	N=53	N-52	N=62	N=71
Mean	297.13	288.17	271.71	278.55
Median	296	297.50	283.50	283
Std. Deviation	40.761	43.419	53.501	52.785
Minimum	163	174	130	147
Maximum	373	353	375	380
Range	210	179	245	233
Skewness	-0.744	-.669	-.529	-0.548

Minimum and maximum scores are also substantially higher. The range of scores is consistently lower as is the standard deviation, indicating a clustering of grades in higher grades. This is further illustrated by consistent negative skewness values indicating the scores are asymmetrically clustered above the mean while there is a long tail including a greater

number of lower scores than would be expected in a population with a normal distribution. These lower scores are in fact higher than most of the grades achieved in government or mission schools. Government and mission schools have similar average scores but mission schools have a greater range of scores than both government and private schools. However, government schools have a greater standard deviation than both mission and private schools. Private schools consistently have a much higher average score than both government and mission schools with a narrower range of performance and lower value standard deviation.

Scores on Upolu are higher than on Savai'i with a larger range and a higher value standard deviation but this factor is becoming less significant in comparison to factors such as gender, wealth and language of expression. This is because the location on Upolu is not in itself the influencing factor; it is the fact that the significant urban centre and peri-urban surrounds of Apia are located on Upolu that differentiates the islands.

Significance

The Year 12 examination candidate files for all candidates from all schools including government, mission and private schools for 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 were analysed by hierarchical regression to identify the variables that had the greatest value in predicting the Year 12 examination scores achieved by the students (Table 7.22).

Gender, whether a student attended a district school or a national school, the ownership of the school (state, mission or private), whether it was an urban or rural school were the variables with the greatest statistical significance. Location on Upolu of Savai'i was of less significance.

Table 7.22: R Values for Year 12 Examination Results 2002-2008

R Values	2002	2004	2006	2008
Gender	0.541	0.495	0.506	0.569
National	0.537	0.477	0.487	0.554
Urban	0.426	0.346	0.382	0.434
Island	0.255	0.089	0.161	0.141

Gender was the variable with greatest significance followed by the significance of the national variable, urban and the island variable. As importantly, the significance of the variables changed over time. The significance of the gender variable increased from 0.541 to 0.569 in the period. The significance of the national variable increased from 0.537 to 0.554 while the significance of the urban variable also increased from 0.426 to 0.434 in the period. The island

variable declined in significance over the period following the same pattern evident in the Year 8 examination. The significance declined from 0.255 to 0.141.

The second important issue revealed by this data is the trend in the R Square Change values (Table 7.23). The R Square Change value indicates the importance of the additional impact of the new variable on the examination score. The larger the R Square change value the greater the impact. The trend over time in the R Square Change value allows the relative impact to be analysed to determine any changes in the value and any change in the relative impact with respect to the other variables.

Table 7.23: R Square Change values Year 12 examination results 2002-2008

R square change	2002	2004	2006	2008
Urban	0.117	0.111	0.12	0.168
National	0.107	0.108	0.091	0.119
Gender	0.004	0.017	0.2	0.017
Island	0.065	0.008	0.025	0.020

The urban value consistently had the highest R Square Change value which increased from 0.117 to 0.168 over the period, showing an increasing impact of the urban location on the Year 12 examination scores. This trend, of course, is counter to the goals of the 1995-2005 plan. This was paralleled by increases in the value of the national score from 0.107 to 0.119 indicating a continuing increase in the importance of the senior secondary schools in Apia in determining Year 12 examination scores. Gender had a similar trend of increasing value from 0.004 to 0.017, further highlighting the increasing difference in the performance of females in contrast to males.

The R Square Change value for the island variable declined from 0.065 to 0.020 over the period. This, in combination with the declining significance values, shows that explaining difference in performance just on the basis of which island the student is located on is becoming progressively less valid. The difference in the performance of students is more readily explained by them being female and being located in an urban senior college.

7.3 Summary of the trends in achievement at Year 8 and Year 12

This chapter has presented the results of an analysis of the outcomes of the education process at two significant levels in the Samoa education system.

The analysis has shown that the education system has undergone substantial growth at both the Year 8 and Year 12 levels. The growth of participation in the secondary school system is particularly evident. The surge in growth quite clearly followed the implementation of the 1995-2005 reform programme. The increase of participation at the Year 12 level was rapid and nation-wide. It was a reform that was overdue and eagerly anticipated.

By 2005 district secondary schools were no longer restricted to providing Years 9-11. The Junior Secondary School Certificate, which had been the terminating qualification at Year 11, had been discontinued. The dual track curriculum that existed prior to the reform programme was replaced by a single-stream curriculum which could be offered by any of the secondary schools if the school has the requisite teaching staff, materials and infrastructure. There had been significant investments by the Government of Samoa in infrastructure at the district secondary schools to upgrade the quality and range of facilities. In-service teacher training programmes were implemented to upgrade teachers in support of the new curriculum.

The development of the Year 13 level of the secondary system has been slower, largely due to the considerable investment that has to be made to upgrade the facilities, equipment and teachers so that specialist courses can be offered to an acceptable standard.

The expansion of the system represents a significant effort at the national level, the school level and within many families. But this study is not providing a report on the efforts to expand the system. It is focusing on the outcomes of the system and analysing the outcome patterns to enhance equity. This brings a different perspective and results in some different understandings.

The analysis shows that while expansion has taken place the system still advantages some groups more than others. The pattern that prevailed in 1994 resulted in better Year 8 examination performances by students who attended urban-based government schools and the mission schools. The majority of selections into Samoa College were from urban students in the central government schools. Following the implementation of the 1995-2005 plan there was an initial period of change during which the pattern of advantage at the Year 8 level changed and there was a reduction of urban advantage in the system. However, the pattern of urban advantage became re-established after a few years. The pattern of achievement was no longer so focussed on a single urban institution, Leifiifi Intermediate School, which had closed as part of the reform, but nonetheless remained focused on other urban based schools and this, combined with the emergence of urban-based private schools, ensured a rising trend in

urban-based advantage. This pattern is firmly embedded with achievement and advantage favouring the urban-based, urban-employed, English-competent families.

There have been huge changes in the secondary school system. Participation has increased at all levels but analysis shows that while district secondary candidates are entering examinations in greater numbers, achievement at Year 12 still seems to be most readily available to those who are in urban schools.

The system has expanded in size but the system appears to have remained structurally the same.

CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY OF REFORM PROGRAMME RESULTS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses the evidence presented in Chapters 6 and 7 to consider the results of the Samoa reform programme in respect to the achievement of the equity goals of access, treatment and outcomes in secondary education. The focus is on identifying the structures and patterns of inequities that existed prior to the 1995-2005 programme and clarifying whether there have been any changes to those patterns.

The evidence is also analysed to identify changes in operational practice that would suggest that changes to the structure and pattern of inequity are occurring and may result in a system characterised by equity.

8.2 RESULTS OF THE PROGRAMME

The key change is that the secondary school system expanded. As a result, the education system has undergone substantial growth at both the Year 8 and Year 12 levels. The growth of participation in the secondary school system is particularly evident. The surge in growth quite clearly followed the implementation of the 1995-2005 reform programme. The increase of participation at the Year 12 level in particular was rapid and nation-wide. By 2001 all junior secondary schools were enrolling students in Year 12. It was a reform that was overdue and eagerly anticipated.

The development of the Year 13 level of the secondary system has been slower. Nonetheless, as a result of the reform programme the potential exists for students to enter schooling at Year 1 and proceed to complete Year 12 before facing any regulation that restricts their progress.

The expansion of the system represents a significant effort at the national level, the school level and within many families. Such an effort needs to be acknowledged and applauded. However, change in relation to equity of treatment and equity of outcome has not been so obvious.

8.2.1 Expansion but no advantage

The overall intent of the 1995 policy was to “treat all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity. Policies which advantage some social groups and disadvantage others will be avoided, while those which address existing inequalities in access,

treatment and outcome will be promoted" (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.9).

Analysis of the data presented in Chapter 7 shows that while expansion has taken place, and participation has increased, the system still appears to advantage some groups over others.

Notwithstanding the expansion of the system and the consolidation of the curriculum, the dual system still exists. Hidden (and not so hidden) practices continue to maintain the differential tracks within the secondary school system, creating compounding advantage for some and maintaining the obstacles to others.

ACCESS

In 2006 the secondary school track that a student participated in was still being determined by the Year 8 selection examination in exactly the same way that operated prior to 1995. Entry into the senior colleges is still rationed as the result of the Year 8 selection examination.

The Year 8 examination meets the narrowest definition of equity in that there is no barrier to any Year 8 student entering the examination. However, while there is equitable entry into the examination the outcomes of the examination for some groups are more advantageous than for others.

The ultimate purpose for the Year 8 examination is to rank the students for selection into the senior colleges. The top performing students are still selected into Samoa College. However, the performance of students in the examinations is not random but is the result of certain factors that need to be noted by policy makers.

Gender

Gender is the most important single factor in determining the chance of success, with girls as a group consistently outperforming boys in the Year 8 examination. Table 7.4 shows that, as a group, they consistently have higher mean scores and a lower standard deviation with higher low scores but lower high scores than boys. Some boys do perform well but as a group they have lower mean scores, lower medians but a wider standard deviation.

As a result, although the highest performing boys do get selected, girls constitute a consistently higher proportion of students selected for entry into Samoa College.

Location

The data presented in Table 7.2 shows that selections since 1994 have been increasingly dominated by entrants from Upolu while Savai'i-based selections have reduced by half. The proportion of selections from rural Upolu shows variations around a slight rising trend but the growth of the proportion of selections from urban areas on Upolu has shown a strong upward trend in the period 1999-2009. Perhaps most startling is the emergence of the private primary schools as a significant source of selections for Samoa College. The private primary schools show the greatest increase in the proportion of selections into Samoa College growing from zero percent in 1994 to 28.57 percent in 2009. Prior to 1994 there were no private primary schools but in 2008 they entered 604 students into the Year 8 selection examination. All of the schools are based in the Urban Apia area. All the schools are fee-paying and consequently attract the children of the urban, professional, middle class Samoan and expatriate families. The growth of the proportion of the private school selections has been at the expense of government school or mission school selections (Figure 7.1).

The increasing dominance of urban-based selections needs to be noted by policymakers. It suggests that there should be a review of the examination instruments and process. Upolu has always had a higher proportion of selections than Savai'i, however the difference has increased from 33.76 percent to a difference of 69.84 percent. Urban-based selections only accounted for 55.41 percent of selections in 1994 but they accounted for 69.84 percent by 2009 (Table7). This, in addition to the rapid increase in the proportion of selections from private schools with students from urban, professional, middle-class Samoan and expatriate families, suggests that the influence of the kinds of cultural capital that Bourdieu identified within the examination process is delivering advantage to the urban students of both genders.

Socio-economic status

The data from the socio-economic survey of the students identified factors linked to examination performance. The most important was wealth while the language of expression was also a relatively important factor. Whether the mother had paid employment or not was also a relatively significant factor. This last factor is an indicator that the family is integrated into the urban cash economy.

The conjunction of urban location, wealth and language as factors that are increasingly dominating selections from a nationally contested examination ought to cause the policy-makers to reflect on how to shape the future.

TREATMENT

Treatment of students once they are selected to enter either the senior colleges or the district secondary schools also remains inequitable.

Equitable access to educational experiences of a similar quality to those experienced in the senior colleges by students in district secondary schools is difficult. Access to quality educational experiences by students is a function of the ability of the schools to provide a similar range of experiences supported by sufficient materials of acceptable quality and guided by teacher of similar quality and experience. It is difficult to measure the quality of education but funding systems are a proxy measure. Operational funding supports the on-going supply of materials and equipment while teacher salaries are one measure of the qualification and experience levels of the school staff. The reform plan included the goal of improving the equity of access to educational experiences of similar quality. However, the evidence in Chapters 6 and 7 shows that the same patterns of funding that existed in 1995 were still in existence in 2006. Senior colleges still existed and were still fully and advantageously funded by government while the district secondary schools still received little or no operational funding from the government. The massive differential in funding between Samoa College and the district secondary schools is shown in Table 7.17.

Because district secondary schools need to raise their operational funds through fees there are variations in the funding that the district secondary schools receive. Table 7.16 shows the fees charged by the sample schools. The three district secondary schools charge different fees. The school that charges the highest fees is located within the Apia peri-urban area where incomes are higher while the most distant, rural school charges the least. This difference is due to variations in community capacity to pay. However, there has been no attempt by government to institute any system that provides differential funding to compensate for the lack of community funds. In fact, because the government does provide the salary budget for the schools and because the schools nearer Apia have better qualified, more experienced staff with higher salaries, the result is to exacerbate the funding differential. Table 17 shows the break down of funding by fees and salary and operating costs. A comparison between the pattern of 1999 funding, shown in Table 7.18, with the pattern of funding for 2006, shown in Table 17, reveals the continuing concentration of resources on the already advantaged and the absence of funding support to compensate for poverty and disadvantage.

All schools manage to mount the core subjects of the secondary curriculum (Samoan, English, Mathematics, Science and Social Science) but most struggle to provide further options (e.g. Agricultural Science, Design & Technology, science specialities, computer studies) particularly at the Year 12 and 13 levels (Table 7.14). While some schools do manage to occasionally expand beyond 5 subjects at Year 12 level it is really only Samoa College and Avele College that consistently offer more (Table 15).

OUTCOMES

The examination outcomes at the Year 12 level follow similar patterns to those at the Year 8 level. Gender remains the most important factor (Table 7.23) with females continuing to outperform males as a group (Table 7.19). Location in a senior college or in an urban school is the most important locational factor. The urban location factor has increased in importance, showing the greatest change of all factors between 2002 and 2008 (Table 7.24).

In response to the questionnaire, the school principals of the sample schools were unanimous that an acceptable outcome of secondary education was the chance for students to continue their studies at tertiary institutions. However, the Year 12 data shows that success in the Year 12 examination is becoming more and more linked to the urban location and the family background and experience. The rural students may be taking the opportunity to participate more in the system than they did in the past but are still unable to penetrate into the upper levels of performance achieved by students who have come from groups that have greater access to the advantaged track.

The restructured secondary school system has yet to deliver an education system that is characterised by equity. Undeniable progress has been made but the inequitable selection system is further compounded by the inequitable resourcing systems which still restrict the opportunity of the rural district students to achieve equitable outcomes for themselves. The analysis of Year 12 data from all schools shows that the district secondary schools are struggling to provide the curriculum opportunities that should be available and the quality of instruction that would lift the performance of their students. The examination performance of the district students still languishes behind those of the senior colleges.

8.3 Summary of the trends in achievement at Year 8 and Year 12

The results in Chapters 6 and 7 show that the education system has undergone substantial growth at both the Year 8 and Year 12 levels. The growth of participation in the secondary school system is particularly evident. The surge in growth quite clearly followed the

implementation of the 1995-2005 reform programme. The increase of participation at the Year 12 level was rapid and nation-wide. It was a reform that was overdue and eagerly anticipated. The development of the Year 13 level of the secondary system has been slower, largely due to the considerable investment that has to be made to upgrade the facilities, equipment and teachers so that specialist courses can be offered to an acceptable standard.

Notwithstanding the significant expansion of the system the overall aim was to ensure equity of outcomes. Focusing on the patterns and structure of achievement brings a different perspective to considering the achievement of the aim. It shows that while expansion has taken place the system still advantages some groups more than others. Underlying patterns have remained unchanged. Where change has occurred it has been marginal. The pattern and structure of advantage that prevailed in 1994 showed that Year 8 examination performance by students who attended urban-based government schools and the mission schools was better than that of other schools. That pattern persists. The majority of selections into Samoa College were from urban dwellers attending the central government schools. The implementation of the 1995-2005 plan brought an initial period of change. Table 7.2 shows a drop in urban-based selections from 55.4 percent in 1994 to 49.65 in 2003 but steady increase since then to 69.84 percent in 2009. The closure of Leifiifi Intermediate, in an attempt to reduce the central dominance, had little effect due to the expansion of other urban-based schools and this, combined with the emergence of urban-based private schools, ensured a rising trend in urban-based performance. The patterns of advantage and high achievement continue to favour the urban-based, urban-employed, English-competent families.

Similarly the huge expansion of the secondary system is gratifying and the increase in participation in the Year 12 examination by students in the district secondary schools shows a rising level of accomplishment. But the highest achievements in Year 12 along with the benefits still accrue to those students who are in the urban senior colleges.

The system has expanded but the system appears to have remained the same.

8.4 Assessment of the programme of reform-inclusions, exclusions and results

The programme of reform aimed at the expansion of the system, equitable access to a wider range of quality education experiences and to increase the chance for students to progress through the system unconstrained by issues of location, gender or socio-economic status. Choices were made regarding those actions that would be part of the programme and those

that would not. The options that were included have brought change and benefit. Unfortunately, key actions that could have changed the underlying structures and patterns such as changes in selection, assessment, and school resourcing were not actioned (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1: Summary Evaluation of the Effect of the 1995-2005 Reform Programme.

1995-2005 Policy Statements[4]	1995-2005 Programme Actions [5]	Changes that were not made	Result
Access			
Structures which enable equitable access through the secondary system to all students so that no student enters a course of study which has been defined as terminal	• Dual-stream curriculum replaced by single-stream curriculum • All single-stream curriculum subject statements cover Years 9-13 • Junior Secondary School Certificate discontinued • All district secondary schools permitted to provide Year 12 programmes • Progressive expansion of district schools to Year 13 programmes.	• Dual track secondary system continued unchanged • School funding system unchanged with preference for senior secondary schools • Year 8 selection system unchanged	• Expansion of the secondary school curriculum • Removal of regulations restricting curriculum delivery by district secondary schools • Expansion of participation in district secondary schools • Increased enrolments in Year 12 and 13. • Increased curriculum offerings in all secondary schools
Access to a comprehensive range of educational experiences which will enable students to make informed choices about their future	• Curriculum expanded with the inclusion of a range of new subject areas • Curriculum formulated to support active learning • Materials developed and supplied • Equipment procured and supplied to programme schools • Infrastructure upgrades to some district secondary schools	• Changes in curriculum and regulations have not been supported by the consequential changes in school operational funding and teacher supply	• Increased curriculum offerings in all secondary schools • Specialist infrastructure available at some schools • Restricted operational funding for replacement of consumables at district schools • Specialist teachers in short supply at district schools • Rural district schools struggle to provide subject choices • Students at district secondary schools do not have equal access to similar educational experiences as the senior colleges

[4] Source: Western Samoa Education Policies 1995-2005

[5] Source: Samoa Education Support Project Final Report; Samoa Secondary Education Curriculum and Resources Project Final Report; Ministry of Education Statistical Digests

1995-2005 Policy Statements	1995-2005 Programme Actions	Changes that were not made	Result
Treatment			
A comprehensive and enriching programme which provides opportunities and challenges for students of varying interests and abilities, and allows for individual differences	• Curriculum reform to provide a wider curriculum and new active learning approaches. • New materials developed and supplied to schools • New equipment supplied to some district secondary schools	• There was no comprehensive reform of school funding or school staffing to ensure fair capability for all schools to provide similar quality programmes	• Students at district secondary schools still do not have equal access to similar educational experiences as the senior colleges
The opportunity for all students to achieve educational potential regardless of socio-economic status, gender, geographical location or previous educational experiences	• Improved teaching materials in all primary schools • Primary teacher in-service programme to improve teaching and learning quality • Equipment procured and supplied to some schools • Infrastructure upgrades to some district secondary schools • Progressive approval for district schools to provide Year 13	• No change to Year 8 examination • Selection still exists • Preferential school funding systems still exist • No change to district secondary school funding arrangements.	• Opportunities for secondary school education increased but the patterns of success and selection in the Year 8 examination remained unchanged and unchallenged. • The trends for certain socio-economic groups to dominate the most advantageous pathways became more pronounced than ever. • Year 8 and Year 12 examination outcomes still show variations based on geographical location, socio-economic background
Adequate instructional time and effective instruction by well qualified and trained teachers across all subject areas and at all levels of the system.	• Expansion and coordination of in-service teacher training in support of the introduction of new curricula • In-service training of new approaches to teaching and learning	• Reform and upgrading of pre-service teacher training incomplete and still inadequate to meet demand • Teacher appointment and deployment processes still unable to meet demand of district secondary schools for adequate supply of skilled and qualified teachers	• Students at rural district secondary schools are instructed by less well qualified teachers than their counterparts at the senior colleges and peri-urban district secondary schools.

1995-2005 Policy Statements	**1995-2005 Programme Actions**	**Changes that were not made**	**Result**
Outcome			
Assessment and evaluation policies, procedures and practices for both school-based internal assessment and external examinations, which are perceived as fair and objective measures of achievement, and which reflect the principles and purposes of the curriculum;	• Discontinuation of Junior Secondary School Certificate • Introduction of school-based internal assessment systems • Some in-servicing of use of formative and diagnostic testing. • Reform of examination prescriptions to align with the new curricula	• No change to Year 8 selection examination format or operations. • Year 8 assessment still in English • Selection still remains in place • No change to national certification regulations to increase flexibility of credit accumulation.	• Rural students disadvantaged by language, educational quality, dissimilar cultural capital compared to urban candidates. • Because of staffing constraints resulting in uncertain numbers and quality at rural district secondary schools students not necessarily able to achieve senior certification because of inflexible regulations

The programme of reforms resulted in beneficial changes but did not bring about the transformation of the patterns and structure of inequity because of the actions that were not taken. The key system-changing reforms that were not made include:

- No change to Year 8 examination format or processes
- Continuation of selection
- Continuation of preferential school funding systems
- Upgrading of infrastructure at some schools but no comprehensive reform of school funding to provide operational resourcing that compensated for disadvantage
- Incomplete reform of pre-service and in-service upgrading programmes
- Teacher appointment and deployment processes still unable to meet demand of district secondary schools for adequate supply of skilled and qualified teachers

These practices are the core instruments that maintain the inequities within the education system and remained substantially unchanged and unchallenged at the end of the 1995-2005 programme. In spite of the expansion of the secondary school system, the increasing proportion of enrolments at district secondary schools, the expansion of the curriculum and

the approval of district schools to present candidates in Year 12 examinations the systems that maintain the advantages of the senior colleges have continued without change.

CHAPTER 9: CRITICAL EVALUATION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout the period of the 1980s and early 1990s pressure had been rising to make significant changes to the Samoan education system, particularly in respect to access, treatment and outcomes in the secondary school levels. It was widely acknowledged that there were systemic inequities that prevented some students from having fair participation in the system. One model of radical reform had been proposed in the 1980s and partly implemented but was abandoned as a result of social and political pressures. A second, less radical, model that was intended to remove the systemic obstacles and more fairly distribute opportunity was developed in the early 1990s as a result of wide discussion and consultation. It was implemented in the period 1995-2005.

The stated intent of the 1995-2005 reforms was to develop an education system 'characterised by equity, quality, relevancy and efficiency'. The equity policy stated that:

> The concept of equity requires that the system will treat all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity. Policies which advantage some social groups and disadvantage others will be avoided, while those which address existing inequalities in access, treatment and outcome will be promoted (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.9).

This chapter provides a critical evaluation, utilising Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and the findings described in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, of the success or otherwise of the education reforms in achieving the goal of a system characterised by equity. The resulting transformation or maintenance of the patterns of advantage and disadvantage in the field of education in Samoa are critically evaluated and underlying causations discussed.

9.2 CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Equity is about fairness and the removal of obstacles to participation and progress and unequal groups being treated in unequal ways to mitigate disadvantage. However, societies are never ideal and are organised in a variety of ways. It would be ideal that the there should be positive support for the least advantaged. However, at a minimum, a society aiming to be more equitable should ensure that the conditions that govern access and achievement in any

system should be known and understood by all participants and that there are mechanisms that give all equal opportunity to access a merit-based system.

Bourdieu held that the injustice of allowing certain people to succeed based not upon merit but upon their access to cultural capital of experiences, social ties and economic resources that others do not have should not occur (Wacquant, 1998). Samoan societal practice points to a shared belief that ability and hard work should be rewarded. There is also a shared belief that social good should be shared. An equitable education system within these parameters would have aspects that were meritocratic and rewarded achievement. It would also remove unfair barriers to achievement. The 1995-2005 policy claimed to be an attempt to achieve this balance.

The 1995-2005 programme did bring change to the secondary school system. The system has expanded; more students are staying at school longer and are having the opportunity to learn more than in the past. These are undeniable benefits. But the evidence shows that the patterns of access, treatment and outcomes have remained essentially undisturbed by the 1995-2005 reform programme. In fact, in many ways they are becoming more pronounced than in the past with participation in the most advantaged path of the secondary system becoming more dominated by students from urban, wealthy backgrounds. This critical analysis seeks the underlying reasons for the maintenance of the structures of advantage.

9.3 HAS EQUITY BEEN ACHIEVED?

The achievement of the 1995-2005 programme is the removal of several key regulatory obstacles that restricted the potential participation and progress of many students and created a regulatory environment that allows all students to progress as far they can. In this sense, all students are treated equally at the regulatory level. But that does not mean that students are treated equitably.

Equity is about fairness. Clark (2006) holds that fairness is achieved when all members of the same group have the same access to social good. When they do not, the social relations need to be readjusted so that the greatest assistance is given to the least advantaged to support their access to that social good (Rawls, 1999). One of the most commonly stated axioms in Samoa is that “all Samoans should be treated the same”. This would seem to favour the idea that arrangements in the education system should, at a minimum, treat all equally and possibly compensate the disadvantaged for their disadvantage. However, the evidence

available after the 1995-2006 programme shows that access is still rationed in ways that advantage some groups over others, that groups are treated differently and that the pattern of outcomes remain unchanged.

Samoan culture is built around cooperation and sharing but it also includes a strong element of competition and meritocracy (Ma'ia'i, 1957; Periera, 2006; Va'ai 1999). The different treatment could be rationalised as equity if Samoan society actually perceives that there are in fact two groups of secondary school students in Samoa, not one, and that while each group has different benefits nonetheless each group is treated fairly. One group would be made up of those students that gain the highest grades in the Year 8 examination and are selected for the senior colleges and as a result enter into a group of all similar students. As members of that group they have the right to the same levels of generous assistance and access to the most privileged opportunities in the society. The students that do not achieve the selection ranking then become members of a different group that does not have the same rights as the first group. Nonetheless within the group they have equal rights to a lesser quality of education with a lower set of expectations and goals.

The different treatment may also be justified on functionalist grounds that the inequity was an acceptable facilitation of a meritocratic social stratification (Burbules, et al., 1982; Mill, 1863; Durkheim, 1895).

In either case, if the arrangement was to be considered as fair then it would be imperative that the selection process was fair and allowed students equal opportunity to demonstrate their capabilities and achieve an appropriate place in the selection ranking. The evidence suggests that this is currently not the case. The evidence shows that it is becoming progressively harder for rural students to achieve the selection ranking in a system that is dominated by their urban, wealthier colleagues.

Similarly, if Samoans do support egalitarian notions that all students in Samoa are actually part of a single group then continuing the current arrangements is very inequitable because, in spite of all the changes that have been made, the least advantaged are still the most disadvantaged.

9.4 WHY HAVE THE PATTERNS AND STRUCTURES OF INEQUITY REMAINED UNCHANGED?

We need to explain why the pattern and structure remain unchanged. This can be done by using the concept of field. In Bourdieu's terms a field is a space of social positions that is structured in terms of power relationships. It is an area of social struggle where different groups attempt to structure the field to their advantage. Groups that have similar life experiences and similar levels of cultural capital share similar understandings, beliefs and frames of reference, all of which constitute a shared habitus and, as a result, similar field dispositions (Mills and Gale 2007). The interaction between habitus and field is facilitated through field dispositions. The shared habitus of the dominant dispositions defines the terms of what is acceptable within the field. The field is the result of the action of the agents but the field also influences the agents changing their perceptions of what is needed to gain and preserve dominance and thereby modifying their habitus and practice. This two way loop reinforces the rightness of the dominant habitus.

A field is also three dimensional in that it is structured by accumulated history (Bourdieu, 1983). It is the accumulation of cultural capital over time by dominant groups resulting in the emergence and reinforcement of dominant dispositions that shape field practice. As a consequence the educational history of Samoa is etched in the structures of the Samoa education field and the habitus of the various social groups is shown in the field dispositions. The dominant dispositions are held by the groups that have accumulated cultural capital and power through cultural precedence, colonisation, urbanisation and incomes derived from government or business. The field has been structured through this combination and perpetuated through the acceptance of the underlying structuring of equity and of the belief in the trustworthiness of the systems of selection for advancement that are perceived to be meritocratic and fair.

Inequities in the social environment remain because the patterns of behaviour and the preferences and advantages are accepted as normal (Bourdieu, 1977). It is the way of thinking - the habitus that generates the limits to the options for change (Codd, 1990). Solutions that are too abnormal are rejected. Solutions that are more congruent with what is accepted as normal are accepted. The 1980s proposals were uncomfortable (Coxon, 1996; Questionnaire responses Chapter 6). The 1990s proposals were more acceptable to the community. The

results are mixed. This is likely to remain as long as there is reluctance to readjust the social relations so that the greatest assistance is given to the least advantaged.

The evidence presented does suggest that the systems remain unchanged because of the accepted 'rightness' of the arrangements. A Bourdieuian analysis points to the influence of underlying mindsets; the habitus of the field and the unchallenged acceptance of certain structures as normal which then constrain the processes of change. Bourdieu (1977) holds that the analysis of repeated practice can reveal the underlying habitus. The decision to undo the reform of the 1980s and to adopt the more familiar pattern of the 1990s shows that people found it hard to conceive of any other way to configure the system.

9.4.1 Habitus, structures and repetitive practice

Analysis of the evidence from the history of the education system (Chapter 5) shows that the system is organised around central divisions and bifurcations established at the very beginning of its development which, when tracked, show a compounding effect that constantly reinforces the educational duopoly.

The history of the development of the education system shows several key points in the development of the formal education system where the structure and symbolic system of the education field were formulated.

The first was the introduction of formal institutionally-based education in Samoa by the missionaries. This phase normalised the view that education took place in a school and was accompanied by characteristic instructional technologies and assessment procedures. It also normalised the idea of a mixed system that delivered introductory and basic education through the Pastor's schools with more advanced study being delivered at a small number of specialist locations, governed by national rather than village bodies. This set an enduring pattern.

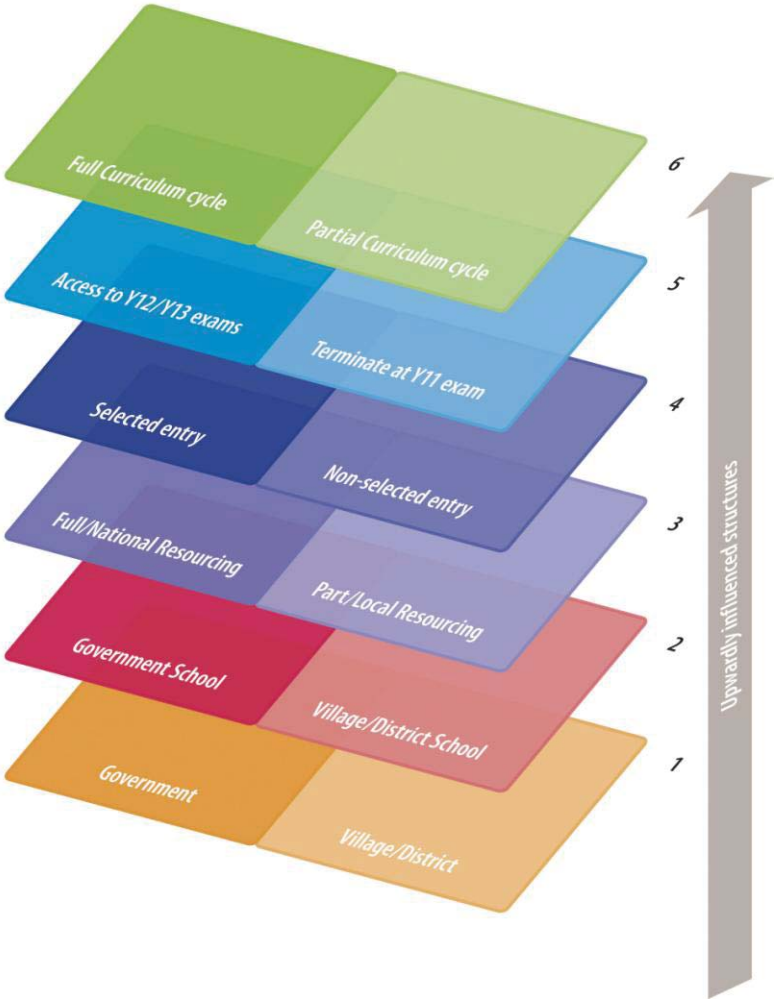
The second phase was the establishment of government schools. Historically, the government school system was begun with the establishment of government-owned and operated schools located on government land at the Malifa compound (Coxon, 1996; Ma'ia'i, 1957). There were practical and cultural reasons for this. It removed the government-operated schools from the connection to any particular religious or matai grouping and provided the schools with a national status. Consequently, the fundamental division in the education system lies between those parts of the system that operate under village or district control on village land and

those that are operated by the government on alienated or government land (So'o, 2002). The schools on government land were financed from the government budget and had the focus of providing education to prepare students for public service occupations (Coxon, 1996; Ma'ia'i, 1957). The progressive establishment of non-church, village primary schools that were part of the government school system extended the government system across the nation but created two categories of school within the overall education system - those schools that were government operated and funded and those schools that were offering the government curriculum but which were managed and funded by the village community and which did not receive government operating funds. This fundamental framework of two categories of schools, one with national purpose, prestige, government management and government financing and a second tier of local district school, which may be appreciated socially but which is less well supported in almost every other sense, constituted the basis for all future developments of the government schooling system.

The third phase occurred with the initiation of the Junior Secondary Schools as district-based schools that were locally funded and intended to be locally-relevant. They provided a lower quality education than was provided by the senior colleges but were distributed across the whole country. It has to be noted that while the communities valued having a local school for their children to attend and while they valued the fact that it was part of their community, the curriculum and quality were seen as being second rate and the community wanted parity in the quality and status of the schools (Chapter 5.4.1).

These development phases provided the basic structure to the education system that has proven resistant to change. All subsequent administration, management and policy developments compounded and reinforced the structure resulting in a multilayered system that was replicated in the fundamental duality of the government secondary school system. If each of the operational characteristics of the system are mapped on flat plane representations of the field of education the prevailing duopoly within the government school system can be seen as the progressive overlay of repetitive reinforcement of all practice around the core division of government schools imbued with national significance and purpose being financed by the government and village or district based schools as the other lesser option (Figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1: Multi-Layered Structure of the Education System



The first layer is the fundamental divide between the domain of government operation and that of the village governance systems. This then provided the basis for the division of government funded and operated schools and the village and district schools. That then provided the basis for the government schools to be fully funded by government while the village and district schools were not. The fact that the government schools were fully funded and operated by the government as lead schools of national purpose provided the basis for the duality to be manifest in the selection process which then led to access to higher level opportunity in Years 12 and 13 exams which also required access to the full curriculum.

The expansion of the district-based track of education is a very worthy step in the development but to date it has not changed the fundamental underlying arrangements that structure advantage and guide the system's development.

When the radical change proposal of the mid-1980s was implemented it was resisted, partly by the inertia of the multi-level stack of arrangements that is the education system. While there was pressure for change there was the countervailing force of the underlying structures, and the inability to change the habitus of the community resulted in the rejection of the radical option.

9.4.2 Habitus and resourcing system

The habitus of the period may have also restricted the ability to re-conceptualise and implement school resourcing systems which would deliver the capacity for schools to be able to provide:

> a comprehensive and enriching programme which provides opportunities and challenges for students of varying interests and abilities, and allows for individual differences;
>
> the opportunity for all students to achieve educational potential regardless of socio-economic status, gender, geographical location or previous educational experiences (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.11).

The questionnaires to the Ministry of Education managers and school principals contained a number of questions aimed at exploring the opinions and positions related to school resourcing. The responses showed that there was little support for different, more compensatory, patterns of distribution of opportunity or resources.

All respondents understood that the term 'equity of outcomes' referred to the equitable distribution of the outcomes of education and all of them held that students should have the same opportunity to attend school. The respondents also understood that students came from different backgrounds and that they had different advantages in the system. Three of the sample school principals (P1,P2 and P3) and AD/1 were quite clear about the advantages that come from village social hierarchies, urban living and wealth on the opportunities that children had. All respondents also rejected the idea that the community benefits from having a few schools teach the best students with the best teachers. However, as detailed in Chapter 6, 50 percent of the school principals and one of the Ministry managers still supported the idea of selection for the most able students.

All respondents thought that the government should provide funding to both the senior colleges and the district secondary schools but they were split on the idea that schools should

get the same funding. Most of the sample school principals supported the idea of all students receiving the same level of funding. However, the majority of the respondents also rejected the idea that disadvantaged students and schools in disadvantaged areas should get more funding and resources than other schools. Only one respondent, a rural school principal, held that the government should spend more on educating the poor than the wealthy.

This series of opinions seem to be contradictory at various points but are actually consistent with the underlying habitus of the field. All students should receive the same opportunities to participate in education because all Samoans should be treated the same. All students should receive the same level of government funding because all Samoans should be treated the same. But schools cannot be funded in the same way because there are different categories of schools. This further demonstrates the way the fundamental divisions of Figure 9.1 continue to influence practice.

Even though the principals held these views privately, they believed that the greatest obstacle to implementing any change was that the public would not accept different treatment for different groups of students.

As a result, any action to fund the district secondary schools at the same level or more generously than the senior colleges, as noted in Chapter 6, was likely to be resisted. As a result the implementation of compensatory funding systems was not considered by the government.

9.4.3. Habitus and the symbolism of the system

Ministry of Education managers, responding to interview questions, stated that the equity proposal of the mid-1980s collapsed because it was hurriedly developed by a small group with little community consultation. This was compounded when the implementation was poorly handled at a time of social and political instability. But even if it had been proposed in a stable period it is likely to have been resisted because it was seen to be challenging the normal social arrangements which the community believed held the possibility of all students having the chance to achieve success (Pereira, 2006).

The proposal called for a massive reorganisation of schooling. However, such a proposal changes not only the organisational structure of the school system but also one of the key structuring devices in the society as a whole. It proposed a change to the symbolic system that signalled key transition points in the lives of individuals and their families. The proposal would have also overturned the symbolic system that signalled value and meaning within those

transition points. In Samoa, the proposal was under discussion at a time of significant social and political change and instability. As a result there were street protests against it (Chapter 5.4.1) but such a proposal is likely to have faced opposition at any time in most societies.

To understand the issues related to the impact of habitus on change, the period of 1985-1990 needs to be understood not just as a technical discussion about the efficiency of the education system. It has to also be understood as a contest over the symbolic meaning of the system. The structure of the education system and its operational mechanisms is a symbolic system that creates meaning and value in society. Changing it would have changed those relationships.

> Symbolic systems work well as instruments of domination because they are capable of structuring and are themselves structured and thus show the particular power of processes of symbolic construction and symbolic communication in maintaining the systems of social domination (Jain, 2006, p.116).

As a result, it is hard to conceptualise new arrangements (Codd, 1990).

There is no way of knowing the effectiveness of the proposed mid-1980s restructure because it was rapidly rejected. It may have resulted in more equitable outcomes of education than the system it would have replaced. It may have resulted in a more equitable system than the 1995-2005 restructure but there is no way of knowing. However, the Samoa school system is a symbolic structure of underlying meaning and value that interacts with the recognisable surface structures. The symbolic meanings of the structure are key elements in the resistance to radical change. Any reform proposal that changes access and value within the schooling system changes the structure and meaning of the schooling system and as a result is likely to be disturbing to many people.

Both the radical proposal of the mid-1980s for reforming the secondary school system and the more moderate proposal of the 1990s had the potential to change the symbolism of value. The proposal of the mid-1980s would have changed it in a much more profound way than the 1995-2005 proposals. It would have reduced the possibility of attending senior college, appeared to force participation in the lower value junior secondary school education programme and devalued the symbolic value of selection through public competition. It therefore elicited significant resistance from various interest groups. Figure 9.2 shows a

comparison of the impact of the two models on the symbolic value system of the secondary school system.

Figure 9.2: Comparison of the impact of the reform models on the symbolic system

Symbolic Restructure 1: mid-1980s radical option

- Remove the Year 8 selection point and as a consequence remove the value and meaning of selection at that point in a child's life.
- Remove the opportunity for differential resourcing during the life cycle of most students
- Remove the differential quality of the educational experience during the educational life cycle of most students
- Change the value and meaning of secondary education by creating a single universal experience for all students during the educational life cycle of most students
- Mitigate the preferential treatment of some by moving the selection point to the Year 12 examination thereby giving the majority an equal opportunity throughout the educational life cycle of most students

Symbolic Restructure 2: 1994 moderate option

- Maintain the organisational structure
- Maintain the Year 8 selection examination and therefore maintain the meaning and value of that selection point
- Maintain the current meaning of the secondary school system by maintaining the two tracks
- Reduce the value of the Year 8 selection point by opening up access to the Year 12 & 13 examinations and hold out the hope to the district students that they will achieve this
- Mitigate the resource differentials by providing improved infrastructure and improved quality of teachers but de-power the initiative by maintaining funding differentials

The two tracks within the structure have different values and meanings. The senior track, which is the track of greatest advantage, is seen throughout the community as the most desirable track. The significance of this track is the compounded result of a history of significance and advantage. The senior colleges were established before the district secondary schools. They had the purpose of selecting the most able students and preparing them for positions of significance in the society. The alumni of these schools hold powerful positions in all aspects of the society. They are schools of national significance in that they may attract and select students from all parts of the country. They have access to national and international resources. And access to the government senior colleges is restricted so that entry is only through public success in a national examination. The names of the eligible candidates are published in the newspaper. As a consequence the selection point, the Year 8 national examination, is a highly significant point. It is a high stakes point and has symbolic meaning to the community because of the gatekeeper role in providing access to the preferential track. It is also a significant point of separation in the society into the two tracks of the advantaged and those less fortunate. Success in the examination is, therefore, a powerful signal of validation for the individual and their family.

The valueing of Year 8 examination success is evident in community behaviour and is portrayed clearly by Pereira (2006). She points out that while it can be argued that the Year 8 examination in Samoa serves a selection function, that is a technical solution to inequitable secondary school options. She holds that the examination also continues because it, and the selection process, is supported by the community. It is part of the accepted educational culture and she contends it fits with Samoan cultural practice. She argues that while structural elements of the formal educational system reflect Western origins, formal education has been co-opted, and reshaped, to ensure consistency with local cultural perspectives and practices. As evidence, she cites the fact that exams are not only an important part of the formal schooling but are also part of other educational activities such as the after-school, church-based Pastor's Schools that still exist in many villages, where children of all ages sit formal examinations, are ranked and where top students gain prizes. She argues that classroom observation shows that the examination and ranking culture has been adopted into ordinary classroom practice with seating arrangements being determined by test performance rank. Top achievers are seated near the front where formal instruction takes place. Low ranked students are located at the rear. Further, she argues that such practices are accepted and perpetuated because they have a 'cultural fit' or acceptability with the Samoan culture and as a result removal of the examination and selection processes would prove difficult.

The examination/selection culture has been a dominating and accepted condition in the education system throughout its history. Barrington (1968) records that both the New Zealand administration and later United Nations' mission reports noted the existence of exams/tests through government and mission primary schools and reported strong resistance to change. The implementation of the 1984 secondary school reforms abandoned the need for the Year 8 selection examination. The examination was not offered in 1988 but public pressure resulted in it being reinstatement in 1989 (Moli 1993; Sooaemalelagi 2000).

Parents see the Year 8 examination as a critical point for academic success that opens a future of well-paid employment in Apia and, for some, efforts to remove the exam, spend more time teaching in Samoan, and introduce a more 'relevant' curriculum (i.e. a curriculum that supported rural students towards a productive village life) smelt of ulterior motives. Specifically, they believed that such moves would lead to the subjugation of rural poor and entrenchment of the already advantaged position of the wealthy and powerful (Pereira, 2006).

The Western Samoa Education Policies 1995-2005 indicated that the examination would only last during the short-to-medium term but conversations that this researcher had in August 2009 with many officials from the Ministry of Education revealed a consensus that while some of the purposes of the examination would change and while other forms of assessment may be deployed in the future, the examination would remain for some time yet.

The underlying problem with the selection system is that it may treat students equally from a regulatory perspective but it is inherently inequitable. All the children compete as equals within an open system. However, the end result is that the rural students are disadvantaged in comparison to the students from urban, wealthier, English-speaking backgrounds. These already advantaged students are then further advantaged in the system. However, the wider community still trusts the arrangement and hopes that one of their children will succeed and benefit from this system. What is actually happening is different from what people think is happening. Pereira (2006) shows that the community generally believe that the Year 8 examination is fair but the evidence from this study in Tables 7.2, 7.6 and 7.7 shows that the students who do achieve the selection standard for Samoa College are more likely to come from an urban, wealthier, English-speaking background and progressively more are coming from the private primary schools. The open, competitive Year 8 selection system is not delivering a fair outcome for students from other groups that do not have the same cultural capital as the urban students. Although this is known by policy-makers, the selection process had not been reformed by 2006. Far from being a meritocracy the system is a socio-economic class-based, urban-centred geotocracy where the urban geographical location sets the acceptable standards and also creates the most advantageous pathways to achieving those standards. However, it continues to be supported by both the advantaged and disadvantaged.

Callewaert (1999) highlights the paradox:

> The mystery does not lie in the fact that the strong oppress the weak by violence. The more mysterious thing is how it comes about that it can be done without violence and with both parties consenting, how the real basis of the function of schooling - namely the distribution of worldly wealth and power, including its symbolic epiphenomena - came to become totally misrecognised …and everybody recognising that knowledge and culture are gained through intelligence and work, not through wealth and power. Bourdieu's main interest is how this social magic works (p.139).

9.4.4 Habitus and the contest for the symbolic system

The shape and symbolism of the education system was contested by various interests

> Each field is a field of struggle and has, as the stakes, … the specific authority characteristic of the field under consideration (Jain, 2006, p.118) .
>
> The different fractions in society are engaged in a symbolic struggle aimed at imposing the definition of the social world that is best suited to their interests (Ibid., p.116).

The historical evidence and responses to interviews and questionnaires suggests the following groups:

Radical Reformers

The 1980s reforms were pressed by the Radical Reformers. This group were educational professionals who had been involved in teaching, managing schools and participating in the curriculum development programmes of the 1970s and early 1980s. They had been influenced by the discussions of curriculum relevance and curriculum localisation. As a result, they saw that the system was actively discriminating against certain groups and actively favouring the academic track while trapping other students in a second-rate lower-valued track. They perceived the dual track secondary system as a mechanism to divide society. They wanted to reform it to provide a unified experience for all children to participate in the same secondary school experiences for as long as possible and delay selection until the last possible moment.

This set of interests was able to gain traction through the Tupuola government of the time but lost the link to power when the government fell during the political instability of the mid-late 1980s. Interestingly, almost all of the school principals and Assistant Directors of the Ministry of Education made statements in the questionnaires and in conversation that showed that even in 2006, twenty years after the 1985 proposal, they felt that it would still be desirable to implement the changes that had been proposed. But all agreed that it would still not be accepted by the community.

Conservatives

The conservative bloc that resisted the changes of the 1980s was a combination of several interest groups. The first consisting of the past pupils of the senior colleges who resisted the changes proposed for the senior colleges in general and the closure of Avele College in particular. Many were powerful figures in politics, public service, business and community

groups. This group provided significant resistance to the radical reformist proposals in both public action and policy debates.

The second interest group was the school staff from Avele College whose employment and reputations were affected by the closure of the school. This group made common cause with other public servants disaffected by the government's public sector cutbacks and reform activities.

The third group was the hopeful families of future students. This was a wide sector of the community who hoped that their children would make it to the senior colleges and gain the prestige and advantage from that achievement. The proposal to change the system so that all children would go to their local district junior secondary school was unacceptable to this group because of the perceived loss of opportunity.

The accession to power of the HRPP government gave the conservatives the political assurance that the radical change agenda was not going to happen. The radical reforms were rolled back and the status quo was re-established.

Incrementalists

In the early stages of the HRPP government, while the government was trying to stabilise the social and economic unrest, the roll back of the reforms included not only the re-establishment of the senior colleges, the selection examinations and associated processes, but also additional national examinations at all secondary school year levels. This threatened to create an even more constricted system than had existed before the 1980s reforms. These actions attracted concern from interests that supported change and reform but did not favour the rapid implementation of radical reform.

The tensions between these pressure groups led to the formulation of an incrementalist model of change which proposed maintaining the dual track secondary system but at the same time implementing slow change that ultimately removed the differences between the dual tracks in the secondary school system. This doctrine provided the underpinning to the 1995-2005 programme.

The risk of incremental change is that the commitment to the objective of equity may not be able to be maintained over the long-term programme of incremental changes that would be necessary to meet that objective.

9.5 CHANGE – RECONFIGURING HABITUS

If the equity goal is to be achieved there needs to be a realisation that the actions taken so far are only a partial fix and as a result have delivered mixed results. Changes have been made and benefits have accrued but the central systems of inequity are still in place. Further change needs to take place. However, the change process needs to be based on an understanding of the relationship between the practice in the field and the underlying mindsets on symbolic systems. The technical changes that need to occur will only be able to proceed if issues of habitus are also taken into consideration.

An analysis based on Bourdieu's perspectives points to the relationship between practice in the social environment and the concepts, categories and schemas in the symbolic environment as an important underlying consideration in constraining the development of equity within the Samoa education system.

The structure that continues to guide the development of education within Samoa and preserve the systems of advantage is the dual track system of schooling. This is not a system that is isolated from other social and cultural perceptions within Samoa. It is accepted by many as normal because it is congruent with the accepted beliefs. As a result it continues to perpetuate itself.

However, Bourdieu (1998) contends that the field of power determining what happens in the social field is not immutable but that there is rather a mutual process of influence and on-going interaction where the field of power shapes what can happen in a social field and vice-versa which creates the understandings necessary to change the determining influences in the field. If a social field is not fixed, and it is possible to trace the history of its specific shape and its operation, then it is also possible to understand how change may happen within the field and the knowledge and actions needed to change it.

The more moderate reform programme over the period of 1995-2005 preserved the accepted arrangements but it also introduced compromise changes. These changes started to change the symbolic system but not enough; they started to change practice, but not enough; and they started to change the habitus, but not enough. They accentuated the value of urbanised cultural capital over that possessed by rural students. If the reform programme remains as it is at this point it will cement in a more subtly managed and insidious system of advantage and disadvantage than the pre-existing system. It will hold out hope yet deny it at the same time.

But the incrementalist approach could still maintain momentum for a restructuring of equity and through incremental changes within both the objective and symbolic ranges could continue to progressively shift mindsets and practice until the characteristics of a more equitable system emerge and are accepted as normal.

Even though the 1995-2005 reform programme has been completed the effects of the changes made are likely to continue. Enrolments in senior levels have increased at the district secondary schools and it is likely that students will stay in school longer than they did before the reforms. As teacher supply improves it is likely that more of the upper levels of the curriculum will be offered in those schools to a higher standard. This will increase the possibility of increased numbers of rural students completing the full secondary school cycle.

New reform and development programmes will be designed and implemented. However, any new programme aimed at further assistance to support the development of an education system characterised by equity needs to carefully consider the issues that have to date prevented the dissolution of the mindset underlying the system.

Change did not occur with the mid-1980s model because people chose not to make the change in the manner that was proposed. Human agency is the key to change. Bourdieu's insight suggests that people make judgements based on the schemas within their mind, the things that are considered normal or acceptable. In the case of Samoa, the proposal to restructure the education system to maximise equity was rejected because it was too radical. That does not make the decision the wrong one nor does it imply that the supporters of moderation were rejecting the idea that equity was a worthwhile goal. On the contrary, the need to make change was appreciated. While the policy options selected maintained the structure and preserved the symbolic meanings and values of the education system the policy did, however, try to mitigate the inequities in the system by making some changes to obvious obstacles – it created a single-stream curriculum, improved facilities and increased the supply of quality teachers. However, changes that were not made had the simultaneous effect of limiting the positive changes by continuing to maintain the symbolism of the disadvantaged track, by failing to give equal value to the cultural capital of the rural students and by failing to supply meaningful financial support to schools. In effect, the reform of the education system changed the system while at the same time maintaining the values, meanings and relationships of the system because they were normal and acceptable.

The reform programme was weakened by being based on the field *doxa* of the time which included assumptions such as the acceptance of the need for the dual track system and the merit of senior colleges. It also included the belief that the Year 8 examination process was equitable because it was available equally to all students. This was further supported by the belief that those who gained success deserved a more generous share of the available resources. That, therefore, justified the continued concentration of resources and rationing of access.

There was enough evidence that a steady trickle of students from the disadvantaged or rural communities achieved success to allow people to maintain hope. However, the evidence shows the increasing over-representation of children from urban, wealthy backgrounds in the highest levels of senior colleges. This trend needs to be tracked by the Ministry of Education and discussed with stakeholder groups.

The 1995-2005 policy framework was also weakened because it did not have a broad enough scope to adequately address the issues of equity in the system as a whole. Implementation of the policy was focused on the government school system. At the time the policy was developed, the school system was dominated by only two groups of schools – the government schools and the mission schools. Students most typically entered one system or the other and generally remained within that track. While the general policy statements are worded to be applicable across the whole of the schooling system in Samoa, in actual fact the activities to improve equity were only applied to the organisation of the government schooling system.

The intention of the reforms may have been to open up the government secondary school system to the less advantaged. However, because the social changes leading to the development of private primary schools servicing high-performing, urban, wealthy students was not anticipated, there were no policy initiatives to protect the interests of the disadvantaged within an open system. Consequently, there has been no mechanism to cope with the impact of the expansion of private primary schools servicing the urban, wealthy, professional families. The open system did not preserve the interests of the rural poor when the already advantaged urban students performed well in the Year 8 examination and then entered the privileged government senior secondary school track. The compensatory mechanism of upgrading the district secondary schools was only a partial solution and merely expanded the second class track so it could have more candidates.

The mixed success of the reforms reflects a very partial shift in the value of the district schools. There is an on-going attempt to improve the quality of the schools and to increase participation. But there is resistance to, or at least scepticism about, the idea that these schools could also serve the same functions as the senior colleges and provide graduates for the top levels of the society. As a result, there has been no real shift in the power relationships and in the mindsets that would see the district schools as peers of the senior colleges.

It was believed that the inequities of the junior secondary school structure could be solved by upgrading buildings, providing materials, and improving the supply of quality teachers. While it has been shown that this has had some effect and there has been an increase of curriculum opportunities, participation and improved success, these have been limited. The relative balance of opportunity and outcome has not changed. It has not changed because the system's structure and values have not changed. The system is still structured to provide advantage for some and the selection process associated with that system values the cultural capital of the urban, professional, English-capable society that is primarily located in Apia urban and the surrounding peri-urban districts of Vaimauga and Faleata.

9.5.1 Programme

It may be that discontinuing the selection process and closing the senior colleges are both impractical and socially and politically unacceptable. It may be that it will take some time to achieve an outcome where the current differences between the advantaged students and schools and the disadvantaged rural students and district schools are negligible, but if the goal is to be achieved there does need to be a serious and accelerated effort to support the disadvantaged groups.

The moderate, incrementalist approach may, in the end, be the only acceptable course of action but it needs to continue. Habitus does not stay static (Harker, 1990). It is in a dynamic relationship with practice and structure. It responds to changing events. The 1995-2005 reform package has made changes. They may not have been as radical as those proposed in the mid-1980s but they have been adopted and implemented. As a result the field positions and dispositions have changed. Most notable have been the changes in the relationship between the district secondary schools, national curriculum and student progress. Students in the district schools can progress to at least Year 12 in most schools and to Year 13 in an increasing number. They can gain recognised achievement in the Year 12 and Year 13 examinations. The possibility of further progress is now available. Even though the patterns of access, treatment

and outcome remain unchanged and still advantage some groups more than others there have been changes and these changes have now become the normal arrangements in the education system. Adjustments have been made in field practice and structure and, with the acceptance of the new normal, changes have occurred in the habitus of the educational field. The 1995-2005 reform programme has been an historic event (Ibid., p.100). This now provides a new basis for future reform.

If the goal of a system "characterised by equity" (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.9) is still considered to be important a programme of reforms needs to continue and it needs to increases the chance of real change by recognising the role of habitus and the symbolic and the social environments. New understandings need to be realised to create new doxa to underpin the education field. Possible doxa could include the ideas that:

- Success in the system does not only depend on individual effort, it also depends on the socio-economic group and location of the student.
- Advantageous cultural capital accrues from urban, wealthy lifestyles and disadvantages other groups.
- Rapid socio-economic differentiation is resulting in differentiated social classes.
- As a consequence the Year 8 selection examination is fundamentally inequitable – not all children have the same chances of success.
- The selection process that follows the examination cannot assume that the examination delivered a fair result.
- Equity of treatment does not mean continuing to provide advantage to the already advantaged. There needs to be a meaningful and preferential shift of operational funding and quality teacher resources to the disadvantaged.

As a result, such a programme would establish policies and practices that change arrangements to most advantage the disadvantaged groups. It would include the development and implementation of additional reforms in the education system but it would be accompanied by initiatives that allowed the hidden assumptions and issues to also be addressed and highlighted.

There needs to be an analysis of construction and operation of the Year 8 examination. Not only does the examination need to be bi-lingual, to give Samoan language students a more equal chance but the actual formulation of the assessment items needs to be analysed to

ensure that the rural students are not alienated from a paper that celebrates urban cultural knowledge.

While the dual-stream secondary school curriculum was restructured into a single-stream curriculum, there was no change to the dual-stream system of funding school operations. As a result of this study it is recommended that a single funding system needs to be developed that funds both senior colleges and district secondary schools in an equitable manner. It is recommended that the funding system be based on a single per-capita formula for all students, with additional funding components allocated to students in outlying and disadvantaged areas to compensate for isolation, poverty and the lack of educationally relevant social experiences. If the funding levels for the current senior colleges are not able to be reduced they could be capped and any new increases in resources within the education system could be directed to the district schools until such time as parity is achieved.

Modifications to the teacher deployment and promotion systems could also be considered to ensure an equitable distribution of quality teaching resources. District secondary schools could also receive a disproportionately larger allocation of professional development resources.

Serious consideration could be given to initiatives that protect the interests of disadvantaged groups. Affirmative action initiatives, such as senior college selection quotas for rural students who may have performed very well in comparison to their peers but who have been out ranked by the examination results of their urban counterparts, could also be considered.

It may be advantageous to the Ministry of Education to establish longitudinal studies and similar tracking studies to develop a base of knowledge that illustrates the consequences of the social environment and educational reforms.

Change management may be assisted by the research programme also including regular surveys of public attitudes to track any changes that may allow more progressive reforms in the future.

If there is a desire to maintain the momentum for change then the Ministry of Education and other social agencies could perhaps develop a programme of professional and community education based on the notions of social equity, the implications of current education arrangements, and possible future options.

Deming (1986) identified constancy of purpose by change agents as the most valuable attitude for continual improvement of products and service to society. However, constancy of purpose can only be maintained by a general agreement that equity is a worthwhile goal and that the particular actions or developments are steps in the process.

9.6 CONCLUSION

The attempts to create an education system "characterised by equity" (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995, p.9) can only be judged as being partially successful because certain underlying structures and practices continue to be maintained, thereby maintaining the pattern of inequity.

Rawls (1999) formulated principles of distribution that required just societies to arrange the social and economic inequities in the society "so that they are both to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged persons" (Ibid., p.65). This would mean that the students in rural primary and secondary schools would have more support than their peers in the central, urban schools. This has not happened. The students from the urban, professional or business, English-language competent families continue to attract greater support and to benefit from the arrangements.

Functional Structuralists would argue that it is acceptable for inequity in favour of the most capable individuals to exist within education systems as it is necessary to ensure that they fill the most functionally important positions and roles. But the difference in treatment should be the result of fair competition based on merit and talent rather than on class and other factors (Sadovnik, 2007). Unfortunately, the selection system within the Samoa education system is not meritocratic. It is a socio-economically based geotocracy.

However, even though the structures and practices are recognised by many in Samoa to be inequitable and pressure for change has existed since the 1970s, the attempts to change have been rejected, or at least blunted, by popular resistance from both the urban advantaged and the rural disadvantaged. This is perplexing because the result is to further embed the already existing patterns of advantage.

The observation that "the mystery does not lie in the fact that the strong oppress the weak by violence…the more mysterious thing is how it comes about that it can be done without violence and with both parties consenting" (Callewaert, 1999, p.139) is answered by Bourdieu's (1977) explanation that habitus and the symbolism of systems shapes what people

think of as normal and acceptable. Habitus is both the source of new perceptions and practice but at the same time prescribing limits to what is conceivable as new practice (Codd, 1990).

This study was guided by a few seemingly simple questions:

- What were the hoped-for goals and objectives of the stakeholders and beneficiaries?
- Why this particular menu of interventions and reforms and not a different selection?
- Why were some parts of the programme pursued vigorously while other parts were ignored or left incomplete?
- Was the system transformed or was it merely reproduced in a larger frame?

The result of the study brings some ambiguous answers. It can be concluded that the system was not transformed but was expanded and in that sense it was replicated in a larger frame. But the ambiguity lies in the answers to the other questions. A simple reading of the 1995-2005 equity policy (Western Samoa Department of Education, 1995) seems to outline an intention for transformation but the activity programme, while bringing extensive change to the secondary school system, did not seriously challenge the structure of inequity within the system. Certain possible changes that could have transformed the system were not included in the programme. This may have been because the possibilities were recognised but judged to be unacceptable or too radical and unsustainable or perhaps because they were not recognised at all. Habitus is both the source of new perceptions and practice but at the same time prescribes limits to what is conceivable as the new perceptions and practice (Codd, 1990).

CHAPTER 10: POSTSCRIPT: REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a reflection of the reasons for the study, the intention of the research and an evaluation of the approach and methodology. It also reflects on the wider significance of the study and indicates possible future areas of research in Samoa as well as in wider international settings, particularly in those developing countries that have implemented rapid expansion of their education systems over the last two decades.

10.2 REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

My career as an education development advisor means that I move into a development project in a country and implement a series of change activities over a relatively short period of time and then, when my tasks are complete, leave, sometimes never to return. As a result I do not often see the longer term impacts of the development work that I have been involved in. The intention of this research was to study a particular situation in some depth and to try to provide myself and my colleagues in Samoa with a coherent picture of the whole span of the reforms from the policy formulation to the completion of the implementation. I hoped that it might result in better informed change in Samoa while also impacting and improving my professional practice.

It has certainly enriched my professional practice and has increased the range of tools at my disposal to analyse education systems and identify issues fundamental to possible improvement.

This research was conducted through part-time study. This makes undertaking research difficult. My profession kept me out of New Zealand for significant periods of time. However, the continuing professional practice allowed me to test the Samoan analysis in a number of other countries. In each case I have seen similar struggles to overcome the history of the education system and to design and implement system reforms.

10.2.1 Evaluation of the approach and methodology

The approach was based on the observation that the 1995-2005 reform activities were making changes to the schools in Samoa but were not actually affecting the underlying pattern of advantage. Shortage of resources and the need for rationing was often advanced as the reason. But this did not seem to be the total explanation. The resourcing patterns did not change even though the economy of Samoa was growing steadily and government budgets

were increasing. There had been studies about the structures of the education system in Samoa and the need for change (Asian Development Bank, 2000, 2001, 2009; World Bank, 1991, 1992). However, the policy options that are chosen seem to avoid making change to certain practices. The reasons for the lack of transformation seemed to be located within the way people thought about the education system.

As a result the research approach was to explore the selection of policy options for change and then to determine if there was any real change that resulted from the implementation of those policy options. The approach and methodology adopted proved effective.

The use of Bourdieu's perspectives as the research basis then moved the focus away from issues of budgets into the issues of the acceptance of certain patterns as normal and acceptable. As a result the exploration of the history of the Samoa education system revealed the origins and growth of the underlying structures.

The examination of the conflict of ideas during the period 1984-1994 revealed that these structures had become embedded and resistant to change. Reform was proposed but only within the existing structures and patterns of advantage.

The use of the Ministry of Educations statistics of participation and achievement over the 1994-2008 period allowed the lack of impact of the reform package on those patterns to be demonstrated.

The data collected from the questionnaires administered to the Ministry of Education managers also revealed the lack of impact on practice. The questionnaires indicated that many of the respondents were well aware of the inequities of the system and desired real change but identified public opinion as the obstacle, once again pointing to the issue of the acceptance of underlying structures.

While the Samoa Ministry of Education held significant amounts of data not all the records were complete. Data for years prior to 2000 were held in hard copy and the format of the records meant connecting individuals and their locations to examination scores was not always consistent.

Linking any individual students from years outside the data collection in 2006 to socio-economic data for comparative purposes also proved to be too difficult. While it is possible to

access student names from the records the time and cost necessary to track a reliable sample of the students was prohibitive.

The response to the socio-economic questionnaire was impressive with the majority of the students and their families who received a questionnaire responding.

Because the research design sought to link the socio-economic data from the Year 9 students in 2006 to examination performance in both their Year 8 and Year 12 examinations it was necessary to wait for the Year 12 examination in 2008 for the first students of that cohort to record Year 12 examination results. The results became available in 2009 providing the second data point in the longitudinal study.

10.2.2 Significance of the research

This thesis is only partly about the development and implementation of an education policy in Samoa. It is actually about the inability that we all have to see the obstacles that have become accepted as normal, how hard it is to think of alternatives when we cannot conceive of alternatives, and the limits to change.

While it is a case study of Samoa it is a lesson to all developers and managers of education systems. It is easy, while reading this thesis, to wonder why the people involved in this development could not see the issues that appear to be so obvious and to just make the changes that need to be made. However, that is not the question that readers of this work should ask. Those of us who are educators and managers of education systems should be wondering what it is that we cannot see and therefore cannot change in our own systems. What patterns and processes do we accept as being proper and acceptable and what rationalisations and justifications do we make to maintain or enhance the status quo and to undermine and resist change. How does this limit the policy options that we are prepared to accommodate?

This research is about the difficulty of change in education systems. It is about the acceptance of existing arbitrary patterns as being normal, acceptable and reasonable. The case study used was a particular set of developments in Samoa but similar experiences are common in many other settings.

Change should be motivated by the ideal but the attainment of the ideal may not be possible. Rawls derived his principles of social justice by imagining an original position where the members of a society met and formulated the principles of a just society that shared the goods

of cooperative effort in the most just way. Unfortunately, none of us have that opportunity. We can understand Rawls' position and be motivated by it but we are not in a position of formulating the original position. We enter a society that already has an existing history based on the decisions of others. We face the situation of having to undo the past. This is doubly difficult for societies that have been colonised where the members have to not only deal with on-going effects of the structures from pre-colonial society but to also wrestle with the impact of the social structures resulting from colonisation.

The people of Samoa care about their education system and the educators and managers in the system work very hard to try and make it as effective as possible. They are highly motivated, intelligent and determined and yet some of the transformations that were hoped for were not delivered. In spite of their lack of resources and their small numbers they will continue trying.

10.3 DEVELOPMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE 1995-2005 PROGRAMME

Developments have continued in the schooling system in Samoa. Much of the activity has taken place through the Samoa Education Sector Project II. The overall goal of the project was to continue the establishment of a more equitable and effective education system and particularly through increasing equitable access to primary and secondary education.

The programme will be completed in 2012. The components include the introduction of a new primary level curriculum and assessment system, professional development of teachers and improving school infrastructure.

The purpose and continuing use of the Year 8 examination will be a key aspect of the assessment reform and will also support increasing access to post-primary school education. The examination will be conducted in a bi-lingual format.

In parallel developments in progress since 2004 there have been considerable investments in quality school materials and in the expansion of the internet and access to e-learning, particularly for students in rural schools.

The infrastructure, equipment and staffing of the three senior colleges will be upgraded to support the introduction of a regional Form 7. Performance in the senior examinations will be the prerequisite to entry into that level.

Study of the patterns of access, treatment and outcomes when the project is completed in 2012 would demonstrate the effectiveness of the reforms in improving the situation for currently marginalised groups.

10.4 POSSIBLE FUTURE RESEARCH

Within Samoa

There are aspects of this study that could prompt further research within Samoa. The difference in the outcome of the learning experience in urban areas compared with rural areas could be the focus of further research. Factors other than differential resourcing could be examined. This research suggests that there may be other factors involved as well which may impact on examination performance. Factors such as language and the more varied life experience of urban-based students could be explored along with whether the rural students interpret Year 8 examination questions differently to urban students and consequently respond differently.

Other aspects of the differences between the learning experience of students from different socio-economic groups could also be researched. Research aimed at differentiating the home background factors from school factors may also provide some valuable insights.

The impact of the extension of internet access to rural schools in Samoa could also be studied to determine if access to wider knowledge and experiences by rural students through the internet provides any lift to their performance in comparison to urban students.

Wider international settings

The enormous international educational development effort that has resulted from the Education For All Initiative (UNESCO, 1990) and the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2000) has resulted in significant expansion of education in developing countries world-wide. Article III of the World Declaration on Education For All stated that the intention was to universalise access and promote equity. The intention of this expansion was to enable marginalised groups to participate in and gain benefit from education (UNESCO, 1990). The Education For All Assessment 2000 (UNESCO, 2000) found that global enrolments had increased substantially but disparities and discriminations continued to be widespread.

Further, on-going research could be conducted to evaluate whether or not changes are occurring in the pattern of advantage or whether the disadvantaged remain disadvantaged.

The education systems may have expanded but the systems of advantage and exclusion may still remain.

Additional research could focus on the effect of increased numbers of students on the devaluing of school qualification credentials with the consequential development of new selection benchmarks. Bourdieu, writing about the expansion of education in France in the 1960s, explained how the process of expansion gave many more students an opportunity at education but did not necessarily bring access to the kind of social outcomes that the newly included groups hoped for. He stated

> …in the altogether different school system created by new student populations, the differential distribution of academic profit and correlated social profits has essentially been maintained by a complete carryover of the disparities (Bourdieu & Champagne, 1999,p422).

He explains that the unintended consequence of expansion of the system is the devaluation of the qualifications and credentials that used to be sufficient to achieve access to certain occupations or higher opportunities. Those qualifications now become insufficient for screening purposes because of the numbers of students achieving those qualifications and therefore the bench mark is moved to some credential higher in the system. As a result advantage is maintained.

My observation is that this is being replicated in many developing countries, including Samoa. What to do about it, in terms of achieving equity of access, treatment and outcomes, continues to be the critical educational problem in Samoa and in wider international settings. Perhaps the most important first step is to continue to hold to the 'myth' that an educational system characterised by equity is possible and attainable (Beeby, 1992). Strategies to attain the goal will then continue to be generated.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION DIRECTORS QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix A1: MESC Executive Questionnaire Information Sheet (English)

Appendix A2: MESC Executive Questionnaire Information Sheet (Samoan)

Appendix A3: MESC Executive Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (English)

Appendix A4: MESC Executive Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (Samoan)

Appendix A5: MESC Executive Questionnaire (English)

Appendix A1: MESC Executive Questionnaire Information Sheet (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

MESC EXECUTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMATION SHEET

Introduction

I am a candidate for a Doctorate of Education (EdD) at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. I am conducting research about the development of education in Samoa as part of my EdD degree programme.

During the period 1995-2005 Samoa implemented a bold programme of educational reforms which had a number of objectives. The core of the activities was aimed at establishing an education system "characterised by equity, quality, relevancy, and efficiency".

My research is to evaluate the outcomes of the Samoa 1995-2005 education reform program to see what progress has been made to develop an education system characterised by 'equity'. This questionnaire is part of the evaluation.

The research study has been approved by the Samoa Minister of Education, Sports and Culture and by the Chief Executive Officer of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. The research programme has also been approved by Massey University and is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Wayne Edwards HOD Department of Social and Policy Studies in Education.

The study focuses on the opportunities that have been available to students.

You are invited to answer the Questionnaire because as a member of the MESC Executive you are part of the research focus group. You have also been one of the people that has been part of the education system during the period 1995-2005 and therefore you have direct experience that is valuable to the research.

The questionnaire is anonymous. An identification number is on the front of the questionnaire. The identification number is not linked to your name in anyway. All the information will be anonymous. All processing of the data will be anonymous. No personal information will be made public in anyway.

When answering the Questionnaire you have the right to decline to answer any particular question. However, completing any questions and returning the questionnaire implies that you are agreeing to the information to be used as part of the study.

The information from the Questionnaire will be used as part of the research study. The information will be transferred to a computer system and summarized into statistical tables. Your name will not be recorded in the computer data and therefore there will be no record that you provided particular information.

The summary statistical data will be processed to show statistical patterns and trends. A copy of the summary will be provided to you at the end of the research.

The returned Questionnaires will be held secure in New Zealand until the research is completed and then will be destroyed. All the statistical data will be recorded onto CD and held securely in New Zealand. None of the questionnaire responses will be used for any other research.

The Questionnaire will take about 60 minutes to complete.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. However, if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study at anytime up until December 2006;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

You are welcome to contact Alan Male (email: amale@samoa.ws ph:7770214) and/or Professor Wayne Edwards (email: W.L.Edwards@massey.ac.nz) if you have any questions about the project.

Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/68. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN telephone (64) (6) 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz

Appendix A2: MESC Executive Questionnaire Information Sheet (Samoan)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

SA'ILI'ILIGA FA'ATATAU I LE FA'ASOA LIMALELEI MO A'O A'OGA I SÄMOA

PEPA FESILI MO LE PULEGA 'AUTÜ

PEPA O FA'AMATALAGA

Fa'atomuaga

Olo'o ou a'oga nei i le iunivesitë o Massey i Palmerston North Niu Sila mo le fa'ailoga o le Doctorate of Education (EdD). O se tasi o vaega fa'atulagaina mo lea fa'ailoga o le fa'atino lea o se sa'ili'iliga i se matä'upu tau a'oa'oga. Olo'o ou fa'atautaia nei se sa'ili'iliga fa'atatau i le atina'eina o a'oa'oga i Sämoa.

O le vaitau o le 1995-2005 na fa'atautaia ai e Sämoa le tele o ana polokalame atia'e mo a'oa'oga. O le sini o polokalame atia'e uma o le 'ausia o tulaga fa'alea'oa'oga ua fa'avae i ni mau 'autü se fa: o le fa'asoa limalelei (equity); o a'oa'oga 'anoa (quality); o a'oa'oga talafeagai (relevant); ma a'oa'oga e lelei ma fa'atino mäe'ae'a (effiency).

O le 'auga o lenei sa'ili'iliga o le iloiloina o le 'ausia e Sämoa o se tasi o ana mau 'autü mo a'oa'oga: o le fa'asoa limalelei – "o se fa'asoa limalelei, e tutusa ai le fa'asafua o avanoa täua o a'oa'oga i tagata uma. O faiga faavae ma fuafuaga tufala'aia e ao ona 'alo'alo ese ai, ae tulimata'i fa'atinoga e au i taunu'uga lelei"

O le pepa fesili lenei o se tasi lea vaega o le iloiloga.

Ua fa'atagaina le fa'atautaia o lenei sa'ili'iliga e le Afioga a le Minisitä o A'oga, Ta'aloga ma Aganu'u fa'apea le Ofisa Sili o le Matägaluega. Ua taliaina fo'i e le iunivesetë o Massey le sa'ili'iliga i lalo o ana faiga fa'avae mai aiaiga mo sa'ili'iliga uma. Olo'o fa'atautaia le sa'ili'iliga i lalo o le va'avaa'iga a Professor Way Edwards, o ia o le faauluuluga o le Matagaluega o le Social and Policy Studies in Education.

Olo'o tulimata'i e le sa'ili'iliga avanoa olo'o maua e tamaiti.

O lau susuga o se tasi o poutü o le Pulega 'Autü o le Matägaluega aemaise lou sao täua i le atina'eina o a'oa'oga i Sämoa i le vaitau o le 1995 i le 2005. I le ava ma le fa'aaloalo e tatau ai ua talosagaina ai lau susuga i sou finagalo fa'aalia i matä'upu 'autü o le sa'ili'iliga e tauala mai lea i le fa'atumuina o le pepa fesili lenei.

O le pepa fesili ole'ä lë fa'ailoaina i latou na taliina. Olo'o fa'anumeraina pepa ta'itasi ma e leai se feso'ota'iga o ia numera ma lou suafa. O au'ili'iliga o pepa fesili ole'ä lë fa'ailoaina i latou e ana mau ua tu'uina mai.

Olo'o ia te oe le faitalia e tali ai pe lë taliina fo'i nisi o fesili. O lou taliina o fesili ole'ä avea ma fa'ailoga o lou finagalo malie e avea ia fa'amatalaga ma vaega o le sa'ili'iliga.

Ole'ä au'ili'ilina mau fa'aalia ma fa'amauina i le komipiuta mo ni aotelega. Ole'ä lë fa'amauina lou suafa i ia vaega uma.

Ole'ä tu'ufa'atasia fa'amaumauga ma fa'aalia ni aotelega olo'o mafuli iai manatu fa'aalia. E mafai ona tu'uina atu se kopi o ia aotelega pe 'a fa'afinagaloina.

Ole'ä teu malu fa'amaumauga uma o pepa fesili i Niu Sila se ia mäe'a le sa'ili'iliga ona fa'atama'ia uma lea. Ole'ä le fa'aaogaina nei fa'amatalaga mo se isi lava sa'ili'iliga.

Pe tusa ma le 60 minute le taimi e mo'omia mo le taliina o le pepa fesili.

Ua le'o iai se fa'amalosia o oe e te taliaina lenei talosaga. Peita'i afai ole'ä e auai i fa'atalanoaga, ua ia te oe le aiä tatau e te

- lë taliina ai se fesili e te le'o finagalo ai
- tu'umuli ese ai mai le sa'ili'iiliga i so o se taimi e o'o atu ia Tesema 2006
- fesiligia ai so o se vaega o le sa'ili'iliga a'o e auai ai
- tu'uina mai ai fa'amatalaga ma le mautinoa ole'ä lë fa'ailoaina lou suafa se'i vagana ua iai lau fa'atagana
- täpä ai se aotelega o mau fa'aalia o le sa'ili'iliga pe 'ä mäe'a

Ole'ä tu'uina atu ia te oe se aotelega o i'uga o le sa'ili'iliga pe 'a mäe'a ona fa'atino ma ole'ä fa'ailoa fo'i i se fonotaga fa'apitoa.

Mo nisi fa'amatalaga e mafai ona e fa'afeso'ota'i Alan Male i le tuatusi o le imeli amale@Sämoa.ws po o le telefoni 7770214, po o Professor Wayne Edwards i le tuatusi imeli W.L.Edwards@massey.ac.nz.

Fa'atagana mai le Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga (Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval)

O lenei sa'ili'iliga ua iloiloina ma ua taliaina e le Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga (Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval), talosaga Ueligitone 05/68. Afai e iai sou fa'agaulemalie i le fa'atautaiga o lenei sa'ili'iliga fa'amolemole fa'afeso'ota'i Professor Sylvia Rumball, Sea, Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga ((Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN telephone (64) (6) 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix A3: MESC Executive Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

MESC EXECUTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

This consent from will be held for a period of five (5) years

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

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

Full Name - printed .....

Appendix A4: MESC Executive Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (Samoan)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

SA'ILI'ILIGA FA'ATATAU I LE FA'ASOA LIMALELEI MO A'O A'OGA I SÄMOA

MALIEGA A Ë OLE'Ä AUAI I LE SA'ILI'ILIGA

PEPA FESILI MO LE PULEGA 'AUTÜ

O lenei maliega ole'ä teuina mo le 5 tausaga.

Ua mäe'a ona ou faitauina le Pepa o Fa'amatalaga o le sa'ili'iliga ma ua ou manino fo'i i vaega 'ese'ese o le sa'ili'iliga. Ua fa'amalieina fesili sa ou lagä ma ua ou malamalama fo'i e tatala pea avanoa i so'o se taimi mo ni fesili e alia'e mai.

Ua ou malie ou te 'auai i le sa'ili'iliga lenei e tusa ma aiaiga e pei ona tu'uina mai i le Pepa o Fa'amatalaga.

Sainia: ..... **Aso:** .....

Suafa (lolomi) .....

Appendix A5: MESC Executive Questionnaire (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

MESC EXECUTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE # _____

PART 1: SCHOOL OPERATIONS 1994-2005

1. Selection and enrolment of students

1 a	How were students selected to attend secondary schools/ colleges in 1994?
1 b	Were there any restrictions on who could attend which schools / colleges in 1994?
1 c	If there were restrictions on who could enter certain schools / colleges please suggest the possible reasons for such restrictions?
1 d	How are students selected to attend secondary schools / colleges now in 2006?
1 e	Are there any restrictions on who may attend which schools / colleges now in 2006?
1 f	If there were restrictions on who could enter certain schools / colleges please suggest the possible reasons for such restrictions?

2. School curriculum

2 a	Did all students have the same opportunity to choose to study all subjects in 1994 or were some students restricted to only being able to study some subjects and not others?
2 b	If there were restrictions please suggest the possible reasons for such restrictions in 1994?
2 c	Do you think higher ability students had more or different subject choices than lower ability students in 1994?
2 d	Do all students have the same opportunity to choose to study all subjects now in 2006 or were some students restricted to only being able to study some subjects and not others?
2 e	If there are restrictions please suggest the possible reasons for such restrictions now?
2 f	Do you think higher ability students have more or different subject choices than lower ability students now in 2006?
2 g	Do you think higher ability students should have more or different subject choices than lower ability students now in 2006?
2 h	What causes you to stop offering some subjects and to add others?

3. School funds and resourcing

3 a	How were secondary schools and colleges funded in 1994?
3 b	How were teachers assigned to secondary schools in 1994? What are the rules?
3 c	Why do you think there was a difference between the funding of senior colleges and the funding of district secondary schools in 1994?
3 d	Do you think differences in school funding had an impact on student achievement in 1994?
3 e	How are secondary schools and colleges funded now in 2006?
3 f	How are teachers assigned to secondary schools now in 2006? What are the rules?
3 g	Why is there a difference between the funding of senior colleges and the funding of district secondary schools now in 2006?
3 h	Do you think differences in school funding have an impact on student achievement in 2006?

4. Outcomes for students

4 a	What do you think the reasons are for students dropping out between Year 8 and Year 12?
4 b	Where do most students go to when they actually complete education and graduate from school – to further study, to paid work, to unpaid family work?
4 c	Do you think that is a fair result for high school graduates?
4 d	What do you think would be acceptable outcomes for the students?
4 e	What obstacles do you think stop students from achieving those outcomes?

5. Changes

5 a	What do you think have been the developments since 1994 that have most resulted in progress towards equity in the education system?
5 b	If you could change any of the policies or operational practices in the education system to make things more equitable which practices would you change?
5 c	Why would you change those things?
5 d	How do you think the change might benefit the children in the education system?
5 e	What obstacles might there be to making the changes that you want?

PART 2: POLICY

1. Cultural Concepts

1 a	What cultural concepts exist in faasamoa that mean that some people have more advantages to succeed than other people?
1 b	Briefly explain the impact these concepts have on a person?

2. Opportunity Factors

	Do you agree with the following statements:	*Please circle one answer for each question*	
a)	all students should have the same opportunity to attend school	Yes	No
b)	all students should have the same opportunity to study the same subjects	Yes	No
c)	it is right that more able students are selected to go to the senior colleges	Yes	No
d)	The most qualified teachers should be teaching the most able students at the senior colleges	Yes	No
e)	the most qualified teachers should be spread around all schools	Yes	No
f)	all the community benefits from having some schools teach the best students with the best teachers while most students go to less well resourced school	Yes	No
g)	all schools should get the same amount of money	Yes	No
h)	all students should get the same amount of money spent on them for education?	Yes	No
i)	if students are from wealthy families the government should spend less money on their education than for poor students.	Yes	No
j)	all schools should get the same amount of money from the government	Yes	No
k)	the government should not fund any schools. All schools should have to raise all the funds.	Yes	No
l)	Boys should have more/better education than girls?	Yes	No
m)	Girls should have more / better education than boys	Yes	No
n)	Boys and girls should have the same educational opportunities?	Yes	No

3. Student Success Factors

	Please rank these statements in the order of their importance. Rank the most important statement number 1 and number the others in order. **A student succeeds in school:**	**Rank**
A	Because of their own intelligence	
B	Because of their family background	
C	Because of their parents occupation	
D	Because of their ethnicity	
E	Because of where they live	
F	Because of the language they speak	

4. Evaluation of the system

	Do you think the education system pre-1995 provided students with equal opportunities?	*Please circle one answer*	
		Yes	No
4 a	If no - what were the main inequities?		
4 b	If yes - state the evidence that you think shows it was equitable		

5. 1995 Policy

The Western Samoa Education Policies 1995-2005 includes the statement that:

The concept of equity requires that the system will treat all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity. Policies which advantage some social groups and disadvantage others will be avoided, while those which address existing inequalities in access, treatment and outcome will be promoted (Department of Education, 1995)

5 a	*Read the policy statement printed above* What do you think is meant by the phrases: 'equity of opportunity' 'equity of access' 'equity of treatment' 'equity of outcome' Place the number of the phrase you think best matches the meaning of the	1.resulting from the removal of policies that advantage some groups and disadvantage others resulting in differential outcomes 2. concerned with formal explicit barriers to access and participation 3. Concerned with the structures and processes that define everyday life in schools' 4. refers to the result of educational processes: the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling 5. the notion that providing all individuals with equal access to schooling ensures a fair system

5 b	In a report of the development of the 1994 policy it is stated that the discussions changed the policy direction in Samoa from equity of opportunity to equity of outcome. What do you think that change means?

5 c	Some people think that equity does not mean giving everybody the same resources but it should actually involve treating people differently. What would be the reasons for having different rules for different people in respect of access or treatment or outcome?

5 d	Do you think the public would accept differences in access or treatment between students?	Yes	No

5 e	Which groups do you think gained the most advantage from the 1995-2005 education reforms?
5 f	What were the advantages that they got?

5 g	Do you think they deserved these advantages?	Yes	No
5 h	If yes - why?		
	If not - why not?		

5 i	Do you think it was necessary for the MESC to actually state a policy about equity in education?	Yes	No

5 j	Who do you think should establish the meaning of 'equity' in schools in Samoa? *Please circle one*	Government School Principal School Committee Village council Nobody – its unnecessary

5 k	Do you think anybody actually looks at the education policy and follows it?	Yes	No

APPENDIX B: SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix B1: School Principals Questionnaire Information Sheet (English)

Appendix B2: School Principals Questionnaire Information Sheet (Samoan)

Appendix B3: School Principals Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (English)

Appendix B4: School Principals Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (Samoan)

Appendix B5: School Principals Questionnaire (English)

Appendix B1: School Principals Questionnaire Information Sheet (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

SCHOOL PRINCIPALS QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMATION SHEET

Introduction

My name is Alan Male. I am a candidate for a Doctorate of Education (EdD) at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. I am conducting research about the development of education in Samoa as part of my EdD degree programme.

During the period 1995-2005 Samoa implemented a bold programme of educational reforms which had a number of objectives. The core of the activities was aimed at establishing an education system "characterised by equity, quality, relevancy, and efficiency".

My research is to evaluate the outcomes of the Samoa 1995-2005 education reform program to see what progress has been made to develop an education system characterised by 'equity'. This questionnaire is part of the evaluation.

The research study has been approved by the Samoa Minister of Education, Sports and Culture and by the Chief Executive Officer of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. The research programme has also been approved by Massey University and is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Wayne Edwards HOD Department of Social and Policy Studies in Education.

The study focuses on the opportunities that have been available to students.

You are invited to answer the Questionnaire because as the principal of _____ your school are part of the research sample. You have also been one of the people that has been part of the education system during the period 1995-2005 and therefore you have direct experience that is valuable to the research.

The questionnaire is anonymous. An identification number is on the front of the questionnaire. The identification number is not linked to your name in anyway. All the information will be anonymous. All processing of the data will be anonymous. No personal information will be made public in anyway.

When answering the Questionnaire you have the right to decline to answer any particular question. However, completing any questions and returning the questionnaire implies that you are agreeing to the information to be used as part of the study.

The information from the Questionnaire will be used as part of the research study. The information will be transferred to a computer system and summarized into statistical tables. Your name will not be recorded in the computer data and therefore there will be no record that you provided particular information.

The summary statistical data will be processed to show statistical patterns and trends. A copy of the summary will be provided to you at the end of the research.

The returned Questionnaires will be held secure in New Zealand until the research is completed and then will be destroyed. All the statistical data will be recorded onto CD and held securely in New Zealand. None of the questionnaire responses will be used for any other research.

The Questionnaire will take about 60 minutes to complete.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. However, if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study at anytime up until December 2006;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

You are welcome to contact Alan Male (email: amale@samoa.ws ph:7770214) and/or Professor Wayne Edwards (email: W.L.Edwards@massey.ac.nz) if you have any questions about the project.

Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/68. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN telephone (64) (6) 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix B2: School Principals Questionnaire Information Sheet (Samoan)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

SA'ILI'ILIGA FA'ATATAU I LE FA'ASOA LIMALELEI MO A'O A'OGA I SÄMOA

PEPA FESILI MO ULU A'OGA

PEPA O FA'AMATALAGA

FA'ATOMUAGA

O lo'u igoa o Alan Male. Olo'o ou a'oga nei i le iunivesite o Massey i Palmerston North Niu Sila mo le fa'ailoga o le Doctorate of Education (EdD). O se tasi o vaega fa'atulagaina mo lea fa'ailoga o le fa'atino lea o se sa'ili'iliga i se matä'upu tau a'oa'oga. Olo'o ou fa'atautaia nei se sa'ili'iliga fa'atatau i le atina'eina o a'oa'oga i Sämoa.

O le vaitau o le 1995-2005 na fa'atautaia ai e Sämoa le tele o ana polokalame atia'e mo a'oa'oga. O le sini o polokalame atia'e uma o le 'ausia o tulaga fa'alea'oa'oga ua fa'avae i ni mau 'autü se fa: o le fa'asoa limalelei (equity); o a'oa'oga 'anoa (quality); o a'oa'oga talafeagai (relevant); ma a'oa'oga e lelei ma fa'atino mäe'ae'a (effiency).

O le 'auga o le sa'ili'iliga lenei o le iloiloina o le 'ausia e Sämoa o se tasi o ana mau 'autu mo a'oa'oga: o le fa'asoa limalelei – "o se fa'asoa limalelei, e tutusa ai le fa'asafua o avanoa taua o a'oa'oga i tagata uma. O faiga faavae ma fuafuaga tufala'aia e ao ona 'alo'alo ese ai, ae tulimata'i fa'atinoga e au i taunu'uga lelei". O le pepa fesili lenei o se tasi vaega lea o le iloiloga.

Ua fa'atagaina le fa'atautaia o lenei sa'ili'iliga e le Afioga a le Minisitä o A'oga, Ta'aloga ma Aganu'u fa'apea le Ofisa Sili o le Matägaluega. Ua taliaina fo'i e le iunivesetë o Massey le sa'ili'iliga i lalo o ana faiga fa'avae mai aiaiga mo sa'ili'iliga uma. Olo'o fa'atautaia le sa'ili'iliga i lalo o le va'avaa'iga a Professor Way Edwards, o ia o le faauluuluga o le Matagaluega o le Social and Policy Studies in Education.

O le fa'atalanoaga lenei o se tasi lea vaega o le iloiloga.

Olo'o tulimata'i e le sa'ili'iliga avanoa olo'o maua e tamaiti.

Ua filifilia le a'oga a _____ e avea ma se tasi o a'oga e auai i le sa'ili'iliga.

I le ava ma le fa'aaloalo e tatau ai ua talosagaina ai lau susuga a le ulua'oga i sou finagalo fa'aalia i matä'upu 'autü o le sa'ili'iliga e tauala mai lea i le fa'atumuina o le pepa fesili lenei mo lau a'oga. O lau susuga fo'i o se tasi ua iloga lou sao täua i le atina'eina o a'oa'oga i Sämoa i le vaitau o le 1995 i le 2005.

O le pepa fesili ole'ä lë fa'ailoaina i latou na taliina. Olo'o fa'anumeraina pepa ta'itasi ma e leai se feso'ota'iga o ia numera ma lou suafa. O au'ili'iliga o pepa fesili ole'ä lë fa'ailoaina i latou e ana mau ua tu'uina mai.

Olo'o ia te oe le faitalia e tali ai pe lë taliina fo'i nisi o fesili. O lou taliina o fesili ole'ä avea ma fa'ailoga o lou finagalo malie e avea ia fa'amatalaga ma vaega o le sa'ili'iliga.

Ole'ä au'ili'ilina mau fa'aalia ma fa'amauina i le komipiuta mo ni aotelega. Ole'ä lë fa'amauina lou suafa i ia vaega uma.

Ole'ä tu'ufa'atasia fa'amaumauga ma fa'aalia ni aotelega olo'o mafuli iai manatu fa'aalia. Ole'ä tu'uina atu se kopi o ia aotelega pe 'a mäe'a le sa'ili'iliga.

Ole'ä teu malu fa'amaumauga uma o talanoaga i Niu Sila se ia mäe'a le sa'ili'iliga ona fa'atama'ia uma lea. Ole'ä lë fa'aaogäina nei fa'amatalaga mo se isi lava sa'ili'iliga.

Pe tusa ma le 60 minute le taimi mo'omia e fa'atumu ai le pepa fesili.

Ua le'o iai se fa'amalosia o oe e te taliaina lenei talosaga. Peita'i afai ole'ä e auai, ua ia te oe le aiä tatau e te

- lë taliina ai se fesili e te le'o finagalo ai
- tu'umuli ai mai le sa'ili'iiliga i so o se taimi e o'o atu ia Tesema 2006
- fesiligia ai so o se vaega o le sa'ili'iliga a'o e auai ai
- tu'uina mai ai fa'amatalaga ma le mautinoa ole'ä lë fa'ailoaina lou suafa se'i vagana ua iai lau fa'atagana
- täpä ai se aotelega o mau fa'aalia o le sa'ili'iliga pe 'ä mäe'a

Mo nisi fa'amatalaga e mafai ona e fa'afeso'ota'i Alan Male i le tuatusi o le imeli amale@Sämoa.ws po o le telefoni 7770214, po o Professor Wayne Edwards i le tuatusi imeli W.L.Edwards@massey.ac.nz.

Fa'atagana mai le Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga (Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval)

O lenei sa'ili'iliga ua iloiloina ma ua taliaina e le Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga (Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval), talosaga Ueligitone 05/68. Afai e iai sou fa'agaulemalie i le fa'ataut aiga o lenei sa'ili'iliga fa'amolemole fa'afeso'ota'i Professor Sylvia Rumball, Sea, Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga ((Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN telephone (64) (6) 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix B3: School Principals Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

SCHOOL PRINCIPALS QUESTIONNAIRE

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

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

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

Full Name - printed .....

Appendix B4: School Principals Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (Samoan)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

SA'ILI'ILIGA FA'ATATAU I LE FA'ASOA LIMALELEI MO A'O A'OGA I SÄMOA

MALIEGA A Ë OLE'Ä AUAI I LE SA'ILI'ILIGA

PEPA FESILI MO ULU A'OGA

O lenei maliega ole'ä teuina mo le 5 tausaga.

Ua mäe'a ona ou faitauina le Pepa o Fa'amatalaga o le sa'ili'iliga ma ua ou manino fo'i i vaega 'ese'ese o le sa'ili'iliga. Ua fa'amalieina fesili sa ou lagä ma ua ou malamalama fo'i e tatala pea avanoa i so'o se taimi mo ni fesili e alia'e mai.

Ua ou malie ou te 'auai i le sa'ili'iliga lenei e tusa ma aiaiga e pei ona tu'uina mai i le Pepa o Fa'amatalaga.

Sainia: ..... **Aso:** .....

Suafa (lolomi) .....

Appendix B5: School Principals Questionnaire (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

SCHOOL PRINCIPAL QUESTIONNAIRE

PART 1: SCHOOL OPERATIONS 2005

1. Selection and enrolment of students

1 a	Where do the students who enrol in your school come from?
1 b	How are students selected to attend your school?
1c	Are there any restrictions on who may attend your school?

2. Division of students into class groups

2 a	How many class groups are there at each year level (e.g 9-1 , 9-2 etc) Yr 9 – Yr 10 - Yr 11 - Yr 12 - Yr 13 -
2 b	Why are the students divided?
2 c	How are students allocated to the various class groups each year? What are the rules used?
2 d	Are classes streamed on the basis of ability or by some other criteria?
2 e	How is that ability decided –do you rely on Year 8 results or do you have your own testing?
2 f	Can a student be shifted from one class to another? If yes what would be the reasons?

3. Student progress

3 a	Does your school make students repeat year levels?
3 b	What are the rules that allow students to advance to the next year level?
3 c	What are the reasons for students repeating year levels?
3 d	Do you have school examinations? How do these examinations affect the progress of a student?
3 e	Are students held back as the result of failing school examinations?
3 f	What language do the teachers use most often as the means of instruction?
3 g	What language are exams conducted in?

4. School curriculum

4 a	What subjects are offered by your school this year?
4 b	Do all students have the same opportunity to choose to study all subjects or are some students restricted to only being able to study some subjects and not others?
4 c	Do higher ability students have more or different subject choices and lower ability students?
4 d	Is there any difference in the courses that are offered to the higher ability classes than to the lower ability classes?
4 e	Is there any attempt to maintain course offerings year by year (if you offer mathematics is it offered at all levels forever?)
4 f	What causes you to stop offering some subjects and to add others?
4 g	Do the teachers teach the same course in the same ways to all students?
4 h	Does the school offer any additional teacher help to students outside normal class time?
4 i	What students is it offered to? For what purpose?

5. School funds and resourcing

5 a	How is your school funded?
5 b	What were the school fees for 2005? Yr 9 – Yr 10 – Yr 11 – Yr 12 – Yr 13 –
5 c	Are there differences in the fees that are charged to students from outside the district?
5 d	What happens if a student cannot pay?
5 e	What is the school's spending budget for 2006?

6. Outcomes for students

6 a	Do many students drop out of the school?
6 b	What do you think the reasons are for them dropping out?
6 c	Where do most students go to when they actually complete education and graduate from your school – to further study, to paid work, to unpaid family work?
6 d	Do you think that is a fair result for your graduates?
6 e	What do you think would be acceptable outcomes for your students?
6 f	What obstacles do you think stop your students from achieving those outcomes?

7. Changes

7 a	Has there been any change to any school practices in the last few years that make: • access to the education provided by the school more equitable • participation by the students in the education provided by the school more equitable • the possibility for the achievement of outcomes to be more equitable
7 b	If you could change any of the operational practices of your school to make things more equitable which practices would you change?
7 c	What obstacles might there be to making the changes that you want?

PART 2: POLICY

1. Cultural Concepts

1 a	What cultural concepts exist in faasamoa that mean that some people have more advantages to succeed than other people?
1 b	Briefly explain the impact these concepts have on a person?

2. Opportunity Factors

	Do you agree with the following statements:	*Please circle one answer for each question*	
o)	all students should have the same opportunity to attend school	Yes	No
p)	all students should have the same opportunity to study the same subjects	Yes	No
q)	it is right that more able students are selected to go to the senior colleges	Yes	No
r)	The most qualified teachers should be teaching the most able students at the senior colleges	Yes	No
s)	the most qualified teachers should be spread around all schools	Yes	No
t)	all the community benefits from having some schools teach the best students with the best teachers while most students go to less well resourced school	Yes	No
u)	all schools should get the same amount of money	Yes	No
v)	all students should get the same amount of money spent on them for education?	Yes	No
w)	if students are from wealthy families the government should spend less money on their education than for poor students.	Yes	No
x)	all schools should get the same amount of money from the government	Yes	No
y)	the government should not fund any schools. All schools should have to raise all the funds.	Yes	No
z)	Boys should have more/better education than girls?	Yes	No
aa)	Girls should have more / better education than boys	Yes	No
bb)	Boys and girls should have the same educational opportunities?	Yes	No

3. Student Success Factors

	Please rank these statements in the order of their importance. Rank the most important statement number 1 and number the others in order. **A student succeeds in school:**	**Rank**
a	Because of their own intelligence	
b	Because of their family background	
c	Because of their parents occupation	
d	Because of their ethnicity	
e	Because of where they live	
f	Because of the language they speak	

4. Evaluation of the system

		Please circle one answer	
	Do you think the education system pre-1995 provided students with equal opportunities?	Yes	No
4 a	If no - what were the main inequities?		
4 b	If yes - state the evidence that you think shows it was equitable		

5. 1995 Policy

The Western Samoa Education Policies 1995-2005 includes the statement that: *The concept of equity requires that the system will treat all individuals fairly and justly in the provision of educational opportunity. Policies which advantage some social groups and disadvantage others will be avoided, while those which address existing inequalities in access, treatment and outcome will be promoted (Department of Education, 1995)*

5 a	*Read the policy statement printed above* What do you think is meant by the phrases: 'equity of opportunity' 'equity of access' 'equity of treatment' 'equity of outcome' Place the number of the phrase you think best matches the meaning of the	1.resulting from the removal of policies that advantage some groups and disadvantage others resulting in differential outcomes
		2. concerned with formal explicit barriers to access and participation
		3. Concerned with the structures and processes that define everyday life in schools'
		4. refers to the result of educational processes: the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling
		5. the notion that providing all individuals with equal access to schooling ensures a fair system

5 b	In a report of the development of the 1994 policy it is stated that the discussions changed the policy direction in Samoa from equity of opportunity to equity of outcome. What do you think that change means?

5 c	Some people think that equity does not mean giving everybody the same resources but it should actually involve treating people differently. What would be the reasons for having different rules for different people in respect of access or treatment or outcome?

5 d	Do you think the public would accept differences in access or treatment between		

	students?	Yes	No

5 e	Which groups do you think gained the most advantage from the 1995-2005 education reforms?
5 f	What were the advantages that they got?

5 g	Do you think they deserved these advantages?	Yes	No
5 h	If yes - why?		
	If not - why not?		

5 i	Do you think it was necessary for the MESC to actually state a policy about equity in education?	Yes	No

5 j	Who do you think should establish the meaning of 'equity' in schools in Samoa? *Please circle one*	Government School Principal School Committee Village council Nobody – its unnecessary

5 k	Do you think anybody actually looks at the education policy and follows it?	Yes	No

APPENDIX C: STUDENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix C1: Student and Family Questionnaire Information Sheet (English)

Appendix C2: Student and Family Questionnaire Information Sheet (Samoan)

Appendix C3: Student and Family Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (English)

Appendix C4: Student and Family Questionnaire Participant Consent Form (Samoan)

Appendix C5: Student and Family Questionnaire (English)

Appendix C6: Student and Family Questionnaire (Samoan)

Appendix C1: Student and Family Questionnaire Information Sheet (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

STUDENT AND FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMATION SHEET FOR 2006 STUDENTS

Introduction

My name is Alan Male. I am a candidate for a Doctorate of Education (EdD) at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. I am conducting research about the development of education in Samoa as part of my EdD degree programme.

During the period 1995-2005 Samoa implemented a bold programme of educational reforms which had a number of objectives. The core of the activities was aimed at establishing an education system "characterised by equity, quality, relevancy, and efficiency".

My research is to evaluate the outcomes of the Samoa 1995-2005 education reform program to see what progress has been made to develop an education system characterised by 'equity'. This questionnaire is part of the evaluation.

The research study has been approved by the Samoa Minister of Education, Sports and Culture and by the Chief Executive Officer of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. The research programme has also been approved by Massey University and is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Wayne Edwards HOD Department of Social and Policy Studies in Education.

The study focuses on the opportunities that have been available to the students of a sample of schools in Samoa. Your school is one of the sample of secondary schools that are part of the study.

You are invited to answer the Questionnaire because as a secondary school student at your school you are part of the focus group. You have also been one of the people that has been part of the education system during the period 1995-2005 and therefore you have direct experience that is valuable.

You will need to write you name on the questionnaire so that information about your examination results can be accessed. However, nobody except Alan Male will know that this is your questionnaire. Once your examination records have been identified by Alan Male an identification number will be used to match the questionnaire data with

the examination data. From that point all the information will be anonymous. All processing of the data will be anonymous There will be no personal information made public in anyway. Once the identification number is assigned there will be no record that the number is connected to your name.

When answering the Questionnaire you have the right to decline to answer any particular question. However, completing any questions and returning the questionnaire implies that you are agreeing to the information to be used as part of the study.

The information from the Questionnaire will be used as part of the research study. The information will be transferred to a computer system and summarized into statistical tables. Your name will not be recorded in the computer data and therefore there will be no record that you provided particular information.

The summary statistical data will be processed to show statistical patterns and trends. A copy of the summary will be provided for you at the end of the research.

The returned Questionnaires will be held secure in New Zealand until the research is completed and then will be destroyed. All the statistical data will be recorded onto CD and held securely in New Zealand. None of the questionnaire responses will be used for any other research.

The Questionnaire will take about 30 minutes to complete.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. However, if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study at anytime up until December 2006;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

You are welcome to contact Alan Male (email: amale@samoa.ws ph:7770214) and/or Professor Wayne Edwards (email: W.L.Edwards@massey.ac.nz) if you have any questions about the project.

Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/68. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN telephone (64) (6) 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix C2: Student and Family Questionnaire Information Sheet (Samoan)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

SA'ILI'ILIGA FA'ATATAU I LE FA'ASOA LIMALELEI MO A'OA'OGA I SĀMOA

PEPA FESILI MO TAMA MA TEINE A'OGA MA O LATOU 'ĀIGA

FA'AMATALAGA MO I LATOU NA AO'OGA I LE 2006

FA'ATOMUAGA

O lo'u igoa o Alan Male. Olo'o ou a'oga nei i le iunivesite o Massey i Palmerston North Niu Sila mo le fa'ailoga o le Doctorate of Education (EdD). Olo'o ou faia nei se sa'ili'iliga fa'atatau i le atina'eina o a'oa'oga i Sāmoa.

O le vaitau o le 1995-2005 na fa'atautaia ai e Sāmoa le tele o ana polokalame atia'e mo a'oa'oga. O le sini o ia polokalame atia'e uma o le mafai lea ona 'ausia i a'oa'oga i totonu o Sāmoa ni fa'avae 'autū se fa: o le fa'asoa limalelei (equity); o a'oa'oga 'anoa (quality); o a'oa'oga talafeagai (relevant); ma a'oa'oga e lelei ma fa'atino māe'ae'a (effiency).

O le 'auga o le sa'ili'iliga lenei o le iloiloina o le 'ausia e Sāmoa o se tasi o ia fa'avae 'autū mo a'oa'oga: **o le fa'asoa limalelei** ua fa'amatalaina "o se fa'asoa limalelei, e tutusa ai le fa'asafua o avanoa tāua o a'oa'oga i tagata uma. O faiga faavae ma fuafuaga tufala'aia e ao ona 'alo'alo ese ai, ae tulimata'i fa'atinoga e au i taunu'uga lelei". O le pepa fesili lenei o se tasi vaega o le iloiloga o le 'ausia o le fa'avae 'autū, o le fa'asoa lima lelei.

Ua fa'atagaina le fa'atautaia o lenei sa'ili'iliga e le Afioga a le Minisitā o A'oga, Ta'aloga ma Aganu'u fa'apea le Ofisa Sili o le Matāgaluega. Ua taliaina fo'i e le iunivesetē o Massey le sa'ili'iliga i lalo o ana faiga fa'avae ma aiaiga mo faia o sa'ili'iliga uma. Olo'o fa'atautaia le sa'ili'iliga i lalo o le va'avaa'iga a Professor Way Edwards, o ia o le faauluuluga o le Matagaluega o le Social and Policy Studies in Education.

Olo'o tulimata'i e le sa'ili'iliga avanoa olo'o maua e tamaiti i nisi o a'oga i Samoa. O lau a'oga se tasi o a'oga olo'o aofia i le sa'ili'iliga.

Ona o oe sa e a'oga i le vaitau o le 1995 i le 2005, ua talosagaina oe ina ia e fa'atumuina le pepa fesili lenei.

E mo'omia ona e tusia lou suafa i luga o le pepa fesili ina ia mafai ona fa'amaonia i'uga o su'ega sa e su'e ai. Ina ia puipuia malu ia fa'amaumauga, ole'ā na'o Alan Male na te iloaina lē e ana pepa fesili ta'itasi. Ole'ā fa'anumeraina pepa fesili ta'itasi ina ia feso'ota'i le pepa fesili ma i'uga o su'ega. A māe'a lea ona lē toe fa'ailoaina lea o suafa o ē ana pepa fesili ta'itasi ma ole'ā lē mafai fo'i ona toe fa'afeso'ota'i le numera o pepa fesili ma lou suafa.

Olo'o ia te oe le faitalia e tali ai pe lē taliina fo'i nisi o fesili. O lou taliina o fesili ole'ā avea ma fa'ailoga o lou finagalo malie e avea ia fa'amatalaga ma vaega o le sa'ili'iliga.

Ole'ā au'ili'ilina mau fa'aalia ma fa'amauina i le komipiuta mo ni aotelega. Ole'ā lē fa'amauina lou suafa i ia vaega uma.

Ole'ā tu'ufa'atasia fa'amaumauga ma fa'aalia ni aotelega olo'o mafuli iai manatu fa'aalia. Ole'ā tu'uina atu se kopi o ia aotelega pe 'a māe'a le sa'ili'iliga.

Ole'ā teu malu fa'amaumauga uma o talanoaga i Niu Sila se ia māe'a le sa'ili'iliga ona fa'atama'ia uma lea. Ole'ā lē fa'aaogāina nei fa'amatalaga mo se isi lava sa'ili'iliga.

Pe tusa ma le 30 minute le taimi mo'omia e fa'atumu ai le pepa fesili.

Ua le'o iai se fa'amalosia o oe e te taliaina lenei talosaga. Peita'i afai ole'ā e auai, ua ia te oe le aiā tatau e te

- lē taliina ai se fesili e te le'o finagalo ai
- tu'umuli ai mai le sa'ili'iliga i so o se taimi e o'o atu ia Tesema 2006
- fesiligia ai so o se vaega o le sa'ili'iliga a'o e auai ai
- tu'uina mai ai fa'amatalaga ma le mautinoa ole'ā lē fa'ailoaina lou suafa se'i vagana ua iai lau fa'atagana
- tāpā ai se aotelega o mau fa'aalia o le sa'ili'iliga pe 'ā māe'a

Mo nisi fa'amatalaga e mafai ona e fa'afeso'ota'i Alan Male i le tuatusi o le imeli amale@Samoa.ws po o le telefoni 7770214, po o Professor Wayne Edwards i le tuatusi imeli W.L.Edwards@massey.ac.nz.

Fa'atagana mai le Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga (Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval)

O lenei sa'ili'iliga ua iloiloina ma ua taliaina e le Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga (Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval), talosaga Ueligitone 05/68. Afai e iai sou fa'agaulemalie i le fa'ataut aiga o lenei sa'ili'iliga fa'amolemole fa'afeso'ota'i Professor Sylvia Rumball, Sea, Komiti e Va'ava'aia Fa'atinoga o Sa'ili'iliga i vaega 'ese'ese o le Soifuaga ((Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN telephone (64) (6) 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix C3: Student and Family Questionnaire Particpant Consent Form (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

]

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

2006 STUDENT AND FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE

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

I agree that the researcher may access my national school examination records for statistical analysis as part of the research

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

Full Name - printed .....

Appendix C4: Student and Family Questionnaire Particpant Consent Form (Samoan)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

SA'ILI'ILIGA FA'ATATAU I LE FA'ASOA LIMALELEI MO A'OA'OGA I SĀMOA

MALIEGA A Ē OLE'Ā 'AUAI I LE SA'ILI'ILIGA

PEPA FESILI MO I LATOU OLO'O A'O'OGA I LE 2006 MA O LATOU 'ĀIGA

Ua māe'a ona ou faitauina fa'amatalaga o le sa'ili'iliga ma ua ou manino fo'i i vaega 'ese'ese o le sa'ili'iliga. Ua fa'amalieina fesili sa ou lagā ma ua ou malamalama fo'i e tatala pea avanoa i so'o se taimi mo ni fesili e alia'e mai.

Ua ou malie ou te 'auai i le sa'ili'iliga lenei e tusa ma aiaiga e pei ona tu'uina mai i le pepa o fa'amatalaga.

Ua ou tu'uina atu fo'i le fa'atagana e tāpā ai e le olo'o fa'atautaia le sa'ili'iliga fa'amaumauga o i'uga o a'u su'ega mo au'ili'iliga o le sa'ili'iliga.

Sainia: ..... **Aso:** .....

Suafa (lolomi) .....

Appendix C5: Student and Family Questionnaire (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

STUDENT AND FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE

2006 STUDENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER _____

STUDENT NAME _____

Please complete the questionnaire and return it to the sealed box in the Principals office by _____

PART A STUDENT PERSONAL DATA

1 Gender

i. Male Yes
ii. Female Yes

2 Age _____

3 Ethnicity

i. Samoan
ii. Other -please specify _____

4 Home village _____

5 Village of usual residence _____

6 Have you lived in other countries

a. Yes
b. No

7 If you have lived in other countries please say where and for how long

Country _____for _____Years_____Months
Country _____for _____Years_____Months
Country _____for _____Years_____Months
Country _____for _____Years_____Months

8 Have your parents lived in other countries

a. Yes
b. No
If Yes then which countries?

Father

Country _____for _____Years_____Months
Country _____for _____Years_____Months
Country _____for _____Years_____Months
Country _____for _____Years_____Months

Mother

Country _____for _____Years_____Months
Country _____for _____Years_____Months

Country _____ for _____ Years _____ Months

Country _____ for _____ Years _____ Months

9 Total number of completed years of schooling (including 2005 but not including 2006) _____

10 List all the schools you have attended

i. Primary _____

_____

_____

ii. Secondary _____

_____

_____

11 List the classes that you have been in at secondary school (eg 9-1, 9-2, 10-3, 11-1 etc)

Year 9 ____ Year 10 ____ Year 11 ____ Year 12 ____ Year 13 ___

12 School Year level in 2005 _____

13 Which language are you best able to understand?

i. Samoan
ii. English
iii. Other (e.g French, Japanese, German)

14 Which language are you best able to express yourself in school learning?

i. Samoan
ii. English
iii. Other (e.g French, Japanese, German)

15 How much time do you study at home each day?

i. Less than half an hour
ii. 1 hr
iii. 1.5 hr
iv. 2+

16 Do you take extra classes after school?

i. extra tuition in a school subject
ii. hobby classes such as music lessons, dance, art
iii. Aoga Faifeau
iv. Autala vou

PART 2: FAMILY DATA

17 Parents Employment status

Parents employment	Mother	Father
Employer		
Employee		
Self-employed		
Unpaid or Assisting family worker		

Note: Employment status:

Employer: Those persons in business who are assisted by permanent workers and who own the business.

Employee: Persons who work for public or private employers and receive remuneration in wages, salary, commission, tips, piece-rates or pay in kind

Self employed: Those working on their own and bear the entire risk of their job\business and have no particular employers e.g.: taxi owner, farmer

Unpaid or Assisting family worker: Person who work for household economic activities without receiving any form of payment e.g.: planter, craft-maker

18 Parents Occupation / Job

Father _____

Mother _____

19 Housing

a) What type of house do you live in?

(Choose the house type from Figure 1 that is most like your house and tick one of the boxes below)

Type of house	
Open Samoan fale	
Open Samoan fale with extensions	
Closed Samoan Fale	
Closed Samoan Fale with extensions	
Open European	
Open European with extensions	
Closed European	
Closed European with extensions	
European 2 floors	
Samoan fale 2 floors	

b) What is the ownership of the land that your house is on?
(Tick one of the boxes below)

Ownership of the land	
Customary	
Freehold	
Government	
Church	
Leased	

c) What is the ownership of the house that you live in?
(Tick one of the boxes below)

Ownership of House	
Owned by the occupants	
Rented	
Provided with job/school	
House sitting	

d) What are the sources of household income?

(Tick the appropriate boxes

All sources of Household income	
Salary/wages	
Business	
Plantation/farm	
Fishing	
Handicrafts	
Old-age pension	
Remittances	
Gifts/donations	
Traditional ceremonies	
Others (lotteries)	

e) What items does the household own?

(Tick the appropriate boxes below)

Does the house hold own	
Refrigerator	
Television	
Radio	
Video	
Computer	
Internet	
Fixed phone	
Cellular phone	

20 Which language is spoken most often at home?

i. Samoan
ii. English
iii. Other (e.g French, Japanese, German)

21 Educational Achievement

What is the highest educational achievement of your parents?	Mother	Father
Completed: Level below Year 1/Primer 1		
Completed: Primer 1 (Year 1)		
Completed: Primer 2 (Year 2)		
Completed: Primer 3 (Year 3)		
Completed: Standard 1/2 (Year 4)		
Completed: Standard 3 (Year 5)		
Completed: Standard 4 (Year 6)		
Completed: Form 1 (Year 7)		
Completed: Form 2 (Year 8)		
Completed: Form 3 (Year 9)		
Completed: Form 4 (Year 10)		
Completed: Form 5/Lower 5 (Year 11)		
Completed: Upper 5 (Year 12)		
Completed: Form 6 (Year 13)/Combined		
Completed: Form 7, UPY		
Finished some years at Post-secondary or University Institutions but not completed		
Completed Post-secondary education at Institutions other than Universities		
Completed Post-secondary at University Institutions		
Completed Pastor's school only (Aoga Faifeau/Misi)		
Never attended school		
Completed Special education for the Disabled		

Appendix C6: Student and Family Questionnaire (Samoan)

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Palmerston North
New Zealand

SA'ILI'ILIGA FA'ATATAU I LE FA'ASOA LIMALELEI MO A'OA'OGA I SĀMOA

PEPA FESILI : O Ē NA A'O'OGA MA O LATOU 'ĀIGA

PEPA FESILI NUMERA _____

IGOA MUAMUA _____ **FA'AI'U** _____

Fa'amolemole fa'atumu le pepa fesili ma taua'ao ane i le pusa ua saunia fa'apitoa olo'o i le ofisa o le Ulua'oga, a'o le'i māe'a le aso

_____

VAEGA A FA'AMATALAGA O E OLO'O AO'OGA I LE 2006

Fa'amolemole tali fesili nei e tusa ai ma oe i le tausaga e 2006

1 Itū'āiga

i. Ali'i Ioe
ii. Tama'ita'i Ioe

2 Tausaga o lou soifua i le 2006 _____

3 Tagata nu'u

i. Sāmoa
ii. O se isi (fa'ailoa mai)
_____

4 Nu'u _____

5 Nu'u olo'o e nofo ai _____

6 Sa e aumau i se isi atunu'u?

a. Ioe
e. Leai

7 Afai sa e aumau i se isi atunu'u, ta'u mai le atunu'u ma le umi fo'i sa e aumau ai

Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina
Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina
Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina
Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina

8 Sa aumau ou matua i se isi atunu'u?

a. Ioe
e. Leai

Afai e ioe, o le fea atunu'u ma le umi sa iai?

Tamā

Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina
Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina
Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina
Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina

Tinā

Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina
Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina

Atunu'u _____umi_____tausaga_____masina

9 Aofa'i o tausaga na e iai i a'oa'oga (e aofia ai le 2005 ae aua le faitauina ai le 2006**)** _____

10 Lisi mai a'oga uma sa e a'oga ai

i. A'oga Tulagalua _____

_____

_____

ii. A'oga Maualuluga _____

_____

_____

11 Ta'u mai vasega na e iai(ft. 9-1, 9-2, 10-3, 11-1)

Vasega 9 ____ Vasega 10 ____ Vasega 11 ____ Vasega 12 ____

Vasega 13 ___

12 Vasega olo'o e iai nei _____

13 O le ā le gagana e sili ona e malamalama ai?

i. Gagana Samoa
ii. Gagana Peretania
iii. O se isi (ft. Fa'afalani, Fa'asapani, Fa'asiamani)

14 O le fea gagana e pito i sili ona mafai ona e fa'aaogāina i a'oa'oga?

i. Gagana Samoa
ii. Gagana Peretania
iii. O se isi (ft. Fa'afalani, Fa'asapani, Fa'asiamani)

15 O le ā le tele o le taimi e te fa'aaogāina i au mea a'oga i lou 'āiga i aso ta'itasi?

i. lalo ifo o le afa itula

ii. 1 itula
iii. 1 ma le afa itula
iv. sili atu i le 2 itula

16 E te auai i nisi vasega fa'aopoopo pe 'ā tu'ua le a'oga? (fa'asa'o uma tali talafeagai)

i. vasega fa'aopoopo i se matā'upu o le ā'oga
ii. vasega mo nisi matā'upu e pei o le musika, siva, mf.
iii. Aoga Faifeau
iv. Autalavou

VAEGA 2: FA'AMATALAGA O LOU 'ĀIGA

17 Itū'āiga galuega a ou mātua

Itū'āiga Galuega	**Tina**	**Tama**
Fa'afaigaluegaina nisi tagata		
Tagata faigaluega totogi		
Galue i sana lava atina'e		
Galue fesoasoani mo le 'āiga		

18 Galuega a ou mātua i le taimi nei

Tamā _____

Tinā _____

19 Fale olo'o alala ai

a. O le ā le itū'āiga fale olo'o tou alala ai? (fa'asa'o le pusa e tasi e pito i sili ona talafeagai)

Itū'āiga fale	
Fale Samoa ta'alaelae	
Fale Samoa ta'alaelae e iai se fa'ase'e	
Fale Samoa ua iai si'o ma fa'amalama	
Fale Samoa ua iai si'o ma fa'amalama ma se fa'ase'e	
Fale palagi ta'alaelae	
Fale palagi ta'alaelae ma e iai se fa'ase'e	

Fale palagi ua fai si'o ma fa'amalama	
Fale palagi ua fai si'o ma fa'amalama ma e iai se fa'ase'e	
Fale palagi fogafalelua	
Fale Samoa fogafalelua	

e. O le ā le tulaga o iai le umia o fanua olo'o alala ai? (fa'asa'o le pusa e tasi e pito i sili ona talafeagai)

Umia o fanua olo'o alala ai	
Fanua fa'aleaganu'u	
Fanua umia tuto'atasi	
Fanua o le malo	
Fanua o le Ekalesia	
Fanua lisi	

i. O le ā le tulaga o iai le umia o fale olo'o tou alala ai? (fa'asa'o le pusa e tasi e pito i sili ona talafeagai)

Umia o fale	
O lo matou fale totino	
Fale mautotogi	
Fale olo'o maua ona o le galuega	
Fale o se isi na matou va'aia	

o. O ā alagatupe a le tou 'āiga (fa'asa'o pusa uma e talafeagai)

Alaga tupe maua	
Totogi o galuega	
Pisinisi	
Faatoaga	
Fagotaga	
Faiva alofilima	
Penisiona	
Tupe maua mai fafo	
Meaalofa, alofa foa'i	
Fa'alavelave o le 'āiga	
O isi (ft, bingo, loto)	

o. O fea o mea nei olo'o fa'atotogaina ai lo tou maota/laoa? (fa'asa'o pusa uma e talafeagai)

Fa'atotogaina o fale ma meafale	
Pusa'aisa	
Televise	
Leitio	
Vito	
Komipiuta	
Initaneti	
Telefoni i le fale	
Telefoni feavea'i	

20 O le ā le gagana olo'o sili ona fa'aaogā mo fetufaa'iga i totonu o le 'āiga?

i. Gagana Samoa
ii. Gagana Peretania
iii. O se isi (ft. Fa'afalani, Fa'asapani, Fa'asiamani)

21 Tulaga 'ausia i a'oa'oga

a. O le ā le tulaga o a'oa'oga pito i maualuga ua ausia e ou mātua?

Tulaga o a'oa'oga pito i maualuga ua ausia e ou mātua	**Tinā**	**Tamā**
Māe'a: lalo ifo o le Vasega 1		
Māe'a Vasega 1 po o le Primer 1		
Māe'a : Vasega 2 po o le Primer 2		
Māe'a: Vasega 3 po o le Primer 3		
Māe'a : Vasega 4 po o le Standard 1/2		
Māe'a: Vasega 5 po o le Standard 3/Year 5		
Māe'a: Vasega 6 po o le Standard 4/Year 6		
Māe'a: Vasega 7 po o le Form 1/Year 7		
Māe'a: Vasega 8 po o le Form 2/Year 8		
Māe'a: Form 3/Year 9		
Māe'a: Form 4 (Year 10)		
Māe'a: Form 5/Lower 5 (Year 11)		
Mäe'a: Upper 5 (Year 12)		
Māe'a: Form 6 (Year 13)/Combined		
Completed: Form 7, UPY		
Māe'a nisi o tausaga i a'oga e pei o le univesite ae le'i uma		
Māe'a a'oa'oga i nisi o fa'alapotopotoga e 'ese mai i le iunivesete		
Māe'a a'oa'oga i le univesite		
Māe'a a'oa'oga i le Aoga Faifeau/Misi		
E le'i a'oga		
Māe'a a'oa'oga mo i latou e iai mana'oga fa'apitoa		

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEWS

Appendix D1: Interview Information Sheet (English)

Appendix D2: Interview Participant Consent Form (English)

Appendix D1: Interview Information Sheet (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

Introduction

My name is Alan Male. I am a candidate for a Doctorate of Education (EdD) at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. I am conducting research about the development of education in Samoa as part of my EdD degree programme.

During the period 1995-2005 Samoa implemented a bold programme of educational reforms which had a number of objectives. The core of the activities was aimed at establishing an education system "characterised by equity, quality, relevancy, and efficiency".

My research is to evaluate the outcomes of the Samoa 1995-2005 education reform program to see what progress has been made to develop an education system characterised by 'equity'. This interview is part of the evaluation.

An important focus of the study is to find out what people in Samoa understand by the term 'equity' and to find out their experiences of equity within the education system of Samoa and their\opinions of how 'equity' could be shown within the education system of Samoa. This interview is designed to explore opinions.

There is no right or wrong answer in this research. It is aimed at trying to assist the education planners in Samoa to continue to plan and implement developments that assist students to gain as much as they can from the education system.

This information can then be used to assist in the evaluation of the reform programme.

The research study has been approved by the Samoa Minister of Education, Sports and Culture and by the Chief Executive Officer of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. The research programme has also been approved by Massey University and is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Wayne Edwards HOD Department of Social and Policy Studies in Education.

You are invited to be involved in the study through this interview because you have also been one of the people that have been part of the education system during the

period 1995-2005 and therefore you have direct experience that is valuable to the research.

The data collected from this interview will be analysed and presented as part of the data collected from the group of interviewees. It will be presented as if from an anonymous source. No personal information will be made public in anyway.

When participating in the interview you have the right to decline to answer any particular question. However, responding to the questions asked implies that you are agreeing to the information to be used as part of the study.

The information from the interview will be used as part of the research study. The audio record will be transcribed. The transcript of the interview will be sent to you so you can see the record of the interview. The transcript will be analysed for the information given and the opinions and views expressed. The information will be transferred to a computer system and summarized into statistical tables and thematic presentations of the views and opinions. Your name will not be recorded in the computer data and therefore there will be no record that you provided particular information.

The summary data will be processed to show statistical patterns and the balance of opinions. Some statements that are examples of key opinions may be transcribed and presented in the study. They will not be identified. If you are interested a copy of the summary can be provided to you at the end of the research.

The audio recording of the interview and the transcript will be held secure in New Zealand until the research is completed and then will be destroyed. All the statistical data will be recorded onto CD and held securely in New Zealand. None of the questionnaire responses will be used for any other research.

The interview will take about 60 minutes to complete.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. However, if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

* decline to answer any particular question;
* withdraw from the study at anytime up until December 2006;
* ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
* provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
* be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

When the interview is being audio taped you have the right to ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

A copy of a summary of the research findings will be provided to you at the end of the research and will be discussed at a seminar at the completion of the study.

You are welcome to contact Alan Male (email: amale@samoa.ws ph: 7770214) and/or Professor Wayne Edwards (email: W.L.Edwards@massey.ac.nz) if you have any questions about the project.

Massey University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/68. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN telephone (64) (6) 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix D2: Interview Information Sheet (English)

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

STUDY OF EQUITY IN THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

INTERVIEW

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

This consent from will be held for a period of five (5) years

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 audio taped. I understand that a copy of the transcript will be sent to me so that I have the opportunity to edit the transcript of my comments.

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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