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EVALUATING THE IMPACTS OF THE
SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION PROGRAM
IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC NATION OF TUVALU

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October 1985

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SUMMARY

The Save the Children Federation (SCF) has been implementing a community-based development program on all eight atolls of the South Pacific nation of Tuvalu since 1980. The five-year evaluation of the SCF program, carried out during June-August 1985, incorporates the perceptions of a stratified sample of 48 community dwellers on three atolls which were selected as case sites. Local leaders and development workers were also interviewed in each community, as were Government and SCF officials in Funafuti. In addition, local development projects planned or implemented during the past five years were reviewed based on a specified set of criteria.

The following represent the major findings which emerged from the evaluation:

- SCF has had a marked impact in improving the quality of life in Tuvalu in the area of water supply, and has also been responsible for less extensive improvements in food production and nutrition, transport and village improvement.
- SCF has played a significant role in improving income generation, a factor which has benefitted local development overall.
- SCF has supported physical planning and site design in several communities, addressing an important perceived need.
- The development orientation of local leaders and development workers appeared to have broadened as a result of the Island Development Plan (IDP) process supported by SCF and through the agency's emphasis on community contributions to local development.
- Virtually every individual in Tuvalu is familiar with SCF, and the agency's projects and programs have enjoyed a high degree of visibility and considerable popularity.
- Community dwellers have a greater awareness of physical development in their communities than of development planning.
- SCF's projects have benefitted communities in an equal fashion with only minor exceptions.
- Little progress has been noted in increasing the breadth of participation in the local development planning process.
- The capacity for local organization has improved as a direct result of SCF projects, particularly the large-scale water project.
- Compared to local resource mobilization, linkages to outside resources are still relatively few.
- As a result of SCF's efforts in technology transfer, new skills and technologies have been internalized and are being replicated.

- The current status of the Island Development Plan (IDP) process supported by SCF in collaboration with the Tuvalu Government is disappointing in terms of implementation, although its benefits are widely understood at the local and central levels.
- The organizational structure of the Tuvalu Field Office appears well suited to the needs of the program and its environment.
- SCF's field workers have played an important role in implementing agency and community development programs.
- SCF has provided its field workers with regular training which has frequently involved community leaders and other development workers, but there are some weaknesses in training which need to be addressed.
- SCF's emphasis on implementing projects on a national scale has frustrated communities which choose to deviate from the national norm for progress.
- The excellent cooperative relationship between SCF and the Tuvalu Government has been a positive factor in the overall success of the agency's programs to date.

The following recommendations, which emerged from the findings presented above, are offered to SCF as alternatives for use in directing the agency's future programs in Tuvalu:

- The agency should continue its provision of consultants for the special needs of Government and other public and private agencies.
- SCF should continue the emphasis on self-help in its programs and should gradually increase community responsibility for development.
- More effort is required in revitalizing the IDP process, which has proven beneficial where successful and is generally well-regarded.
- Experiments in the exchange or rotation of IDC's and Community Workers should be attempted soon.
- The agency's apparent policy of implementing most of its projects on a national scale should be reviewed and revised to be more sensitive to the individual needs of communities.
- Testing and careful screening of new technologies should take place prior to their introduction on a large-scale in the field.
- A greater effort should be made towards working through established local groups in the implementation of SCF's programs.
- SCF should take care not to expand its operations beyond the scope and scale which can be handled by the program and the impact area.
- The agency should continue to expand its involvement in the area of water resources improvement.
- SCF should continue its support of projects which promote income generation, an area which has proven to be important to the success of many local development efforts.

- A sustained effort should be made in the promotion of household gardening in order to maintain current enthusiasm and awareness.
- SCF should assume a greater role in the implementation of projects which benefit the youth of Tuvalu's communities.
- The Tuvalu should continue its current programmatic and organizational flexibility.
- The low profile of the "Lifeline" sponsorship program should be maintained.
- Communication with IDC's and Community Workers on the outer islands needs to be improved in its quality and regularity.
- An attempt should be made soon to begin the internalization of the IDC and Community Worker positions within the Island Council.
- Communities should be more closely involved in policy-making for individual projects.
- TFO should institute a program of upgrading its record-keeping on projects and relevant indicators.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Agency for International Development	AID
Boat Development Industry of Tuvalu	BDIT
Community Based Integrated Rural Development	CBIRD
Island Development Coordinator (SCF)	IDC
Island Executive Officer (Tuvalu Government)	IEO
Operational Program Grant (AID)	OPG
Primary Health Care	PHC
Save the Children Federation	SCF
South Pacific Commission	SPC
Tuvalu Field Office	TFO
United Nations	UN
University of the South Pacific	USP
World Health Organization	WHO

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PART I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Purpose and Objectives

The Save the Children Federation (SCF), an American private voluntary organization, has been working with communities in the South Pacific atoll¹ nation of Tuvalu since 1980 (see Figure 1). At that time, the agency initiated a community development program on all eight atolls of the country based on the philosophy of helping communities to achieve a better quality of life for themselves, and hence for their children. Over the past five years, SCF's program has grown to play a significant role in community development in Tuvalu.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the performance of the SCF program by looking at the impacts which have occurred at the community level as a result of the program. The study involves a survey of the rural development process and projects of the past five years in selected atolls of Tuvalu based on a specified set of criteria and indicators (see Figures 2 and 3).

SCF has stressed that the emphasis of this evaluation of its program should concern primarily the impacts of the program in the target communities. In addition to the role played by such a program

¹The term "atoll" is used throughout this study in preference to the term "island" due to its greater accuracy in describing Tuvalu's landforms. "Island" is used in reference to communities and in instances where the use of the term is established.

Figure 1

Map of Tuvalu and the Pacific Region

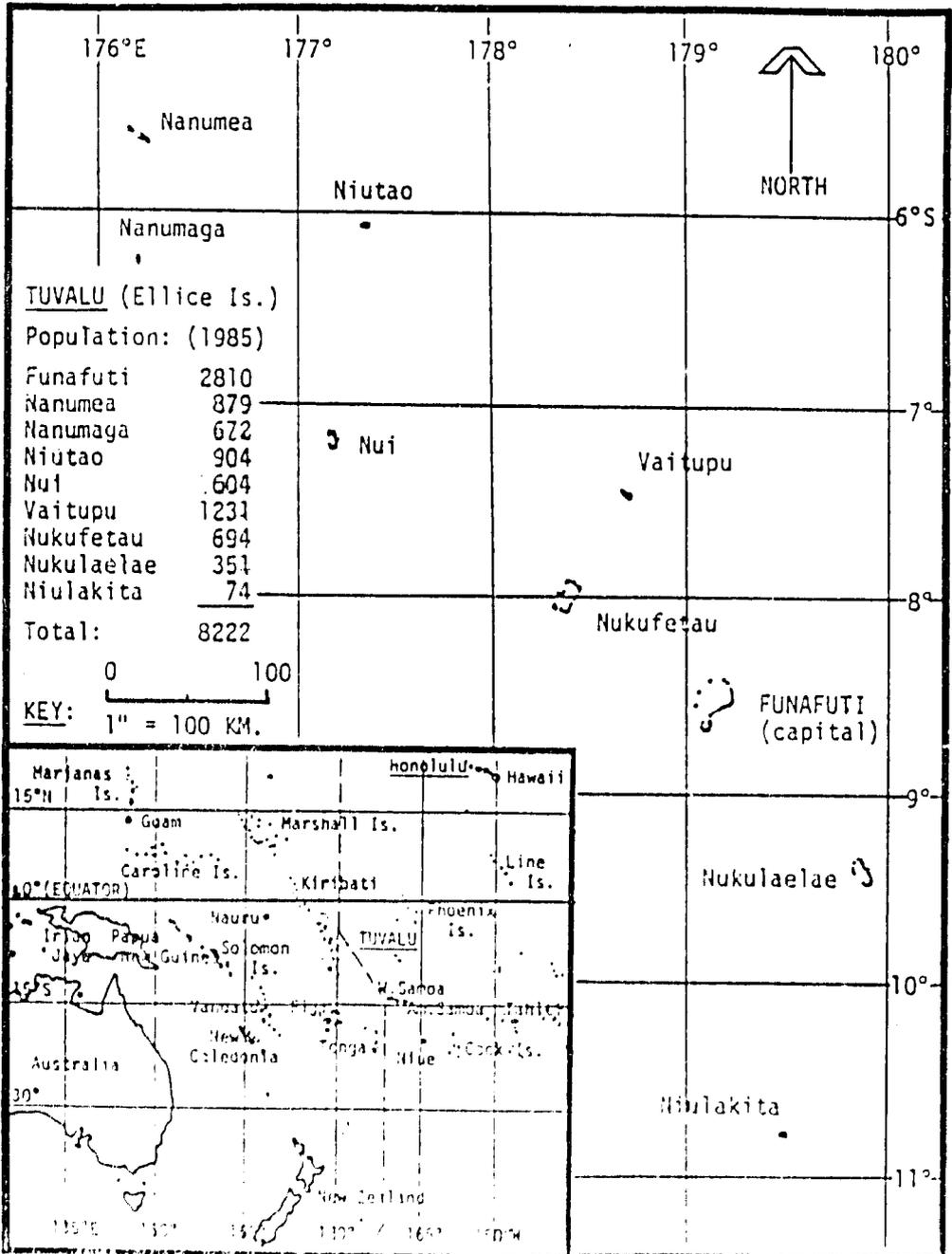


Figure 2

Map of Data Collection Sites

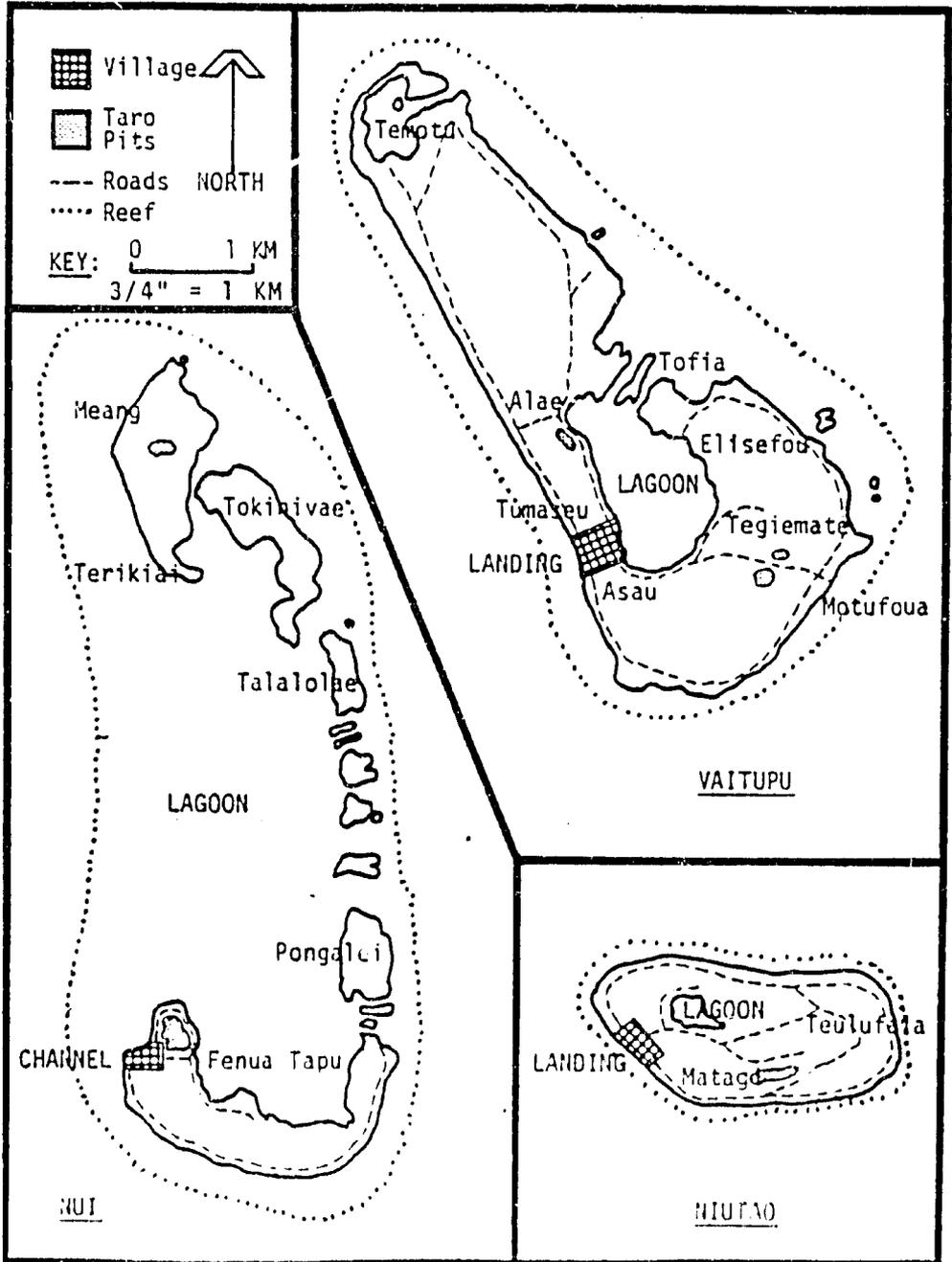
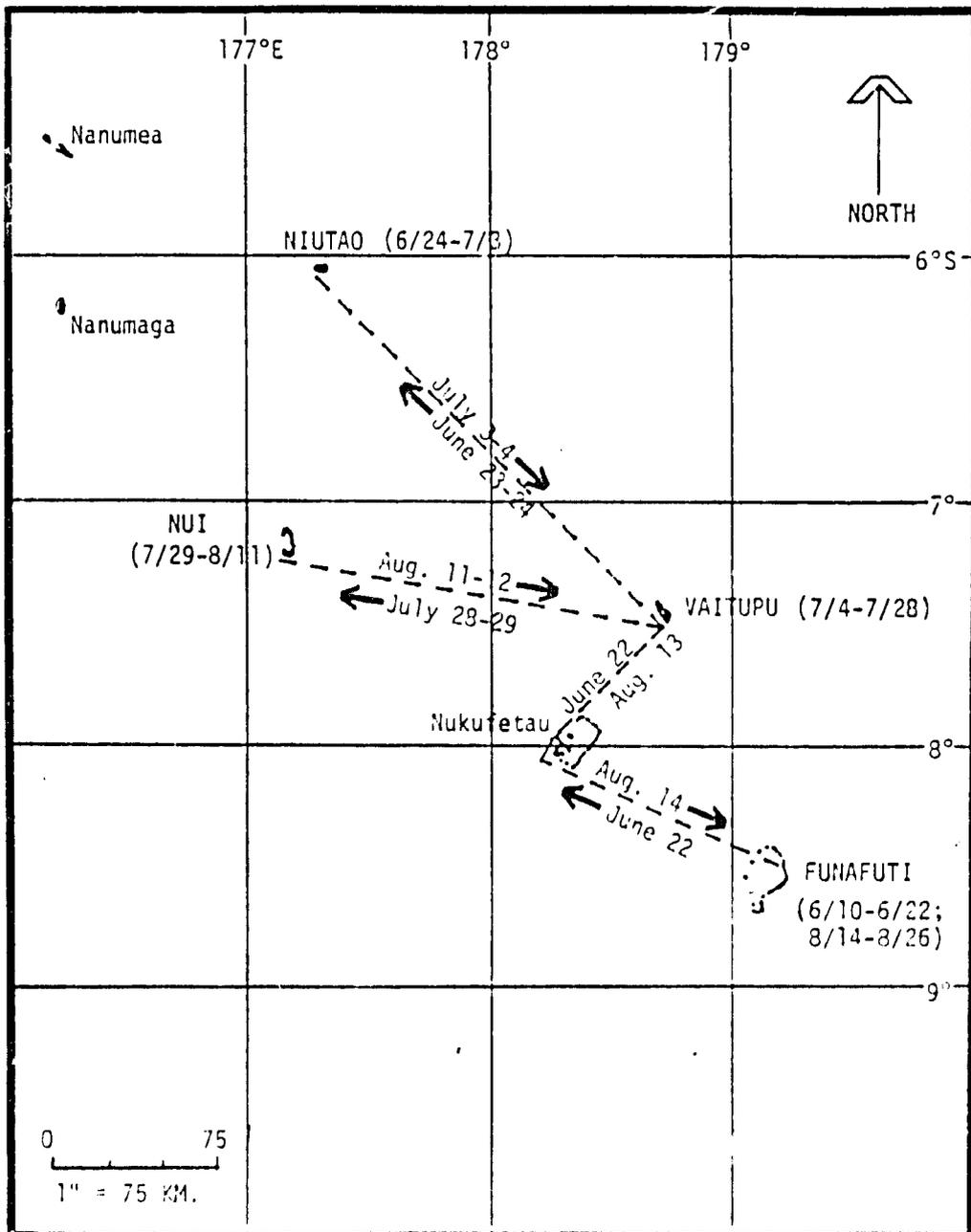


Figure 3
Map of Field Study Itinerary



evaluation, the agency has two other types of evaluation which are commonly undertaken separately in all of its programs worldwide. These include the financial audit and the management evaluation. These two aspects will not be addressed in this study, except where such issues have affected the course of the program and its impacts at the community level.

Research Hypothesis and Assumptions

The hypothesis of this study is that the SCF program has had a positive measurable impact in the identified areas of concern. A related question which is addressed is whether community-based strategies for development (characteristic of SCF's program) have been more effective in increasing the quality of life in Tuvalu's communities than have most "top-down" efforts (characteristic of the post-colonial system inherited by the Tuvalu Government).

An important assumption that is being made for the purposes of this study is that the SCF program has been one of the most active agents of community development in Tuvalu over the period of the evaluation. The validity of this assumption will be supported in the body of the study. The Government's acceptance of SCF's rural development philosophy and strategies in late-1981, after the election of a new administration, will account for some of the changes in SCF's program impacts on local development over time.

A second assumption is that case studies of three communities will give an accurate representation of the nationwide situation regarding SCF's program. This study uses the communities of Tuvalu as its focus,

drawing from case studies on three different atolls. This has been deemed the most feasible approach to such an evaluation due to limitations of time and of transport. With its small land area and population and its physical and sociocultural homogeneity, Tuvalu provides a simplified setting in which to test the relative merits of old and new philosophies of multi-sectoral rural development.

Significance of the Study

The five-year external program evaluation is a standard practice in SCF's operations worldwide. The agency wants to know what the impacts of its program have been, after five years, on the "quality of life" and on the community management of the local development planning process in the communities of Tuvalu. In addition, the agency desires an understanding of the way in which its program fits into the general picture of community development in Tuvalu.

The results of the evaluation will give SCF an understanding of the effectiveness of its program in meeting stated goals and assisting the communities that have been involved. In addition, the evaluation is a requirement for the renewal of the agency's five-year Operational Program Grant (OPG) from the U.S. Agency for International Development, a major source of funding for SCF's Tuvalu program budget. The proposal for the renewal of the OPG must be submitted by March 1986. Therefore, SCF will begin working on the proposal following the submission of this evaluation in October 1985.

The evaluation findings will be used by SCF's Asia/Pacific Regional Office and by the Tuvalu Field Office in Funafuti as a learning tool

which will affect the design and implementation of future programs. Due to SCF's close working relationship with the Tuvalu Government, there may also be an influence on government policy and practice concerning rural development through the agency's linkage with the Local Government Office in the Office of the Prime Minister. It is hoped that through this avenue, the evaluation findings will contribute to the development of a more appropriate planning model which will decentralize responsibility for planning and will emphasize the role and resources of local governments and communities. At the community level, it is hoped that the research findings will help to establish a context for future local development and planning.

SCF Program Goals and Objectives

The primary and ultimate purpose of the five-year evaluation of the SCF program in Tuvalu is to assess the progress made towards the attainment of the goals and objectives of the agency, and specifically those stated for the Tuvalu program. SCF's programs worldwide seek to achieve the following objectives (Save the Children Federation, 1980):

- a) to improve the quality of life;
- b) to stimulate the process of community development;
- c) to develop a better understanding of methodologies for the elimination of the conditions and causes of poverty; and,
- d) to provide models of effective and integrated development.

The agency's Implementation Plan for a Community Based Integrated Island Development Program in Tuvalu (Save the Children Federation, 1980) emphasized that its long-term goal was ". . . to assist the new

nation of Tuvalu in realizing the national goals of self-reliance and decentralization in social and economic development at the island level". To attain that goal, three program objectives were put forth:

- 1) to strengthen the capabilities of the Island Councils and local people on their respective islands to assess local needs, to plan, implement and evaluate self-help projects, and to coordinate island development activities efficiently and effectively;
- 2) to encourage optimum use of local resources and technology methods appropriate to island conditions; and,
- 3) to promote increased cultural exchange, economic interdependence and communications among Tuvaluan islands and with the outside world.

This summary of the stated goals and objectives for the agency and for the Tuvalu program served as an initial framework for the development of the evaluation methodology (see Appendix A). This process is described in a later section. While the evaluation addressed each of these original objectives, it focused on the program's impacts on the quality of life and on the local development planning process after five years of program activity. In this way, the evaluation findings should provide the agency with an understanding of the effectiveness of its program in meeting stated objectives and in assisting the outer atoll communities of Tuvalu.

Summary of Sections

The first part of this report is directed towards orienting the reader to the study. Having presented the purpose and significance of the study, the remainder of the section describes the background of the evaluation and the methodology which was employed. Part II is

devoted to familiarizing the reader with the land, people and history of Tuvalu and with the Save the Children Federation. Emphasis is placed on establishing the context of community development in the country.

The products of the field research are presented in Part III. The section includes a summary of findings and a discussion of the process of analysis. This is followed by a more detailed presentation of specific findings. Finally, a series of recommendations which emerged from the findings are offered to the Save the Children Federation.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The field experience associated with this study was carried out in Tuvalu from June to August 1985. This not my first encounter with the land and people of Tuvalu. With a background in environmental planning, I went to Tuvalu as a Peace Corps volunteer in 1980. My two and one-half years in Tuvalu were spent with my wife on Nukulaelae, a rural outer island, where I worked with local government and community groups on the planning and implementation of development programs. With the small scale of the local society and with my own strong interest, I became familiar with the culture and life of rural Tuvalu. As a necessary prerequisite for the efficient execution of my duties, I developed fluency in the Tuvaluan language. The Pacific region has since become the setting for my educational and career development.

The period of time I spent in Tuvalu was one of great change. The country was experiencing the effects of the shift from colonial status

to nationhood, particularly in the areas of development and aid. Through an early working relationship established between the Peace Corps and the Save the Children Federation, I became the key counterpart to SCF's local field representative, the Island Development Coordinator (IDC). In 1981 and 1982, we organized and acted as facilitators in a community planning process for the formulation of annual island development plans. The 1981 plan included only projects involving SCF support. However, the 1982 plan was the primary ingredient from Nukulaelae for the Tuvalu Third National Development Plan for 1984-87.

Through my involvement in development planning on Nukulaelae and on several other atolls of Tuvalu, I became aware of community issues and priorities for rural development, and of the strategies and philosophies of both SCF and the Tuvalu government. I also made important contacts within the agency, the government and the community, most of which I have maintained to this day.

I continued to develop this interest in the Masters program in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Hawaii and through my involvement at the East-West Center. There I sought to investigate the various issues related to rural development planning in an academic setting, with an effort at broadening my past experience.

In November 1984, I met in Honolulu with the Regional Director of SCF's programs in Asia and the Pacific, who was formerly the Field Office Director of the Tuvalu program during my Peace Corps experience in Tuvalu. In discussing with him the status of my academic program,

he proposed the idea that I carry out the evaluation of the SCF program in Tuvalu as an academic field study, using this as the focus of my Masters thesis.'

This arrangement appeared to be desirable in several ways. First of all, it was recognized that I had experience with the language and culture of Tuvalu as well as a familiarity with the lifestyle of the outer islands. In addition, I was already acquainted with SCF's philosophy and with the early history of the agency's efforts in Tuvalu. Although I had worked closely with the program, I had always remained outside the agency and was thus equipped to carry out an external evaluation of the program which would be reasonably free of bias. Finally, the study provided an excellent focus for my evolving thesis, which to that point had been oriented more generally towards the subject of change in small Pacific communities and the implications for appropriate community development planning.

A proposal for field study support was submitted to the East-West Center Office of Student Affairs and Open Grants in February 1985. The proposal gave evidence of a clear plan for the proposed research and justified the need for the field study on the basis of my academic plan. The application included requests for round-trip transportation between Honolulu and Funafuti and a continuation of the stipend which was part of my grant for the pursuit of a graduate degree. Evidence of complementary support from SCF, in the provision of in-country transportation and assistance with lodging where necessary, was also included. In addition, a letter from the Tuvalu Government indicating

their support of the study was included. Approval of the proposal was received from Open Grants several weeks later, and henceforth I began to develop the logistics and methodology of the SCF program evaluation in greater detail.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Phases of the Research

The methodology for the evaluation of SCF's Tuvalu program involved three major steps: 1) data collection, 2) analysis of the data, and 3) development of findings and recommendations. The latter two phases are discussed in detail in Part III later in the study. The methods of data collection used were primarily qualitative. Such methods were well-suited to the cultural and social environment of the study. As Cabahug notes:

Using surveys it is possible to collect vast quantities of data in a short length of time, but the results may provide only a limited perspective When the purpose is exploratory, . . . other methodological approaches may prove more useful. Elements necessary for a better understanding of a community, such as insights into interrelationships and processes, are best secured through living for some time in the community as a participant observer (Cabahug, 1979:58).

Collection of Data

The collection of data for the SCF program evaluation was accomplished primarily through meetings with local leaders and development workers and in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a random sample of individuals in each community. The role of the evaluator was similar to that of a participant-observer. The Island

Development Coordinator (IDC) and the Community Worker, SCF's male and female field coordinators on each of Tuvalu's outer islands, took active roles as members of the evaluation team when this was practical and feasible. Their perceptions and knowledge of the local scene were valuable inputs to the evaluation process.

Informal discussions were held with as many of the following local leaders and civil servants as was feasible on each atoll: the Island Council President, leaders of village sides, the pastor, the aliki (traditional leaders of the community), the Women's Committee President, the local youth leader, the Island Executive Officer (IEO), the Agricultural Foreman, the Sanitation Aide, and the local health staff. In addition, there were many opportunities for dialogue with the IDC and Community Worker.

The first step in conducting the individual in-depth interviews involved the determination of the sample size. This was based to the extent possible on the tolerable level of sampling error, although it was felt that this was of minimal importance in a research design that was largely qualitative. According to the laws of statistical probability, for example, a sample size of 25 would yield an approximate confidence interval of only $\pm 10\%$ accuracy.

The sample was selected using a stratified method to ensure a proportional representation of the following sub-groups: males 40 years and older; males younger than 40 years; females 40 years and older; and females younger than 40 years. Systematic random sampling of all households on the atoll took place using the local Health Division records of households as a sampling frame. A sampling interval was

calculated by dividing the total number of households in the community by the desired sample size. A random starting point on the sampling frame was then selected and households were chosen consecutively (based on the sampling interval determined earlier) until the desired sample size was reached.

The age-sex subgroups mentioned earlier were chosen from this list of households, selecting a male 40 years or older from the first household, and so on. After the sample selection process was complete, personal contact was made with the potential informant and an explanation of the purpose of the study and the nature of his or her selection was given. If the individual agreed to participate, a time and date was arranged for the interview.

In addition to the process of village dialogue, relevant data was collected through research and observation. Sources of information included the SCF 1980 baseline survey and implementation plan, individual Island Development Plans (IDP's) for each community, Government of Tuvalu national development plans, SCF and Government project status reports, ICC and Community Worker reports on local activities and meetings, and other agency and government documents which were available.

One of the most important components of the evaluation methodology was the data collection agenda. This served as a guide for the coordination of the overall data collection effort. The plan outlined the process to be followed in a systematic, chronological fashion. It served as both a checklist and flowchart, assuring that all the necessary data was collected in an efficient manner (see Appendix B).

Appendix C shows the original schedule for the field portion of the study which was proposed prior to being undertaken in June - August 1985. Appendixes D and E include the two primary research instruments utilized in Tuvalu for the purposes of data collection. Appendix D is the survey form used in individual in-depth interviews and includes the summary responses of 48 interviewees. Appendix E shows the form used for the review of community development projects on each of the three islands visited. As with Appendix D, the summary findings are included.

PART II
A PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION
IN A SOUTH PACIFIC ATOLL NATION

TUVALU: PORTRAIT OF A SMALL ATOLL NATION

Tuvalu, a nation comprised of a chain of nine low-lying coral atolls and reef islands, has a total land area of ten square miles. The name "Tuvalu" refers to the traditional grouping of eight atolls, which excludes Niulakita, a formerly uninhabited reef island now used for copra cutting (see Figure 1, page 2). Each atoll has a single main village administered by an Island Council. The population of most villages is less than one thousand people. In addition, there are a few small settlements on outer islets of several of the atolls. Tuvalu stretches over a distance of nearly 400 miles from northwest to southeast in the center of the Pacific Ocean, north of Fiji. The people are Polynesian in language and culture. Their nation, formerly part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, gained independence from Britain in 1978.

Approximately seventy percent of Tuvalu's population of eight thousand maintain a relatively traditional lifestyle on the outer islands, living in villages of open, thatch-roofed houses arranged in grid patterns and dominated by a Western-style church. The remaining thirty percent live on Funafuti, site of the national capital. Tuvalu's outer islands are visited by the nation's single small ship, the M.V. Nivanga, on an average of once every two months.

THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN TUVALU

Urbanization

While the problems associated with urbanization in Funafuti remain to this day, they have not served to deter the migration of individuals and families from the outer islands. "City life" exerts a certain magnetic pull upon the people, who are attracted to the Western-style homes, electricity, entertainment, and opportunities for social interaction afforded to those in the capital who find a source of monetary income.

Concurrently, the status of life in the rural villages serves in many ways to push people out. Tuvalu's eight outer islands are seventy to three hundred miles away from Funafuti by open sea. In practical terms, this can mean a journey of up to several days by ship. Voyages to the outer islands may occur only every second month. While there are other existing avenues of communication, such as telegraph and radio telephone, these do not provide for the free transfer of western institutions and ideas. Therefore, westernization on the outer islands is effectively limited.

In addition to the lack of opportunities on the outer islands for making money, there are absences of community services, infrastructure, and other amenities enjoyed by those in Funafuti. Furthermore, the departure of large numbers of young people has made village life even less attractive to those who remain. As dictated by custom, outer islanders must double their efforts at subsistence fishing and food gathering to support their cousins in the capital.

Attractions of Rural Life

In spite of the pull exerted on rural Tuvaluans by the advantages of life in Funafuti, there are certain aspects of outer island life which motivate many to stay, as summarized in the following passage:

On the outer islands there are fewer people and more of the necessities of life can be obtained without cash. A simpler way of life, closer to the faka Tuvalu [the Tuvaluan way], can have its own distinct comforts and advantages, as people often realize after spending some time in the capital (Laracy, 1983:179).

The essence of traditional Tuvaluan values rests with the people of the outer islands. These values, described by Tongan sociologist Epeli Hau'ofa, include the following: the primacy of group interests over those of individuals; the sharing of goods and services; a strong sense for place and social continuity; intimacy in personal relationships; a flexible, creative, and politicized approach to communication; self-sufficiency and self-reliance; care for disadvantaged members of society at the personal level; and an integration of entertainment and the arts into community life (Hau'ofa, 1984). These values are common to the traditional institutions of most Polynesian cultures, including Tuvalu (Koch, 1961:203).

Outer islanders are often able to obtain a satisfactory minimum of those western goods which are most highly prized, such as radio cassette players, tools, and some basic staple foods which have already been integrated into the local diet. To date, these new institutions have served largely to change the way in which the people achieve their

goals of subsistence and recreation, rather than altering the goals themselves, as noted by anthropologist Anne Chambers (1975:91).

Recent Community Development Trends

To date, community development planning in Tuvalu has in many ways served to perpetuate the existing trends of centralization. This has been largely the result of the structure of government. One former Tuvaluan civil servant noted that different sectors or ministries within the Central Government carry out their respective programs with an apparent lack of cooperation or integration (Paeniu, 1984). In the outer islands, the problem of integrating development is compounded by factors of isolation.

Tuvalu typifies in many ways the case of small island polities as they move toward the 21st century. The majority of these countries have achieved independence within the past two decades. In addition to the challenges inherited from their colonial predecessors, island countries are being increasingly confronted with changes to traditional values and institutions. These changes require island polities to react and adjust in order to meet the impacts on their cultures and peoples. An appropriate mode of community development planning is a crucial factor in facilitating this process of adjustment.

THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION IN TUVALU

Background of SCF in Tuvalu

In late 1978, the new South Pacific Regional Development Officer at the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) in Suva, Fiji, wrote a letter to the President of SCF at the agency's headquarters in

Westport, Connecticut, U.S.A. The AID official was familiar with SCF's work in other parts of the world and noted that the development situation in the small atoll nation of Tuvalu seemed suited to the agency's philosophies and programs. He expressed particular enthusiasm regarding SCF's superior ability over large bilateral aid programs to deal with the problems of small South Pacific island countries. It was noted that a program in Tuvalu would have a potential impact upon the entire country.

In May 1979, SCF submitted a program proposal to the Government of Tuvalu, which was approved and signed. Two months later, a grant agreement between AID and SCF was reached, providing an initial sum of US\$75,000 to support a three year program for a community based integrated island development project in Tuvalu. Additional funds to US\$465,000 would be made available during the grant period subject to the provisions of the grant (Save the Children Federation, 1980).

As a first step in program planning, a baseline study was conducted by SCF in January and February 1980 on all atolls except Niulakita. The results of the survey formed the basis for an implementation plan. The agency planned to initiate, implement, and evaluate the island development program in collaboration with the local Island Councils, the Government of Tuvalu, the Peace Corps (another agency which had recently begun a program in the country), and AID in Fiji.

In May 1980, a Field Office Director arrived in Tuvalu from the U.S. to administer the program. His first task was to recruit and train eight field representatives, one from each atoll in Tuvalu, to

act as Island Development Coordinators (IDC's) on their respective atolls. These men were employed in their communities following three months of intensive training in SCF philosophies and program goals. It was envisioned that the IDC's would form a team with the Peace Corps volunteers on those atolls where volunteers were living. This team would work under the cooperative guidance of the local Island Council, helping to strengthen the Council's capacity for local planning and development and to build linkages within the community and with Central Government.

Early Program Activities

During its first several years of activity, the SCF program was dominated by a household water catchment and storage project, which began in early 1981. This project involved the construction of 1000-gallon ferrocement water tanks in all of Tuvalu's communities. The project reached approximately ninety percent of all households in the country. The second major thrust of the SCF program in its early years involved the introduction of the agency's CBIRD (Community Based Integrated Rural Development) process to every community. IDC's worked with Peace Corps volunteers, Island Councils, and other local groups and individuals to formulate individual community development plans, primarily for projects in which assistance was being sought from SCF. This early effort, which was well-balanced between "projects" and "process", required the majority of the time of IDC's and established the pace and context for the future of the SCF program in Tuvalu.

In 1983, SCF added a female counterpart to the IDC position when the employment of Community Workers on each atoll was taken over from the Government. Since that time, IDC's and Community Workers have functioned as teams in their communities. Their activities have ranged from the introduction of new technologies to the coordination of local development planning. In 1982 and 1983, the Government was assisted by SCF in holding workshops for the introduction of a local development process modeled on the CBIRD methodology. A group of local leaders and civil servants on each atoll were trained in the process, which was renamed the Island Development Plan (IDP) process by the Government.

In addition to their role in the IDP process, the IDC's and Community Workers have been involved in a variety of technical and educational projects. These include the construction of wire-reinforced sinks and smokeless stoves, household gardening, installation of household solar electric units, and recently, involvement in the Government's primary health care and family planning programs.

The agency's field office in Funafuti, which is staffed today by a Tuvaluan Field Office Director and a small support staff made up largely of Tuvaluans, coordinates financial, technical, and material support to its workers in the field. The IDC's and Community Workers have all been trained in basic technical and administrative skills and in the agency's planning process and philosophy of development. These individuals have coordinated the agency's activities on each atoll over the last five years, working with Island Councils (the local government

bodies) and other local groups. The goal is the internalization of both process and skills to make the community more self-sufficient and in control over its own development.

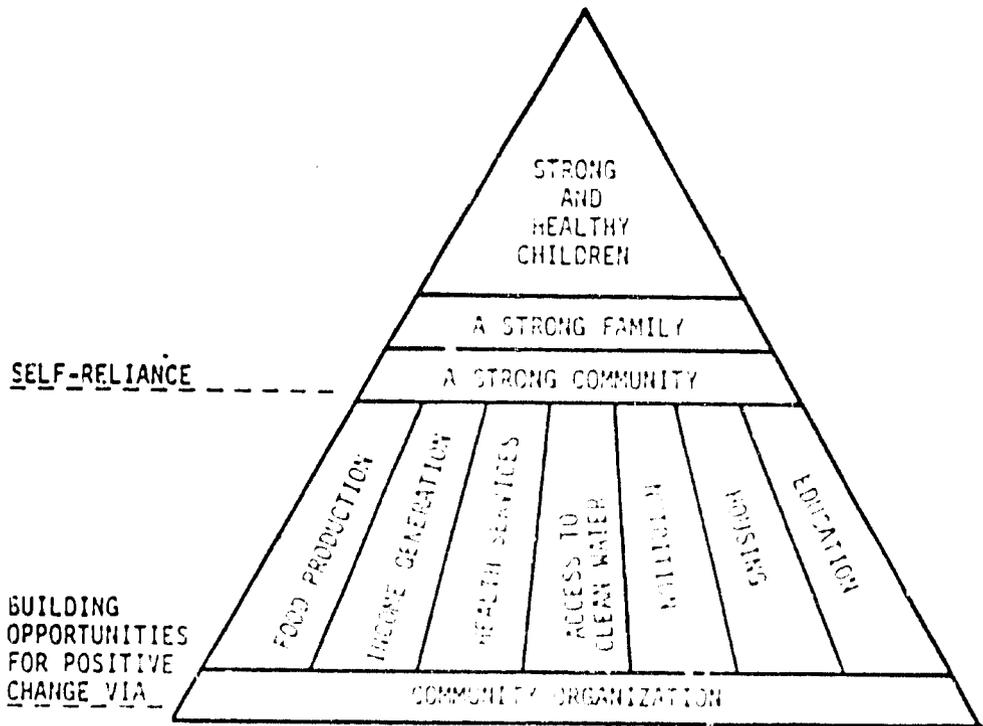
Organizational Philosophy

SCF's CBIRD process is based on five philosophical premises. The first of these is the belief that people have the potential to identify their own problems and can organize to solve these problems. Secondly, there is an emphasis on the maximization of local participation and its relationship to commitment and sustainability in rural development. The third premise links development to products and processes, two components which are of equal necessity in the development process. It is further recognized that problems, like solutions, are not sector-specific, but rather are interrelated. Finally, the agency believes that the child cannot be helped in isolation of his or her community or environment. Therefore, by helping communities at the "grass roots" level, the quality of life of all members of the community (and hence that of children) will be improved (Save the Children Federation, 1980).

The agency's development strategy is a "bottom-up" process which emphasizes self-help and the community's direct role in planning and carrying out its own development (see Figure 4). The first important structural component of the strategy is the "high impact project (HIP) area", in which the agency concentrates its resources for maximum impact. The field coordinator (in the case of Tuvalu, the IDC) performs another important function as a key link between the agency

Figure 4

Illustrative Diagram of SCF's CBIRD* Philosophy
*(Community Based Integrated Rural Development)
[from Save the Children Federation]



and the HIP area, or community. The final structural component is the "community committee" where it is hoped that the CBIRD process will be replicated and institutionalized (Save the Children Federation, 1980).

SCF's operational components include needs assessment by or in cooperation with community members, planning from the community level, participative development, self help, balanced and integrated social and economic development, and increasing the management capability of people. The SCF philosophy is a marked contrast to the "trickle-down" nature of most of the local development efforts of the Central Government, in which most local development is directly related to Government priorities. The agency has therefore attempted to encourage the participation of the Government in its process. A significant breakthrough was made in November 1981, when SCF established a quasi-official linkage with the Local Government Office in the Office of the Prime Minister. While not in itself a solution to Tuvalu's need for a decentralized approach to development, the presence of the SCF program offered the Government of Tuvalu an alternative for the future.

An evaluation of SCF's program to date, seen in the context of the overall state of Tuvalu's rural development, is a necessary step in helping the agency to direct its future efforts for maximum effectiveness. It will also yield invaluable data which will be of use to the Government of Tuvalu and to rural communities for local development planning purposes. On a broad scale, the example of SCF in Tuvalu will contribute to the growing body of alternative strategies for achieving rural development throughout the Pacific region.

PART III

FINDINGS OF THE EVALUATION

The findings presented in this section have been derived following the methodology described in the preceding parts. Included are discussions with approximately 40 local leaders and development workers and with Central Government officials, 48 in-depth interviews with a random sample of community dwellers, and a review of 77 local development projects which have been planned or implemented over a five-year period.

The section begins with discussions of the process of analysis and the development of the criteria to be used in presenting findings and proposing recommendations. This is followed by a summary of the major findings and a more detailed presentation of specific observations. The findings have been organized in four sections consistent with the earlier phases of the research. These include changes in the quality of life, attitudes and perceptions, and community management, and observations on aspects of the SCF program. This organization is designed to facilitate the use of the findings by SCF.

The findings are related to the general context of development in Tuvalu's communities in order to provide the agency a basis for comparison. A diagram showing an assessment of the relationship between the major findings and the evaluation criteria is found in Appendix F. The section concludes with a discussion of the baseline indicators established by SCF in 1980 and with specific recommendations.

NOTES ON ANALYSIS

As discussed in parts I and II, the time-series and comparative evaluation designs selected for the analysis of the field data proved to be inappropriate¹. Part of the data were coded and analyzed by computer, and frequencies and simple cross-tabulations were obtained using an SPSS^X statistical program for the social sciences. This rendered the large quantity of qualitative data more manageable. However, there remained the need to further systematize the data.

Guidance for this problem was found in David Pyle's proposal for the establishment of an impact-monitoring and process evaluation system for the SCF program in Bangladesh (Pyle, 1981). In attempting to quantify a large body of qualitative data to facilitate analysis, Pyle identified the significant "process factors" characteristic of a community's progression to self-reliance. These include needs assessment, consciousness, programmatic involvement, organization, comprehensiveness, finances, and linkages. In most cases, the factors correspond to components of SCF's CBIRD philosophy.

For the evaluation of process achievements, Pyle established scales of values ranging from 0 to 5 by which achievement in terms of each factor could be measured (Pyle, 1981:31-53). In 1983, Brian Riordan adapted the process evaluation system to the context of the SCF program in Kiribati (Riordan, 1983). He found that simplification of this

¹In the case of the time-series design, there was a lack of suitable baseline information from 1980. Similarly, little valuable data had been found for the purposes of comparison among the three atoll communities in which the data collection took place.

abstract and subjective system was necessary if it was to have any future application at the community level by program field personnel in Kiribati. One suggestion made was that quantitative indicators be measured on a simpler scale of "poor, passable, and good", which would be understood by all and would serve the same purpose as Pyle's scale.

In some ways, Pyle's framework yields an oversimplification of the data. A "self-evaluative statement" of the Tuvalu program prepared by SCF in late 1982 used Pyle's system for process evaluation (Save the Children Federation, 1982). An excerpt from this evaluation, showing Pyle's scale and the ratings given the program in 1982, is shown in Appendix G. It was initially thought that this interim evaluation would provide a useful basis for comparison between 1982 and 1985 achievement levels of Pyle's indicators. However, a review of the evaluation found it to be too subjective and superficial for the purposes of this study.²

Acknowledging the need for flexibility, Pyle notes that the process evaluation system is "suggestive and requires field testing to determine its applicability and usefulness" (Pyle, 1981:32). With existing qualitative data on the performance of the Tuvalu program, it was noted that Pyle's seven process factors provide suitable criteria by which the achievements of the SCF program may be evaluated and specific recommendations proposed. Therefore, while this study does

²The field portion of the study took place over a period of one to two and concerned two communities not included in this study. In addition, the evaluation involved primarily Peace Corps volunteers and IDC's.

not utilize Pyle's rating system, the process factors he proposes serve as a basis for the development of evaluation criteria which are relevant to SCF's program philosophy and methodology.

Also of use are SCF's own project criteria, shown in Figure 5. The agency's experience in applying its CBIRD methodology has indicated that successful development efforts contain most of these elements, many of which are related to Pyle's seven process factors. The following section builds on these two sources in establishing criteria for the purposes of this study.

DEVELOPMENT OF EVALUATION CRITERIA

Ten general criteria emerge from Pyle's process evaluation system and from SCF's own criteria for evaluation. These criteria, which are summarized in this section, serve as a basis for the presentation of findings and the proposal of recommendations in a later section.

Diagnosis

This criterion refers to a community's capacity to identify problems and to establish goals and needs for its development. This is an important factor in the community's ability to control its own development, and hence its future. Discussion of needs in relation to goals, and a review of alternatives should take place prior to deciding on a path of action. The inclusion of these early phases in the planning process also facilitates later evaluation. Therefore, one criterion for the measurement of an effective community development program is the capacity for community self-diagnosis.

Figure 5

SCF General Project Criteria

Experience has indicated that successful CBIRD projects contain most, if not all, of the following elements. These criteria should be considered in planning, approving and evaluating SCF projects.

1. The project addresses a felt need of the community
2. The project purpose is clearly defined and has indicators and procedures for evaluation.
3. The project has the support and involvement of a large and broadbased segment of the community.
4. The project benefits a cross-section of the community and improves the lives of children.
5. The project purpose is realistic in terms of available resources.
6. The project utilizes local resources (human, material and institutional) to the greatest extent possible.
7. The project is undertaken in collaboration with appropriate governmental and/or private agencies.
8. The project is consistent with local/regional/national development plans when feasible.
9. The project emphasizes human resource development (i.e. skills, management, leadership training).
10. The project is cost effective and has a high probability for replication.
11. The project is capable of becoming self-sustaining.
12. The project is integrated with other community projects or activities.
13. The project is sensitive to local culture, traditions and values.
14. The project is consistent with existing sectoral strategies.

[from Save the Children Federation, Inc., 1982]

Orientation

The orientation criterion refers to the community's understanding of its role, responsibilities, and rights in its own development. A community's orientation will lie on a continuum from a "dependency mentality" to one of self-reliance. A related component is the community's awareness of factors relating to local development, including power structures and access to resources. A people's orientation will also affect the degree to which they participate in development planning. An effective program for community development should therefore foster the expansion of a community's orientation.

Involvement

Involvement refers to the part taken by a community in a development program as well as in local development in general. Ideally, a representation of the community should be involved in all phases of the planning process, from needs assessment to implementation and evaluation. This may be achieved through direct participation or by alternative means that are suited to the social and cultural environment. This criterion relates closely to the breadth of a community's orientation, and is therefore important in the measurement of a program's effectiveness.

Organization

The organization criterion refers to a community's capacity to organize for the accomplishment of local development goals and objectives. A strong system of leadership is required. Similarly, representative participation is required in order for each phase of the

planning process to be effective. In evaluating community development programs, achievements in strengthening a community's organizational capacity or in providing the means for organization should be assessed.

Benefits Distribution

The equity of distribution of the benefits of development is an important factor in program evaluation. This criterion relates closely to that of involvement. Those who receive the benefits of development have a right, as well as a responsibility, to be involved in all phases of development planning. Therefore, another measure of achievement for a community development program is the degree to which program benefits are distributed equally throughout a target or impact area.

Self-Reliance

As with many of the preceding criteria, the self-reliance component is an important factor in a community's ability to plan and implement its own development and hence control its destiny. Self-reliance may be fostered through training in areas such as income generation. Indicators of self-reliance include the internalization of skills and the replication of technologies. Therefore, the self-reliance criterion is important in assessing development programs in that it measures the community's capacity to achieve development through its own skills and resources.

Linkages

This criterion refers to a community's access to resources outside the community and its ability to secure those resources. In combination with the component of self-reliance, this will determine a

community's successes in achieving its development goals and objectives. The existence of linkages is also an important factor in self-management. The fostering of linkages to outside resources is therefore a positive criterion by which community development programs should be evaluated.

Integration

Consistency and harmony with other development plans at the community and national levels is an important success factor in any community's development plan. Cooperation furthers sectoral goals while promoting achievement in other sectors. A community development program's capacity to foster horizontal and vertical integration of development is therefore a positive reflection on its effectiveness.

Internalization and Replication

Internalization and replication signify progress in the ability of a community to embrace new skills, ideas, and technologies to be put to use in its own development. Therefore, this criterion is related to many of the aforementioned criteria in that it signifies a community's control over its development. A reliable measurement of a program's effectiveness will be the degree to which new skills are internalized and technologies replicated.

Cultural Sensitivity

This criterion refers to the harmony which exists between the strategies of a development program and the social and cultural environment in which it is implemented. Attention to accomplishing goals and objectives in a way that enhances rather than decimates local

traditions, values, and practices will work with rather than against development. The culture of a community is reactive and adaptive, but time is required. Therefore, an effective community development program incorporates cultural elements and is implemented in a way that is harmonious with the cultural environment.

FINDINGS ON IMPROVEMENTS IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE

Summary

This is perhaps the first time that SCF has looked at the multi-sectoral effects of its program on the quality of life in Tuvalu. Past efforts have primarily assessed achievement in individual sectors (such as water supply) and in the transfer of process skills. There have been definite improvements in the quality of life as perceived by a sample of community dwellers, most of whom feel that life in general has improved over the past years. The following are the major findings relating to improvements in the quality of life in Tuvalu as a result of the SCF program. These are followed by detailed findings in the areas of water, food, housing, education, health, transport and traditional activities and recreation.

1. SCF has had a marked impact in improving the quality of life throughout Tuvalu's communities in the area of water supply. Dramatic improvements have been observed in this area, and SCF has been largely responsible through its household water and storage project which has increased water catchment and storage by more than 60% since 1980. There have been immediate positive effects on the local lifestyle from this improvement. These include perceptions of greater convenience,

savings of time, and reduced competition for a precious resource. A notable improvement concerns the change in the time budget of women, who now have more time during the day to devote to other tasks. Due to the importance of women's role in the community, this may have a positive effect on local development in the future. Long-term effects on sanitation and health are anticipated for the future but are not easily identified at this point.

2. The program has also achieved less extensive improvements in the areas of food production and nutrition, transport, and village improvement. In a small way, SCF has recently helped improve food production and nutrition through its household gardening project. However, the improvement achieved through this effort appears to have been largely incremental, and the trend towards a growing consumption of European foods appears to be continuing. Thus it is doubtful whether household gardening has yet offset purchases of imported food, although this is expected to occur as gardening becomes an established practice. Local transport has been improved through the availability of catamarans and motorboat hulls produced by BDIT, a small industry supported by SCF. The agency's physical development projects (water catchments, bath house construction, and village redesign) have had a positive impact on village improvement, but differential progress was observed in the communities visited due to local factors. In addition, there has been further spatial crowding in some villages due to physical development, including many of SCF's household projects.

3. SCF has played a significant role in improving income generation, a factor which has had a beneficial effect on local development overall. Improvements have occurred mainly as a result of SCF's support of the Women's Handicraft Centre, which has provided the necessary physical and economic infrastructure to improve handicrafts sales in Tuvalu. In addition, the agency has taken a smaller role in the support of small business development on several atolls (coir-making, coconut oil soap-making, and boat and sailcraft construction). On those atolls where improvements in income generation have been felt the most, a positive impact has been noted on the capacity for local management and self-reliance through increased availability of funds. While SCF has been active in large-scale income generation projects, however, little attention has been given yet to the training of individuals. Consequently, certain communities continue to experience inequality of household income levels, a factor which has been seen to inhibit self-reliance.

4. Physical planning and site design is an important factor to most community dwellers and is one which has been supported by SCF. On one atoll in Tuvalu, the entire village was redesigned to accommodate desired new amenities such as SCF's water tanks and catchments and household gardens. Other communities have expressed great interest in physical planning for their village areas, and SCF appears eager to offer the necessary assistance. In communities where planning has been insufficient, however, SCF's household projects have contributed to the increased crowding of physical development in villages. This is a

problem which is perceived as becoming a detriment to the quality of life in the affected communities.

Water

Water is one of the primary areas in which improvements in the quality of life are perceived at the local level. This is the area most commonly cited by interviewees in which improvements to the quality of life in Tuvalu's communities has occurred. SCF has had a very significant role in addressing this felt need with its household water tank project, begun in 1981. Table 1 shows the significance of the contribution of this project to overall figures for water catchment and storage in Tuvalu between 1980 and 1985. SCF water tanks and catchment areas increased the 1980 total capacity for water catchment and storage throughout Tuvalu by nearly 70%.

Communities provided approximately half of the resources and all of the labor required for the project. Frequently these local inputs were administered through traditional communal systems. In general, the water tanks have prompted a shift from a communal to a household focus of water usage, which has begun to have a positive effect on local health and sanitation. Another significant effect has been the change in the time budget of rural women, and to a lesser extent, children. The majority of interviewees note that the daily time required for household water collection has been reduced from several hours to a matter of minutes, leaving time for other tasks.

Interestingly, most community dwellers emphasize the convenience of the added water catchment and storage over factors of water quality.

Table 1

Impact of the SCF Household Water Catchment and Storage Project in Tuvalu's Communities, 1980 and 1985

Island	Water Catchment and Storage Status					Total SCF Ferrocement Water Tanks Constructed
	1980 (pre-SCF)		1985 ^a			
	Catchment Area (M ²)	Storage Capacity (M ³)	Catchment Area (M ²)	Storage Capacity (M ³)		
Funafuti	4440	2415	4532	3160	147	
Nanumea	1180	1180	3411	2120	200	
Nanumaga	1672	944	3282	1607	141	
Niutao	2132	728	3604	1339	130	
Nui	1064	324	1995	705	81	
Vaitupu	939	671	2560	1432	162	
Nukufetau	1393	445	2394	967	111	
Nukulaelae	1114	382	1114 ^b	650	57	
TOTAL:	13934	7089	22892 ^c	11926 ^d	1029 ^e	

[from Save the Children Federation, Inc.]

^aThese figures represent only the additional water catchment and storage attributable to the SCF project.

^bDance clubs on Nukulaelae recently provided permanent roofs for every house on the atoll.

^cThis figure represents an increase of 64% over the 1980 total water catchment area for all atolls.

^dThis figure represents an increase of 68% over the 1980 total water storage capacity for all atolls.

^eEach ferrocement water tank has a capacity of 4.7 M³, or approximately 1000 gallons.

This may be due to the fact that the secondary benefits of higher water quality require a longer period of time to be realized. There seems to be no realization yet of the capacity of water storage required by the community to bring the quality of life up to the minimum standard, although most interviewees feel that the present storage capacity is still not enough. The majority of respondents indicate the need for general improvements to the overall water system on each atoll, envisioning two water tanks per household, repairs to all communal cisterns, and a system of piped well water. Similar findings appeared in a recent report on integrated atoll development, prepared by the aforementioned Australian team, in which the need for a national water resources strategy was emphasized (Government of Tuvalu, 1985:3).

Food Production and Nutrition

Judging from the comments of those interviewed, the taste for imported food appears to be growing, particularly among the youth. This increases the burden on those families with limited sources of income. Surprisingly, however, Fusi (cooperative store) sales of imported food have continued to rise over the past five years. On the average, people on the outer islands spent more than 70% of their income during this period at the Fusi, and approximately half of this amount was used to purchase imported food items such as rice, sugar and tinned beef (Government of Tuvalu, 1985:99). In contrast to this trend, however, many people perceive that production of traditional foods is becoming easier as a result of pest control and improved transport.

The effect of the change in diet on nutrition has not yet been significantly felt. In general, local medical personnel seem distressed at the nutrition of community dwellers. Children's first teeth often completely decay before they drop out. Similarly, medical personnel and lay people alike expressed dismay at the rise of "new" diseases such as diabetes and high blood pressure. There is felt to be a need for education to improve this situation. Nevertheless, some improvements in nutrition have been observed. For example, lauuu (a local variety of fern) is more commonly eaten today than in the past, although this acceptance has not yet extended to other types of leafy green vegetables whose introduction has been attempted.

There appears to be a growing interest in gardening for both nutrition and income generation in most communities. SCF's recent household garden competition, in which \$200 in prize money was provided to each atoll, has had a role in stimulating this and in engendering cooperation among different sectoral groups on the outer islands. Much gardening activity was observed during the period of the field study, although opinions among local leaders and workers are split concerning the continuation of this interest after the competition had passed.

Housing and Village Improvement

While improvements in housing are not mentioned as frequently as other improvements in the local quality of life, this area is nevertheless important to rural people as it relates to the basic human need for shelter. It was found that a majority of those interviewed are at some stage of converting their homes to permanent materials,

although this usually presents a struggle in terms of expense and logistics. Therefore, there has been only incremental progress in the communities visited.

It is also important to note two examples in which exceptional progress has been made in the area of housing and village improvements. On the atoll of Nukulaelae, two clubs raised enough money through dancing performances to install permanent roofs on all of the houses in the village, a project which is nearing completion. SCF assisted one dance club in this effort in the form of a loan to supplement club funds. The trend toward "European-style" homes is perceived by most people in Tuvalu to be positive, primarily for functional reasons.

On Nanumaga, the entire village was redesigned to eliminate crowding of dwellings and other structures and to provide space within the village for individual household improvements. SCF provided technical assistance for this project, and has been urging other communities to give thought to village redesign. Increased crowding of structures is noted as a growing problem in villages on two of the three atolls visited. In these communities, SCF's projects have in fact contributed to the density of physical development. However, most people interviewed perceive a general improvement with the addition of catchment structures adjacent to the household water tanks, particularly in those communities where a plan for the use of these structures has been put into action. In fact, physical planning appears to be regarded as very important to the people's quality of

life. On one atoll, kitchens built in SCF catchment areas are felt to increase the convenience of household tasks, improving the lives of women in particular.

Education

Education is an accepted education in Tuvalu, and its benefits to the young are widely recognized. However, little feedback was given by respondents on the area of education. This is probably a reflection of the low priority with which education is regarded by most Tuvaluans as a means of achieving development. A number of civil servants, however, perceive education to be the key to achieving many of their respective sectoral goals, such as improvements in health, sanitation, agriculture and other areas.

Income Generation

There appears to be persistent differences among communities in terms of equality of income among households. On most atolls in Tuvalu, it is only those families who have relatives working abroad as seamen, as phosphate workers in Nauru, or as Government servants in Funafuti who have a level of income which is adequate for most community needs and desires. For the majority of families, copra is the primary source of income due to its dependability.³

While some atolls have enjoyed significant improvements in the capacity for income generation over the past five years, the majority

³In Chambers' sample of sixteen households on the island of Nanumea in 1973-74, she notes that nine relied on copra as their primary source of income. Families with income from other sources, such as wages and remittances, often withdraw from copra production (Chambers, 1975:137).

of communities seem to be progressing much more slowly. On these atolls, it was found that the most common means of family income generation is still copra cutting. Table 2 illustrates interviewees' perceptions of the primary sources of income for their households. There appears to be a heavier reliance on copra cutting on Niutao and Nui compared to Vaitupu, where income derived from wage earners and local opportunities plays a more significant role.

On those atolls, such as Vaitupu, with a more rapidly developing market economy, several new avenues of income generation have opened up. In these communities, improvements were observed in local and off-island sales of fish, local produce, and handicrafts. Most of these changes may be attributed to the development and improvement on Funafuti of the economic infrastructure necessary to support economic development in the rural areas, as well as improvements in transport which have improved the flow of goods from the outer islands into the capital. For example, outer island cooperative stores are now equipped to accept and pay for the shipment of outer island fish and produce to Funafuti, where it is sold in the main Fusi. This has helped create a new source of income in Tuvalu's communities.

It was found that traditional obligations have frustrated efforts at private entrepreneurship in many cases. Businesses have often failed because a significant quantity of goods reserved for sale, such as chickens or pigs, frequently must be donated for community functions.

SCF has had an important role in improving income generation through its contribution of funds and technical assistance in the

Table 2

Perceived Primary Income Source for Households
in the Communities Surveyed in Tuvalu, 1985
(Frequency of Responses by Interviewees)

SOURCE:	ISLAND:			ROW TOTAL
	NIUTAO	NUI	VAITUPU	
REMITTANCES	1	2	3	6
FISHING		1	1	2
COPRA CUTTING	9	9	10	28
TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE	1	2		3
LIVESTOCK				0
GOVT. SERVANT SALARY		1	2	3
OTHER (HANDICRAFTS)	1	1	4	6
COLUMN TOTAL	12	16	20	48

construction and operation of the Women's Handicraft Centre on Funafuti. The Centre houses separate booths which display the handicrafts of each of Tuvalu's atolls for sale. While the major market is among resident expatriates, many purchases are made by Tuvaluans as well as by short-term visitors from abroad. Prior to the construction of the Centre, a few fans and shell necklaces were sold by the runway when the weekly plane arrived from Fiji. There was little incentive for artisans to produce handicrafts as a source of income.

The Tuvalu Government Ministry of Commerce and Natural Resources attributes a 62% rise in handicrafts sales from 1981 to 1983 to the existence of the Centre (Government of Tuvalu, 1983). Estimated sales for 1984 indicate an even larger increase of more than eightfold from 1981. Table 3 highlights the dramatic increase in handicrafts sales from 1981 to 1984. While monthly sales have fluctuated greatly throughout this period, there has been a steady and dramatic rise which appears to be continuing. In addition to Government income, these figures represent new opportunities for private income generation through handicrafts, although men claim to have not benefitted to the extent that women have.

At the present time, SCF is also providing a consultant on women's income generation who is working with the local staff to improve the Centre's administration as a profit-making business and to investigate prospects for exporting handicrafts outside Tuvalu. In addition to handicraft development, SCF has supported the development of a coconut oil soap-making scheme and coin string production in two communities.

Table 3

Handicrafts Development in Tuvalu:
 Progressive Monthly Sales, 1981-1983 (A\$)
 [from Government of Tuvalu Ministry
 of Commerce and Natural Resources]

<u>Month</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984^a</u>
January	--	946	1437	--
February	--	1107	1688	--
March	--	728	1470	--
April	--	697	1658	--
May	--	640	1875	--
June	--	585	1373	--
July	302	669	2264	--
August	409	621	1576	--
September	542	1768	2035	--
October	2427	2457	1947	--
November	886	1372	1883	--
December	531	1887	2601	--
	<u>5097</u>	<u>13477</u>	<u>21807</u>	<u>42000 (estimated)</u>

^aThe records of handicraft sales for 1984 were not available at the time of the study. The estimated total sales for the year were obtained from a reliable source employed at the Handicraft Centre.

While little interest has been shown in the latter, the entire country is regarding the development of the coconut oil scheme with interest. To date, soap and coconut cooking oil have been sold only on Vaitupu, where the production is based, and on Funafuti. Many interviewees express hope for this small industry as a means of stimulating economic growth not only on Vaitupu but on other atolls. A system has already been established for purchasing unhusked coconuts on other atolls for shipment to Vaitupu. SCF provided a loan to the industry so that it could raise the price offered for coconuts to make it more competitive with copra rates.

Health and Sanitation

Few respondents perceive changes in health and sanitation conditions in their communities over the past five years. A small percentage feel that there must have been improvements as a result of projects such as the SCF water tanks, bathhouses, and WHO latrines. However, these individuals do not yet seem to be able to identify specific improvements, such as reduced incidences of infections and diarrhea. Several civil servants noted that the change in the nature of water "ownership" from a communal to a household focus has resulted in better care of private household water systems. It is felt that this factor should eventually have a positive effect on local health and sanitation.

Several local health workers feel that the SCF water tanks are providing more water for flushing latrines, cleaning, washing and bathing. One nurse noted a correlation between those patients who

visited her dispensary frequently for treatment of skin sores, and those who do not yet have household water tanks (primarily those people who reside outside the main village). She attributes this to better hygiene among householders who have their own water tanks and hence have ample water for bathing. While health records (where available and reliable) may not yet reflect this change, indicators such as frequency of visits for diarrhea and skin sores should be maintained and monitored regularly beginning immediately.

Local Transport

Changes in life related to the local transport situation were rarely noted by those interviewed. Exceptions concern mainly atoll road improvements, particularly on those atolls where road equipment has been delivered as a form of assistance from the Central Government. Where Island Councils initiated local road improvement projects, some people perceive that this has enabled easier access to the bush for the collection of food and local materials.

Several individuals are aware of the positive impact of Government sailcraft and SCF catamarans on the lagoon atolls which seems to demonstrate the people's respect for projects which provide efficient means of transport without the expense of fuel. Comments from interviewees indicate that the sailcraft are usually solidly booked by landowners who use them to transport coconuts, firewood, and compost from outer islets across the lagoon. SCF has actively encouraged the use of wind energy through its support of the Boat Development Industry of Tuvalu (BDIT). To date, Island Councils on three atoll have

purchased (or received in the form of assistance) a total of six catamarans for lagoon transport. Although there were no SCF or Government sailcraft on the atolls visited in the survey, individuals seem well aware of the benefits of these projects.

Traditional Activities and Recreation

The area of traditional activities and recreation was that in which the most negative changes have been perceived in the quality of life over the past five years. The change mentioned most frequently, particularly by elders, is the loss of customs and traditions among today's youth. Most see this change to be part of the overall trend of a changing way of life, rather than related to a specific cause. Several respondents feel that SCF's requirement of a community contribution in its projects encourages the perpetuation of the traditional approach to communal work on local development projects.

The elders of the community, more than others, are interested in trying to keep traditions strong. One traditional leader interviewed observes a relationship between the maintenance of traditions and his community's desire to increase local income generation. He notes that the community requires greater income in order to continue the custom of greeting visitors in the traditional fashion. This practice is becoming more costly as the community increases its activity in the market economy. A higher status is attached to the consumption of imported foods, so they are often offered at feasts. At present this burden is distributed among households, many of which have trouble meeting such obligations.

FINDINGS ON CHANGES IN ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

Summary

Changes in people's attitudes and perceptions are difficult to measure and to account for objectively. Nevertheless there appear to have been some minor changes of this sort for which SCF has been largely responsible. The following are the major findings on changes in attitudes and perceptions as a result of the SCF program in Tuvalu. These are followed by detailed findings on perceptions and awareness of development and the IDP process and attitudes toward change.

1. There appears to have been a slight broadening in the understanding of roles and responsibilities in development among leaders and local development workers as a result of the IDP process supported by SCF. For example, one Community Worker now sees herself as an important planning link between women of her island and resources for development. Similarly, most local leaders and civil servants participate actively and willingly in Primary Health Care committees for purposes relating to local development. However, a "dependence mentality" persists in some communities. For example, the reason perceived for the failure of most local development efforts is still the Government's financial limitations. This fatalism does not acknowledge the responsibilities and rights of communities for operationalizing development goals.

2. SCF's emphasis on community contributions to local development projects has contributed to the growing perceptiveness by communities of their role in local development. The household water catchment and

storage project was an introduction to self-help development in collaboration with an outside agency. The effect of this project seems to be the acceptance of the community's role in providing its own resources. Examples are found in the unique ways in which communities organized labor for the project, a subject which is discussed in the section on community management. The change is further exemplified by the growing realization on the part of the community of its responsibility to donate voluntary labor for a variety of local development projects and activities.

3. Virtually every individual in Tuvalu is aware of SCF and of many of its projects and activities. This is partially due to the high visibility of SCF's efforts, most notably the household water tanks which continue to lend credibility to the agency. More importantly, community dwellers recognize the direct benefits they have gained from SCF projects, a criterion which was found to be of primary importance for successful local development projects.

4. While community dwellers are aware of the status of most physical development in their communities, this awareness does not extend to development planning. Only a minority of individuals are aware of the existence of IDP's for their communities. This appears to be a symptom of weaknesses in the IDP process, which are discussed further in the section on improvements in community management.

Perceptions of 'Development'

There are two words in the Tuvaluan language which are commonly used to mean "development"--fikatutu and atiake. The first term,

fakatutu, is more limited in meaning, referring primarily to physical development and construction projects. The latter term, atiake, is a concept which is less restrictive regarding the means used to achieve development. Therefore, atiake-type development most often includes projects from a wide variety of sectors within the community--from health and education to village improvement and income generation.

There appears to be a growing tendency from Central Government down to the community level in favor of the use of the term atiake in all activities related to development. Most interviewees have a very broad view of the types of activities included in "development" if the word used is atiake. Some noted that projects of a fakatutu nature are actually a subset of this broader class of development.

The general definition given by most people of "development", therefore, is one which encompasses any activity which makes community life better or easier. A strong family perspective on development is stressed by many people, particularly women, who are a strong force in local development. Only a small minority of respondents view development in a limited scope as purely physical improvements. Support for the broadening concept of development is also found in the growing attention given to multi-sectoral development in the communities visited over the past five years ago. Table 4 portrays a slight but recognizable disaggregation in the sectoral emphasis of local development activities implemented between 1981 and 1985. While village improvement, health, and income generation have received the most attention throughout this period, a recent trend towards

Table 4

Changes in the Sectoral Emphasis of
Local Development in Tuvalu, 1981-1985
(Frequency of Projects Reviewed)

COMMUNITY SECTOR ADDRESSED BY PROJECT:

YEAR PROJECT IMPLEMENTED	: AGRIC. : LIVESTK. : FISHING	: INCOME : GENERA- : TION	: EDUC./: : RECREA- : TION	: HEALTH : NUTRITN. : SANIT.	: HOUSING/ : VILLAGE : IMPRVMT.	: OTHER	: ROW : TOTAL
1981 OR BEFORE	:	2	:	2	3	:	7
1982	:	3	1	3	1	1	9
1983	:	1	:	1	3	1	6
1984	:	:	3	3	7	:	13
1985	1	2	1	7	3	2	16
N/A OR NOT AVAIL.	:	7	4	4	6	5	26
COLUMN TOTAL	1	15	9	20	23	9	77

addressing other sectors is apparent. While this does not suggest the integration of local development, there appears to have been a positive move away from a heavy emphasis on physical development and village improvement in relation to other sectors.

Local leaders and development workers seem exceptionally informed and have articulated opinions regarding development in their communities. For some this is a direct result of Government and SCF Island Development Plan (IDP) workshops held in 1982 and 1983. Several of these individuals have made the distinction that physical development is within the realm and responsibility of the Island Councils, whereas development in its broader multi-sectoral meaning is the responsibility of the community at large.

A significant majority of respondents feel that the growing tendency toward paid labor for development projects is positive, primarily as another opportunity for local income generation. Only a small minority feel that this is a negative trend, usually because of its erosive effects on the traditional institution of communal labor. As for future community needs related to development, a slight majority of interviewees identify areas which will require a greater commitment on the part of the community itself, rather than an increase in aid from outside the community.

Awareness of Local Development

Local development projects of the past five years which are regarded as having been most beneficial to the communities visited are most often those in which the benefits are felt at the personal or

household level or those which address a basic human need for water, food, or shelter. Consequently, SCF's household projects (particularly the household water catchment and storage project) are mentioned by nearly three-quarters of all respondents interviewed as having been the most beneficial projects in their communities in the last five years. By contrast, only a small number of people acknowledge the benefits of Government-supported "national" projects, probably due to the fact that the impacts of such projects are felt at the broader community level. Table 5 supports this observation, showing interviewees' perceptions of the initiators of the most beneficial development projects since 1980 in the communities visited. While the overwhelming favor shown towards SCF's efforts must be due in part to interviewees' knowledge of the nature of the evaluation, this response highlights the agency's high visibility and the favorable attitude with which the SCF program is regarded.

The factor of concern to most community dwellers in development projects and activities appears to be convenience and savings of time, particularly concerning common daily tasks. The lack of emphasis on fulfilling basic needs perhaps exemplifies the relative high quality of life already enjoyed in Tuvalu's communities.

In most projects regarded as beneficial to the community, there has been a significant contribution of local resources, usually labor and local materials. Thus the communities' active role in local development seems to be a significant factor contributing to project success and the achievement of benefits. SCF's projects typically

Table 5

Initiators of the Most Beneficial Local Development
 Projects Identified by Interviewees in Tuvalu, 1985
 (Frequency of Projects Reviewed)

PROJECT INITIATOR:	ISLAND:			ROW TOTAL
	NIUTAO	NUI	VAITUPL	
LOCAL GROUP	3	1		4
ISLAND COUNCIL		3	2	5
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	1		1	2
SCF	5	6	17	28
OTHER/ NO OPINION	3	6		9
COLUMN TOTAL	12	16	20	48

require this type of contribution from the community. On the whole, however, community dwellers seemed to have not yet considered the use of local resources for development in their communities, as exemplified by their general inability to identify sources of funds and other types of assistance available through local groups. This trend is apparent in the responses to question III.A.3. in Appendix D, where less than one-third of the interviewees acknowledged the potential for development assistance which exists in local groups.

It was also noted that most people perceive a problem with delays in local development projects and activities, especially those that are construction-related. Such delays have usually been due either to shipping difficulties or to problems concerning the organization of voluntary labor, a problem which has been especially characteristic of projects supported by the Government.

Respondents seem to have a lesser awareness of failures and shortcomings in local development, identifying primarily those projects which have not yet yielded expected benefits. Other projects commonly criticized are those in which project planning has been weak or insufficient. In the case of SCF-supported projects, the catchment areas associated with the household water catchment and storage project are often criticized because of the lack of a clear plan for their use, although this was not the responsibility of the agency.

Awareness of the Island Development Plan (IDP)

Only a small minority of Tuvaluans at the community level were aware of the Island Development Plans (IDP's) for their respective

atolls. Those who are aware are primarily local leaders and civil servants who were involved in the 1982 and 1983 IDP workshops conducted jointly by the Government and SCF. Among others at the local level, approximately half have knowledge of the existence of some type of plan for local development, but are not aware of the IDP specifically. Consequently, few people (including many of those who had participated in the IDP process) have any idea of the content of their local development plan, or which groups or individuals were responsible for formulating it.

The fault for this lack of awareness, and for current weaknesses in the IDP process in general, is placed at different levels by various parties. Several local leaders point to a lack of interest and commitment on the part of Island Councils and local groups, while the majority (including Government officials) identify weaknesses within the Central Government itself. In spite of this generally negative picture, most informed respondents at all levels consider the IDP process of local development planning to be valuable and worth revitalizing. Similarly, there have been small improvements with regard to participation in development planning, some of which must be due in part to the cooperative role of the Central Government and SCF in the IDP process. This will be discussed further in the section on community management.

Attitudes Toward Change

As noted in the section on improvements in the quality of life, most people interviewed perceive significant changes in life in rural

Tuvalu compared to five years ago. There seems to be a realization, particularly among local leaders and civil servants, that this change in lifestyle is having an effect on local customs and traditions. Many of the more youthful leaders feel that traditions must also change in order to remain in harmony with the changing lifestyle. There is optimism expressed among some regarding the role of education as a means of helping communities to cope with change. Hope is held for the young in particular.

There appears to be a difference among the communities visited regarding attitudes toward change. Some are embracing new concepts and institutions rapidly, while others resist. On one atoll, nearly every local leader and civil servant interviewed expressed frustration at the slow speed with which the local community accepts change, noting the need for an attitude shift away from the "dependence mentality" which persists there. It is difficult to link any improvements in the stance towards change to the efforts of SCF, although the agency has been a major actor promoting changes in the local lifestyle through addressing major areas of concern to community development in Tuvalu. This includes the basic needs of water and sanitation, and specialized needs such as family planning, primary health care, and development planning.

FINDINGS ON IMPROVEMENTS IN COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT

Summary

The majority of objectives expressed in SCF's 1980 baseline study concern the goal of improving the capacity of communities to manage their own development. In general, process-related achievements are

realized more slowly than tangible improvements in the quality of life. As discussed by Denis Goulet on theories of change, the assimilation of technology occurs quickly as it requires only the adaptation of new behavioral norms. By contrast, improvements in the capacity for self-management require a reorientation of people's signifying values. Consequently, a process like the IDP system will require much time before it can truly be internalized and replicated. Therefore, while changes in the capacity for community management may represent the most important area of findings, one would expect the achievements to date to be less impressive than those already noted regarding the quality of life (Goulet, 1977).

The following represent the major findings on improvements in community management as a result of the SCF program in Tuvalu. These are followed by detailed findings in the areas of participation, community organization, benefits distribution, self-reliance, integration, linkages, relationship to the traditional sector, and aspects of training.

1. SCF's projects have benefitted communities in an equal fashion with few exceptions. The agency's consistent attention to directing efforts at the household level has assured that the distribution of program benefits has been equitable. Exceptions concern mainly sensitive issues which affect the agency, but must be addressed and resolved by the communities themselves. Problems have developed in some communities, particularly where inequality of income among households persists. For example, on one atoll a minority of

community dwellers who were not originally eligible for the construction of SCF water tanks and catchments perceive that they are being left out of a new project which utilizes the catchment areas as kitchens. While solutions to such problems are the responsibility of the community, SCF's lack of action at the field office level could threaten the agency's excellent reputation and working relationship with communities.

2. Little progress has been noted in increasing the breadth of participation in the local development planning process. While the 1982 and 1983 ICP's involved a high percentage of community dwellers in most phases of the planning process, this involvement was ultimately short-term. Since that time, communities have retreated from activity in most phases except simple project programming. This is exemplified by the small number of interviewees involved in any aspect of local development planning, and in the complete lack of evaluation by communities. Nevertheless, Tuvalu remains a fairly homogeneous society with a strong communal emphasis which has traditionally not included the direct participation of all individuals in the community. In spite of this, most individuals have one or more avenues of participation available through representatives of various interest groups.

3. The capacity for local development organization has improved as a direct result of some of SCF's efforts, particularly the large-scale household water catchment and storage project with its significant self-help component. The capacity for organization is inherent in Tuvaluan communities. As observed in the household water catchment and

storage project, the most successful examples of labor organization have involved traditional groups. This capacity is further exemplified in the growing number of local interest groups and in the fact that group affiliation often takes priority over family and household responsibilities. In many of SCF's projects, communities have devised innovative means of overcoming local labor, funding and other resource limitations. Examples include the community grants and loans set up for households for water tank construction and the unique solutions to local labor organization. Similarly, SCF's role in primary health care has helped to nurture the development of PHC committees, which were observed to be an emerging force in local development planning in the communities visited.

4. SCF's projects have fostered self-reliance through requirements of community contributions to local development projects. Communities have made significant contributions to SCF projects of those resources which are available locally. This has been the case particularly where the impacts of projects are felt at the household or individual levels. In many cases, the private funds of families have been contributed. For example, households were responsible for the purchase of ten bags of cement for the construction of their water tanks. There have also been examples in which local groups, such as village sides and Women's Committees, have made loans available to households to assist them in meeting the financial requirements of SCF's community contribution component. While these responses indicate a positive move

towards greater self-reliance, however, resistance to community financing still exists in some places and has impeded local development.

5. Compared to local resource mobilization, linkages to outside resources are still relatively few. Linkages established with the Government through the IDP process have been lost or forgotten due to problems associated with the IDP. In some cases, however, alternative linkages have emerged as in the case of the Primary Health Care committees, which have enable communication with the Central Government through the local Member of Parliament. Part of the fault for this lack of progress lies in the Government's difficulty in setting aside a separate fund for community development. A continuing passive dependence on the Central Government was observed in the communities visited. This is accompanied by a simultaneous lack of confidence in Government's ability to secure resources from abroad and to direct them to the local level.

6. As a result of SCF's efforts in the transfer of technology, new skills and technologies have been internalized and are being replicated. This indicates that the technical assistance which has been offered by SCF through its program has been useful to Tuvalu's community dwellers. An outstanding example is the household water catchment and storage project. On all of the atolls visited, additional ferrocement water tanks have been constructed outside the SCF-supported project. In some cases, the technology has even been adapted resulting in a tank of greater capacity. It is apparent that the majority of community dwellers in Tuvalu now have a skill which

will give them greater power over their environment, particularly in their age-old need for a dependable supply of fresh water.

7. While the benefits of the Island Development Plan (IDP) process introduced by SCF are widely understood in Tuvalu, the current status of the process is disappointing. The reasons for this are largely out of SCF's control, but the situation has had a far-reaching effect on the achievement of the agency's program goals and objectives relating to the transfer of process skills. The process enjoyed a brief period of apparent success after its adoption by the Tuvalu Government in 1981. As a result of administrative and financial problems within the Government, however, the system appears to have been temporarily forgotten. SCF's collaborative relationship with the Government has removed the revitalization of the IDP process from within the agency's control. Poor communication from Government and a lack of on-going training at the community level have caused a loss of enthusiasm among community dwellers concerning the benefits promised through the IDP process. Similarly, much of SCF's training of community leaders and civil servants has been lost through lack of reinforcement. The system of development planning has largely returned to its former state of ad hoc incrementalism. Other problems observed concerning community management were related to the situation of the IDP, including the following: little increase in the breadth of participation in local development planning; the continued existence of overlapping multi-sectoral plans which impede integration of local development; persistent problems with plan implementation; continued frustration

with inadequate financial and material support from the Government; and a decline in the substantive collaboration between SCF and Government.

8. SCF's field workers have played an important role in perpetuating the IDP process with their on-going training and the permanence of their positions. While the IDP process as a system has suffered significant setbacks, the IDC's and Community Workers on many of the atolls have attempted to maintain the level of motivation achieved after the introduction of the process to their communities in 1982 and 1983. This has also had a positive effect on other local leaders and development workers who meet with IDC's and Community Workers in forums such as the Primary Health Care committee.

Participation in the Planning Process

A government-employed development worker on one of the atolls surveyed expressed the opinion that the IDP process is a good idea in that, in theory, it incorporates the opinions of those who otherwise would not be involved. He noted, however, that the process has not yet achieved its goal of involving the majority of the community. This view is supported by the results of interviews on each atoll. Less than one-quarter of the respondents indicate that they are currently involved in any aspect of local development planning, either directly through IDP meetings or indirectly through representatives of interest groups. Table 6 illustrates this low level of current involvement. It must be noted that, during interviews, difficulty was experienced in differentiating among the various phases of the western model of a planning process as listed in Table 5. Similarly, the determination of

Table 6

Current Involvement in the Development
Planning Process in Tuvalu, 1985
(Frequency of Responses by Interviewees)

PLANNING PHASE:	INVOLVEMENT:			
	YES	NO	NO OPINION	TOTAL
Goal Formulation	5	39	4	48
Needs Assessment	6	38	4	48
Establishment of Objectives	8	36	4	48
Project Programming	11	32	5	48
Development Program Evaluation	4	39	5	48

"involvement" was made somewhat subjectively according to a loose concept of participation in group meetings or informal discussions relating to planning.

There has been a slight increase in perceptions of participation compared to five years ago. This seems to be primarily due to the IDP process and workshops held in 1982 and 1983. A number of people with no prior involvement in local development planning noted that they were either directly involved in the formulation of the IDP for their community, or they were indirectly involved through membership in a local group which sent a representative to one of the workshops. In summary, approximately 20% of the respondents feel that they are more involved today in local development planning compared to five years ago. The details of responses concerning participation may be found in section III.B. of Appendix D.

The area in which the most progress is seen in terms of participation in local development planning is that of project programming. Little or no progress has been observed in goal-setting, needs assessment, and evaluation. However, these latter areas are more difficult to observe and measure. On one atoll, the IEO noted that he did most of the work of formulating the IDP himself, as the community did not cooperate or did not understand the process.

The continued interest in the IDP in rural areas seems to be due largely to the efforts of individuals such as the IDC's, Community Workers, IEO's, and other local leaders and development workers with exceptional motivation and understanding. By contrast, both the

Central and Local Governments appear to be experiencing problems which impede their support of the IDP process. Several Government officials attribute this to a lack of both funds and manpower, as well as continuing constraints of communication. This is perceived by many as a lack of commitment on the part of the Central Government.

One persistent problem may be that certain social groups (particularly young people and women) are not yet accustomed to giving their opinions directly in a situation such as a local development planning process. For example, it was observed during the data collection that interviews with women and youth were generally more brief than those with village elders, perhaps reflecting a lack of comfort in the context of interviews and similar situations. One SCF Community Worker noted that if the youth had a better understanding of the process of formulating local development plans, they might support voluntary communal labor more willingly.

Table 7 shows a comparison between the duration of interviews for men and women in three different age groups. Age divisions were made on the basis of the approximate ranges of the major social groupings. While the picture is not dramatic, one can see that there is a higher proportion of males over 50 whose interviews lasted over one hour. By contrast, women's interview times were concentrated in the middle range of 30 minutes to one hour. Age does not appear to be a decisive factor in the length of interviews, although all interviewees aged 25 and under had interview durations of one hour or less.

Table 7

Differences in Interview Duration for Men
and Women of Three Age Groups in Tuvalu, 1985
(Frequency of Responses by Interviewees)

		DURATION OF INTERVIEW:			
SEX:	AGE OF INTERVIEWEE:	:29 MINS. OR LESS	:30 MINS. TO 1 HR.	: OVER 1 HR.	ROW TOTAL
MALES:	: 25 YEARS OR LESS	: 2	:	:	2
	: 26 TO 50 YEARS	: 1	: 5	: 5	11
	: OLDER THAN 50 YEARS	: 3	: 1	: 7	11
FEMALES:	: 25 YEARS OR LESS	:	: 4	:	4
	: 26 TO 50 YEARS	: 3	: 8	: 5	16
	: OLDER THAN 50 YEARS	:	: 1	: 3	4
COLUMN TOTAL		9	19	20	48

Organization at the Community Level

It was noted on most atolls that little or nothing had been done with regard to implementing the IDP's since the 1982 and 1983 workshop teams visited the outer islands and held planning and orientation sessions. Consequently, the activities of sectoral committees set up at that time have diminished or have ceased altogether, and the Island Council has again become the primary agent responsible for local development in the eyes of the people. At the local level, the lack of permanence of the IDP process is seen by some as related to the fact that certain participants do not receive any monetary compensation or similar reinforcement (such as on-going education) for their efforts. It is also recognized that Island Council members and community residents alike need to make more of a personal commitment in order to obtain benefits from the IDP process. The role of SCF's field workers (the IEC's and Community Workers) is stressed by many as being of importance to the process, due to their training and to the relative permanence of their positions.

Weaknesses in development plan implementation are supported in the review of local development projects carried out during the study (see Appendix E). It was found that less than half of the projects planned for the period 1981-1985 have been carried to completion. Consequently, a similar proportion of local development activities in the communities surveyed were judged to be behind schedule. These projects include only those for which a desired schedule was expressed prior to implementation, as is the case with projects in the IDP.

Interviewees in each community have differing views as to which local group has the primary role and responsibility for local development. Organizations and groups cited frequently in the communities surveyed include the Women's Committee, the Island Council, the village sides⁴, the Primary Health Care (PHC) committee, the youth, and SCF. While certain groups are mentioned frequently on each atoll, the variation in responses appears to be a reflection of which groups have been the most successful in local development efforts rather than the group whose mandate is the planning and implementation of local development.

Primary Health Care (PHC) committees were recently set up by Central Government on each atoll except Funafuti to coordinate local development efforts, particularly in the area of health and sanitation. On the atolls visited, it was found that the committees are being maintained largely without any outside support or input. Most local development workers and civil servants, including the IDC and Community Worker, participate willingly in the PHC committee. It was found to be a good milieu for communication and problem solving on development matters, since nearly every local group is represented. The committees on several atolls have adopted the system of asiga, or periodic village inspections, to motivate the community to conform to

⁴"village sides" or feituala are organizational divisions found throughout Tuvalu's communities. Villages are commonly divided into two feituala, which are sometimes further divided into clans. Feituala form the basis of organization for most village activities, instilling a sense of competition in communal labor as well as recreation.

committee directives. This tradition is a common and effective way of implementing local development objectives, and demonstrates the fact that there is much strength in local groups.

The effectiveness of the PHC committees appears to be limited in certain instances by problems in the relationship with Island Councils. For example, the Council has the power to approve the committee's motions itself, but is often reluctant to exercise this power. On one atoll, the Council recently turned over a measure of authority to the PHC committee to directly implement some of its own proposals. Another problem lies in the nature of PHC committee membership. A number of individuals have complained that some committee participants receive no monetary compensation for their involvement, whereas civil servants collect a wage and therefore should contribute their time and efforts. This is indicated as the primary reason for any weaknesses experienced by the PHC committees.

Most respondents have observed an increase in paid local development jobs over the past five years. Nevertheless, individuals claim personally to have worked more at voluntary than at paid tasks. In spite of the trend toward wage-labor in local development, there have been notable successes in several communities in the organization of voluntary labor for local development projects. The SCF household water catchment and storage project offers several such examples. On the majority of atolls, work teams were organized by village sides, instilling a sense of competition and enthusiasm in the implementation of the project. Other communities selected communal work teams from

among the men of the village. On one atoll, where considerable resistance to voluntary labor was felt, the labor for the project was organized in small "cooperatives" of 7-8 households grouped together. These groups worked together and completed all the tanks of the group members before passing on the construction materials to the next group. In summary, where project benefits were keenly perceived, each community arrived at a system which was appropriate to the local conditions and to the efficient execution of the project.

Another example of successful management of local development by communities is found in the Tuvalu Solar Electric Cooperative Societies on each atoll. This local body administers the solar energy project which was initiated by SCF. In meetings attended on the atolls visited, branch committees seemed very capable of administering the community solar lighting project, one in which the benefit is closely felt by all participating households. The primary weaknesses appear to be in technical problem solving (e.g. the maintenance of solar units) and in the management of funds. Most shareholders are one to two months' behind in monthly cooperative payments, although the branch committees seem to have a casual attitude towards this.

When asked about future needs for community management, most respondents indicate the need to work through the aforementioned local groups as opposed to an increase in the involvement of Central Government and other external agencies. This sentiment appears to be due to the relatively high level of success observed by communities as a result of the development efforts of local groups.

Benefits Distribution

The Island Council, as the representative of Central Government on each atoll, has been the direct beneficiary of nearly 50% of all local development projects and activities for the period of 1980-1985. Table 8 illustrates the level of impact of local development projects between 1981 and 1985 on the atolls visited in the study. It is seen that a majority of "national" projects initiated by the Government have their direct impacts at the level of the Island Council. By contrast, most of SCF's projects have addressed the needs of households. This reflects a continued emphasis on national infrastructure projects, as projects of this type are ultimately turned over to Island Councils for maintenance. It is interesting to note, however, that many of the projects which benefit the Island Council directly are at the same time a burden in terms of future maintenance. These figures represent an apparent imbalance in the distribution of benefits at the level of the community in favor of Central and Local Government.

The Island Council president on one atoll emphasized the need for increased attention to projects and activities which benefit the youth directly, particularly those which encourage a more productive use of their time in local development activities. This is seen as necessary in view of youth's critical role in the achievement of local development as the primary labor force in each community.

A significant problem concerning the distribution of benefits of one of SCF's projects has emerged on one atoll surveyed. In this community, approximately 15% of the households have become resentful

Table 8

Level of Impact of Local Development
Projects in Tuvalu, 1981-1985
(Frequency of Projects Reviewed)

INITIATOR OF PROJECT:				
LEVEL OF PROJECT IMPACT:	COMMUN.	SCF	GOVT.	ROW TOTAL
INDIVIDUALS	:	1	1	2
HOUSEHOLDS	:	11	1	12
ISLAND COUNCIL	5	7	25	37
COMMUNITY	6	1	8	15
OTHER	:	:	1	1
COLUMN TOTAL	11	20	36	77

towards the agency because they perceive difficulties in participating in a new kitchen improvement project which uses water tank catchment areas. These households did not qualify for tanks or catchments under the SCF household water catchment and storage project because they already had existing water catchment and storage. This effectively excludes this group from building an improved kitchen of the type being constructed by most other households. Therefore, a policy which was originally drafted cooperatively by SCF and the community has become one that is regarded as unfair, even by members outside this minority group. A significant degree of antagonism towards SCF and an indication of resistance to future program efforts was expressed by representatives of this group during the data collection. The problem is one that could threaten SCF's reputation in the community and elsewhere if not addressed.

Self-Reliance

In the review of local development projects, it was found that the most significant community contributions over the past five years have been in the form of voluntary labor and locally obtainable materials. By contrast, few projects demonstrate local contributions of money, imported materials, or technical assistance. SCF projects compare favorably to others in the extent of local inputs. Table 9 shows the percentages of projects of three initiators which have included local contributions of various types. It is apparent that projects which are conceived and implemented by communities themselves include high percentages of locally provided inputs. Projects initiated or

Table 9
 Local Contributions to Community
 Development Projects in Tuvalu, 1981-1985
 (as a Percentage of the Projects of Each Initiator)

TYPE OF COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTION:	PROJECT INITIATOR:		
	COMMUN.	SCF	GOVT.
LABOR	.82	.80	.30
LOCAL MATERIALS	.73	.85	.50
OTHER MATERIALS	.27	.30	.09
MONEY	.45	.25	
TECHNICAL EXPERTISE	.64	.05	.02

supported by SCF reflect percentages of local labor and material inputs which are similarly high. By contrast, the Government appears to provide the inputs for most of its projects as a matter of policy, with the exception of some local materials.

One island's solution to the problem of enabling households to meet their contribution to the SCF water tank project was to set aside \$2000 in community funds to establish loans for families who could not afford to purchase cement. Loans are repaid at a minimum rate of two dollars per month. In summary, communities have given significantly of those resources which are readily available.

SCF has had a dominant role in engendering this spirit of self-reliance with the community contribution component of all of its projects (particularly the household water catchment and storage project). In general, most interviewees indicate approval of this policy for projects that benefit individuals and families directly. In several instances, it was observed that enterprising individuals have utilized the skills learned from the SCF water tank project to construct additional ferrocement tanks with their own resources.

Certain atolls seem to be progressing more slowly than others out of a "dependence mentality", a factor which has impeded the progress of some SCF projects. One Community Worker has experienced problems in that the women of her island expect her to construct and install SCF projects for them rather than contributing their own labor. Similarly, the SCF household water catchment and storage project in the same community required two years to start due to resistance to the

community contribution component. Several individuals interviewed on the atoll express the hope that, in the future, SCF may raise its level of financial and material commitment to local development beyond that which has been characteristic of projects implemented to date. They feel that this is necessary in view of their difficulty in securing funds for local development.

Many people point to the lack of equality of income among local families as a primary factor preventing increased self-reliance. The importance of this factor was noted earlier in the discussion of income generation. On atolls where the problem is acute, certain groups appear to resist SCF projects because of the usual component of community contribution. This has occurred in spite of local efforts to assist families with problems. For example, the Women's Committee on one atoll offered loans which could be repaid with mats, local produce, and other easily obtainable commodities.

Balanced and Integrated Development

As noted in the section on benefits distribution, a majority of projects of the past five years have been national projects whose benefits have been felt primarily by Central or Local Government. Approximately 40% were community-based projects or projects which have benefitted communities directly (see Table 8, page 75). The sectoral distribution of local development projects over the same period was observed to be evenly balanced, although a slight majority of projects have addressed physical village improvements. From 1981 to 1985, however, there appears to have been a trend toward greater attention to

multisectoral development. Significant improvements were observed in the area of health, nutrition and sanitation in particular (see Table 4, page 53).

A significant number of respondents acknowledge the importance of integrating development. An agricultural official recognized the beneficial cooperative relationship which has emerged among agricultural field workers, SCF personnel, and other local leaders and civil servants as a result of the recent SCF-sponsored household garden competition. Other individuals point to the "partnership" factor of the IDP process, which has contributed somewhat to the greater integration of development between the central and local levels. The Island Council on one atoll sees the IDP as a useful tool which engenders cooperation among local people because they are made to understand the relationship and interdependency among communities and the Central Government in planning and implementing local development. It is also felt that the IDP has been useful in promoting attention to small-scale projects, particularly in the area of sanitation. However, most respondents expressed discouragement with weaknesses in the process. One Island Council president noted that local development lacks comprehensiveness and still seems to occur incrementally.

Linkages With Outside Resources

In general, it appears that most residents of the outer islands perceive that the majority of local development problems are related to funding limitations at the Central Government level. Although Australia and New Zealand recently allocated A\$50,000 each per year for

outer island development, these funds have apparently not been used strictly for this purpose. Several officials within the Government and SCF have expressed the need for a separate fund for local development by which the Central Government would be able to act more quickly on individual IDP's when submitted by atoll communities.

While little change has been observed in communications on local development between Island Councils and the Local Government Office in Funafuti, other avenues have opened up in the past five years. The Primary Health Care (PHC) committee is able to make recommendations to the Island Council, which may then reach Central Government through the atoll's Member to Parliament. On one atoll, the committee recommended that Central Government find a way to reduce the cost of toilet paper in order to make it more affordable to families. This action led to a motion which was recently passed in Parliament.

Traditional Sector

Many individuals on the atolls visited, particularly the elderly, perceive a continuation of the diminishing role of the kau aliki, or traditional governing body, which at one time played a major role in directing the affairs of each community. This trend began with the establishment of the Island Councils at the time of separation of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1975. On some atolls of Tuvalu today, the role of the kau aliki in local development is still strong, while on others most of their traditional powers have been transferred to the Island Councils.

On one atoll where the traditional system is still strong, the aliki (chiefs) still feel that they have a strong say in projects, which are always brought before the island community in the maneapa (community meeting hall) for approval. Consequently, they see little change between the past system of local development planning and the new IDP system from their perspective. One change which was observed concerns the greater attention to systematic and comprehensive planning. Formerly, projects were proposed and implemented on an ad hoc basis given the availability of resources. With the IDP system, there are detailed discussions of needs and alternatives prior to selecting and implementing projects.

A civil servant on one atoll observed that the traditional time budget of women prevents progress in the area of health and sanitation at the household level. The large number of local interest groups which demand priority in contributions of money and labor prevent women from giving more attention to their families' health, hygiene, and sanitation. She noted, however, that SCF projects such as ferrocement water tanks, smokeless stoves and sinks are aiding women in overcoming some of these limitations on their time.

While certain traditions are changing as a result of the overall change in lifestyle in rural Tuvalu, many elements of development which are consonant with SCF's own philosophy still exist in the traditional sector and should be identified and reinforced. This has already occurred to a limited extent with the requirement of a contribution of voluntary labor in most SCF projects.

Training

The issue of training emerged in discussions with community leaders and civil servants on the IDP process. In spite of weaknesses observed in the system, most people understand the constraints that exist and feel that the Central and Local Governments should persist and increase their efforts in making the process work. In that light, many individuals support the idea of some type of annual training workshop to increase local awareness and understanding of the Island Development Plan process. The Island Council president on one atoll feels that civil servants and the community at large should be the primary targets of training, since the Island Council experiences constant turnover in its membership. The issue of training for SCF field workers is discussed in a later section.

FINDINGS ON SCF PROGRAM ASPECTS

Summary

Certain aspects of the evaluation of SCF's program in Tuvalu relate to the nature of the program itself. The following findings concern factors of the organization and administration of the SCF Tuvalu Field Office. These are followed by detailed findings on SCF's relationship with the Tuvalu Government, the field office staff, the scale of the agency's presence in the country, its field workers, and aspects of training, sponsorship, and innovation.

1. SCF's efforts in community development in Tuvalu have had a high degree of visibility combined with considerable popularity. This has resulted largely from the fact that the impacts of SCF projects have

usually been felt at the household or individual levels. Another significant factor is the household water catchment and storage project. From early in the program's history, the physical and beneficial impacts of this project have been felt throughout Tuvalu.

2. SCF has excelled in the introduction of new technologies appropriate to the context of life in Tuvalu's communities. In combination with SCF's attention to household impacts, this is the factor which is perhaps most admired by the Tuvalu Government. The introduction of new technologies appropriate to the context of life in Tuvalu's communities has been impressive. The most outstanding example is the ferrocement water tank technology which has improved the quality of life in every community in Tuvalu. SCF has also introduced useful designs for a smokeless stove and ferrocement sink. More recently, small solar power generation units for lighting and basic needs have been introduced. This project is being introduced at a slower pace. It was found that many of these skills have been internalized and technologies replicated. Additional water tanks have been built by community dwellers outside the SCF project, and in some cases the technology has been adapted to suit specific needs. Similarly, smokeless stove and sink technologies have been utilized by some women in innovative kitchen designs. Potential problems may exist, however, regarding the insufficient testing of technologies by the agency prior to their introduction on a large scale. Persistent problems with the cracking of smokeless stoves exist, as well as a lack of familiarity in communities with the technology of solar power generation.

3. The organizational structure of the Tuvalu Field Office appears well suited to the needs of the program and its environment. The relatively early transfer of the Tuvalu Field Office administration to a staff made up primarily of Tuvaluans has contributed to the program's effectiveness in the country and to the good working relationship with the Tuvalu Government. While some controversy exists over favoritism in hiring, this has been found to be largely groundless. The benefits of the arrangement outweigh these minor problems. The field office has also exhibited admirable flexibility in its organization, tailoring personnel and roles to the evolving needs of the program and its impact areas. Recently, the agency has provided consultants on temporary hire to fill localized needs within Government ministries. This flexibility is of particular importance in Tuvalu, as SCF has had little experience operating in the Pacific island context.

4. SCF's field workers have played an important role in the implementation of both agency and community programs. In many cases, they have been primarily responsible for maintaining the IDP process in their communities. In the communities visited, the IDC and Community Worker positions are recognized in the local organizational structure. One potential problem that exists, however, is the lack of definition of the lines of authority of SCF's field workers in relation to Island Councils. The willingness of IDC's and Community Workers to cooperate with Island Councils is often dependent on individual integrity. This lack of clarity appears to frustrate some Island Councils in their attempts to coordinate local development programs.

5. SCF has provided its field workers with regular training which has frequently involved community leaders and other development workers, but there are some weaknesses in training which must be addressed. The training provided by the Tuvalu Field Office has been instrumental in enabling the technical achievements highlighted earlier. However, there has been a gradual shift by the TFO administration in the emphasis of training from process to technical skills, perhaps as a result of problems experienced with the IDP process. If these problems are to be addressed, what is needed is a greater emphasis on process skills. Due to the present situation, SCF field workers have largely become technical advisors and maintenance people--a role in which they may be more comfortable, but one which addresses only partially SCF's program goals and objectives. Consequently, there is a lack of awareness among community dwellers of IDC and Community Worker roles beyond their technical functions. In addition, rotation visits to other atolls are desired by many field workers, but as yet have not occurred. Several IDC's and Community Workers felt that viewing the experiences of other communities would help them in their own work.

6. SCF's emphasis on implementing projects on a national scale has frustrated communities which choose to deviate from the national norm for progress. For example, one community in which SCF's smokeless stove project was late in starting was prevented from completing the project when it was closed by the agency. In another community, the local Women's Committee perceived that it has been held back in its

efforts to implement an innovative kitchen improvement project because SCF has wanted to investigate implementation on a national scale. While other problems related to the scale of SCF's activities in Tuvalu have not yet emerged, the potential for such problems appears to exist and will require the agency's continued attention. The large scale of the agency's activities relative to the size of the country demands a sensitive approach.

7. The excellent cooperative relationship between SCF and the Tuvalu Government has been a positive factor in contributing to the overall success of the agency's programs to date. The TFO Field Office Director's experience and ties with the Government have contributed positively to this. Although this collaboration has in some ways impeded process goals and objectives, it is a key to maintaining the smooth future operation of the program. SCF's linkage with Government concerning the IDP has temporarily stifled the process due to administrative and financial difficulties within the Government. Nevertheless, maintenance of this relationship is crucial to the continued smooth operation of the SCF program at its present scale. The Government is conscious of the important role played by the agency during the past five years, but may also be sensitive to SCF's involvement in development planning.

Relationship with Government

The agreement between SCF and the Government of Tuvalu was recently changed from a three-year contract to one that is "indefinite". Either party can withdraw with six months' notice. Both SCF and Government

officials feel this to be a demonstration of the comfort which characterizes the relationship between the two parties at this time, five years after the agency first began its program in Tuvalu. The current SCF Field Office Director, himself a Tuvaluan, has many Government ties from his experience as Minister of Finance prior to Tuvalu's independence. Feedback from high-level Government officials in the Ministry of Finance and in the Office of the Prime Minister indicates that communication flows easily and that a mutual respect exists among all parties. Two officials made the comment that SCF is considered "like an arm of the Government".

Government officials emphasize SCF's key role in supporting projects which have a direct benefit to communities, particularly at the household level. It is recognized that this unique role addresses an area in which the Central Government is still ill-equipped to lend assistance. The Central Government contemplated, at one time, the official transfer of the outer island support role to SCF based on its observation of the agency's successes in this area. In spite of this, the relationship between the two bodies seems to have evolved as one of cooperation rather than dependence. However, neglect of the ICP process has worked to weaken this linkage, since the early relationship between SCF and the Government was initiated in earnest when SCF assumed its role in development planning.

The Government appears content to allow SCF to address community and household needs in local development. However, SCF sees its future role in Tuvalu as a minor one, offering support to groups that remain

bypassed in the local development process. It is foreseen that SCF will withdraw from its major planning role with local communities, although a closer relationship with Island Councils is envisioned. Both TFO and the Central Government have mentioned the idea of integrating the IDC as the "technical arm" of the Island Council on each atoll, in cooperation with the existing clerical and financial capacities of the IEO. The sharing of this idea is a further indication of open communications between SCF and Central Government.

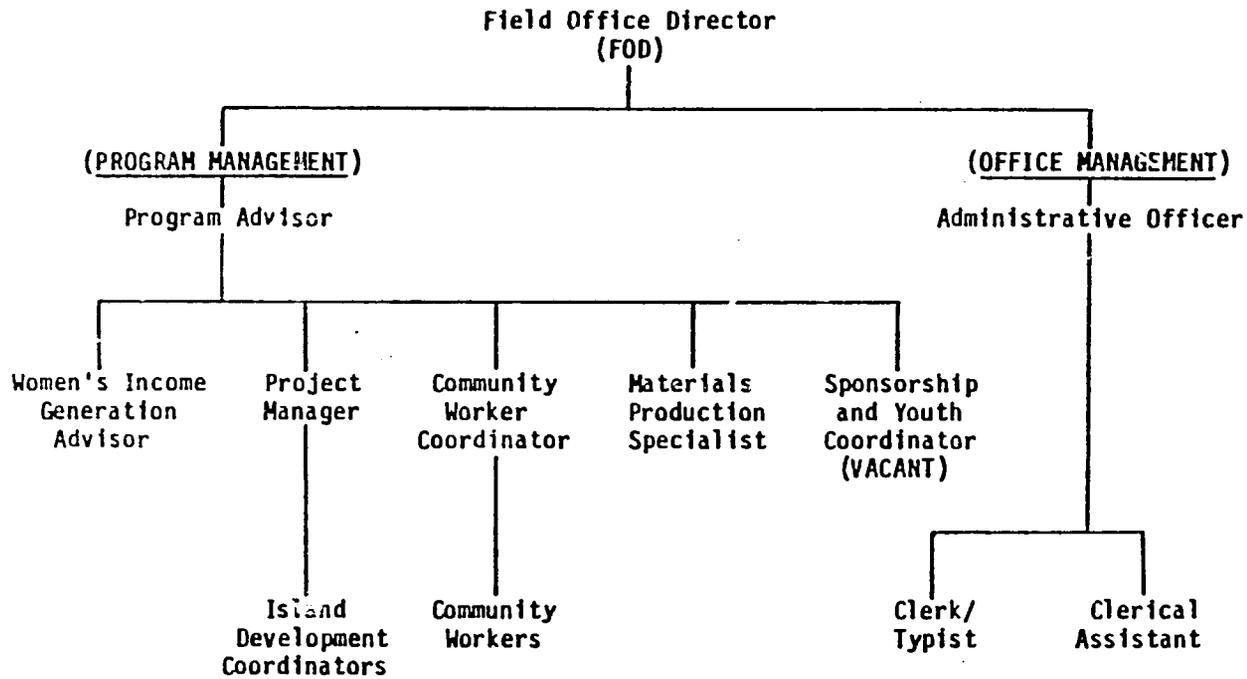
Field Office Staff

SCF's Tuvalu Field Office is managed by the Field Office Director (FOD). The administration is divided into the areas of program management and office management. Program management is overseen by a Program Advisor and Project Manager. The office is managed by an Administrative Officer and a clerical support staff of two. Figure 6 portrays the organizational structure of TFO in diagrammatic form.

The TFO organization appears to have gone through considerable evolution since 1980 in harmony with the expansion of the agency's programs and activities. In addition to the separate roles of Project Manager and Administrative Officer, new positions have been created to assume responsibility for the coordination of Community Workers and the production of graphic materials. A Sponsorship and Youth Coordinator will be hired during the 1987 fiscal year to coordinate the "Lifeline" sponsorship program and to take responsibility for SCF's expanding role in youth activities. The position will be occupied by a Tuvaluan, as are all positions in the Tuvalu Field Office except that of Program

Figure 6

Organizational Structure of the SCF Tuvalu Field Office



Advisor and Materials Production Specialist, which are occupied by Americans on temporary contract.

The flexibility of the TFO organization is further exemplified by the agency's ability to hire consultants on a temporary basis to fill needs in the community or within the Government. The agency recently provided a Women's Income Generation Advisor to assist the staff of the Women's Handicraft Centre for several months, and an architect was hired to work in the Public Works Division for four months to fill a need within that office. Government officials expressed appreciation for this flexibility.

The position of Field Office Director (FOD) for SCF's Tuvalu program has been occupied by a Tuvaluan since January 1984. The present FOD had three months' overlap with the original director (an American), who left in March 1984 after having been with the program since its entry into Tuvalu in mid-1980. The "localization" of the FOD position occurred relatively early in the program's short history. While localization of field office and program administration is an ultimate goal of SCF, expatriates often occupy key administrative posts for a number of years before the attempt is made to gradually transfer power to a local director.

One problem faced by a field office staff that is largely local concerns the sensitive social environment in which the program must operate. There have been rumors of dissatisfaction within the Funafuti and larger Tuvalu communities regarding the fact that, to date, most of the local staff hired have been natives of one atoll. While in

essence the claim is true, investigation of these rumors within Government and at the local level revealed that there is no basis for the belief that unethical hiring practices have taken place. Complaints appear to have been isolated and motivated by individual sentiment. Government officials pointed to similar problems within their own ranks, noting that all of SCF's hiring has been done by non-Tuvaluans.

In summary, the organization of the Tuvalu Field Office reflects progress towards the ultimate goal of localizing SCF's philosophy and turning over operation of the program to a Tuvaluan field staff. The staff has encountered only minor problems thus far and has shown great flexibility in tailoring the organization of the the field office to the requirements of the local environment.

The Scale of SCF's Presence in Tuvalu

The scale of SCF's community-based island development program in Tuvalu has resulted in a significant impact on the country in relation to its size. This is demonstrated by the fact that every respondent interviewed in the data collection is aware of SCF and, in most cases, familiar with the nature of the agency's programs. Much of this high level of awareness is a direct result of the agency's household water catchment and storage project, which was implemented shortly after the program was begun in 1980. This project achieved nearly complete coverage of households throughout Tuvalu and was therefore highly visible. Recent SCF projects have not enjoyed the same visibility, although many individuals interviewed during the data collection assume

that SCF has been responsible for several projects which have been implemented by the Government or by other agencies.

A negative aspect of the large scale of SCF's operations concerns the agency's policy of implementing projects on a national scale. Civil servants and SCF field workers on several atolls have complained that efforts to carry out projects simultaneously on all atolls often negates the prioritization of local development expressed in the IDP process. The situation is similar to the Central Government's tendency to ignore local priorities in order fit projects to national plans. This system works against national and local efforts to progress from the past practices of local development "planning", in which Island Councils sent lists of Council-priority projects to Central Government without significant local input.

It was made clear in discussions with Government officials that the present administration would like to see SCF continue in its efforts to improve the lives of people at the household level, particularly in the area of "basic human needs", such as food, water, and shelter. In the future, it is hoped that the SCF program will introduce appropriate technologies which will supplement or replace the most difficult and time-consuming daily tasks facing rural dwellers. This is consonant with the Government's goal of slowing urbanization in Funafuti by maintaining the attractiveness of the traditional lifestyle.

It is worth noting that little mention was made within the Government of the active role taken by SCF in community development planning. It was indicated by several officials that SCF should

recognize limits to its role, and programs should be implemented at a pace which is compatible with the overall development of the nation (and presumably with the Government's own programs). This demonstrates an awareness within the Government of SCF's potential for both positive and negative impact. The fact that SCF has proved itself capable of addressing development needs at the individual level, an area in which the Government has not yet had significant success, may reflect negatively on the Government in the eyes of the people. Therefore, the Government may regard SCF's involvement in an area as fundamental as development planning to be potentially threatening and inappropriate to the role of a private voluntary organization.

SCF's Field Workers

Island Development Coordinators (IDC's) and Community Workers are well known on their respective atolls. However, it was found that few people at the community level have an accurate perception of the roles of these individuals beyond the technical skills exhibited to date. While SCF's field workers have been frequently called upon by rural dwellers to lend assistance, the type of help solicited has most often been related to some technical aspect of a SCF-sponsored project. Only a small minority realizes the broader roles of IDC's and Community Workers as facilitators of local planning and development.

This lack of awareness of the roles and responsibilities of IDC's and Community Workers extends to the local leadership on many atolls. Several Island Council representatives have expressed frustration at the lack of clarity on the lines of authority of IDC's and Community

Workers in relation to the Island Council. In some communities, there have been cases where individuals have retreated from participating in local development projects with the justification that they are employed by SCF and are therefore immune to Island Council directives.

In general, the quality of IDC's and Community Workers is dependent on the experience and integrity of the individual in question. Several outstanding individuals were encountered in the atolls visited during the data collection. The Community Worker on one atoll sees herself as "a communication link between the women of her island and various local clubs, organizations, and development branches". The FOD has set a goal to upgrade the skills of the IDC's and Community Workers so that they communicate with TFO and become more effective in their intended role as local resource people.

Training

The main area in which training is an issue for SCF is that of the Island Development Coordinators and Community Workers. Since the beginning of SCF's Tuvalu program in 1980, training workshops have been held at least once yearly, usually in Funafuti (due to problems with transport which make workshops on other atolls difficult). During the first half of the program's history (prior to the hiring by SCF of the Community Workers), training emphasized both technical and process (IDP) skills. Peace Corps volunteers were often included in training workshops. Since 1983, however, the emphasis has tended more toward technical training, a factor which is probably related to the overall reduction of activity in the IDP process.

A significant number of IDC's and Community Workers at the sites visited have expressed the desire to participate in exchanges with their counterparts on other atolls for short periods of several months. They feel that this would give them the opportunity to view the successes and failures experienced in other communities so that they might gain a new perspective and enthusiasm to continue work in their own communities. Regular educational exchanges and rotations among SCF field workers was expressed as a program objective in the 1980 baseline study. To date SCF has not addressed this objective, although two general training workshops held on the atolls of Vaitupu (1981) and Nukulaelae (1982) provided a comparative glimpse for some of the agency's field workers.

The SCF Tuvalu Field Office (TFO) plans to gradually send all IDC's and Community Workers abroad for training. Several Community Workers have already undergone training at the South Pacific Commission (SPC) Community Training Education Centre in Fiji prior to their employment by SCF. Two IDC's and one Community Worker recently attended a workshop on small business management, and one Community Worker accompanied the TFO Community Worker Coordinator to a workshop on rural development at the University of the South Pacific (USP) Institute of Rural Development in Tonga. The SCF program in Tuvalu has established long-term contact with this agency, and the possibility for future opportunities seems good. Plans also exist for "regional resource sharing" exchanges with other SCF programs in the Pacific region.

Sponsorship

The child sponsorship system provides SCF with most of its program funding derived from private sources, a high percentage of which goes to program-related services relative to funding derived from grants. American sponsors are sought (often through media such as magazines and mailers) to contribute to the support of children in countries where the agency operates. Funds actually go to the communities in which the children live, a procedure which relates to SCF's program philosophy.

A recent variation of SCF's sponsorship system is the "Lifeline" program which was begun in Tuvalu in January 1985. "Lifeline" sponsorship involves the support by private benefactors of one "symbolic" child. Tuvalu currently has over 800 sponsors, a factor which has been responsible for a twofold increase in the portion of the program's budget which is derived from private monies. While there has been no feedback as yet from the local level on the reaction and acceptance of the sponsorship program, the Government feels that the program's low profile will not affect the pride with which Tuvaluans traditionally regard their children. This sentiment is due in part to Government's confidence in the ability of the FOD as a Tuvaluan to handle the program in a sensitive and appropriate manner. One source indicated that some Tuvaluans feel that the sponsorship program is one way in which they may actively increase the resources available to SCF in its administration of the Tuvalu program.

Innovation

The SCF Tuvalu Field Office staff continually review innovative

technologies for their potential introduction in Tuvalu. The office receives a variety of "appropriate technology" magazines and journals. In addition, they receive information from the home office on the activities of other programs worldwide. Money is incorporated within the budget for technical training of the TFO staff, two of whom were recently sent abroad to Tonga and the U.S. for training. Plans for the introduction of further technical innovations are included in the office's three-year plan.

The introduction of innovative projects, materials and ideas into Tuvalu is one area in which SCF has excelled over the past five years. Several local leaders in the communities visited noted an appreciation of SCF's emphasis on the transfer of technology and experience to the community through its programs, particularly the household water catchment and storage project. The skill of ferrocement water tank construction has been internalized throughout Tuvalu's rural communities as well as in Funafuti.

Other alternative technologies introduced at the community level include designs for a smokeless stove and sink using wire-reinforced concrete and small solar-powered lighting systems for limited household energy needs. On a larger scale, the agency has initiated and supported the Boat Development Industry of Tuvalu (BDIT) mentioned earlier. The feedback on the operation of motorboats and sailcraft produced by BDIT has been positive thus far. The industry is destined either for eventual sale to a private enterprise or to remain under SCF's support as a quasi-independent organization.

The emphasis on technical innovation appears to have grown to fill the void which has resulted from aforementioned problems in the IDP process. Consequently, a weakness in the SCF program was observed in the recent trend toward periodic "theme" projects. These projects, such as the smokeless stoves and ferrocement sinks being built throughout Tuvalu, appear to have been designed to maintain the activity levels of the IDC's and Community Workers now that there is little activity with the IDP process. The situation may also be due in part to an effort to maintain the level of achievement enjoyed by the program prior to the completion of the household water catchment and storage project. Interestingly, this shift by SCF in the emphasis of its programs appears to be consonant with the Central Government's perception of SCF's role. However, it is not compatible with the overall goals of the agency and of the Tuvalu program which place a heavy emphasis on increasing the capacity for community management.

With the current technical emphasis, care must be taken that technologies are sufficiently tested prior to their introduction on a nationwide scale. Several individuals, including the Island Council on one of the atolls visited, have expressed reservations about the smokeless stove design currently being introduced throughout the country. It was observed that the stoves crack with alarming frequency. Persistent problems have also been observed with the SCF solar energy units, primarily due to the lack of local knowledge of their care and maintenance. Chemical deposits, overuse and improper filling of batteries have impeded the efficiency of many shareholders'

lighting units. Such situations could result in resistance to future SCF projects which require significant community contributions.

ORIGINAL BASELINE STUDY INDICATORS

The original indicators of purpose established in the SCF baseline study (prepared prior to the program's commencement in 1980) are discussed in detail in Appendix H. The agency's achievement of these indicators and the associated objectives is an indication of both program achievement and of the realism of the objectives themselves.

In summary, there has been a range of levels of achievement of the three major program objectives expressed by the agency in 1980. The objective for which the most indicators were established relates to the strengthening of local capabilities. Indicators concern the establishment of comprehensive island development plans, local development funds, and mechanisms for evaluation by local communities. A goal of "five self-help projects managed by at least six Island Councils" was set as tangible evidence of the fulfillment of this objective. Due to the problems experienced with the IDP process, most of these indicators have been achieved only partially. Exceptions have been the physical products of the process, which includes the existence of individual IDP's for each community and the resultant self-help development projects which were implemented. No systematic establishment of development funds was found, although examples of ad hoc loans set up by different local groups was observed. Similarly, no mechanism for local development program evaluation was observed.

The second major program objective set by the agency concerns the

optimum use of local resources. SCF has excelled in the fulfillment of its indicators for this objective through the introduction of new appropriate technology methods. The household water catchment and storage project alone brought the new technology of ferrocement water tank construction to over 90% of all households in Tuvalu.

The final objective expressed in the 1980 baseline study concerns cultural exchange, economic interdependence and communication. The indicators established for this objective appeared to be the least realistic based on the low level of achievement to date. Visits by community leaders to different atolls for the exchange of experience and information on local development have never materialized. Similarly, there have been few "joint planning or training endeavors" involving communities from several atolls. However, the agency has had eight workshops since 1980 which have occasionally involved leaders and civil servants in addition to SCF field workers. In summary, while SCF has accomplished much in the context of its own program towards achieving the objective of interdependence and exchange, relatively little has been achieved at the general community level.

Figure 7 summarizes in simple fashion the achievement by SCF of the original indicators established in the 1980 baseline study based on the review of objectives in this section.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the findings presented earlier in this chapter. They are offered to SCF as alternatives for use in directing the agency's future programs in Tuvalu. It is

Figure 7

Level of Achievement of 1980 SCF Baseline Study Indicators

<u>INDICATOR (1985):</u>	<u>LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT:</u>
<u>OBJECTIVE 1: STRENGTHENING LOCAL CAPABILITIES</u>	
a) Multi-year plans for island development prepared in harmony with the plans of the Government of Tuvalu;	(moderate)
b) Annual plans developed by at least six Councils with objectives, projects, implementation schedules and budgets;	(high)
c) Development funds established for projects identified by at least six Councils or other organizations;	(low)
d) Criteria and guidelines for approving development grants and loans, and for monitoring and evaluating projects;	(low)
e) A minimum of five self-help projects completed by six Island Councils having achieved stated purposes; and,	(high)
f) Evaluation of community projects by six Councils and evaluation of development plans by at least three Councils.	(low)
<u>OBJECTIVE 2: OPTIMUM USE OF LOCAL RESOURCES</u>	
a) At least 50% of households on six islands using one new appropriate technology method maximizing local resources.	(high)
<u>OBJECTIVE 3: CULTURAL EXCHANGE, ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND COMMUNICATION</u>	
a) Projects visited by at least six community leaders from other islands and results disseminated to their Councils;	(none)
b) A joint training endeavor with participation of at least two islands promoting inter-island cooperation; and,	(moderate)
c) Island Coordinators participating in joint training sessions to discuss problems and to design solutions.	(high)

recognized that the Tuvalu Field Office incorporated several similar strategies in its three-year plan for 1986-1988, which was submitted to the Westport office at the beginning of this year (Save the Children Federation, 1985). This is seen as positive evidence of TFO's realization of some of the same problems and its willingness to address them in a timely fashion.

Programs

1. SCF should continue its emphasis on self-help in its programs and should gradually increase community contributions and responsibility for local development. Such efforts have already had a positive effect on increasing self-reliance and broadening communities' perceptions of their role in local development. In relation to this, care should be taken by the TFO administration in the acceptance of substantial grants from other agencies and in the application of its own funds. Excessive monetary and material contributions by SCF to local development projects could erode the progress already made in reorienting people's expectations of their role and responsibility.

2. The agency should continue its provision of consultants for the special needs of Government and other public and private agencies. This has helped SCF in the efficient management of its own programs and has also promoted better relations with these agencies. Care should be taken, however, that duplication or competition with existing positions does not take place.

3. SCF should continue its efforts at promoting comprehensive physical planning and site design at the community level. Having seen

the positive example of the village on Nanumaga, communities have expressed great interest in physical planning for their village areas. With regard to SCF program goals and objectives, an intensified effort in this area will increase the quality of life in Tuvalu's communities and will eliminate the crowding of physical development by enabling the accommodation of SCF household projects such as water tanks and catchments and household gardens. In addition, appropriate spatial planning will broaden people's orientation and will foster the integration of development by facilitating the implementation of other sectoral strategies.

4. The IDP process has been proven beneficial and is generally well regarded; therefore, more effort is required in revitalizing the process rather than discontinuing SCF's involvement. One way in which this may take place is through further training of community dwellers, particularly local leaders and civil servants who are in not subject to constant turnover and rotation (a problem of the Island Councils). In addition, development planning should be returned to the curriculum of the IDC's and Community Workers. The agency's development planning emphasis should be returned, and the TFO administration should work more closely with the Local Government Office, Planning Office, and other relevant Government agencies to attempt to solve funding and organizational problems affecting the IDP. The environment is good at this time with the recent interest in integrated development shown by the Government of Australia. Attention to the revitalization of the IDP process should mitigate many community management problems.

5. Experiments in the exchange or rotation of IDC's and Community Workers should be attempted soon. In theory, this offers a unique opportunity for exchange of ideas and enthusiasm similar to that which has occurred in Funafuti workshops. This objective was expressed in SCF's implementation plan in 1980 but has not been followed through to date, although several field workers have voiced the desire to participate in such a program.

6. The agency's apparent policy of implementing most of its projects on a national scale should be reviewed and revised. This practice has demonstrated a lack of sensitivity to the differential development capacities of Tuvalu's atoll communities and has also worked against the equal distribution of program benefits in some cases. The tendency towards centralization due to existing limitations of communication, transport, and geography (a factor which has long plagued the Government) should be recognized and avoided. This will not require a change at the community level, but will necessitate an increased willingness on the part of the TFO administration to give more attention to the specific needs of individual communities.

7. Testing and careful screening of new technologies should take place prior to their introduction on a large-scale in the field. The fact that SCF projects customarily require a significant contribution means a substantial risk for households and other local groups. Progress made by SCF in fostering self-reliance could be eroded through the haphazard introduction of new technologies whose suitability for use in Tuvalu's communities has not been adequately tested. However,

SCF should maintain its current practice of introducing appropriate and innovative technologies, as the agency plays a unique role in Tuvalu in this capacity.

8. A greater effort should be made towards working through established local groups in the implementation of SCF's programs. Past experience has shown that this is a successful means of implementation (as exemplified by the organization of labor in the household water catchment and storage project). It was observed that newly formed interest groups are proliferating in Tuvalu's communities and are beginning to fragment the social structure. SCF's concentration on working through Island Councils should be continued for political as well as programmatic reasons. However, it was observed that the program's success in improving the capacity for community management was limited due to weaknesses inherent in the Island Council system.

9. SCF should take care not to expand its operations beyond the scope and scale which can be handled by the nation and the impact area. The agency's activities have expanded greatly since the start of its program in 1980, and the Government appears aware of the sensitivity of the situation. Tuvalu's social and physical environment demands a low profile. The emphasis on basic needs fulfillment should be continued. At the same time, the successful implementation and management of several programs of high quality is preferable to unlimited expansion, which may eventually lead to a reduction in control and in the quality of SCF programs.

Projects

1. The agency should continue and expand its involvement in the area of water resources improvement. This was expressed frequently by community dwellers and was also a major finding in the recent visit of the Australian Government team. Potential areas of emphasis include a reopening of the ferrocement water tank construction project, additional involvement in island cistern repair, and assistance in the installation of piped well-water systems. This effort will contribute to greater integration of local and national development through the collaboration with Government and other agencies which will take place.

2. SCF should continue its support of projects which promote income generation, as this has proven to be an important factor in the overall success of local development efforts. The agency's emphasis should be enlarged to include not only projects which provide the infrastructure necessary for income development (such as the Handicraft Centre), but also projects which give direct support, such as skills development of individuals at the community level. The ability to generate income at the community level engenders self-reliance and removes many of the constraints which exist to local development in Tuvalu.

3. A sustained effort should be put forth in the promotion of household gardening in order to maintain current levels of enthusiasm and awareness. The recent SCF-sponsored garden competition resulted in significant progress in agriculture and food production and nutrition, development sectors which have traditionally received little attention. This program needs to be expanded and continued, however,

if the skills and ideas introduced are to become internalized. Potential areas of involvement include the sponsorship of regular competitions and community education, both of which will foster integration through collaboration with other agencies.

4. SCF should assume a greater role in the implementation of projects which benefit the youth of Tuvalu's communities. The importance of this group in local development was highly emphasized. Recognition of this through the support of youth-oriented projects would be consonant with the traditional role of youth in Tuvalu's communities. Areas of involvement include skills development, recreation, and other areas which promote a productive use of youth's potential in development.

Administration

1. The Tuvalu Field Office should continue its current programmatic and organizational flexibility. This should include sensitivity to possible changes which may occur in the environment of the impact area. For example, the nature of the linkage with the Government may require alteration in the future if changes in support or personnel should occur. Although the close working relationship between SCF and the Government has been productive thus far, the agency should return to its role as a quasi-independent private voluntary organization if the situation should begin to conflict with the agency's programs.

2. The low profile of the "Lifeline" sponsorship program should be maintained. The sponsorship program is beneficial to SCF's operations in Tuvalu and has been handled sensitively to date. However, continued

care should be taken in its administration. This will involve the maintenance of open communication lines with the Government and communities. The hiring of a Sponsorship Coordinator as proposed in TFO's three-year plan should be implemented to ensure the continued smooth operation of the "Lifeline" program.

3. Communication with IDC's and Community Workers on the outer islands needs to be improved in its quality and regularity. Many problems observed in the data collection could have been avoided had communication between TFO and field workers been better. This effort should come from both levels, and thus should be incorporated with the further training of IDC's and Community Workers and with an overall upgrading in their skill levels. The effort may also involve a streamlining of the collection of forms and reports which are regularly filed by IDC's and Community Workers. Information which is not directly relevant to the program's operations should be eliminated, while indicators to be monitored for the purposes of on-going and future evaluation should be incorporated.

4. An attempt should be made soon to begin the internalization of the IDC and Community Workers within the Island Council. This is the next step to be taken in turning over SCF's operation and philosophy to the communities in which the agency has been working. Negotiations with the Local Government office should be undertaken to formulate a system in which SCF retains a sufficient measure of authority over its workers to ensure initial success. The accomplishment of this step will promote greater integration of development in Tuvalu and will

address weaknesses in organization concerning perceptions of unclear limits of authority regarding SCF's field workers.

5. Communities should be more closely involved in policy-making for individual projects. This was done by SCF in the household water catchment and storage project to determine which households could participate in the project. If instituted on a comprehensive basis, this practice should help to avoid problems such as those which have emerged on some atolls regarding distribution of project benefits.

6. TFO should institute a program of upgrading its record-keeping on projects and relevant indicators. This would facilitate on-going program evaluation by the agency and by external evaluators. The 1980 baseline study was of little use in this evaluation due to the fact that it did not provide a suitable "baseline" by which 1985 achievements could be compared. Therefore, the office should begin at this time to maintain records which will be of use in the future. Pyle's impact monitoring system may be tailored to the context of Tuvalu, placing a greater emphasis on figures for water, health, births, and other indicators relevant to the agency's programs. SCF has already begun this process with its recent family planning survey.

APPENDIX A

INITIAL CONCEPT FOR SCF PROGRAM EVALUATION

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES: (SCF 1980 Baseline Study)	AREAS OF FOCUS:	INDICATORS:	APPROPRIATE METHODS:
To improve the quality of life:	Quantifiable or visible evidence of improvements in all community sectors (health, education, culture, economy, environment):	Compare the current situation in each sector with the baseline data in the SCF implementation plan for Tuvalu.	Observation, research
		Evidence of the program's impact on the lives of the people in the community:	Who are the beneficiaries of SCF projects? how are they served? Under what projects are they served? From the perceptions of community dwellers, is life "better" or "worse" now compared to five years ago? Why?
To strengthen the capabilities of Island Councils and of the local people:	Improvement of the local development planning process (goal formulation, planning, implementation, evaluation):	The ability to identify and explain local problems and prioritize them in a rational manner; evidence of some process of needs assessment (informal discussions, information collection, other); the ability to establish objectives and the steps and time budget to be followed in achieving them; evidence that objectives are measurable and are widely understood; the ability to establish indicators for evaluation; the ability to evaluate achievement based on indicators; discussion of evaluation results and their application in a redefinition of objectives (see also specific indicators in SCF's implementation plan for Tuvalu).	Village dialogue, surveying, research
		The level and scope of community involvement in the planning process:	The stage at which the community (or various groups or individuals) entered into the planning process; participation in Island Council and community meetings on development issues (who, how many, level of participation, dynamics of decision making); participation in community-wide activities related to development.
	The community's organizational capacity:	The percentage of the community involved in various organizations; the number of membership and its composition; the nature of local leadership; organizations' skill in managing funds and resources; the methods and criteria for selecting workers for development projects; the management, supervision, and accountability of workers; organizational cohesiveness and divisiveness; altruism towards the community and its development; the existence of some form of committee on local community development issues.	Village dialogue, surveying, research
		The impact or usefulness of training and technical assistance:	The perceptions within the community on the impacts and value of outside assistance (also indicators related specifically to the type of training or technical assistance given, and to the target of that assistance).

APPENDIX A (PAGE 2)

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES: (SCF 1960 Baseline Study)	AREAS OF FOCUS:	INDICATORS:	APPROPRIATE METHODS:
To strengthen the capabilities of Island Councils and of the local people; (continued)	The effectiveness of the IDC as a facilitator, catalyst, manager and intermediary in local island development:	The awareness among the community of the IDC position and role; community perceptions of the IDC role and responsibility in the community and in relation to the Island Council; the IDC's inclusion in organizations and decision making bodies concerned with development; evidence of the efficient management of local development progress by the IDC; perceptions of Central Government officials of the IDC role.	Village dialogue, surveying, research
	Community attitudes towards development and related issues:	The existence of a concept of self-sufficiency and self-reliance in the community; evidence of a future orientation; community perceptions of the source of control over local development; the posture regarding change; attitudes of local workers towards participation in development activities as volunteers and wage earners.	Village dialogue, surveying
To encourage the optimum use of local resources and appropriate technology:	The community's access to resources, services, facilities and opportunities:	The extent to which local resources, services, facilities and opportunities being utilized for development; the ability to identify resources needed for development projects and activities; community perceptions of resources, services, facilities and opportunities that are currently lacking and act as constraints to development; evidence of projects and activities maintained without any external inputs of capital, labor, materials or other resources.	Village dialogue, surveying, research
	Community attitudes towards the provision and use of local resources (capital, labor, materials and other) for local development:	The establishment of development funds for the support of priority projects as defined by Island Councils and other local organizations; the amount of community contributions to local development projects in the various sectors.	Village dialogue, surveying, research
	The use of alternative techniques more appropriate to the island context for local development:	Evidence of the use of new and appropriate technological methods in the community (see also specific indicators in SCF's implementation plan for Tuvalu).	Village dialogue, surveying, research

APPENDIX A (PAGE 3)

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES: (SCF 1980 Baseline Study)	AREAS OF FOCUS:	INDICATORS:	APPROPRIATE METHODS:
To provide models of effective and integrated development; and,	: linkages among local groups : and individuals (horizontal) : and with the Central Govern- : ment and other external : organizations: : : : :	: The participation of IDC's and other local development workers in : joint training sessions to discuss problems and propose solutions : for their communities; exchange visits among islands by island : Councils, IDC's and civil servants on island development matters; : joint inter-island planning and training endeavors which promote : cooperation and exchange; the amount of outside inputs to local : development; Government and other agencies' perceptions of commu- : nities' use of external resources and the mutual links that exist : (see also specific indicators in SCF's Tuvalu implementation plan). :	: Village dialogue, : surveying, research : : : :
To promote cultural exchange, economic interdependence and communications.	: The degree of integration : of SCF island development : plans with those of the : Government of Tuvalu: : : Balanced development; the : integration of social and : economic programs: :	: The degree of consistency and harmony between SCF and Tuvalu : Government development plans (see also specific indicators in SCF's : Tuvalu implementation plan). : :	: Research : : : Research : :

APPENDIX B
DATA COLLECTION AGENDA

(Outer Islands:)

1. Tour SCF and other rural development projects with the IDC, Community Worker, and others; check use of locally-available resources; check for projects and activities maintained without external support.
2. Review of SCF and other rural development projects to assess the fulfillment of purpose, level of impact, beneficiaries (who and how many) and relationship to the IDP.
3. Administer the group interview schedule to 3-5 of the following groups: Island Council, aliki (traditional chiefs), Church, Women's Committee, youth group, village sides, other.
4. Administer the individual in-depth interview schedule to 12-18 people (2-3 each from four age/sex groups).
5. Hold informal talks with key individuals on the atoll: Island Council President, Island Executive Officer, Pastor, Women's Committee President, IDC, Community Worker, Nurse, Sanitation Aide, Store Manager, and Agricultural Foreman.
6. Attend one Island Council (or other local development) meeting as an observer to note attendance (who and how many), participation, dynamics of decision-making, and evidence of a systematic process of local development planning.
7. Check the original SCF baseline study indicators of purpose.
8. Estimate community involvement in local organizations and their role in local development.
9. Observe improvements in the quality of life (water, food, agriculture, fishing, shelter, entertainment, education, public services, health and economics).

(Funafuti:)

1. Review SCF project applications and project status reports to assess the fulfillment of project purpose, level of project impact, project beneficiaries, and relationship to individual IDP's.

2. Check the original SCF baseline study indicators of purpose.
3. Interview informally 3-5 key Central Government officials (i.e. Local Government Officer, Finance Minister, Planning Officer and others) for their perspectives on changes in rural development at the local and Central Government level and on SCF's relationship to Government and its role in local development in Tuvalu.
4. Investigate the unique aspects of SCF in Tuvalu (its "internalization" within the Government, the transfer of the Field Office administration to a local staff, the scope of SCF's presence in Tuvalu, and others).
5. Review the Second and Third Tuvalu Development Plans and compare them to the individual IDP's for each atoll for the same period, noting consistency and harmony. Confirm this with Government officials in interviews.
6. Interview the local SCF Field Office staff for their perspectives on factors mentioned above, as well as the sponsorship program, SCF's production of innovative materials, and the history of the program in Tuvalu from their perspective.

APPENDIX C

PROPOSED FIELD STUDY SCHEDULE

Wednesday, June 5	Depart Honolulu for Suva, Fiji via Nadi (Continental #3; dep. 1:15 am; arr. 5:30 am).
June 6 - 10	Spend four nights in Suva; make contact with Tuvalu High Commission, U.S. AID, and others; purchase research supplies.
Monday, June 10	Depart Suva for Funafuti (Fiji Air #600; dep. 8:30 am; arr. 11:45 am).
June 10 - 17	[APPROXIMATE] Establish a base at Save the Children office in Funafuti with Koloa Talake (SCF Tuvalu Field Office Director); checking translation and refinement of survey materials; meet with Local Government Officer and other officials for discussion regarding the study and for logistics; final study of sites to be visited; make in-country travel arrangements; send cables to outer islands.
June 18 - August 12	[APPROXIMATE] Conduct field research, data collection, preliminary analysis and writing on two or three atolls for 2-3 weeks each (depending on the schedule of the M.V. Nivanga); tentative sites (to be finalized with SCF) are Niutao, Vaitupu, and Nui atolls.
August 12 - 26	[APPROXIMATE] In Funafuti, check all data for accuracy with Talake and others; meet with government officials for individual input and government perspective on rural development, needs, current objectives, etc.; continue data analysis and writing; final contact with outer island informants by cable or radio phone.
Monday, August 26	Depart Funafuti for Suva (Fiji Air #601; dep. 12:15 pm; arr. 4:00 pm).
August 26 - 29	Spend three nights in Suva; consult with officials at Tuvalu High Commission, U.S. AID, and with other authorities on rural development to discuss preliminary findings.
Thursday, August 29	Depart Suva Thursday night for Honolulu via Nadi on Air Pacific and Continental #6; arr. Thursday morning.

APPENDIX D

INDIVIDUAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

SCF Program/Rural Development Evaluation
 Tuvalu (Central Pacific)
 June - August 1985

(Introduction:)

Hello, my name is Scott (Erickson) and I am a student at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu. I lived and worked in Nukulaelae, Tuvalu as a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer from May 1980 to October 1982. As part of my Masters degree at the University, I am conducting research to assess how Tuvalu's outer island communities have changed over the past several years with regard to the quality of life and the situation of local development. The purpose of this research is to discover if there have been any improvements in those areas, and who or what has been most responsible for these improvements (or lack thereof). This information should be useful to the central government and to outside agencies which have a role in local development. It should also be of benefit to your community in its efforts to improve the lives of its people.

You have been selected in a scientific random sample. I would really appreciate your input and assistance if you can spare a small amount of time to answer some questions. The questions I would like to ask you shouldn't take more than a half hour, and your answers will be kept absolutely confidential.

IF RESPONDENT CANNOT TALK NOW, SAY:

Your opinion is very important to this research. Is there another more convenient time when I could return so that we could talk?

Interviewer Calls	1	2	3
Date			
Time started			
Time ended			
Duration			
Result*			
Next visit: (Date)	(Time)		

- *(Result Codes:)
- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. completed | 4. refused or absent |
| 2. not at home | 5. other (specify) |
| 3. deferred | |

CHECKLIST: (note date)

___/___ contact made ___/___ interview(s) complete ___/___ edited ___/___ coded

INDIVIDUAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
(SUMMARY RESPONSES BY INTERVIEWEES)

SCF Program/Rural Development Evaluation
Tuvalu (Central Pacific)
June - August 1985

(NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate
frequency of responses by interviewees)

I.D. NO.: _____ INTERVIEW DURATION (MINS.): (mean = 61)
(range = 21-125)

Island Name _____ (Niutao = 12; Vaitupu = 20; Nui = 16)

Village Side _____

Head of Household Name _____

Respondent Name _____

Age _____

(mean = 42)

(range = 21-69)

Religion:

0 (46) Church of Tuvalu

1 (2) other

Sex:

0 (24) male

1 (24) female

Occupation:

0 (42) non-wage/traditional

1 (6) wage-earning

Marital Status:

0 (8) single

1 (33) married

2 (2) widowed

3 (0) separated

4 (5) divorced

Schooling:

0 (5) some primary school

1 (36) finished prim. sch.

2 (1) some high school

3 (6) finished high school

4 (0) beyond high school

Home Island:	0 (0) Nanumea	5 (2) Nukufetau
	1 (0) Nanumaga	6 (0) Funafuti
	2 (12) Niutao	7 (1) Nukulaelae
	3 (16) Nui	8 (0) Other: _____
	4 (17) Vaitupu	

I. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE

A. Community Quality of Life

1. Do you feel that life on your island is better or worse now compared to five years ago (i.e. since 1980 or last elections)?

0 (34) better	2 (8) no change
1 (1) worse	3 (5) no opinion

B. Family Quality of Life Indicators

The following questions will help me to know more about the way in which you live in your community:

1. I am going to list some things that are of concern to most communities like yours. Please tell me about any changes which have taken place in your family in these areas in the past five years; i.e. since 1980 or last elections (PROBE ANY IMPROVEMENTS, DETERIORATIONS, CHANGES IN TIME BUDGET AND ATTITUDES, ETC.):

Food (Production/Nutrition)--12 respondents mentioned changes in the following areas: a growing taste for European foods, especially among the youth (5); a growing proportion is purchased rather than grown (3); increased household gardening has increase food yields, especially of new vegetables (2); new recipes via the Community Worker (1); locally established household quota system has increased taro consumption (1); pest control has helped root crop production (1); fish are easier to obtain with motorboats (1); and food is easier to obtain with tractors (1).

Health--11 respondents mentioned changes in the following areas: health seems to be improved due to water improvements (3) or latrines (3); soap is more affordable and easily obtained with the new Vaimoana coconut oil soap-making scheme on Vaitupu (1); and latrines are not used because water for flushing must still be hauled from distant areas (1).

Water Catchment and Storage--33 respondents noted changes in the following areas: with the SCF household water tanks, the water supply is more convenient and accessible and time is saved (15), there is less competition and a reduced use of communal village cisterns (10), and families no longer use brackish wells in dry spells (7); there have been general improvements to the village water system with the SCF tanks and Government projects such as cistern repairs and installation of piped well-water systems (6).

Housing--23 respondents noted changes in the following areas: more houses of permanent materials have been or are being constructed recently (9); with the SCF smokeless stoves, more cooking is done near the home rather than in the village fringe areas (6); the village is becoming overcrowded with the addition of tanks, catchments, and other household projects (5); with the SCF tank catchment areas, nearly all homes have adequate water catchment and more activities are possible near the home (4); SCF kitchen improvements (stoves and sinks) have made women's lives easier (4); and SCF solar lighting systems have increased convenience and savings of money (1).

Transport--3 respondents mentioned the following changes: tractors and road equipment from the Government have helped to improve roads and make the collection of food and fuel in bush areas easier (3).

Income Generation--25 respondents' noted these changes: market contacts in Funafuti have improved, creating new local opportunities for income generation in small businesses (vaitupu), handicrafts, and sales of fish and local produce (15); there is more wage employment in local development jobs (5); there is a more equal distribution of income among households (4); copra prices have improved (4); there are more employment openings abroad, such as on foreign ships or in the phosphate industry in Nauru (3); SCF projects (solar lighting and smokeless stoves) have helped families to save money (3); and the cost of living has increased (1).

2. Please note which of the following is most important to the support of your family:

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| (6) remittances | (0) livestock |
| (2) fishing | (3) government servant |
| (28) copra | (4) other: handicrafts (2) |
| (3) plantation | local salary (2) |

3. What is the most serious problem for your family maintenance today?

- 0 (8) food
- 1 (2) fishing equipment
- 2 (1) school fees and uniforms
- 3 (8) house maintenance
- 4 (0) agricultural expenses
- 5 (29) other: no problems noted (20)
 money worries in general (7)
 increasing responsibilities to local groups (1)
 transport of local materials from bush (1)

4. Has the seriousness of this problem changed from 5 years ago (i.e. 1980 or last elections)?

0 (19) yes 1 (18) no 2 (11) no opinion

Please explain: 3 interviewees noted change of a negative nature, 8 noted change in a positive direction, and 4 noted "ups and downs" in the past 5 years.

II. CHANGES IN COMMUNITY AWARENESS AND PERCEPTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

A. Awareness of Local Development (Positive Examples)

The following questions concern recent development projects on your island (HAVE A LIST OF LOCAL PROJECTS SINCE 1980 AVAILABLE TO AID RESPONDENT IF NECESSARY):

1. In your opinion, what have been the [3] most beneficial development projects or programs on your island in the past 5 years (i.e. since 1980 or last elections)?

Projects mentioned first were SCF household water tanks (28), Government latrines (5), SCF household gardens (3), SCF catchment kitchens (1), SCF solar lighting project (1), road improvements (1), hospital wards (1), primary school water tank (1), and private household water cistern (1); 6 interviewees had no opinion.

Now I would like to ask you some detailed questions about the [first] project you mentioned:

2. In your opinion, why was the project beneficial?

The following areas of concern were mentioned most often, in order of frequency: convenience; savings of time; reduction of drudgery; improvement of health and sanitation; addressing a basic human need for food, water or shelter; improvements in the lives of children, women and the elderly; savings of money; benefit at the family level; and the contribution to a more equal standard of living.

3. Who initiated the project?

0 (4) local group	4 (0) foreign
1 (0) Church	5 (28) SCF
2 (5) Island Council	6 (2) other: _____
3 (2) Government	7 (7) no opinion

4. Where did the following resources for the project come from (see above sources):

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
labor	(24)	(0)	(1)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(5)	(15)
materials	(19)	(0)	(1)	(8)	(0)	(4)	(3)	(13)
funds	(1)	(0)	(2)	(5)	(0)	(27)	(2)	(11)
tech.asst.	(2)	(0)	(2)	(8)	(0)	(30)	(1)	(5)

5. Were there any delays or stoppages in the project? (If yes, why?)

0 (29) yes 1 (10) no 2 (9) no opinion

Common reasons mentioned for project delays were cargo difficulties due to shipping (10), difficulties in organizing labor such as wage disputes (4), lack of support or interest among the community or households (3), and competition with other island activities (1).

6. Did you or someone in your family work (or were you otherwise involved) with this project?

0 (27) yes 1 (16) no 2 (5) no opinion

7. What community problem was the project supposed to help solve (i.e. why was the project carried out)?

This question usually received a reiteration of the previous question on reasons for perceived benefit: to increase convenience; to save time; to reduce daily drudgery; to improve sanitation and health; to increase the potential for income generation; to save money; to address a basic human need; and to improve the lives of children and other groups.

8. In your opinion, was the project successful in solving this problem?
 0 (44) yes 1 (0) no 2 (4) no opinion

B. Awareness of Local Development (Negative Examples)

1. In your opinion, what have been the [3] least beneficial development projects or programs on your island in the past 5 years (i.e. since 1980 or last elections)?

The majority of interviewees could not think of any negative examples of development (27). Projects mentioned included the following: communal fishpond (4), SCF smokeless stoves (2), road improvements (2), baby clinic (2), SCF catchment kitchens (2), Government latrines (2), SCF water tanks (1), hospital wards (1), Government seawall (1), taro pit fencing (1), communal water cistern repairs (1), and SCF household gardens (1).

Now I would like to ask you some detailed questions about the [first] project you mentioned:

2. In your opinion, why was the project not beneficial?

28 interviewees had no opinion. The following deficiencies were noted: project not completed (5); unsuitable technology (4); lack of local commitment to project (4); lack of expected yields from project (3); insufficient project planning (2); weaknesses within Local or Central Government (2); lack of local expertise (1); lack of materials (1); and competition with other activities (1).

3. Who initiated the project?

0 (5) local group	4 (0) foreign
1 (1) Church	5 (7) SCF
2 (3) Island Council	6 (1) other: _____
3 (7) Government	7 (24) no opinion

4. Where did the following resources for the project come from (see above sources):

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
labor	(15)	(0)	(2)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(25)
materials	(9)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(27)
funds	(4)	(1)	(2)	(6)	(0)	(7)	(0)	(27)
tech.asst.	(4)	(0)	(2)	(6)	(0)	(7)	(1)	(28)

5. Were there any delays or stoppages in the project? (If yes, why?)

0 (21) yes 1 (2) no 2 (25) no opinion

Delays mentioned included household or island commitments to other activities (5), problems with local labor organization concerning wages (4), cargo difficulties due to shipping (3), problems concerning the technology used (3), weaknesses in Government (2), rotation of Island Council members (1), lack of community interest (1). The high number of non-responses reflects those who had no opinion on projects with little or no benefit.

6. Did you or someone in your family work (or were you otherwise involved) with this project?

0 (15) yes 1 (10) no 2 (23) no opinion

7. What community problem was the project supposed to help solve (i.e. why was the project carried out)?

The majority of interviewees (12) of those who participated in this section did not know the purpose of the project. Those with opinions noted the following purposes: to increase island income (4), to improve the lives of women and children (3), to increase the convenience of daily tasks (3), to facilitate a broader development effort (3), to address a basic human need (2), to improve local transport (2), to address a felt need of the community (2), and to reduce dependence on imported foods (1).

8. In your opinion, was the project successful in solving this problem?

0 (9) yes 1 (14) no 2 (25) no opinion

C. 'Perceptions of Development'

1. In your opinion, what types of activities in your community are included in what is called 'development'? (PROBE FURTHER AS NECESSARY TO DETERMINE THE SCOPE OF 'DEVELOPMENT' AS PERCEIVED BY THE RESPONDENT)

The following factors were mentioned once or more by interviewees: a broad range of activities which make community life better or easier (15), any activity which improves the status of the family (6), community groups working together (6), construction projects (5), using one's thoughts to build a better life (3), improvements which are distinct from traditional subsistence activities (3), obtaining the things needed for life in quantity (2), SCF's activities (2), achievement of things of a permanent nature (1), and the arrival of new ideas and skills (1). A high number of non-responses was recorded on Nui, where interviews were administered by the IDC and Community Worker.

D. Awareness of the IDC/CW Roles and of SCF

1. Who is the Island Development Coordinator (IDC) in your community?
All interviewees who participated (46) knew the identity of the IDC.
2. What do you think is the IDC's primary job on your island?
23 interviewees had no opinion. Common perceptions of the IDC role included the following: the construction of SCF water tanks and catchments (16), cooperation with local groups in coordinating development (7), advising and training local groups and individuals on new technologies that will improve life (6), the construction of SCF smokeless stoves (5), installation and maintenance of the SCF solar lighting units (4), construction of bathhouses and latrines (2), inspection and maintenance of present and future development projects (2). One individual felt that the IDC should take a greater role in labor on local projects.
3. To your knowledge, what are some of the local groups with whom the IDC is frequently involved in local development activities in your community? (NOTE RESPONSES BELOW)

	yes-0	no-1	unk.-2
Island Council	(41)	(0)	(7)
village sides	(39;	(1)	(8)
Church	(38)	(2)	(8)
traditional govt.	(35;	(3;	(10;
Women's Committee	(40)	(0)	(8)
youth	(39;	(1)	(8;
Agric. Foreman	(39)	(0)	(9)
health workers	(39;	(0;	(9)
Community Worker	(38)	(1)	(9)
Sanitation Aide	(39;	(0;	(9)
other:			

4. Have you ever asked the IDC for help in a personal or local development problem?

0 (33) yes 1 (9) no 2 (6) no opinion

If yes, what was the problem?

Most of those who had called upon the IDC did so for technical assistance or advice on an SCF project (18). Other problems included use of the SCF chainsaw (2), coordination of a major local development project (2), coordination of materials (1), and help with a personal development problem (1).

Was the IDC's help useful?

0 (20) yes 1 (13) no 2 (15) no opinion

5. Who is the Community Worker in your community?

All interviewees who participated (46) knew the identity of the Community Worker.

6. What do you think is the Community Worker's primary job on your island?

20 interviewees had no opinion or did not know. Perceptions of the Community Worker role included the following: construction and maintenance of existing IDCF projects, such as smokeless stoves and ferrocement sinks (18); introduction of new technologies to the

community, and especially to women (7); assisting women's development efforts in general (4); being available as needed for present and future local development efforts (3); assisting the IDC in his efforts (1); attending women's meetings with useful new information (1); assisting the Island Council (1); assisting disadvantaged groups such as the handicapped (1); and implementation of the SCF household garden project.

7. To your knowledge, what are some of the local groups with whom the Community Worker is frequently involved in local development activities in your community? (NOTE RESPONSES BELOW)

	yes-0	no-1	unk.-2
Island Council	(36)	(0)	(12)
village sides	(35)	(2)	(11)
Church	(34)	(2)	(12)
traditional govt.	(31)	(4)	(13)
Women's Committee	(37)	(0)	(11)
youth	(36)	(1)	(11)
Agric. Foreman	(35)	(0)	(13)
health workers	(35)	(0)	(13)
IDC	(36)	(0)	(12)
Sanitation Aide	(35)	(0)	(13)
other:			

8. Have you ever asked the Community Worker for help in a personal or local development problem?

0 (20) yes 1 (21) no 2 (7) no opinion

If yes, what was the problem?

Compared to the IDC, relatively few interviewees had called on the Community Worker. Those who had did so for the following reasons: advice or assistance with the construction or maintenance of an SCF project, especially smokeless stoves and sinks (10); and technical advice on a personal development problem (2). The large number of negative responses on one atoll was due to the fact that the Community Worker had only recently begun her work.

Was the Community Worker's help useful?

0 (19) yes 1 (0) no 2 (29) no opinion

9. Are you familiar with the Save the Children Federation?

0 (46) yes 1 (0) no 2 (2) no opinion

All interviewees who participated (46) were aware of SCF.

10. What programs and projects has SCF assisted in your community, to your knowledge?

Interviewees mentioned the following SCF projects and activities one or more times: household water tanks and catchments (37); smokeless stoves (31); ferrocement sinks (22); solar lighting project (12); proposed bath houses (5); proposed kitchens in catchment areas (4); and primary school water tanks (1). 3 interviewees mentioned projects which were not implemented by SCF.

III. IMPROVEMENTS IN COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT

A. Attitudes and Management of Labor and Resources

1. In your opinion, is there more or less voluntary labor required in your community today compared to 5 years ago?

0 (12) more 2 (3) no change

1 (30) less 3 (3) no opinion

Is this good or bad, in your opinion? Please explain:

0 (33) good 1 (9) bad 2 (6) no opinion

Of those who said that there is more voluntary labor today (12), 4 felt that this was good and 8 thought it was bad. Of those who felt that there was less voluntary labor today (30), 21 felt this to be good, 6 thought it was bad, and 3 had no opinion.

2. During the past 5 years (since 1980/last elections), have you personally worked more often as a paid laborer or as a volunteer on local development jobs?

0 (6) paid 1 (19) volunteer 2 (23) no opinion

3. To your knowledge, which groups in your community, if any, have resources (money, materials, or technical assistance) that the community or groups can request for use on local development projects or programs? (NOTE RESPONSES BELOW:)

	yes-0	no-1	unk-2
Island Council	(17)	(13)	(18)
village sides	(12)	(15)	(21)
Church	(13)	(12)	(23)
Women's Committee	(13)	(11)	(24)
youth	(10)	(13)	(25)

other: Other sources mentioned were the Scouts and Girls Guides (3), Red Cross (3), individual families (2), local arms of Government (2), Boys' Brigade (1), SCF (1), and traditional chiefs (1).

B. Participation in Planning

1. Which of the following areas, if any, are you presently involved in regarding planning for development in your community?

	yes-0	no-1	unk-2
Setting goals	(5)	(39)	(4)
Determining local needs	(6)	(38)	(4)
Establishing objectives	(8)	(36)	(4)
Project programming	(11)	(32)	(5)
Dev. plan evaluation	(4)	(39)	(5)

2. Which of the same areas, if any, were you involved in 5 years ago (i.e. since 1980 or last elections)?

	yes-0	no-1	unk-2
Setting goals	(3)	(42)	(3)
Determining local needs	(5)	(39)	(4)
Establishing objectives	(4)	(40)	(4)
Project programming	(8)	(36)	(4)
Dev. plan evaluation	(3)	(41)	(4)

3. Are you more or less involved in planning for development today than you were 5 years ago (or no change)?
- | | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| 0 (10) more | 2 (29) no change |
| 1 (0) less | 3 (9) no opinion |

C. Awareness and Assessment of the IDP

1. To your knowledge, does your community have a written plan for its development activities over the next few years?
- 0 (22) aware 1 (12) unaware 2 (14) no opinion

2. What groups or individuals were involved in making this plan?

Those who were aware of the IDP mentioned the following groups or individuals: the local Primary Health Care committee (4), the group involved in the 1982 and 1983 Government/SCF IDP workshops (3), the Island Council in cooperation with other local groups (4), the Island Council on its own (2), and Central Government (1). 17 had no knowledge of who was involved in the formulation of the IDP.

3. Were you involved?

0 (8) yes 1 (36) no 2 (4) no opinion

4. What are some of the activities which have been included on the plan? Please explain:

Those with knowledge of the IDP showed varying degrees of awareness. 19 had no knowledge of the content of their IDP, 5 had knowledge of two or more proposed projects, and 7 knew of one project which had usually been proposed by groups with which these individuals were affiliated.

5. In your opinion, will your community be able to achieve the things that have been written in the plan?

0 (18) yes 1 (9) no 2 (30) no opinion

If no, why not? Please explain:

D. Capacity for Future Management

1. In your opinion, what is the one group in your community whose primary responsibility is local development activities?

0 (13) Island Council 4 (8) Women's Committee

1 (3) trad. government 5 (21) other: _____

2 (1) village sides 6 (2) no opinion

3 (0) Church

2. How would you describe the performance of this group in carrying out local development activities?

0 (3) poor 2 (32) good

1 (11) passable 3 (2) no opinion

3. In your opinion, is your community better or worse equipped now to plan and carry out its own development than it was 5 years ago (i.e. since 1980 or last elections)?

0 (34) better 2 (7) no change

1 (2) worse 3 (5) no opinion

4. In your opinion, what is needed in order for your community to become better equipped to plan and carry out its own development in the future? Please explain:

The following perceived needs for future community management were expressed: general financial, material, and technical assistance (9), channeling of development efforts through local groups (3), assistance in projects which impact at the household level (2), introduction of new technologies (2), assistance on projects which address basic needs (2), maintenance of the traditional spirit of cooperation (2), clarification of the responsibilities of local workers (1), an increase in Island Council membership (1), stricter control over village development standards (1), the greater production of local produce for income generation (1), and more

pushcarts for transporting items from bush areas. Many responses related not to needs for community management but rather to perceptions of general local needs. 22 interviewees had no opinion.

Those are all of the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions or anything you would like to add to what you have already said?

IF NOTHING FURTHER, SAY:

I want to thank you very much again for taking the time away from your responsibilities to assist me with your opinion and input on these matters. Your help has been much appreciated. Your community will receive the results of this research. (SAY GOODBYE)

APPENDIX E

ISLAND PROJECT REVIEW FORM
(SUMMARY FREQUENCIES)SCF Program/Rural Development Evaluation
Tuvalu (Central Pacific)
June - August 1985(NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate
frequencies of the 77 projects reviewed)DESCRIPTION:Project Name: _____ Project No.: 77

Island:	Sector:
0 (27) Niutao	0 (1) Agric/Livestock/Fisheries
1 (25) Vaitupu	1 (15) Income Generation
2 (25) Nui	2 (9) Education/Recreation
3 (0) other:	3 (20) Health/Nutrition/Sanitation
	4 (23) Housing/Village Improvement
	5 (9) other:
Project Type:	Year Project Implemented:
0 (11) community	0 (7) 1981 or earlier
1 (20) SCF	1 (9) 1982
2 (32) "national"	2 (6) 1983
3 (11) foreign aid	3 (13) 1984
4 (3) other:	4 (16) 1985
On IDP?	5 (26) N/A or not available
0 (51) yes	
1 (26) no	

STATUS:

Status:	Scheduling:
0 (15) not yet begun	0 (37) behind schedule
1 (13) half-finished or less	1 (40) on schedule
2 (10) more than half-finished	2 (0) ahead of schedule
3 (31) project finished	Date Begun: ___/___
4 (8) delayed/on hold	Date Completed: ___/___

Comments:

PROJECT PURPOSE:

Comments:

Purpose:

- 0 (22) N/A (not yet complete)
- 1 (4) not fulfilled/minimally
- 2 (7) partially fulfilled
- 3 (8) purpose fulfilled
- 4 (23) N/A (no IDP/no purpose)
- 5 (13) other: _____

BENEFICIARIES:

(present status--estimated:)

Level of Impact:

- 0 (2) individual(s)
- 1 (12) household(s)
- 2 (47) group(s)
- 3 (15) island/community
- 4 (1) other: _____

No. Beneficiaries: _____

No. of Women: _____

No. of Children: _____

Specific Beneficiaries:

OTHER:

Local Inputs:

	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>unk.</u>
Labor	0 (39)	1 (25)	2 (13)
Local Materials	0 (48)	1 (11)	2 (18)
Other Materials	0 (11)	1 (57)	2 (9)
Money	0 (10)	1 (5)	2 (11)
Tech. Assistance	0 (9)	1 (53)	2 (15)

Maintained:

- 0 (17) local group(s)/individual(s)
- 1 (45) Island Council
- 2 (4) some external aid
- 3 (3) externally maintained
- 4 (8) N/A: _____

Comments:

APPENDIX F
RELATIONSHIP OF FINDINGS TO EVALUATION CRITERIA

The following illustration shows in diagrammatic form the extent to which the major findings of the evaluation of the SCF program in Tuvalu reflect either positively (+) or negatively (-) on the evaluation criteria established at the beginning of Chapter IV. The diagram is not intended as a final assessment of the program, but is offered as a simplification of the relationship between the evaluation criteria and the detailed findings found within the text of this report.

FINDINGS:	CRITERIA:									
	DIAGNOSIS	ORIENTATION	INVOLVEMENT	ORGANIZATION	BENEFITS DISTRIBUTION	SELF-RELIANCE	LINKAGES	INTEGRATION	INTERNALIZ'N. & REPLICAT'N.	CULTURAL SENSITIVITY
A. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE										
1. SCF has had an impact on the quality of life throughout Tuvalu in the area of water supply.					+					+
2. There have been lesser improvements in food production and nutrition, transport and village improvement.					+	+		-		
3. SCF has played a role in increasing income generation, a factor which has benefitted development overall.				+		+		+		
4. SCF has supported physical planning, which is an important factor to most community dwellers.		+	+							
B. CHANGES IN ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS										
1. There is a slight increase in understanding of local responsibilities in development from the SCF process.		+	+							

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FINDINGS:	CRITERIA:										
	DIAGNOSIS	ORIENTATION	INVOLVEMENT	ORGANIZATION	BENEFITS DISTRIBUTION	SELF-RELIANCE	LINKAGES	INTEGRATION	INTERNALIZATION	REPLICATION	CULTURAL SENSITIVITY
0. SCF PROGRAM ASPECTS											
3. The organizational structure of the Tuvalu Field Office appears suited to the program needs and environment.	+			+							+
4. SCF field workers have played an important role in the program, but local lines of authority are vague.		+						-			
5. SCF has provided regular training of its field workers and others, but some training needs exist.		-		+		+					
6. The emphasis on implementing projects on a national scale has frustrated development in some communities.				-	-						-
7. SCF's excellent relationship with the Tuvalu Government is an important factor in the program's success.							+	+			+

APPENDIX G

EXCERPT FROM 1982 SCF SELF-EVALUATIVE STATEMENT

The following is an excerpt of an evaluation of SCF process achievements in Tuvalu which was carried out by officials of the agency in October 1982 on the atolls of Nukulaelae and Vaitupu. Participants included IDC's, Peace Corps volunteers and several community leaders. This appendix is included as an illustration of the nature of Pyle's process evaluation system. Each of the seven process factors is introduced and its meaning explained. A range of indicators follows and scales are shown on which the achievement level of SCF's Tuvalu program are indicated for 1980 and 1982 on the two atolls surveyed.¹ This is followed by several examples from each atoll in support of the indicated rating.

It is emphasized that the strength of Pyle's process is in the clarification and systematization of complex qualitative data. The system in its original form remains too abstract for use by most field workers. Furthermore, the results of the system are subjective and superficial without detailed supportive data. If used systematically in combination with reliable indicators, however, the system may yield meaningful statements on the achievements of process objectives such as those which have been highly emphasized by SCF in its Tuvalu program.

¹The 1982 figure represents a composite rating from the results of evaluation on the two atolls, Nukulaelae and Vaitupu.

1. Needs Assessment/Diagnosis: the community's ability to identify needs and to collect and analyze data upon which problem identification is based.

- 0 - No capacity to diagnose development needs
- 1 - Slight capacity to diagnose development needs
- 2 - Some capacity to diagnose development needs
- 3 - Moderate capacity to diagnose development needs
- 4 - Considerable capacity to diagnose development needs
- 5 - Fully capable of diagnosing development needs

Nukulaelae: $\frac{0 \quad 80 \quad 2 \quad 82 \quad 4 \quad 5}{0 \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5}$

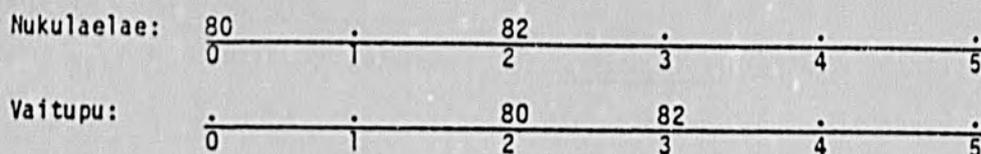
Vaitupu: $\frac{0 \quad 80 \quad 2 \quad 82 \quad 4 \quad 5}{0 \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5}$

Examples:

In 1980, the only thing approaching a needs assessment in the community was superficial planning by the Island Council where a "wish list" of construction projects were submitted to the Central Government. In 1982, however, at least ten percent of the community participated in most steps of a thorough needs assessment aimed at production of an Island Development plan that reflected all sides of the atoll's development (Nukulaelae).

2. Consciousness (Orientation): the community's appreciation of its roles and responsibilities as well as its rights, not only in the program, but in the development process in general.

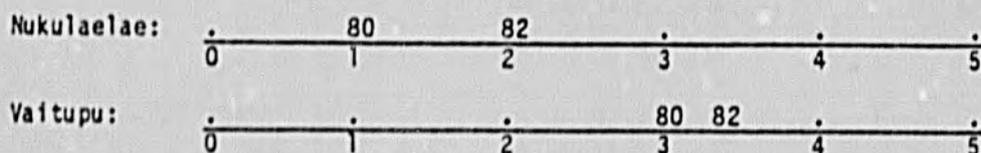
- 0 - Completely unaware of roles and responsibilities
- 1 - Slight consciousness and awareness
- 2 - Some consciousness and awareness
- 3 - Moderate consciousness and awareness
- 4 - Considerable consciousness and awareness
- 5 - Fully conscious and aware of the development process

Examples:

In 1980, community volunteer labor showed enthusiasm and willingness to work on community projects. In 1982, the community was in the transition of defining its relationship with the Island Council. It accepted its responsibility for equal local contributions but had not yet defined its terms of organization (Vaitupu).

3. Programmatic Involvement: the willingness and ability of the community to be involved in all aspects of development programming from planning to implementation to evaluation to reformulation of program and projects.

- 0 - Completely devoid of programming capacity
- 1 - Slight programming capability
- 2 - Some programming capability
- 3 - Moderate programming capability
- 4 - Considerable programming capability
- 5 - Fully capable of planning, implementing and evaluating community-based development programs and projects

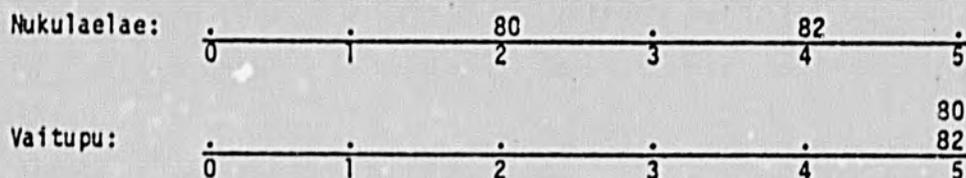
Examples:

In 1980, only Island Council members participated in planning and other stages of development. The bulk of the community was only involved in the implementation of certain development projects. The

situation was slightly improved in 1982, when greater participation was observed as a result of the IDP process (Nukulaelae).

4. Organization: the process of establishing strong community leadership and viable support systems, including the acceptance and smooth transfer of power; the evolution of a broad-based, actively involved power structure including people from all interest groups.

- 0 - No organizational capacity
- 1 - Minimal organizational capacity
- 2 - Some organizational capacity
- 3 - Moderate organizational capacity
- 4 - Considerable organizational capacity
- 5 - Fully capable of viable organization

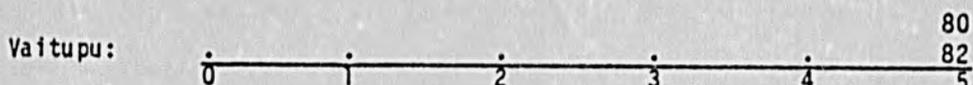
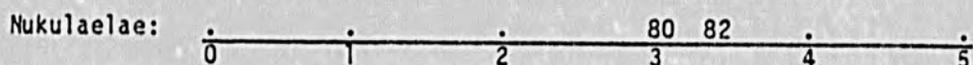


Examples:

In 1982, there were more than 20 local organizations which exhibited as they had in the past the ability to organize themselves to do relevant, viable community projects such as digging pulaka pits, raising funds to build schools, water tanks, and a maternity ward, and the buying and settling of an island in Fiji (Vaitupu).

5. Comprehensiveness: the breadth of participation in the community's development efforts and the equity in the distribution of program benefits.

- 0 - Exclusively dominated by elite groups
- 1 - Minimal equity in distribution and participation
- 2 - Some equity in distribution and participation
- 3 - Moderate equity in distribution and participation
- 4 - Considerable equity in distribution and participation
- 5 - Fully equitable in distribution and participation

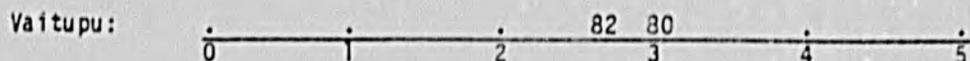
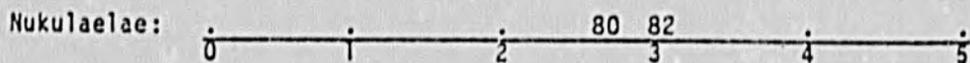


Examples:

In 1980, the power for determining local development projects lay in the hands of the Island Council, while the traditional matai (household representatives) system fostered total representation of the atoll. In 1982, the situation was thought to be the same, with the division between the Council and the matai still present (Nukulaelae).

6. Finances (Self-Help): a community's willingness and capacity to contribute resources; this factor includes cost recovery and community-based income generation activities.

- 0 - No community financing capacity
- 1 - Minimal community financing capacity
- 2 - Some community financing capacity
- 3 - Moderate level of financing capacity
- 4 - Considerable financing capacity
- 5 - Fully self-supporting



Examples:

In the past, the community contributed all of the necessary resources to community projects such as the maternity ward, pastor's house, and a local store. In 1982, there was a growing reluctance to contribute community labor and money to local development projects (Vaitupu).

7. Linkages: the identification and utilization of existing outside resources and the capability of the community to make demands for these services.

- 0 - No linkages established
- 1 - Minimal linkages established
- 2 - Some linkages established
- 3 - Moderate level of linkages established
- 4 - Considerable linkages established
- 5 - Linkages fully established

Nukulaelae:	0	80	82	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5
Vaitupu:	0	80	82	3	4	5
	0	1	2	3	4	5

Examples:

The community was not able in 1980 to identify and thus utilize existing linkages to achieve their development goals. Most often, projects were dumped on them due to Central Government obligations to utilize outside aid in specific fashions. In 1982, the existing "official" linkage was utilized, although only a small portion of the community had any awareness of it at this early stage (Nukulaelae).

APPENDIX H
REVIEW OF 1980 BASELINE STUDY INDICATORS

The original indicators of purpose established in the SCF baseline study (prepared prior to the program's commencement in 1980) offer a basis for the measurement of some of the program's achievements. It is realized that some of these indicators may have proven inappropriate or invalid in view of the agency's five years of experience in Tuvalu. Nevertheless, it is useful to evaluate the agency's achievement in terms of its original goals, as this may yield information on the program's effectiveness as well as the realism of its approach.

Strengthening Local Capabilities

Six indicators of purpose were established for this objective. The first indicator refers to the existence, after five years' time, of "multiyear plans for island development prepared in harmony with the development plans of the Government of Tuvalu". On the atolls visited in the survey, such multiyear plans exist in the form of the Island Development Plan (IDP) for each atoll. In a comparison between individual IDP's and the most recent Tuvalu Third Development Plan for 1984-1987, however, it was found that consistency between the two plans was often lacking. Many community projects and activities planned for the period were not included in the national development plan, which concentrated primarily on nationwide infrastructure projects. Therefore, this indicator has been only partially achieved, probably due to the aforementioned weaknesses in the IDP process.

The next indicator foresaw five years ago that by the present time, "annual implementation plans [would be] developed by at least six Island Councils with specific objectives, projects, implementation schedules and budgets". Superficially, this indicator has been achieved given the fact that every atoll in Tuvalu submitted its own IDP in 1983 for the period 1984-1987. In evaluating further, it is noted that the Island Council was not always the body which took the primary role in preparing the plan, and in some cases, the Council was not involved at all. On one atoll, the IDP was drafted entirely by the local "Development Committee" made up of local leaders and civil servants. In another case, the Council was assisted by sectoral groups established for the purpose. On another atoll, the Island Executive Officer (IEO) and SCF's Island Development Coordinator (IDC) prepared the IDP largely on their own. In addition, there appears to be a wide range of quality among IDP's, particularly in the areas of project scheduling and budgets. Nevertheless, this indicator has been largely achieved in spite of notable weaknesses.

The third indicator refers to the existence of "development funds established for supporting priority projects identified by at least six Island Councils or other organizations on the islands". In the communities visited, there were only a few examples of funds set aside specifically for the support of local development. On one atoll this took the form of a loan established by the island community, in which \$2000 was made available to local residents who desired ferrocement water tanks but could not afford the \$80 necessary for the purchase of

cement. In another case, a community applied in its IDP for assistance from SCF for \$5000 to establish a similar loan fund. Although the money was approved, it was later withdrawn as the community failed to provide matching funds. In general, it appears that the Island Councils have made little progress in broadening the use of Council funds for local development. The primary achievements have involved local groups, a factor which does not represent a significant improvement from past situations. Therefore, this indicator of purpose has been only minimally fulfilled.

The next indicator of purpose refers to the development by at least six Island Councils of "criteria and guidelines for approving development grants and loans, and for monitoring and evaluating projects". As mentioned earlier, development loans had been established in only one of the communities visited in the survey. In that case, criteria and guidelines for the approval of loans was minimal, demonstrated by the fact that nearly every household received a loan. In addition, it was found that no annual review or evaluation of individual IDP's has taken place on the atolls visited since the plans were submitted to Central Government in 1983. Although the IDP process includes components for the regular monitoring and evaluation of local plans and projects, this has not occurred for reasons mentioned earlier concerning the general deterioration of the IDP process within SCF and Central Government. Little progress has been made in the fulfillment of this indicator.

The fifth indicator foresaw the existence of "a minimum of five

self-help projects managed by at least six Island Councils to their completion having achieved their stated purposes". With SCF's recent emphasis on projects and on the transfer of technology, it is not surprising that the agency has easily fulfilled this indicator. If one assumes that "self-help" projects include those which involve at least a significant contribution of local labor and materials, there have been 17 such projects implemented on the three atolls visited which were managed to completion. This figure includes SCF projects as well as those in which the agency was not involved. "Stated purposes" were fulfilled in only six of these cases, however. This again reflects overall weaknesses in the IDP process, whereby many projects implemented in communities since 1980 did not undergo thorough planning. Nevertheless, this indicator of purpose has been largely fulfilled.

The final indicator under the objective of strengthening local abilities concerns the "evaluation of community projects completed by at least six Island Councils and evaluation of the overall development plans completed by at least three Island Councils". As mentioned above, no formal evaluations have taken place on the atolls visited of either individual projects or of the IDP itself, although SCF has carried out internal evaluations of its own projects and development plans. This relates again to larger inadequacies with the IDP process concerning SCF and Central Government. It is perhaps for this reason that enthusiasm for the IDP process is waning in the outer island communities, as no activity has taken place since the IDP's were

submitted to Central Government in 1983. Therefore, this indicator has achieved minimal fulfillment.

Optimum Use of Local Resources

Only one indicator of purpose was expressed under this objective in the original baseline study. This concerns the goal of "at least 50% of the households on six islands using at least one new appropriate technology method with a maximum use of local resources" by 1985. As mentioned earlier in the section on innovations, this is the area in which the SCF program in Tuvalu has excelled. The household water catchment and storage project alone brought the new technology of ferrocement water tank construction to over 90% of all households in Tuvalu. In addition, 60-70% of all households have smokeless stoves and ferrocement sinks, and 15% have solar electric light units in their homes as a result of SCF's programs. All of these technologies represent a maximum use of local resources. Therefore, the agency has completely fulfilled this indicator of purpose.

Cultural Exchange, Economic Interdependence and Communication

The first indicator under this objective concerns "projects visited by at least six community leaders from other atolls and project results disseminated to their respective Councils with a view of replicating successful results and avoiding repetition of failures". On the atolls visited in the survey, no such visits have taken place during the past five years on a formal basis. However, several local leaders expressed enthusiasm about development projects they had heard about on other atolls, and indicated that such a system of exchange

would be desirable in the future. This could be combined with traditional social exchanges which have taken place among atolls in the past. To date, however, no progress has been made toward fulfilling this indicator of purpose.

By contrast, SCF has sponsored multiple "joint planning or training endeavor[s] with participation of at least two islands promoting inter-island cooperation and exchange". However, these have most often been in the context of internal training sessions related to the third indicator of purpose, which concerns "Island Coordinators participating in joint training sessions to discuss problems on their respective islands and to design appropriate solutions". The agency has had eight "workshops" since 1980--one to two each year--involving its own IDC's and Community Workers from all the atolls. Local leaders and civil servants have also occasionally been involved. As discussed earlier in the section on training, the SCF workshops have evolved from combined planning and technical training sessions to primarily technical training. However, there was also a recent session on primary health care and a workshop on family planning is planned for the near future. Workshops have most often been held in the capital for reasons of transport, although two sessions were held on outer islands, which gave the participants the opportunity to learn from the experiences of other communities. In summary, while SCF has accomplished much on its own towards achieving the objective of interdependence and exchange, relatively little has been achieved outside the agency in bringing representatives of communities together for the same purposes.

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