

CHAPTER 1: THE STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine governance issues affecting development in the Republic of Kiribati. Principles of good governance are seen as a way to effectively govern and develop the country. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP 2008) maintains that good governance has eight dimensions, which are participation, consensus, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusiveness, and the rule of law. This thesis examines the challenges that have emerged between traditional systems of governance that have evolved in the Republic of Kiribati and those based on systems imported to Kiribati through contact with other cultures, especially through colonisation by Britain, and consequences that have emerged from this imposed blending.

The clash between the established order of the ‘old world’ and the challenges facing the development of the ‘new world’ emerge in numerous ways. Traditional cultures often base their order of controlling or governing on long-held customs that may have evolved in context to be effective but without reference to democratic principles and often with a gender bias toward males. Conversely, the principles of democratic involvement where individuals have access to such things as the rights of universal suffrage, freedom of speech, equality before the law or access to informed and unbiased information through media are assumed to be accepted minimum standards in much of the developed world. Democracy based on good governance could be said to be hard-won against wealth, privilege, nepotism and birth-right. Such democratic principles are relatively recent in Kiribati and, arguably, reasonably rare even in the early years of the 21st century.

Instances of behaviours which violate principles of good governance are frequently a result of cultural, geographical and historical circumstances. Colonisation presupposes the imposition of governance by one cultural system on another. In this regard, adopting and adapting modern governance in a developing country such as Kiribati is not an easy process. This process creates considerable challenges which are summed up in the following metaphor provided to the researcher by a participant in the research. The response is in Kiribati Language followed by a translation in English.

Kiribati Language Version

... e bon kanganga aron karekean te atatai ao nikoan te waaki n tautaeka ae boou irouia angia te botanaomata kioina ngke bon ti aki rikiaia ma anuaia n tautaeka. E kona ni kataunariaki te kanganga ma aron karekean te atatai ao nikoan te waki n tautaeka ae boou ma aron te kanganga ni maubonian te kainamwarake mai abatera n tanon Kiribati ae mauteretere. (U.Tekiau 2009, pers.comm, 15 Oct)

English Translation

...and that modern governance is complex for the majority of I-Kiribati to comprehend and be involved in its processes, partially because the people are not brought up in such a system of government nor is it part of our culture. Such complexity can be compared with the difficulty in trying to nurture a foreign tree in the poor soil of Kiribati. (U.Tekiau 2009, pers.comm, 15 Oct)

As stated in the initial sentence the purpose of this study is to examine governance issues affecting development in the Republic of Kiribati from the perspective of the I-Kiribati. The researcher will endeavour to investigate the emerging definitions, theories and processes of governance from the different perspectives. This will involve a comparison between the views of scholars, international and regional organisations, aid donors, the government and the people themselves about the concept of governance. An understanding of how governance has been practised in the developed world and in traditional societies such as Kiribati may assist in the comprehension of the problems in adopting and adapting modern governance. This will involve an investigation of how the I-Kiribati have practised governance in the pre and post-independence periods and what successes and difficulties people encounter in practising effective governance in those periods. The investigation of the views and beliefs of the I-Kiribati about the issues of governance in the contemporary era through a field survey and case studies will contribute to the achievement of the aims of the study. Recognising both the conceptual and practical complexities relating to the topic of the study, ‘Governance Issues Affecting Development in Kiribati’ this research will concentrate on exploring the answers to the following questions:

1. What are the governance issues currently prevalent in Kiribati?
2. What circumstances contribute to the existence of governance issues in Kiribati?

3. How can governance issues be resolved in order to enhance and facilitate good government and development in Kiribati?

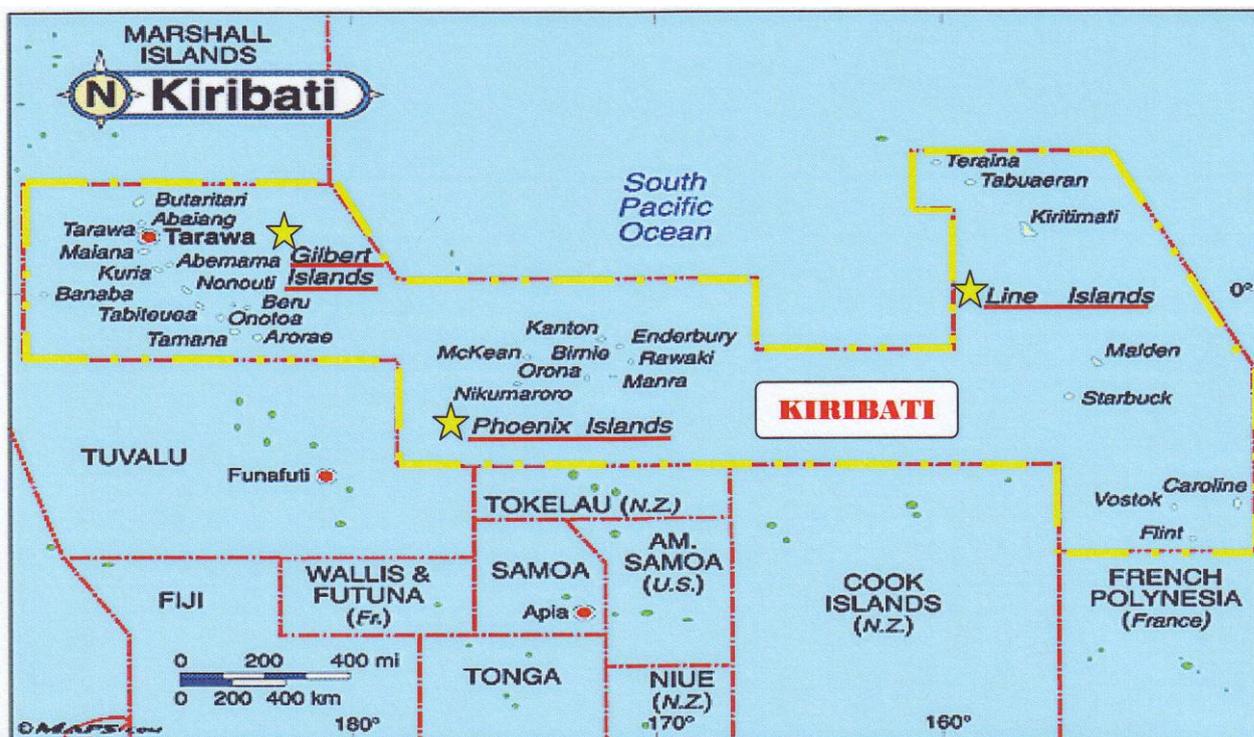
Methodology

To answer the research questions and accomplish the objectives of the study, four data collection methods were considered appropriate. These consisted of document collection, a quantitative and qualitative questionnaire, interviews and case studies. The limited literature about governance in Kiribati has enabled the study to focus mostly on eliciting information from the literature about the theories, concepts and processes of governance and how they have been applied in a contemporary era. The document collection focussed on legal and factual information about the processes of governance in the country. The quantitative and qualitative questionnaire was used to get the perceptions and beliefs of the I-Kiribati regarding governance issues in Kiribati. The participants were drawn from Tarawa, the main island, and three outer islands, Butaritari, Maiana and Onotoa, all located in the most populated Gilbert Island Group. The use of the case studies was intended to help reveal the kinds of problems faced in the governance of the country. The findings of the research were intended to provide recommendations for future research and possible implementation in the Kiribati context.

Kiribati in Brief

Kiribati is a remote small island nation comprised of thirty-three islands in the Central Western Pacific lying astride the equator. It has three island groups: the Gilbert Islands (16 islands, including Banaba, a raised atoll), Line Islands (9 islands), and Phoenix Islands (8 islands). The country extends 800 km north–south and 3200 km east–west. The islands have a total land area of 810 sq km. The islands are situated on top of dead volcanic mountains in the ocean and are made up of limestone, sand and rubble (Sabatier 1977). The coral alkaline soil is very porous and poor in plant nutrients. The highest point above sea level is 4-6 metres except Banaba, formally known as Ocean Island which is a raised coral atoll (Mason 1985). Although Kiribati has limited land area of only 810 sq km, the spread of the islands comprising the nation has generated an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of more than 4.8 million sq km, which is the largest in the world (About Kiribati 2012).

Figure 1.1: Map of Kiribati



(Source: Map of Kiribati, www.worldmapfinder.com)

The climate of the country is Maritime Equatorial with associated humidity (Kiribati Visitors Bureau 1997). The average annual temperature is 27 degrees centigrade and the easterly trade wind usually blows and cools the land. The geological make up of the islands and their geographical locations in a vast mass of water are factors in the scarcity of natural resources that contributes to the difficulties of living on the islands. Most importantly, the geological and geographical features of Kiribati contribute to the difficulties in effectively governing the country. The characteristics and distant location of the islands from the rest of the world are identified to be among the major factors which have influenced the way the I-Kiribati live and organise themselves.

Before Kiribati was colonised by Britain, the people lived in extended family groups on isolated islands. They lived a subsistence, communal lifestyle and practised their culture with limited understanding of, or contact with, the outside world. Sharing, helping one another and moderation of needs within the community were some of the values embraced in these poorly resourced isolated islands. In those early years, the people lived in clans where the old men were, and still are, regarded as leaders of the family and custodians of the traditional culture. The *maneaba*, a multi-purpose meeting hall, is the center of the traditional political system in the village where the

old men come and occupy their sitting positions in the *maneaba* and make decisions about the affairs of the community. These affairs are related to the promotion of the well-being of the people and the strengthening of order and peace in the community. The decisions from the *maneaba* are based on long discussions and the consensus of the old men and are then passed on to the community for execution.

Since the arrival of whalers, traders and British administrators in the 1800s (Onorio 1984: pp.29-37), the traditional governance system and the lifestyle of the people have undergone changes. The whalers, traders and missionaries introduced new material things, ideas and beliefs. Thus began a period of exposure of the I-Kiribati to different ways of viewing and doing things which created feelings of wonder that subsequently caused both acceptance and hatred. On the one hand, whalers, traders and missionaries were accepted as they brought new ideas and material things that helped the people with their lives. On the other they were hated because they brought new diseases, practised prostitution and introduced a new religion to the people. The old people hated missionaries because they destroyed the traditional religious practices which were believed to be a source of power to help the people with their daily life. The arrival of the British administrators in the late 1800s intensified the changes by uniting the islands into a nation through the installation of island governments linked to the central government on Tarawa, the main island (Takaio 1984: p.66). This concept of central government with dispersed authority to local representatives was at odds with traditional culture and has given rise to ongoing difficulties.

The colonisation period was viewed as a time of struggle and frustration experienced both by the British administrators and the I-Kiribati. On the one hand, British administrators wanted to expedite the instalment of a new government system in the islands but were confronted with limited resources to manage the government, difficulties in overseeing island governments on remote islands and, at the beginning, a complete lack of understanding about the culture and the language to engage with the people in the governing process. On the other, the I-Kiribati could not comprehend the purpose and value of the new government system and how it was linked to their culture, and consequently this led them to resist involvement in the early installation of island governments.

Despite the difficulties experienced with the installation of island governments, the new democratic political system has gained prominence and acceptance by the I-Kiribati and has led to its adoption upon gaining independence from Britain in 1979 (Itaia 1984: pp.121-122). In the

three decades since the country's independence, the government has continued to encounter important issues concerning the governing and development of the country. These problems are complex and dynamic to solve as they are related to wider social, economic and political issues arising from factors such as the country's limited resources, lack of manpower capability and weak institutional systems for dealing with the impacts of globalisation.

Context of the Problem

The present study emerged as the result of the researcher's interest in investigating governance issues that affect development in Kiribati. The literature defines governance as a kind of networking by government which involves a process of engagement between the state and private actors such as the markets, non-government organisations and civil society in solving problems and creating opportunities (Kooiman 2007: pp.135-137). It involves a progressive process which focuses on the setting, application and enforcement of rules because of the inevitable changes required in mediating between traditional society and imposed notions of governance.

The emergence of the concept of good governance in the 1990s, promoted particularly by aid donors, has put pressure on developing countries to strengthen their democratic political systems and effectively manage their resources, including the aid received from development partners. Applying the principles of good governance is seen as a way forward in effectively governing and developing the country. The eight dimensions of good governance are that it be "participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, rule of law, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive" (UNESCAP 2008: pp.1-2). These dimensions are often viewed as characteristics by which to measure the presence of good governance. However, the problem faced in developing countries such as Kiribati is how the government can continuously enforce the dimensions of good governance to improve the governing of the country. Historically, there have been times when elected leaders and public servants have failed to abide by the dimensions of good governance. This may be because of their different interests and unpredictable attitudes as individual human beings so there is a need for a collaborative effort of the government, the people and the international community to work together to lessen the impact of corruption and malpractice in government.

Strengthening governance is crucial for developing countries in order to enhance the people's well-being and facilitate development. In recent years, the aid donors discussed in Chapter 5 have

worked collaboratively with developing countries, such as Kiribati, to try and focus more on the priorities which need strengthening in order to improve the country's governance. The Australian Government's Independent Review of Aid Effectiveness emphasises the importance of continually providing aid to Kiribati because of its poor economic resources but stresses that the aid has to be based on accountability and effective delivery in order to improve the well-being of the people (AusAID Independent Review 2011: p.133). This finding contains an unresolved conflict between need and acceptable performance as criteria for the provision of aid. To date, Kiribati has avoided gross corruption and major economic mismanagement but this cannot be guaranteed for the future. It is within this focus that the researcher has concentrated the study on an investigation on the governance sectors that have been supported by major aid donors. To this end the researcher has sought to develop an instrument that could capture the views and beliefs of the participants regarding the kind of governance issues they perceive to be prevalent in Kiribati.

The Significance of the Study

The study is significant for several reasons. Good governance is the key to effectively managing the affairs of the country and its resources. However, it appears that in most developing countries, including Kiribati, those involved in governance find it difficult to effectively implement good policies and involve the community in the governing process. Governance is a people-oriented strategy which requires the engagement of the government and the people in harnessing the community's full involvement in the governing of the country. As such, this study investigates the views of the I-Kiribati regarding the governance issues which are prevalent in the country. To date, there have been only limited studies relating to governance in Kiribati. By attempting to elicit the views of the I-Kiribati on the concept of governance, this study is unique.

Governance is an encompassing concept. It was considered appropriate to use parameters employed by major aid donors based on the priority areas of the Kiribati Development Plan as the basis for formulating a research instrument for the study. It was expected that this would provide a framework to reveal relevant information and address the aims of the study. Also the inclusion of participants' views from Tarawa, the main island, and three outer islands was believed essential to accurately reflect the divergent views of governance across the country.

The study is also significant because its results can contribute to knowledge of issues of governance faced by a remote small island nation such as Kiribati as seen from the perspective of

the citizens. It can also identify in detail what the issues are, what contributes to the existence of the issues and how those issues could be addressed for improving the governing and development of the country. The recommendations can then assist in formulating future frameworks and strategies by the government, the people and the international community for strengthening Kiribati governance. The strategies can also be helpful in the improvement of governance in other countries which encounter similar issues to those in Kiribati.

The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters. Chapter 1 outlines the purpose of the study, describes the methodology, discusses the context of the problem, highlights the significance of the study and presents the outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 establishes an understanding of the concept of governance by exploring various definitions, theories and concepts advocated by scholars, global inter-governmental organisations, regional Pacific inter-governmental organisations and non-government organisations. It also analyses where different actors agree and disagree about the concept of governance and its significance to the implementation of good governance. In addition, the chapter explores examples of emerging governance systems, the important role of the state in promoting good governance and the relationship between governance and development. Finally, Chapter 2 examines the governance indicators created by the World Bank and the Pacific Institute of Advance Studies in Development and Governance of the University of the South Pacific and comments on their appropriateness and suitability in assessing good governance.

Chapter 3 examines the historical background and institutions of governance in Kiribati in the pre-colonial, colonial and independence periods respectively and sets the scene for the various kinds of governance system which have existed in Kiribati. It also highlights the experiences I-Kiribati encounter in trying to cope with the new introduced governance system.

Chapter 4 discusses modern governance in the post-independence era. It analyses the four presidential periods in the country and how governance functions in relation to the successes and difficulties faced in the modern democratic system. Chapter 4 also explores the kinds of corruption prominent in the new democratic system, what contributes to their existence and how the country can eliminate or lower its impact.

Chapter 5 analyses aid donors' assistance in strengthening governance in Kiribati. It discusses in general the aid policies and approaches of aid donors and how they have been changed over time from the 1980s to the 2000s. It also discusses the concept of governance and how it has been framed in aid donors' policies and approaches. Furthermore, Chapter 5 examines the areas of Kiribati which have been assisted by aid donors in the improvement of good governance, in the 21st century. These sectors are significant as they form the basis for formulating an instrument for surveying the beliefs and perceptions of the I-Kiribati regarding governance issues in Kiribati.

Chapter 6 discusses the methodology which included data collection using quantitative and qualitative questionnaires, interviews, case studies and document collection. It then discusses the fieldwork methodology as an approach to assess the participants' views regarding governance issues in Kiribati. This is followed by a description of methods used in the study, piloting of the instrument, and the procedures in analysing the data.

The analysis of the data is covered in Chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 7 deals with the analysis of the quantitative data from Sections A and B of the questionnaire while Chapter 8 analyses the qualitative data consisting of both the responses from the open-ended questions of Section B and C of the questionnaire and the broader interviews. The geographical locations of participants is used in the analysis because it can reveal the divergent views and beliefs of those who live on Tarawa, the main island, and those who live on the outer islands.

Chapter 9 focuses on the case study on Maiana Island. The case study discusses the conflict between the Maiana Island Council—the local government, and Te Bau ni Maiana—the Council of Old Men, where the mayor and the elected councillors from each village on Maiana Island were overthrown by Te Bau ni Maiana. The case study reveals the kind of problems which arise when the traditional and modern governance authorities have unclear leadership roles and authority. It also demonstrates the important role of the government as the main caretaker of good governance to educate and involve the people in the governing of the country.

Chapter 10 focuses on the second case study of modern governance and its role in the management of the fisheries in Kiribati. This case study analyses the role of modern governance in the management of the fisheries as one of the most important sources of revenue which the country depends upon for financing its services. It also discusses the problems and successes the

government experiences in applying the practices of good governance in the overall management of the fisheries.

Chapter 11 presents the summary of the findings, states the limitations of the study and suggests implications for future study. It also provides recommendations for possible implementation in the Kiribati context, and finally offers a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: THEORIES AND CONCEPTIONS OF GOVERNANCE

Introduction

This chapter has two sections. The first section will establish an understanding of the concept of governance by exploring various definitions advocated by scholars, global inter-governmental organisations, regional Pacific inter-governmental organisations and non-government organisations (NGOs). In addition, the convergent and divergent views of different perspectives on governance will also be examined to enable an understanding of how actors agree and disagree, as well as the significance of these viewpoints for good governance. The chapter will also explore the role of the state in promoting good governance and the relationship between governance and development.

Section two of this chapter will examine the performance of good governance in Kiribati according to the World Bank's governance indicators. The governance indicators developed by the Pacific Institute of Advanced Studies in Development and Governance (PIAS-DG) of the University of the South Pacific for Cook Islands, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu will also be explored and compared with the World Bank governance indicators.

Section 1: Governance

Defining Governance

The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) indicates that the concept of governance has been part of human behaviour for millennia. UNESCAP (2008: p.1) defined governance as “the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)”. Even simple decisions in organised groups from families to towns involve decision or consensus to be reached. UNESCAP also suggests that the concept of governance can be used in more sophisticated contexts such as international governance, national, local and corporate governance. Bevir (2007: p.365) comments that the origin of the concept has a long ancestry in the English language and refers to a pattern of rule or an activity of ruling. A classic example which shows the long existence and records of the concept of governance is the establishment of the *Arthashastra treatise* of governance in India

circa 400 BC. Kautilya, who was the chief minister to a King in India, provided in his treatise the following concepts as main pillars of governance: an emphasis on justices, good ethics, securing and developing the country's economy, and working for the people (Kaufmann & Kraay 2006). As the historical chapter will explain, Kiribati's traditions are strong on consensual governance for the common good.

Global Definitions of Governance

Recent definitions by inter-governmental organisations were selected to enable the reader to understand the concept of governance particularly from the views of major organisations that have contributed in the application and promotion of the concept. However most of the definitions indicate that governance is a process which involves the exercise of power, for example;

The World Bank (WB): The World Bank has been regarded as the first international body to adopt the concept of good governance by emphasising it in its policies for delivering aid to developing countries (Leftwich 1993: pp.605-619, Macdonald 1998: pp.40-41). The World Bank defined governance as 'the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources'. The World Bank believes that good governance can be fostered if the conditions of the political regime are right and, moreover, the government is capable of creating an atmosphere that is conducive to the growth of market economies (World Bank 1998).

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP): Governance is viewed as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences (UNDP 2011).

The Institute on Governance, Ottawa (IOG): Governance is the art of steering societies and organisations. Governance determines who has the power, who makes decisions, how others make their voice heard, and how account is rendered (Institute on Governance 2011).

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD): Governance symbolises the use of political power and the exercise of control in a society with regard to the management of its resources for social and economic development. It involves the role of the public authorities in establishing an environment conducive to economic development and where

the benefits can be well distributed to encourage engagement and partnership between the leaders and the people (OECD 1995).

The Commission of Global Governance (CGG): Governance is a combination of the many ways in which individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is an ongoing process which accommodates diverse interests and fosters cooperative actions through formal institutions and regimes that are empowered to enforce compliance on individuals. It also involves informal arrangements that stakeholders have agreed or perceive to be in their interest (Report of CGG 1995).

The definitions provide a number of prerequisites that should be implemented in order for 'good governance' to occur. For instance, Kjaer (2007: pp.12-13) and Hirst (2006: pp.13-30) suggests that the promotion of liberal democratic political institutions is foremost in the governing process. This involves a democratic election for choosing a capable government where an elected political party is mandated with the power to govern and play a dual role in the governing process. This includes the role of strengthening the three constitutional organs of the government, namely the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, to be efficient and transparent. The other important role in facilitating good governance is for the state to formulate robust economic policies to enable the growth of market economies. The UNDP (2011) which is similar to UNESCAP, also maintains that the promotion of socio-political conditions in the governing process is especially important. It involves the application of the characteristics of good governance: participation, consensus, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusiveness, and the rule of law. The following paragraphs will briefly analyse the elements of each characteristic.

Participation in governance

Participation can mean either direct or indirect involvement with legitimate institutions (UNESCAP 2008). It implies that individuals in society have freedom of association and expression. Citizens are encouraged to be members of an organised community to decide and work for the common good. In a democratic system, people are mostly represented in organised institutions such as in the parliament, by their representatives who speak on behalf of the people. Participation is the core of good governance and the manifestation of democratic principles.

Consensus in governance

Consensus refers to a process of unifying ideas aimed at a worthwhile common interest. It is a way to encourage people to rationalise their broad views and come to what they consider as common ground which may involve prioritising objectives and actions. It involves proper planning, allocation of resources, seeking out manpower capacities, implementation, evaluation and follow-up activities. Planning requires both an agreement and an understanding of the impact of the decisions on the social, environmental, economic and political circumstances. Without consensus and cooperation people will work for their individual interests and defeat the aim of strengthening democratic governance. For Kiribati, consensus is a crucial element in traditional governance in a system where groups of elders (not individual chiefs) were in charge of decision making.

Accountability in governance

Accountability is one of the essential requirements of good governance. People who hold office on behalf of the majority either in the public or private sector or even in NGOs have to be accountable to the stakeholders. Being accountable is the only way in which the appointed people who hold office can be held answerable for their decisions and actions which affect the people. Accountability works well with other characteristics of governance and links well in an environment where transparency and the rule of law is fostered and flourishes.

Transparency in governance

Transparency refers to access to how decisions are made and actions are carried out in the system. Transparency involves reporting and distributing information on the progress and the deficiencies of an organisation and explaining the reasons behind those successes and failures. This can be done in various ways either through different forms of media or discussion forums. Transparency is often difficult to achieve and sustain because of the conflicting interests and different attitudes of people within an organisation. Transparency and accountability may be achieved by predetermined and accessible procedures, annual reports, rules, ethics and training personnel including executive officers.

Responsiveness in governance

Responsiveness refers to a process of providing desired services to citizens in an appropriate and timely manner and is an essential characteristic of good governance. As such, institutions need to be strengthened to serve stakeholders in an efficient and effective way. Responsiveness requires essential interpersonal and analytical skills through face-to-face communication, phone, written correspondence or through the internet. Responsiveness is important for efficiency, effectiveness and ethical conduct of an organisation.

Effectiveness and efficiency in governance

Effectiveness and efficiency in good governance are often overlapping concepts as both deal with utilising resources and producing quality results that will serve the needs of the people. Effectiveness refers to the ability to achieve certain goals while efficiency is achieving the goals with minimum expenditure of resources and time. In the modern era, both effectiveness and efficiency imply a concern for sustainable use of resources and environmental protection bearing in mind the needs of future generations.

Equity and inclusiveness in governance

Governance works well and achieves its aim when empowering everyone in the society. This can be achieved through the promotion of networking and partnerships between the state as the main stakeholder of good governance and other agencies. The government has a role in strengthening networks between NGOs the civil society and the government to work together to solve problems and create opportunities. Equity and inclusiveness require citizens to participate and have appropriate opportunities to improve their lives.

Rule of law in governance

The rule of law is the backbone of good governance because it can facilitate actions in an orderly fashion while ensuring stability. The rule of law requires suitable legal frameworks which can address problems such as unfair treatment, bias, discrimination, bribery, dishonesty and nepotism. Of equal importance is the enforcement of such legal frameworks in an impartial way by judicial authorities. It is expected that by applying the rule of law impartially and combining it with other characteristics of good governance, growth in the well being of people is likely to be achieved.

The eight dimensions of good governance outlined above can be regarded as the main practices and ethical principles of open governance which are necessary for the state and citizens to strengthen and improve. The nature of the eight dimensions of good governance is complex and may require some time for the people to acquire the knowledge, skill, attitudes and the will power to improve in order to achieve good governance. In fact, there will be times when people will fail to observe such good governance attributes because of the different interests and unpredictable nature of human beings.

Definitions of Governance by Regional Pacific IGOs and NGOs

The definitions of governance adopted by regional IGOs and NGOs such as the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) and the Pacific Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations (PIANGO), among others, are mostly based on imported definitions such as those provided by the World Bank and UNDP. The inter-link between global and regional organisations through the sharing of expertise and resources for the purpose of promoting world stability and economic development has enabled the adoption and adaption of similar definitions of governance which focus on the strengthening of democratic political institutions and the promotion of socio-political conditions in the governing process.

The PIF defines governance as an effective leadership process which focuses on the endorsement and respect of the laws of the country and its system of government. It involves the strengthening of key priorities of Pacific Island Countries (PICs) which include improving main governance and accountability institutions to facilitate the transparency of political and economic processes, enhancing oversight systems to effect the management of the region's natural human and financial resources and protecting important human rights (Pacific Island Forum Website 2011: p.1). The main thrust of the Pacific Island Forum's definition for good governance is for leaders to uphold and sustain the rule of law by the separation of powers of three constitutional organs of the government namely the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Furthermore, it promotes ethical conduct highlighted by the UNESCAP such as improved transparency, accountability, equity and efficiency in the management and employment of resources in the Pacific region.

In order for PICs, including Kiribati, to strengthen their governance, a number of initiatives have been identified by the PIF as important, including the strengthening of key integrity institutions

such as the court systems, the office of ombudsman and the audit office, promoting the principles of good leadership and accountability, upholding participatory democracy, strengthening of finance regulations and functions, and responding to international conventions. Political leadership in PICs is seen as the core for implementing good governance. A recent report by the PIF secretariat on strengthening the Forum Principles of Good Leadership in PICs (PIFS Country Report 2008: pp.1-4) is based on the following nine principles of good leadership: respect for law and the system of government, respect for cultural values, customs and traditions, respect for freedom of religion, respect for people on whose behalf leaders exercise power, respect for members of the public, economy and efficiency, diligence, national peace and security, and respect for office. Furthermore, the list shows that each country has unique governance problems so each leadership problem can only be appreciated when considering the context in which it occurs. Leadership problems in PICs, including Kiribati, are influenced by cultural or political circumstances. The impact of population size, geography, land mass, the availability of resources and the type of political and administrative systems inherited from the past, have an influence on the kind of leadership system employed by PICs' leaders. Kiribati is one of the PICs which encounter governance problems, mostly due to the weak economy of the country which is a result of the infertility of the soil, the remoteness of the islands, and the limited development opportunities existing in the country to attract overseas investors.

The definition of governance by the Pacific Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations (PIANGO) involves a partnership between the states and the NGOs to solve problems and create opportunities for the people. It requires the exercise of effective leadership and the engagement of stakeholders to make decisions and use the available resources in an efficient and transparent manner. It also necessitates the strengthening of the people's capacity to work together for the improvement of their welfare based on shared values, principles and beliefs of the people (PIANGO website 2011). The essence of the PIANGO definition is to empower the people by equipping them with knowledge and skills to involve them in the governing process. International NGOs such as Oxfam of Australia and others believe that what is important in governance is to close the gap between the marginalised and the privileged by listening to them and supporting them to participate in the decision making process so that their vulnerability to poverty can be reduced (Watkins 2000: pp.8-11). The people need to be equipped with the knowledge and skills that would improve their participation in a democratic society. In addition, the state should foster good government by behaving ethically and developing the economy of the

country. The Kiribati Association of Non-Government Organisations (KANGO) has an important role in strengthening Kiribati civil society; however, such a function can only be realised by providing adequate manpower and resources.

Overall there seems to be an understanding that governance is the process of strengthening democratic society and the adoption of ethical principles in government. The diverse governing problems encountered by PICs calls for different solutions for addressing each country's governance system. For instance, some PICs have governance problems arising from the incompatibility of the traditional governance structures and processes with those of the modern governance, the diversity of the culture or even from the dispersed population living on remote islands. The two case studies in Chapters 9 and 10 will highlight some of the governance problems experienced in Kiribati. These variations in the governance priorities can also be better explained in the objectives and themes of different emerging types of governance.

Types of Governance

Rhodes (1997 in Pierre 2000) compiled the research work of others and found seven emerging types of governance used in different settings (Williams & Young 1994: p.84, Hirst & Thompson 1995: p.409). These are governance of international interdependence, governance as a socio-cybernetic system, governance as the new political economy, governance as the new public management, governance as corporate governance, governance as networks, and governance as 'good governance'. What emerges from Rhodes' compilation is the fact that governance calls for a working partnership of main stakeholders (including the state), empowerment of the people, the application of good governance ethics and the need for a proper management of the country's resources. Table 2.1 below summarises how the concept of governance is applied in different settings.

Table 2.1: Types of Governance

Types of Governance	Themes	Function/Objective
1. Governance as International Interdependence	Nations to collaborate and work together to form one global government	To facilitate the development of a New World Order
2. Governance as a Socio-Cybernetic System	A national government is seen as a facilitator to initiate social and political interactions to cope with various problems	To facilitate cooperation, partnership and sharing among main actors within the social and political arena to solve emerging problems
3. Governance as the New Political Economy	Linking the economy, the state, the civil society and other key market economic institutions	To facilitate and enhance a move towards collaboration, partnerships and sharing among main actors for regulating market economy
4. Governance as the New Public Management	Adoption of New Public Management practices through corporate management and marketisation	To enhance and facilitate effectiveness, efficiency and commercial practices in the public sector
5. Governance as Networks	Collaboration and consultation among different actors and NGOs to come together and pool their resources to solve complex problems	To create a link between various actors within a society to form a partnership role with the government
6. Governance as Corporate Governance	Improving commercial management operation of corporate organisations	To facilitate a strategic working relationship between the board, management, shareholders and employees for a profitable growth of an organisation
7. Governance as Good Governance	Strengthening the state's institutions for proper governing of the country, and management and utilisation of resources through participation and regulatory reforms	To facilitate and enhance growth through a broad governance reform which advocates efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, accountability, rule of law and strengthening the role of civil society

(Source: Rhodes, S. 1997)

The analysis shown in the matrix above allows a generic examination of the types of governance that can be categorised into two classifications. Table 2.2 below summarises the two categories. In the table one classification is for the type of governance which is advocated in the process of harmonisation, networking, co-ordination and reconciliation of many key players to come and work cooperatively together to solve certain problems or achieve certain goals. This type of governance can be called, *multi-actor governance*. On the other hand, there is another classification of governance which promotes the ideals of efficiency, effectiveness, accountability, corporate management, regulatory reforms and commercialisation. The second grouping of governance can be referred to as *market-oriented governance*.

Table 2.2: The Two Main Governance Groupings

Group 1	Group 2
Multi-Actor Governance	Market-Oriented Governance or Governance advocated by Aid Development Partners
Governance as International Interdependence	Governance as the New Public Management
Governance as a Socio-Cybernetic System	Governance as Corporate Management
Governance as the New political Economy	Governance as Good Governance
Governance as Networks	Governance as Networks

It is evident that the second grouping of governance definitions generally suits the sort of governance which is advocated by aid donors such as the World Bank and other aid donor agencies. The philosophies and principles of governance in the second grouping have been reflected in aid donors' policies for the delivery of aid assistance to developing countries. It is also noted that the definition of *governance as networks* can be classified in either grouping as both the concept and its definition can suit both governance categories. However, both multi-actor governance and market-oriented governance are becoming part of the modern governing processes.

A Theoretical Approach to Governance

The discussion and analysis of the emerging definitions of governance from the preceding paragraphs reveal the emerging theoretical approaches to governance. Kjaer (2007, pp.3-7) notes that the concept of governance has been debated from various points of view, mostly emerging from the social science disciplines of international relations, political science, administration, management, sociology, economics and development studies.

However, there seems to be a consensus that the concept of good governance can be regarded as requiring a form of government which involves a process of networking between the state and private actors such as the markets, non-government organisations and civil society. As proposed by Stroker (2003), improved governance processes have been slowly adopted in some of the practices carried out between the state and other main actors in society rather than the state strictly abiding by the traditional bureaucratic model of government which has many deficiencies. The governance process needs to be able to cope with existing challenges such as increasing transformations, economic decline and globalisation. The state's centralised decisions have

experienced difficulties in efficiently managing such issues hence the notion of cooperation and networking among major actors through a broader governance process is being emphasised as an inclusive and proactive approach which can handle complex issues in a rapidly changing world (Bevir 2007: p.200).

Kooiman (1999: pp.67-92), Kjaer (2007: pp.41-50) and others indicate the suitability of the concept of governance in the new century and compare the concept of governance as ‘the process of governing’ rather than an ‘institution of government’. They perceive governance as a progressive process focusing on the setting, application and enforcement of rules because of inevitable changes and a move away from one institutional set-up to another. They also argue that governance involves the process of networking and the participation of main actors in the society, including the state, to work together to solve problems and create opportunities. This is in contrast to the perceived functions of an institution of the government which refers to the formal and informal rules devised by the government itself without the full involvement of other major players in the society and using what is often referred to as a ‘top-down approach’ in policy formulation and implementation (Van Meter & Vantorn 1975, Sabatier & Mazmanian 1980, Sabatier 1986).

In most developing countries, the institutions of government convey rigidity, secrecy and distance from the people. As such, they sometimes invite public suspicion simply because the public is not fully aware of what is going on within government circles. There is a pervasive feeling that government is sometimes too remote from them and gaining access to institutional systems of government is problematic. The situation is arguably worse in some developing countries where the political regimes tend to be authoritarian, where there is significant dispersion of the population, limited freedom of the press and basic life-styles depends on a subsistence economy. Nevertheless, good governance is believed to require an open and participatory approach that needs to involve the major players and the wider population in the society for the benefit of their well-being and growth (Stoker 1998, Kooiman 1999, Kjaer 2007). Kooiman (1999: p.1) well summarizes the necessary elements that should encompass the nature of the theory of governance:

Although there are many differences in the way governance is defined and applied, what is common in its elements are the emphasis on rules and qualities of systems, co-operation to enhance legitimacy and effectiveness and the attention for new process and authority.

The main thrust of Kooiman's analysis is the strengthening of the institutions of the governance process and its legitimacy to operate. As rules are arbitrary in the sense that they are made by humans, there is a tendency that others can easily turn away from rules and work towards their own interests (Kjaer 2007: pp.12-15). The only way to make rules legitimate and engage people to observe the rules is through informing and involving the wider population. Scharpf (1997b: pp.152-155) comments that legitimacy can only be attained through the distinction between the two models of 'input-oriented' and 'output-oriented' legitimacy. 'Input-oriented' legitimacy is derived from the approval of those who have to comply with the rules whereas 'output-oriented' legitimacy is the outcome of the effectiveness of rules to create significant results (Kjaer 2007). The application of the two models is desirable in setting up an institution as a process of democratic governance by involving multi-stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation. Also, the importance of cooperation highlighted by Kooiman (1999) and others to establish procedural systems and forums agreed to by stakeholders can guarantee the legitimacy and accountability of the governance process.

Several writers (Kooiman 1999, Bevir 2009) comment that the significance of the governance agenda is in its wider recognition of the important role of the state and international bodies and, in particular, the recognition of the informal contributive roles of market players and non-government organisations in dealing with both national and global issues. Kjaer (2007) comments that the development of a theoretical approach to governance and its important contribution in understanding the effectiveness of the governance orders can enable people to comprehend the process and work out how it operates without formalized centers of authority for the growth and determination of the systems. Nevertheless, the role of the state has to be fully recognised as crucial because it can enhance and facilitate the governance process, particularly in developing countries such as Kiribati.

Governance and Development

The relationship between governance and development can be better understood by comprehending the values and the kinds of benefit governance could offer to the people. In the 21st century, the concept of governance has gained credibility for the purpose of building the people's trust in the role of organisations, including the state. The United Nations (UN Website

2011) maintains that good governance aims to build trust and ensure the accountability of decision makers. It is seen as a catalyst for organisations to work more effectively in a world where trust is diminishing. March and Olsen (1995: pp.7-26) argue that building people's trust can lessen anxieties and uncertainties by sharing similar democratic values and beliefs between the decision makers and the people.

The strengthening of the principles of good governance highlighted in previous paragraphs of this chapter is believed to be the ethical foundation of democratic values which can become a shared mechanism for building trust between citizens and decision makers. For instance, citizens will trust decision makers if they are accountable, provide efficient and effective services, involve the people in decision making which is transparent, and abide by the rule of law. The existence or non-existence of good governance in a particular country can convey important messages about the standard of human development present in the country. That is, it can inform citizens about access to basic services, involve them in decision making and have their human rights respected in the governing process.

The United Nations maintains that governance and development are interconnected through the promotion of human rights. Every citizen is entitled 'to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social and political development' (UN website 2011). In this regard, governance is seen as a development issue that needs to be fostered among the people. It is believed that the overarching goal of development is to build the capacities of citizens in order for them to live long and healthy lives, to have access to education and income sources, and have a decent standard of living (UNDP website 2011). Good governance also lessens the impact of corruption and mal-administration and facilitates the growth of the economy thereby providing a decent living standard for the people.

The next section of this chapter will focus on the examination of the performance of good governance in Kiribati according to the World Bank's governance indicators. It will also examine the governance indicators developed by the Pacific Institute of Advanced Studies in Development and Governance (PIAS-DG) of the University of the South Pacific for Cook Islands, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu and compare with the World Bank governance indicators. While the efficacy of these indicators is acknowledged, a reliable interpretation of governance in Kiribati requires knowledge of the country and sensitivity of its culture which can be achieved by involving the people in the study. It is therefore considered that

a fieldwork methodology would be appropriate and this will be discussed in Chapter 6 of the methodology in how it will elicit the views of citizens regarding governance issues in Kiribati.

Section 2: Governance Indicators

World Bank's Governance Indicators

Burnside and Dollars developed an econometric model based on forty poor countries, fifteen of which demonstrated a level of 'good economic policies' which enabled them to claim that there was correlation between aid and growth, provided recipient countries developed good policies (World Bank 1998). This claim has been contested by other economists who say that good economic policies are not the only factors that affect growth and other issues which are relevant are manpower, economic climate and other environmental conditions of the country (Morrissey 2001; Lensink & Morrissey 2000, Morrissey & While 1996). However, regardless of the criticism, the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic and Cooperation Development (OECD) made the model, based on good economic policies, the basis for aid allocations (World Bank 1998). Burnside and Dollars' research work has therefore formed the basis of the World Bank's creation of governance indicators which has contributed to the determination of the allocation of aid to developing countries.

Bevir (2009: p.96) commented that the World Bank developed its governance indicators by first defining 'governance' and then breaking down the broad definition of governance into three components. It further developed two sub-components for each, producing six aggregate indicators for governance. Each of the six aggregate indicators was then narrowed to identify the elements of governance that should be measured. Table 2.3 outlines the World Bank's schema for governance indicators.

Table 2.3: The Outline of the World Bank's Governance Indicators

Governance Definition	Three Components of Governance	Sub-Dimensions of Governance	Governance Items to be Assessed
Governance can be referred to as the practices and institutions in which power is exercised in the country	The process of selecting, monitoring and replacing the government	Voice and accountability	Political stability, civil and human rights
		Political stability and absence of violence	Violence, threats, terrorism or instability of the government
	The government's capacity to form and implement policies	Government effectiveness	The capability and the quality of the public sector to deliver public services
		Regulatory quality	Formulation and implementation of sound policies and regulations for promoting the private sector
	Citizens' respect for governing institutions	Rule of law	The quality of the courts, police, contract enforcement, the independence of the judiciary system, and the trends of crime
		Control of corruption	The government or the elite's abuse of power for private gain either in minor or major corruption

(Source: Bevir, M. 2009)

The World Bank assesses the six governance indicators of a country by calculating the composite indices taken from thirty-seven source indicators created by thirty-one organisations covering 209 countries for the years of 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009 (Kaufmann et al. 2006). The aggregated data were collected in the form of polls from experts or from questionnaires answered by the people of the country. The World Bank depends on international bodies such as risk-rating agencies, 'think tanks' and non-governmental organisations including the Bank's own experts (Bevir 2009, Kaufmann et al. 2006). Some of these agencies are the Global Integrity Index and Open Budget Index, Freedom House, Transparency International, Amnesty International, Gallup World Poll and Reporters without Borders.

Kiribati's Governance Performance according to the World Bank

The World Bank has assessed a number of countries' governance performance using the six governance indicators. Table 2.4 shows the World Bank assessment of Kiribati governance based also on the six governance indicators. The percentile rating of each of the six governance indicators for Kiribati is based on the data available for particular years between 1996 and 2009. The data collected for Kiribati is largely based on the views of experts rather than surveying citizens' views (World Bank Governance Indicators 2010). The colour code shows high percentile rankings in shades of green, middle ranks in yellows and low in reds. The general pattern for Kiribati indicates high results in *political stability*; middle results in *voice and accountability*, *rule of law*, *control of corruption* and *government effectiveness*; and low results in *regulatory control*.

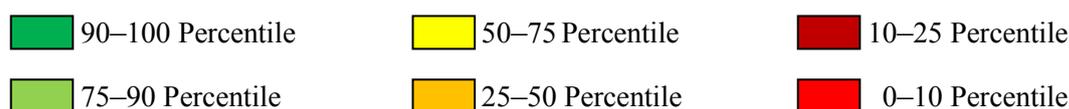
Of the six governance indicators *political stability* ranks highest with percentiles well over ninety for six of the seven years available. Political stability and the absence of violence in Kiribati can be partly explained by the limited involvement of the people in the government process, restrictions on the media to reveal mal-government, the scattered population on remote islands and the peacefulness of subsistence living in rural areas. Furthermore, the public service employs mostly educated people who generally avoid disturbing the status quo.

The very low and declining percentile for *regulatory control*, which measures the government's capacity to formulate and implement sound policies, reveals the serious drawbacks faced by Kiribati in developing the private sector. This is due to the difficulties faced by the country of remoteness from international markets and deficiencies in infrastructure and human capital.

Table 2.4: Kiribati's Governance Performance Assessment by the World Bank

Year	Voice and Accountability (%)	Political Stability (%)	Government Effectiveness (%)	Regulatory Control (%)	Rule of Law (%)	Control of Corruption (%)
2009	68.7	96.7	27.1	7.6	59.9	54.8
2008	70.2	97.6	30.9	10.1	62.2	58.9
2007	68.8	97.1	29.5	14.6	73.3	60.9
2006	69.7	96.6	35.9	16.1	74.8	59.7
2005	56.7	96.6	36.4	16.6	72.4	61.7
2004	63.9	90.9	25.7	28.8	61.0	67.0
2003	75.0	89.4	22.3	19.0	61.9	58.3
2002	76.0	-	48.5	16.6	68.1	55.8
2000	81.3	-	49.5	14.1	63.3	47.6
1998	84.6	-	31.6	15.1	29.0	31.6
1996	86.6	-	-	-	-	-

(Source: Kaufmann et al. 2010)



The remaining four sub-dimensions of the World Bank's governance indicators for Kiribati all show middle order percentile rankings with *voice and accountability*, *rule of law* and *control of corruption* having 50th–75th percentile rankings but showing recent decline. However the dimension *government effectiveness* shows a quite low percentile, persistently in the range 25–50 percentile. Although the ratings in recent years for *political stability* and *voice and accountability* were together relatively strong, *government effectiveness* was low and falling. In short, the governance indicators indicate that government performance and output were not reflected in effectiveness and efficiency in delivering public services.

The dimensions of *rule of law* and *control of corruption* show indicators in the 50–75 percentile range indicating reasonable but declining performance in the quality of the courts, police, law enforcement, the judiciary and trends in crime. It suggests that major and minor corruption are of concern. In 2009 Kiribati ranked 111 of 180 countries, while in 2010 it ranked 91 of 178 countries with a score of 3.2, where 10 is 'highly clean' and 0 is 'highly corrupt' (Corruption Perception Index 2010, Country Brief Kiribati 2010). According to Transparency International, a score of less than 3.0 of 10.0 reveals rampant corruption in the country.

The World Bank's publication of governance performance for countries involved in the assessment process produced tributes and criticisms of the instruments used for such measurements and also the transparency of its approach in doing so. The commendations are mainly related to the World Bank's efforts to provide reliable indicators to guide improved governance while criticisms are of inappropriate and non-transparent measures and lack of on-going involvement of countries concerned (Buduru et al. 2010, Arndt & Oman 2006).

Advantages of the World Bank's Governance Indicators

One of the reasons for the establishment of the World Bank's governance indicators was to create governance performance comparisons between countries using different data sources (Arndt & Oman 2006: pp.35-48). This has produced an overarching system of governance indicators widely publicised as a benchmark used by development partners and international agencies for development decisions, aid allocation and academic analysis. The governance indicators assessments also provide specific information about trends in a range of components of a country's governance. This information is available to inform interested parties about the country's government, economy, bureaucracy, social climate, level of freedom and respect for human rights.

Limitations of the World Bank's governance indicators

According to Arndt and Oman (2006: pp.49-56) the weakness of the World Bank's governance indicators relates to the selection of dimensions and data used to measure them. For example, in assessing *voice and accountability* for a particular country, the World Bank uses measures of 'political stability' and 'civil and human rights' and other proxies such as 'freedom of speech and association'. This approach is debatable, especially for countries such as Kiribati where the level of people's political literacy, the extent of public servants' accountability and citizens' participation in the governing process are highly relevant elements to also be considered. There is also inconsistency in the number of sources from which the World Bank draws data for its governance indicators. For instance, for calculating *voice and accountability* for Kiribati in 2009 four data sources were used, the Cingranelli Richards Human Rights Database and Political Terror Scale, Freedom House, Global Insight Business Conditions and Risk Indicators, and IFAD Rural Sector Performance Assessments. However, in the same year, data for Tuvalu, a neighbouring

small island country, were drawn from only the first three sources. This difference in the number of sources used in measuring governance indicators results in a different percentile ranking, where Kiribati scored 68.7 while Tuvalu scored 71.1 (World Bank Governance Indicators 2010). This illustrates the difficulty in using the World Bank's governance indicators assessment for the purpose of comparing countries' performances over a period of time.

The question of whose views should be used in assessing a country's governance performance is fundamental. Should it be the views of the experts, the results of a survey of the citizens' views, a combination of the two or using other proxies? This is important because what comes out of the result of the governance assessment should be legitimate and acceptable by a country as a benchmark to work towards improving governance performance. Arndt and Oman (2006) also state that other limitations of the World Bank's governance indicators are lack of transparency and replication, unknown biases, lack of comparability of the results over time, and difficulties for governments to implement actions based on the assessment in order to strengthen good governance. The limitations of the World Bank's indicators have encouraged the emergence of other governance indicators to suit specific situations. The emergence of the good governance indicators developed by the Pacific Institute of Advanced Studies in Development and Governance (PIAS-DG) of the University of the South Pacific is an example of other agencies' efforts to reproduce the World Bank's governance indicators or modify them to suit particular circumstances.

Governance Indicators for seven Pacific Island Countries (PICs)

The governance indicators developed by researchers at the PIAS-DG of the University of the South Pacific for the seven PICs (Table 2.5) were intended to evaluate each country's governance performances. The PIAS-DG researchers believed that the perception and expert opinions about the governance indicators of the countries would be difficult to obtain on an inclusive and regular basis and therefore decided that their assessment would be based on objective data from the country's official statistics (Pacific Islands Governance Portal, 2011). The intention was to enable the governance indicators assessment to genuinely reflect the performance of each country. The researchers at PIAS-DG shared the opinion with the World Bank that good governance is a key factor in achieving faster economic growth and development. They also believed that good governance is a reasonable condition for receiving development assistance from international

agencies and that governments have to ensure that the aid is utilised and implemented for the intended purposes, and that expenditures are accounted for by recipient countries.

Indices Measurements Developed by PIAS-DG

The PIAS-DG indices of good governance were based on the three dimensions of governance developed by the World Bank. These were *rule of law*, *government effectiveness* and *regulatory quality*. Table 2.5 illustrates the dimensions of governance and the proposed sub-dimensions. It was intended that the proxy variables created from the dimensions of governance would encapsulate the quality of governance for each country.

Table 2.5: The Outline of the PIAS-DG's Governance Indicators

Governance Definition	Dimensions of Governance	Sub-Dimensions of Governance	Governance Items to be Assessed
Governance can be referred to as the practices and institutions in which power is exercised in the country	Rule of law	Political freedom	Freedom House rankings for political rights and civil liberties, and female parliamentary participation
		Political stability	Frequency of regime change, number of political parties, frequency of major civil disturbances such as coups and riots
		Judicial effectiveness	Expenditure on the judiciary, expenditure on public order and safety
		Media independence	Freedom House rankings for freedom of the press, proportion of internet users
	Government effectiveness	Bureaucratic efficiency	Proportion of telephone mainlines, national government budget balance, expenditure on education, expenditure on health
		Economy management	Central government debt, exports/GDP ratio
		Extent of corruption	Economic services expenditure/total government expenditure, national recurrent expenditure/total government expenditure
	Regulatory quality	Strengthen of financial institutions	Money and quasi-money (M2)/GDP, intensive money ratio, domestic credit to the private sector, domestic credit provided by the banking sector, interest rate spread
		Extent of competition	Availability of electricity, relative size of government

(Source: After PIAS-DG, Pacific Islands Governance Portal 2011)

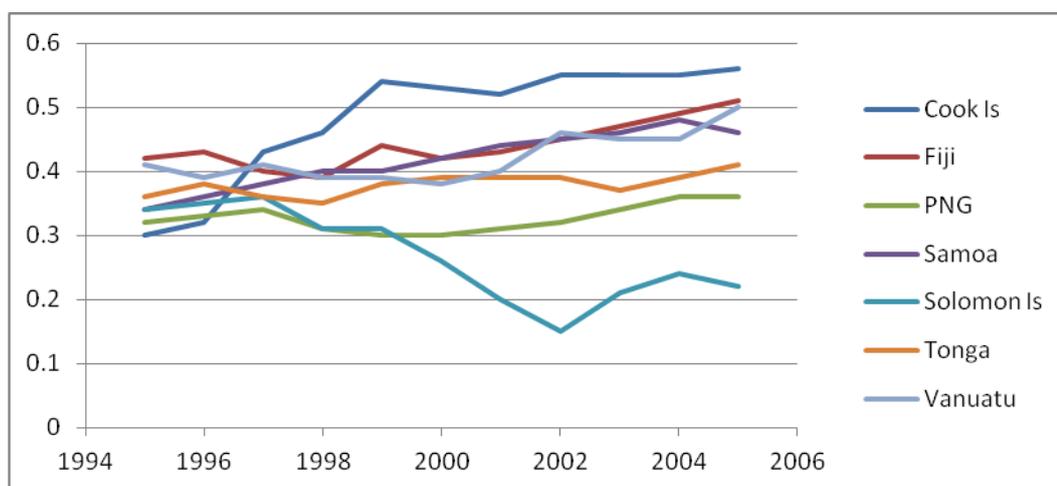
The PIAS-DG schema has nine sub-dimensions of governance whereas the World Bank has six. It is also noted that some of the sources used by the World Bank for its data, such as Freedom House and Freedom of the Press were also used by the PIAS-DG, particularly for calculating the aggregate indices for the *rule of law*. PIAS-DG calculated the aggregate value for the governance indicators by using a benchmark value method, whereby the minimum and maximum attainable

numerical values for each of the indicators for the seven Pacific Island countries were established over a given sample period of time, then aggregated by working out the arithmetic mean to form the governance sub-dimensions (Pacific Islands Governance Portal 2011). The results were aggregated into three main governance dimensions and, lastly, aggregated again to form the overall governance index.

The Aggregate Governance Indices for Seven PICs

Figure 2.1 shows the aggregation of the governance indices of the seven Pacific Islands assessed by the PIAS-DG in the early 2000s. The graph demonstrates that the Cook Islands, Fiji, Samoa and Vanuatu were in the leading group of countries with their governance improving steadily over the past ten years. Papua New Guinea and Tonga ranked second with their governance improving marginally while the quality of governance in the Solomon Islands has deteriorated markedly. However, in the late 2000s Fiji's governance quality has been affected by the military coup while the Solomon Islands governance has shown some improvement.

Figure 2.1: Good Governance Index of Seven PICs



(Source: After PIAS-DG Good Governance Index)

Advantages and Limitations of PIAS-DG indexes

The advantages of the PIAS-DG indexes arise from the formulation of indices that are likely to reflect the governance situations in the Pacific Islands (Table 2.5). Along with the World Bank governance indicators the PIAS-DG indices have limitations related to the validity of the sources from which data were drawn. There were inconsistencies in the number of sub-dimensions, for

instance, the *rule of law* has four sub-dimensions, *government effectiveness* has three and *regulatory quality* has two. This inconsistency can affect benchmark values for each indicator. The other limitation is the arbitrary nature in the selection of dimensions and indicators as, for example, in the indicators of *government effectiveness*, ‘the proportion of telephone main-lines’ is used. One can but wonder how appropriate this indicator is to assess *government effectiveness*.

The difficulties faced by the World Bank and also PIAS-DG in collecting relevant data from PICs such as Kiribati for wider comparative purposes indicates the need for strengthening individual government statistical departments to improve data collection, storage and retrieval. The significance of having reliable data for social and economic sectors of a country cannot be underestimated as this is the basis for understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the country’s performance in making public policies and facilitating good governance. The lack of sound up-to-date data in social and economic sectors of the country and the under-performance in the public sector, has resulted in the researcher considering a multi-form of data collection in this study as appropriate in assessing the perceptions and beliefs of participants regarding governance issues in Kiribati and this will be discussed in Chapter 6 of the methodology.

Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has explored the definitions of governance, revealing that governance can be variously defined according to the beliefs and opinions of organisations and scholars. The World Bank, United Nations Development Program and other global and inter-governmental organisations have different definitions of governance but all share similar perceptions that governance involves the exercise of power. On the other hand, regional organisations such as the Pacific Islands Forum and the Pacific Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations emphasise that governance involves good leadership backed by the rule of law and its improvement should be an area of priority for Pacific Island countries. Regardless of the various definitions and areas of priority needed for good governance, it emerges that strengthening democratic institutions of a country and upholding ethical attributes of good governance are vital components for improving the governing process.

The theoretical approach to governance emphasises that governance is a form of government which involves the network system between the state and other main stakeholders in the community, including other agencies, and it is focused on the setting, application and enforcement

of rules because of the inevitable changes. Governance is regarded as a people-oriented strategy which focuses on strengthening trust in the government through shared democratic values. It aims at solving emerging problems and creating opportunities for the people. Furthermore, the concept of governance is not new but re-emerges with new broader meaning beyond the role of government, notably it engages other major stakeholders in society in the governing of the affairs of the people. In this regard, there is a need to establish an institutional framework for the governance process to affirm its legitimacy, efficiency, effectiveness and accountability. Many writers call on the state, in making public policies (which include implementation, co-ordination and evaluation), to involve other stakeholders in the society. This chapter also analysed the links between governance and development and proposes that governance can facilitate economic development. Finally, this chapter examined the performance of good governance in Kiribati according to the World Bank's governance indicators and revealed that the government's effectiveness in the delivery of services, accountability and control of corruption need improvement.

The next chapter will focus on the historical background of governance in Kiribati during the pre-independence period.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO KIRIBATI GOVERNANCE

Introduction

It is necessary to understand the historical background of Kiribati's governance system before analysing its modern governance. This will assist the reader to better understand the research by knowing the ways in which the traditional governance operates and the extent to which it can have an influence on modern governance in the country. In this regard, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the origin of the I-Kiribati (the people of Kiribati), describing them, their customs and culture in the **pre-colonisation and colonisation** periods, all of which are important in the shaping of national identity and hence their governance system. The *maneaba* system or a traditional hall meeting house system will be examined as this is part of the **traditional governance** system. The impact of early European contact with, and colonisation of I-Kiribati will then be examined as it is important to understand how the country moved progressively towards a self-governing system and independence. These stages are important to discuss as they set the scene for the adoption and adaptation of modern governance in Kiribati. All diagrams in this chapter are made by the author unless otherwise acknowledged.

Section 1: Pre-Colonisation

Early Contact with Europeans

The Gilbert Islands were first sighted in 1604 by the Spanish explorer Quiros. Captain Thomas Gilbert was the first European to document these islands in 1788 and the islands were named after him (Macdonald 2008). Over the next century European explorers, traders and whalers made contact with the islands until, in the late 1800s, the Gilbert Islands were colonised by the British (Onorio 1984: pp.29-37). Initially, the I-Kiribati understanding of the world and other races was very limited. The I-Kiribati could only travel to neighbouring islands within the Gilbert Group using a big traditional canoe, *te baurua*, and had never ventured further. From the 1830s whalers who frequented the islands changed the people's awareness of other races and exposed them to material resources previously unseen and unknown (Onorio 1984: pp.29-33).

From 1860s traders who came to seek copra and marine products were also agents of change and reinforced trading concepts such as bartering, also introducing a labour trade whereby the I-

Kiribati were taken out of the country to work on plantations in Fiji, Hawaii and Brazil. Those who returned conveyed stories of those places they had experienced (Onorio 1984: pp.24-35). Some were excited by their adventures and the new experiences they had while others were frustrated because they did not acquire the material goods they had expected to return with (Sabatier 1977: pp.9-21). Some did not return at all and nothing was known of their fate.

Missionaries from Europe also made a significant impact on the lives of the I-Kiribati with their aim of converting them to Christianity. Hiram Bingham, who was a missionary pioneer sponsored by the London Missionary Society in 1857, impacted the lives of I-Kiribati by documenting a written form of the indigenous language known as *Te Taetae ni Kiribati*, or the Kiribati Language, and later translated the Bible to the local language (Taoaba 1984: pp.99-102). Betero and Tiroi, two local men who were amongst those recruited as trade labourers in Hawaii, came back with a Roman Catholic faith in the 1870s (Sabatier 1977: pp.9-30). Later they invited priests and nuns to spread the gospel. The arrival of these new religious faiths caused many problems with I-Kiribati traditional religious practices. Conversion consequently led to abandonment of many aspects of traditional religious practices resulting in a number of wars and much hatred amongst the I-Kiribati as a result of the segregation by faith across the society (Etekiera 1984: pp.38-43).

The first contact with Europeans was a period of wonder but caused feelings of both hatred and acceptance. On the positive side, whalers and traders were accepted for introducing new technology to the society. However, on the negative side, they were blamed for introducing new diseases like measles and leprosy, practices such as smoking and prostitution, and firearms. Similarly, missionaries were blamed for the loss of most of the traditional religious practices claimed to be the source of power in helping the people with their lives. Nevertheless, Christianity has been strongly accepted in the islands and has become a part of the contemporary culture of Kiribati.

History

Tungaru was the native name of the Gilbert Islands before discovery and documentation by early European explorers in the 1600s (Grimble 1972). The origin of the earliest settlers on the islands is a point of debate between legend, myth stories and modern researchers still awaiting verification (Denoon 1997). Legend suggests that early settlers originated from spirits of the *Te Kaintikuaba Tree*, a tree of life which was grown in Samoa and created by the god *Nareau*

(Kirion & Karaiti 1984: pp.7-11). Over time these spirits or gods changed to human beings to become the first inhabitants on the islands. However, anthropological evidence suggests that the sixteen islands in the Gilbert Group, including Banaba, are believed to have been settled about 3000 years ago by Micronesian seafarers whose origins, according to linguistic archaeology, were connected with South-East Asia (Talu 1985: p.10). Micronesian people inhabit clusters of islands stretching south from the Philippines and across to the Northern Mariana Islands. They include Guam, Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru and Kiribati.

Society and Culture

In pre-colonial days, the I-Kiribati lived in social groupings called *te utu* or family (Tito et al. 1984: pp.12-19). The *utu* was and is still significant in Kiribati because it is the solid foundation of the society and culture whereby members within the group practise the traditional styles such of art and craft, singing and dancing, ceremonial arrangements for a first born child, marriage and death. These customs are passed from one generation to another through both story-telling and practical experiences (Tito et al. 1984: pp.12-15). Families included father, mother, children and extended members of the family such as grandparents, aunts, uncles and so on. Family members were related by blood and marriage. Related families descending from the same ancestor settle on the same piece of land and dwell close to one another sharing the same *kainga* or clan.

Each family living in a *kainga* had a sleeping house and a kitchen for cooking and storing firewood and cooking utensils. Houses built on a *kainga* were traditionally constructed with a skill and spiritual belief that such buildings would bring peace and prosperity to people (Hockings 1987: pp.281-300). A canoe shed was often built close to the lagoon for easy access to the open sea. A separate house was built for storing traditional lasting foods such as the *kabubu* and *tuae*, all made from the fibre and the pulp of a pandanus fruit. Dried roasted fish and boiled toddy syrup like honey, was also kept in local containers and stored in special houses for future use, particularly during long hurricane periods and the drought. When the *kainga* was getting full, the *batua* or leader decides for other members of the family to form another *kainga* close by, but the members of the new *kainga* had to continuously relate themselves to the original *kainga* of the same ancestor.

Traditional Kiribati culture was simple and non-materialistic (Sabatier 1977: pp.13-25). People owned just the tools and utensils needed to support their lives. It is said that when Pacific

Islanders were first exposed to European goods such as axes and knives they were fascinated with the effectiveness of those tools compared with their stone axes and stalk and seashell knives. Their fascination with the modern tools is claimed to be one of the reasons why some islanders were converted by the early missionaries. They believed the god of the white people must be powerful to give his people such rare tools (Denoon 1997). The coconut and pandanus trees were regarded as ‘trees of life’ because they were the main sources from which I-Kiribati derived most of their possessions and from which life was sustained (Sabatier 1977).

Roles of Members of the Kainga

The *batua* (leader of a clan) had important roles to play in *te kainga* as well as in the *maneaba*, a traditional gigantic hall made from pandanus and coconut logs (Grimble 1921: pp.25-54). He was a leader at the *kainga* and a contributor to the decision making in the *maneaba*. He was respected by members of the *kainga* and always given favourable treatment. The *batua* and other elderly men of *the kainga* were members of a highly valued grouping who managed important events and affairs of *te kainga* for the common good of everyone (Tito et al. 1984: pp.12-13). They also made decisions regarding discipline and war against another *kainga*. War was infrequent but had to be strategically planned in order to win over another *kainga* and acquire more land for a clan.

Each member of the family within a *kainga* had a role to play in the proper functioning of the family and the whole *kainga*. That is, male adults and teenagers often did hard manual work such as building, repairing and maintaining canoes, houses and the *maneaba*. Other duties such as fishing, cutting toddy or collecting sweetened juice from coconut flowers, gardening or working in the *babai* (giant taro) pit were also carried out by men. Animal husbandry of chickens and pigs was often a shared role among teenagers and women. Adults had the duty to train teenagers in ‘best practices’ in doing adult’s work according to their gender roles. This enabled them to pass on requisite knowledge and skills to the young before they became married and assumed their duties. Women’s responsibilities were to do household duties such as caring for the young and the elderly, cooking, cleaning the house and weaving. Youngsters were free most of the time but would associate themselves with gender roles through role playing.

Elderly men and women were advisors on those tasks or special skills of which the younger generation was not very sure about such as bone setting, building a house, mending fishing traps or cultivating *babai*. Elderly people in a *kainga* were and are still highly respected because of

their status and their accumulated knowledge and skills in surviving on atoll islands (Tabokai 1985: pp.190-191). The elderly are kept well by members of a *kainga* in their old age because of the strict cultural tradition of showing love and respect to the older generation.

Teaching Traditional Knowledge and Skills

Kiribati culture was centered on telling stories and passing knowledge orally in the absence of written records (Talu 1985: pp.9-13). Knowledge and skills were conveyed through an informal system where children and teenagers watched, listened and observed and then practised within the circle of a *kainga*. Coaching and mentoring young adults was the preferred approach in assisting them to learn about their roles and traditional values. Acquiring knowledge and skills was achieved by replicating what an adult was expected to do. The teaching and passing on of knowledge and skills through traditional means was significant for continuity and maintenance of the culture and also for the survival of the next generation.

The I-Kiribati ancestors sought to live in harmony with their environment. The land and the sea were and are still the two main sources from which the I-Kiribati obtained their means of survival. The practice of moderation and restraint in the lifestyles of the people was upheld and strongly practised from teenage to adulthood because of the limited resources, and was especially important when drought strikes the islands (Sabatier 1977). At such times the people restrained their wants in order to share scarce resources and this is one of the fundamental principles of survival in the islands. This has been changed in contemporary Kiribati due to exposure to a modern lifestyle and the impact of globalisation. The I-Kiribati knowledge about navigation and traditional religious practices helped the people to foretell when a hurricane or a long drought would strike the islands (Teaero 1997). In anticipation of the difficult times it was the duty of a *kainga* to store food as much as possible and preserve it in stored houses. Stored foods were only used in times of severe need in long droughts. During drought, food was rationed to members of a *kainga* to enable everyone to survive during such disaster periods.

Order and Stability

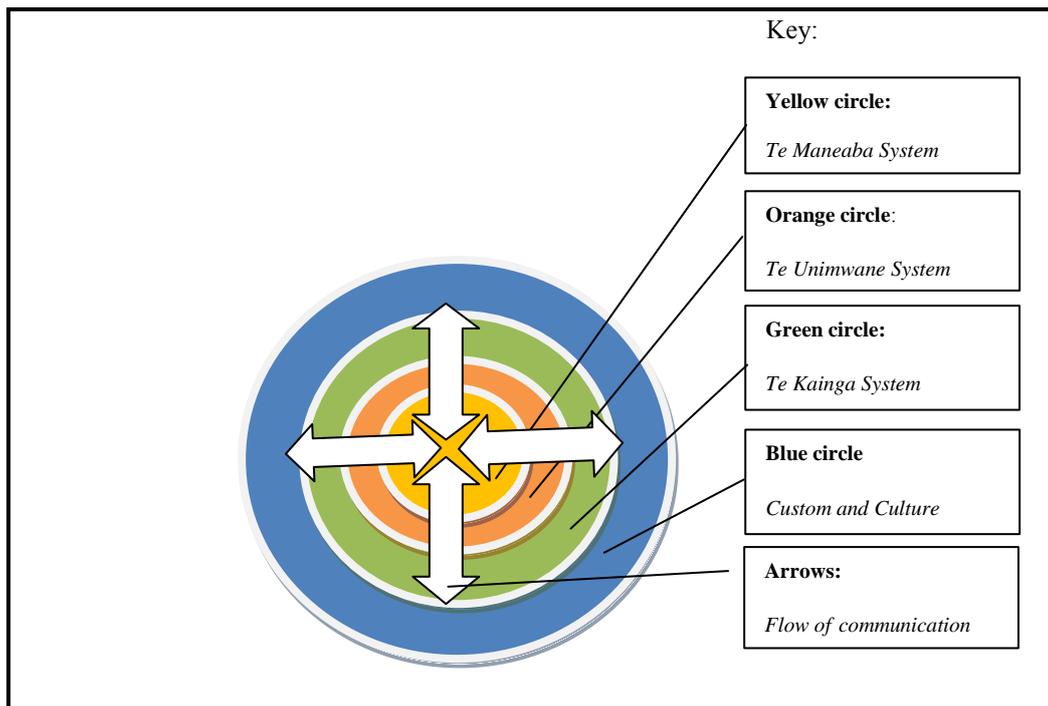
Maintaining peace in the society was, and still is, the responsibility of elders and the leader of the *kainga*. Understanding the customs well and practising them was essential and is the main contributing factor in establishing order and stability in the society. The I-Kiribati were taught

from childhood how to behave in the home, in the *maneaba* and towards adults and elderly people. Well behaved children and teenagers were often praised for their good manners and in turn the whole *kainga* was recognised for their good discipline. A good reputation in the society was acquired through behaving well, possessing much land and *babai* pits and being industrious and knowledgeable in the culture and customs. These were important clan customs to practise for achieving a better status and good name for the *kainga*. It also had significance in the arrangement of marriages to members of distant *kainga* or people from another island.

Traditional Governance System

The traditional governance system varied according to the location and groupings of islands. The northern and central Gilbert Islands practised a governance system based on chieftains and this was partially attributed to the lush and plentiful of food resources of these islands from receiving more rain than the islands in the south. The southern Gilbert Islands are prone to draught and lack food resources therefore the people from south practised a governance system that was based on egalitarian principles where goods and food were shared and the old men were leaders of the community. Figure 3.1 below illustrates the governance structure of the southern islands of Kiribati. The governance system in the southern islands started with the *kainga* system as a basic unit of governance in family groupings (Tito et al. 1984: pp.24-25). Linking to the *kainga* system was an *unimwane* or old men system which then linked to the *maneaba* system.

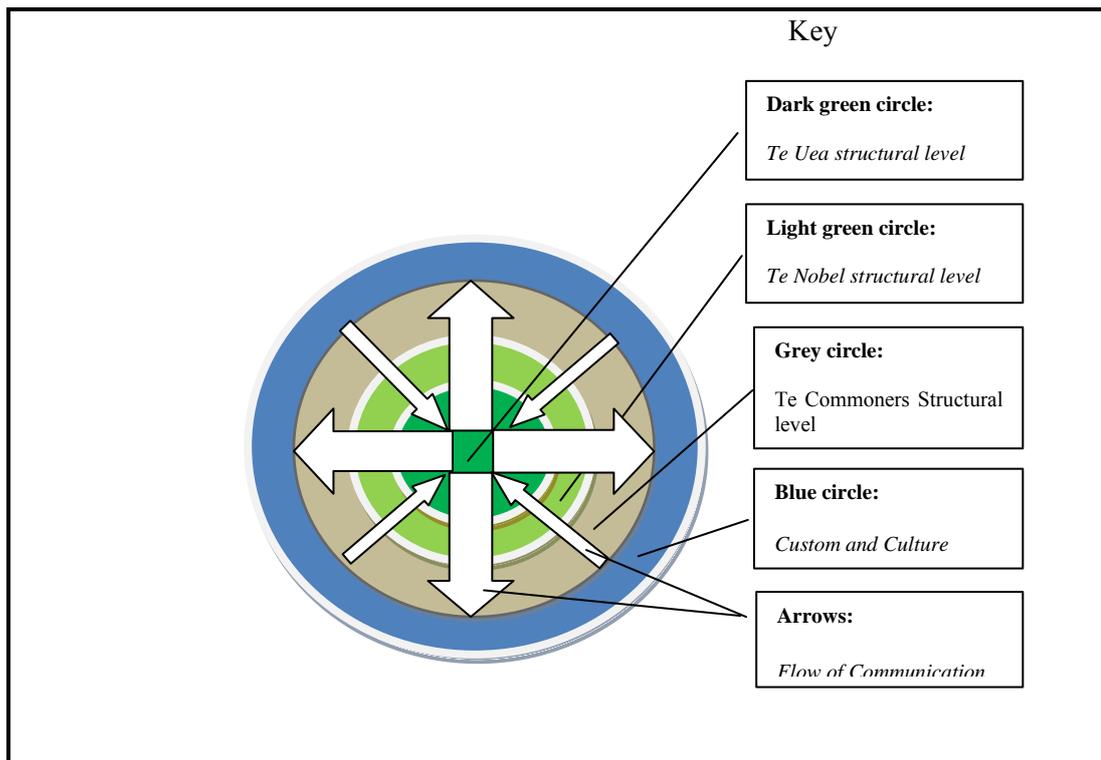
Figure 3.1: Governance Structure in the Southern Gilbert Islands



The core of the system was the *maneaba* which runs on its own protocols and etiquette laid down by the forefathers of the society. The *unimwane* or old men system was a linking structural arrangement for the *maneaba* and *kainga* systems and this is represented by the second inner layer. It was only the *unimwane* or old men who had been designated to represent their *kainga* who sit in the front rows of their assigned *boti* or sitting place inside the *maneaba* (Maude 1963). The *unimwane* had an important role to carry out in the functioning of the *maneaba* as they were involved in decision making and authorising the implementation of those decisions by members of the society for the common welfare of everyone (Maude 1963). When decisions had been finalised they were then conveyed to all members of each *kainga* for execution. The *kainga* is represented by the third inner layer of the governance structure. The arrows represent the inter-linking of the three layers and the continuous flow of communication between them. The outer layer represents the cultural values, customs and traditions which encompassed and strengthened the governance structure of the islands in southern Kiribati.

However, in the northern and central Gilbert Islands there was the *uea* or chief structure which was composed of the chief level, the noble level and the commoner level (Tito et al. 1984: pp.12-28). The governance structure is quite different from that of the southern islands. Figure 3.2 illustrates the kind of governance structural arrangement predominately practiced in those islands.

Figure 3.2: The Governance Structure in the Northern and Central Gilbert Islands



At the center of the structure was the *uea* system composed mainly of chief's families following the norms and practices of inheritance. Their inheritance was based on economic wealth from accumulation of lands and resources. Their chieftains were strengthened by their magical practices and supported by their warriors (Sabatier 1977). Their kinsfolk, the nobles, were represented in the second structural inner layer and they were part of the chiefly line system. The chiefly authority and power was demonstrated in the way the core system was linked to the outer layers of the governance structure. As depicted in Figure 3.2, the stronger arrows running out from the chiefly inner layer to the outer layers demonstrated the authoritative power of the chiefs not shared by other layers but which can only be influenced by the nobles. The third layer represented the commoners who they had less say in the governance. Even though the system as a whole represented the bulk of the population, the commoners were weak by birthright and had limited power to exercise their freedom in accordance with the customs of the society. The commoners' compliance was represented by a weaker arrow running from the commoners' structural level towards the chiefly level, signifying obedience and passiveness. The outside layer represents the cultural norms and traditions of those islands that formed the context for the governance structure.

Te Maneaba as a Center of Traditional Governance

Kiribati society is very much centered around the *maneaba* system (Tabokai 1993). The *maneaba* is a very large structured hall without walls which embodies traditional governance of the whole society. In the pre-colonial period before contact with Europeans, the *maneaba* system was mostly practised in the southern islands but then, in the 1800s, it was established in the islands of central and northern Kiribati. This was the result of *Kaitu and Uakeia's* war, when the conquering islands of the south introduced the *maneaba* system on those defeated islands (Tito et al. 1984).

The construction of the *maneaba* requires special skill and can only be constructed under the instruction and guidance of a local expert. Everything that should be carried out right from the start is based on cultural beliefs and mythical practices. For instance, when putting up stone-posts there is a special corner that has to be dealt with first before erecting posts on the other sides of the *maneaba*. Also, when tying up the thatch the eastern center of the top frame of the *maneaba* should be done first before putting up and tying thatch on the other sides. It is a cultural belief that by following the right way in constructing the *maneaba*, everyone who will reside and make decisions under the roof of the *maneaba* will be blessed and guided to make good decisions (Tabokai 1993: pp.23-26). On the contrary, if things are not carried out according to traditional practices, it is believed that a curse is incurred and bad fortune may affect the kind of decisions that will come out of the *maneaba*. This is why the large structured hall has to be properly built following strict protocols of traditional knowledge and practices in order to avoid ill omens. In so doing it is expected that the *maneaba* will achieve its essential meaning as a hall, which is to accommodate the needs of everyone belonging to the land (Tabokai 1993). Figure 3.3 shows the traditional *maneaba*.

Figure 3.3: Traditional Maneaba



(Source: *Kiribati Aspects of History: 1979 p.19*)

The seating arrangements inside the *maneaba* were culturally assigned to traditional *boti* or sitting places for each *kainga* (Maude 1963). The sitting places in the *maneaba* signified that everyone in the society owned land and this was reflected in their sitting position in the *maneaba* (Maude 1963). Guests coming to the society were often taken to sit along the western side of the *maneaba* or the lagoon side of the land signifying the fact that they were not truly from the land but from a foreign place (Tabokai 1993). The management roles in the *maneaba* system were based on the traditional status of each *kainga* within the society. That is, certain *boti* were determined by heredity through their *kainga* to execute certain tasks in the *maneaba*. For instance, they could be the first people to taste the food before a guest could eat the food while other people from other specific *boti* are assigned as speakers or servers in the *maneaba*. Disobeying and breaking of traditional rules in the *maneaba* can cause much criticism which could result in a curse on those who are disobedient. Overall, the *maneaba* system is a reflection of a monoculture which is based on communal participation and an egalitarian society albeit one with strict lines of seniority and based on *kainga* and land (Tabokai 1993). The *maneaba* system continues to survive during the British colonisation and remains unchanged in the contemporary era.

Section 2: Colonisation

This section details the colonisation period of the Gilbert Islands Group and demonstrates how it has impacted on the lives of the people. It shows how relevant events in each time period unfolded during the colonisation process starting from the planning to the actual taking over of the country and, finally, to the time when the country gained its independence and the British Government exited.

European Colonisation

European colonisation was a near universal phenomenon during the 17th to 19th centuries and greatly influenced the lives of Pacific Islanders in the 18th and 19th centuries (Thomas 1994; Wesseling 2004, Jonsson n.d online). Kiribati became a colonised protectorate under the British Empire between 1892 and 1908 (Macdonald 2001). In 1916 the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, including Banaba or Ocean Island, and Fanning and Washington Islands in the Line group were formally annexed. European traders and missionaries were the precursors of the British officials, engaging in gradual colonisation with the intention of commercialising and christianising the I-Kiribati (Onorio 1984). It has to be asked why the British were interested in colonising coral atoll islands of limited economic value and with less favourable living conditions than those of their homelands. This is addressed below.

Kiribati under the Protectorate

The interest to colonising the Gilbert Islands Group was different from the motive European nations have in colonising bigger areas such as Africa, Asia and North America. Tucker (1999) argues that the colonising of countries in the 1700; and 1800s by industrialised countries for the purpose of development and education of the local people was effectively a conspiracy by European countries to serve their own interests.

Kiribati was comparatively late in the sequence of colonisation by European nations and this was partly related to the late discovery of the Pacific Islands. The discovery of the Pacific Islands by European explorers in the 1600s seemingly gave them an appreciation of the location of these islands in a large mass of ocean, acting like oases in the desert. The islands served them as a place for replenishing their supplies of water and food, and also for pleasure. The strategic locations of

the islands were also recognised as ideal spots for moving war troops in the Asia-Pacific Region so control of the Gilbert Islands Group was attractive to colonial powers.

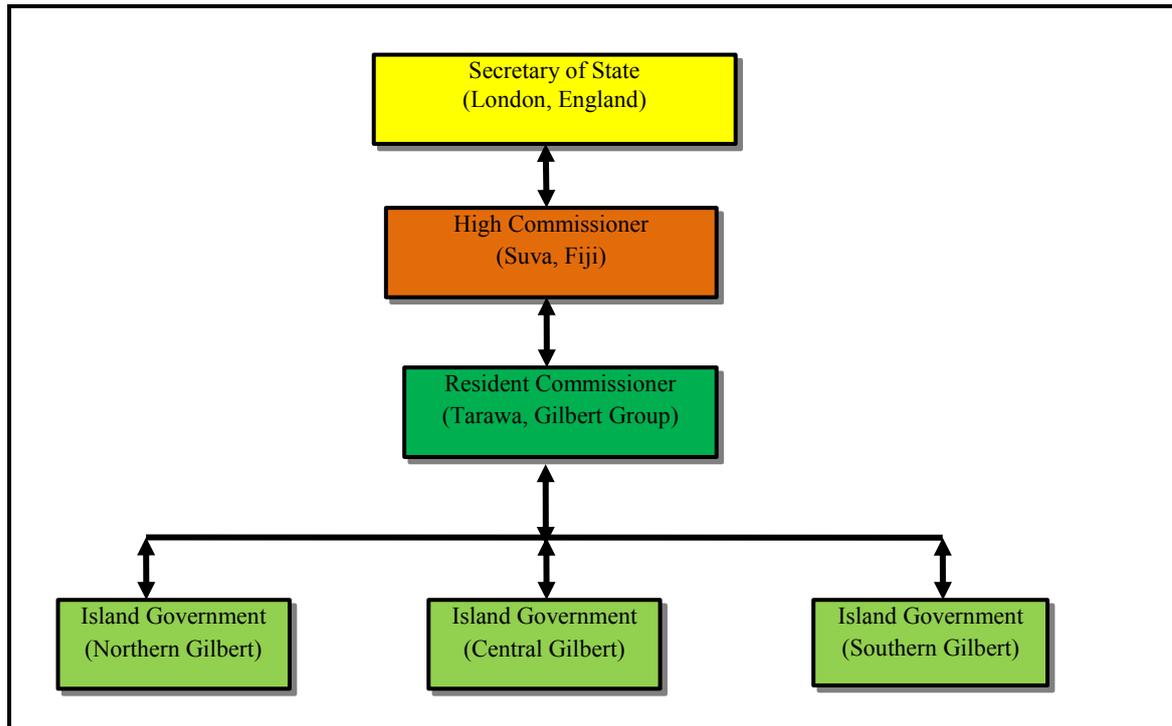
Initially, Britain was reluctant to administer the Gilbert and Ellice Islands because of the financial burden, but later it decided to assume control as a protectorate, rather than allowing them to be under the control of the USA or France. The strict administration order of the first British administrators and the collecting of taxes are well documented evidence of early imperialism and capitalism movements. The exhaustion of phosphate in Banaba and the coincidence of having independence at around the same time in the late 20th century can be partially accounted for by motives of imperialism and capitalism (Macdonald 2001). An observer remarked that if Britain had installed the necessary infrastructures essential for the nation's economic development before they left, there would have been less feeling of bewilderment by the I-Kiribati about what colonisation meant to them (Tabai 2009, pers.comm., 3 March).

The following sections will examine how the I-Kiribati reacted to the way they were governed under the colonial system of government. The challenges and successes faced by the I-Kiribati during the period of colonisation and the struggle towards self-government and independence are also significant. The linkages and the importance of the concept of governance developed during the colonisation period will be examined in the conclusion.

The New System of Government

Before the arrival of Europeans, the I-Kiribati were generally members of independent family and clan groups sharing a common culture rather than having an ethos of unified nationalism. Following sporadic contact with Europeans, the arrival of the first British official in the islands marked the beginning of colonisation and a period of unifying the islands under the British colonial system. Figure 3.4 below demonstrates the hierarchical structure implemented by the British. This structure led to many problems because it failed to engage most people directly yet it impacted heavily on their lives.

Figure 3.4: British Colonial Hierarchical Structure



Several Resident Commissioners worth mentioning illustrate what colonisation brought and how the people reacted. These were C. R. Swayne (1893-95), Telfer Campbell (1896-1908), A.F. Grimble (1925-1930), Michael Bernacchi (1952-61), Andersen (1962-1969) and Sir John Field (1970-1978) (Macdonald 2001: pp.75-93).

The High Commissioner (HC) for the Western Pacific, stationed in Fiji, recognised that the major problem faced by the new administration for establishing law and order was the dispersed nature of the Gilbert Islands (Macdonald 2001: pp.75-76). The condition of the Gilbert Islands as only a protectorate colony and the lack of economic resources found in the early period of colonisation in the country were also problems faced by the early Resident Commissioners. Gaining of approval for the HC to expand his jurisdiction over the I-Kiribati enabled HC Thurston to obtain first-hand knowledge about the Gilbert Islands from his visit in mid-1893 (Macdonald 2001: p.75).

In 1893, C. R. Swayne took office as the first Resident Commissioner. He had limited financial support from the British Government to set up his administration because the Gilbert Islands were only a protectorate. Swayne managed to gradually install new government systems throughout the scattered islands by recruiting *kaubure* or local village policemen and an interpreter. He succeeded in making some laws which incorporated traditional values of the society. During his

two years in office, the I-Kiribati slowly adapted to the new governing system. The small number of staff under Swayne's administration and the limited number of transport links to the outer islands had made it difficult to properly administer the progress of outer islands' government. Swayne's successor, Telfer Campbell, was also faced with the same problem.

Telfer Campbell (1896-1908) took a direct control approach over the affairs of the I-Kiribati believing that it would speed up his mission. He continued the work of Swayne and reinforced it by recruiting more *kaubure* and appointed Island Magistrates as the head of island government to enforce British law. Campbell considered the appointment of Island Magistrates necessary for managing order and stability in the islands. He made regular visits to the islands, using trading vessels, in order to assess progress and oversee punishment of those who contravened the administration of island governments.

Some of his accomplishments included establishing a standard set of regulations, introducing hygienic living conditions and formalising village jurisdictions which were grudgingly accepted by the people. He also set fines to penalise those who infringed the law. Local administrators who abused their roles could be fined, dismissed or replaced. A prompt system of collecting fines and taxes from landowners had created a sustainable amount of money for running Campbell's administration (Macdonald 1971).

Despite Campbell's effort to bring order and stability, the people on the islands were uncommitted and detached from the new system of governance. Foreign values were too abstract and could not be easily contextualised. People continued practising their traditional social lives which had been restricted under the new system, one of which was gathering for dancing. The people were unable to make the connection between their daily lives and the colonial system installed on the islands. The distance of most islands from the main island had also made communication links very difficult between the Resident Commissioner and the outer islands' agents of government. Those who were appointed on the outer islands under the new government system had very limited knowledge and understanding about the importance of their roles in the society.

In 1908 Arthur Grimble arrived and continued the work of Campbell (Macdonald 1971). Grimble's tenure in the Gilbert Islands coincided with the annexation of Banaba and the discovery of phosphate. The discovery of phosphate on Banaba was a critical period in the colonisation era because of the change in focus from development of the Gilbert Island Group to a concentration

on managing the phosphate and solving intolerable land issues caused by the Pacific Phosphate Company (PPC) mining. During this period the headquarters of the central government moved from Tarawa to Banaba and the role of the Resident Commissioner was focused on managing the phosphate and solving land issues raised by the Banabans, who were the landowners. The Banabans felt unfairly treated from the exploitation of their land resources despite a limited amount of financial compensation (Copper 1995; Williams & Macdonald 1985).

At this point, the communication links between the island governments and the Resident Commissioner broke down through a limited awareness of the problems faced throughout the islands. During Grimble's tenure, the development of the islands from the revenue of the phosphate mining was minimal as he believed the future of the islanders in regard to economic development was very limited. This had resulted in a paralysis of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands government (Macdonald 1982a).

Banaba was the only island which was more developed than Tarawa and the rest of the Gilbert Islands because of the development of the mining industry. Ambitious young men from the Gilbert and Ellice groups eagerly awaited for annual recruitment in the phosphate mines and the majority of recruits who were already employed on Banaba usually renewed their working contracts. They supported the mining of the phosphate until the deposit was exhausted without understanding of the detrimental effects caused by the unsustainable exploitation of the country's resources, which ultimately undermined the rational development of the islands.

The Resident Commissioners following Grimble realised the extent to which the PPC exploited the local resources with very minimal taxation and royalties paid back to the Banabans and Gilbert and Ellice Islanders. The failure of the PPC to compensate had enabled a move by the British Phosphate Commissioners (BPC), a non profit organisation, to take over and run the mining. The BPC was a body owned by Britain, Australia and New Zealand with a policy of selling of phosphate at a low price to their farmers (Macdonald 2001). The decision to return the colony's headquarters from Banaba to Tarawa with a plan to diversify the sharing of funds from the phosphate for the provision of social development was not successful because of the conflicting interests between the many parties (Macdonald 2001). Later plans to revise policies for the development of the colony were delayed by the outbreak of the Second World War. During this war South Tarawa, Banaba and several outer islands were invaded by the Japanese causing disruption to the governing of the islands. A number of expatriates, including missionaries and

locals, were killed. The relics of the Second World War, such as Japanese heavy machine guns, can still be seen at Betio Islet on South Tarawa. These machine guns have been continuously maintained by the Betio Island Council and the Kiribati Tourism Bureau for history and tourism purposes.

Adaption to the new system was slow. Continual improvement of island government was carried out over time and the adapting of the traditional system gradually changed the attitude of the people. There was an appreciation of the social benefits gained through the enforcement of order and stability among the people. Most important, as observed by Van Trease (1993), was the role in gradually educating the people with foreign ideas and giving them an opportunity for ownership in the management of their own affairs.

A Move towards Self-Government

Michael Bernacchi (1952-61) became Resident Commissioner when the headquarters moved back to Tarawa. He visited the outer islands and reported being appalled by the neglect he witnessed. He tried to hasten the modernisation of the country by firm leadership and securing funds for projects to undertake building and provide modern amenities, for expatriate and public service professionals (Macdonald 2001). Bernacchi contained recurrent expenditure by cutting costs on administration and concentrated on the improvement of services, first on Tarawa as the capital and later in the outer islands (Macdonald 2001). He also realised the imminent exhaustion of the phosphate deposits on Banaba and the impact of this on the development of the islands. In response to the situation he created investment income by establishing the Revenue Equalisation Reserve Fund (RERF) from the royalties collected from phosphate mining in order to provide for the future needs of the islands (Macdonald 1982a). The RERF has been a successful investment for an island country which has very limited resources. It had and still is accumulating significant income from interest and became a means of balancing the government's budget. To encourage outer island development, Bernacchi cooperated with the churches to provide primary schools and scholarships for younger generations to train overseas after which most returned to assist in the administration of the country.

Bernacchi left in 1961 and was succeeded by Andersen (1962-1969). Andersen concentrated on the development of amenities on Tarawa and at the same time focused on the development needs of the outer islands. The agreement of Britain to increase royalties and taxes from the selling of

phosphate at world market prices brought more income to the country for the development of basic services (Williams & Macdonald 1985). The introduction of trade cooperatives was a successful initiative which assisted people with their needs. At this time more I-Kiribati were educated and some worked overseas in Nauru and Banaba, remitting money to their families.

During the 1960s to the early 1970s further development occurred in the country. Policies for the outer islands were developed and district officers allocated and stationed in each district headquarters such as Butaritari Island in the northern islands, Abemama in the central and Tabiteuea North in the southern islands. Their role was to administer island councils under their jurisdiction as required from the central government in Tarawa. The 'native ordinance' which emphasised the importance of decentralisation was also developed on the advice of Resident Commissioner Harry Maude. Land Courts were also developed and a native magistrate was made the head of an island council for each island. The appointment of younger men as *kaubure* (village policemen) was also implemented to support the island councils which were responsible for administrative and management of the affairs of island communities. This structural arrangement was in conflict with the traditional governing system practised in the society and was criticised by the *unimwane* or old men for appointing younger men of limited experience and status in the society.

In the late 1960s the functions of the council were widened to include the provision of services on the islands and each council member's tenure was extended from two to three years and headed by the council president, currently known as a mayor. The sources of funding were mainly from personal and land taxes. In 1966 the first group of trained island executive officers was posted to outer islands to administer island government (Teiwaki 1983: pp.3-36). At that time the role of the native magistrates changed and concentrated more on judicial functions while the island council focused on the executive roles directed by the central government. The lives of the people on the outer islands changed considerably as they adopted new ways such as sending their children regularly to school, getting access to medical services, having better communication and transport services and consuming imported foods. Despite having adopted the new ways of life, the I-Kiribati maintained most of their traditional culture. Tarawa gradually modernised and urbanisation continued to increase. The increase in size of the population on Tarawa from 6101 in the early 1960s to 10616 in the late 1960s put much pressure on the living standards of families who were dwelling with relatives (Thomas 2003). There was continuous migration from the outer islands as people sought job opportunities and to enjoy life in the urban area.

I-Kiribati nationalism emerged after the establishment of the Magistrates' Conferences (1952-1956) which changed to Colony Conferences (1956-1962), held biennially, which brought representatives from the outer islands as well as the civil servants together to Tarawa to advise the Resident Commissioner on issues which affected the lives of the people. Island magistrates, regional delegates, representatives from the churches and local civil servants participated. The conferences were significant because they paved the way for the formation of two later important councils, the Executive and Advisory Councils. The conferences provided political education for the I-Kiribati, allowing open, critical discussion and questioning of government policies including the passing of resolutions to be considered by the Resident Commissioner (Teiwaki 1983: pp.3-36).

Self Government

It was evident by the mid 1960s that a new generation of better educated young men, who had overseas work experience, had emerged. Amongst these men was Reuben K. Uatiosa who was the leading figure urging rapid political development (Van Trease 1993). Britain conceded the Constitution in 1967 which enabled the replacement of the Executive Council with the Governing Council and the Advisory Council with the House of Representatives. Van Trease (1993) commented that this arrangement provided the native people with higher responsibilities in the government of their affairs. It also provided members of the House of Representatives with first-hand experience in parliamentary procedures, the discussion of legislation, the making of motions and asking of questions in the House.

In the late 1960s, the United Nations increased pressure on colonial powers to eliminate colonialism and allow the indigenous people to manage their own affairs (Macdonald 2001). This coincided with the first serious moves towards self-government in Britain's Pacific dependencies. In 1971 another constitutional amendment was made replacing the House of Representatives with a Legislative Council comprised of three ex-officio members, two public service members and the total of twenty-eight elected members, including outer islands' representatives. The Executive Council members were re-arranged and made up of ex-officio and civil servant members from the Legislative Council and five elected representatives, including the Leader of Government Business chosen by the elected representatives of the Legislative Council (Teiwaki 1983: pp.3-36). At this juncture, new events transpired including the need expressed by the Ellice Islanders to

separate from the Gilbert Island Group and the issue of the Banabans wanting to separate from the country.

The Ellice Islanders wanted to separate because they are of Polynesian origin, while the Banabans just wanted to prove that they were not I-Kiribati and also to seize the opportunity to control the phosphate mining. These issues impacted on the movement towards self-government and independence. Furthermore, the granting of self-government and advances towards independence were delayed by a series of administrative changes which occurred during this period: the relocation of the High Commissioner's headquarters from Fiji to Honiara in the Solomon Islands after Fiji gained independence in 1970, and the replacement of the Resident Commissioner in Tarawa and their direct connection to the High Commissioner to London.

Despite the challenges of the time, the I-Kiribati slowly progressed towards self-government. In 1974 another Constitutional Order came into effect with the introduction of a ministerial government comprised of six Ministers appointed by the Governor, while the Chief Minister was elected by members of the House of Assembly (Macdonald 2001). In this new structure, the Governor was still responsible for external affairs, the police and the public service (Teiwaki 1983: pp.3-36). The Order also reduced the number of members of the House of Assembly from thirty-three to thirty-one comprised of three ex-officio members, twenty members from the Gilbert Islands and eight from the Ellice Islands.

In 1975 Britain granted the Ellice Islands separation from the Gilbert Group and they later gained independence on 1 October 1978 and became the new nation of Tuvalu. The departure of the Ellice people further increased the I-Kiribati nationalism and political impetus towards self-government and later independence (Teiwaki 1983: pp.20-36). Moreover, it provided the I-Kiribati with an opportunity to fill high posts which had been dominated by the Ellice people.

In July 1976, further constitutional discussions were held in London regarding self-government and independence and it was agreed that the operational date would be 1 November 1976 (Macdonald 2001). The transition date did not materialise because Fiji's Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, intervened to negotiate the issue of resettling the Banabans on Rabi Island in Fiji, as a consequence of the destruction of their island by the phosphate mining (Teiwaki 1983: pp.3-36). However, the issue regarding the Banabans' separation from the Gilbert Group was solved in

1978 when the newly amended Constitution was negotiated in London before the Gilbert Island Group gained Independence.

The delay created mixed feelings among the I-Kiribati who considered that Britain allowed things to drag on too long. These political events occurred at the time when the exhaustion of phosphate on Banaba was imminent. Van Trease (1993) cited Babera Kirata, a prominent politician, who said, ‘we missed our chance to get total control of the phosphate on Banaba before it ran out’. Neemia (1992: pp.5-7) argued that incremental changes regarded as preparatory stages by the British were often used tacitly for the benefit of the colonial master to avoid criticism by international anti-colonialists as a justification to prolong occupation and control of the emerging nation.

Despite all the delays, the country continued to move forward, making considerable changes. During April–May 1977 a Constitutional Convention was held, guided by Professor David Murray from the University of the South Pacific. It looked into the kind of Constitution the independent Gilbert Islands should adopt. A consensus emerged from the convention recommending that a republican model with a top political role of the President would embody the dual role of Head of State and Chief Executive (Teiwaki 1983: pp.12-13). Van Trease (1993) also pointed out that the motivation for the change from the adoption of a complete Westminster Model was based on the advice of the late Governor of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Sir John Smith.

Governor John Smith’s wealth of experience as a British official in various African countries and in the Solomon Islands in encountering similar situations had led him to understand the likely difficulty Kiribati would face by adopting a complete Westminster Model. Governor John Smith generated a thoughtful idea which was supported by the Council of Ministers, senior Kiribati civil servants and participants at the Constitutional Convention. The idea attempted to incorporate into the proposed structure of government, important elements of the Gilbertese society and culture that could better reflect the traditional inter-relationship between the I-Kiribati and those of their political leaders (Van Trease 1993). It was agreed that the independence Constitution had to be made by drawing upon the enduring strengths of the traditional way of life. That is, the legislature was made as a national extension of the *maneaba*, the meeting house in the community in which the elders met to discuss mutual concerns in a customarily consensus way (Smith 1978). However,

it should be noted that this consensus rarely materialised in successive parliaments as decisions were often made based on political parties' agendas and passed by the vote of a majority.

Towards Independence

Naboua Ratieta was the Chief Minister from 1974 to 1978. Some of the successes of his ministerial government were in the formulation of progressive education policies, negotiation of fishing ventures with Japan, and tactfully handling the issue about the separation of the Ellice people. However, the Ratieta Government was not popular due to perceptions of arrogance of his ministers, their negligence in attending to the people's needs and, above all, his policy in establishing a defence force, despite his claim that it would bring employment to many young men.

By this time the people's political interest was well developed. The 1978 election reflected a strong sense of political awareness of the I-Kiribati regarding the importance of their role as the electorate in choosing a suitable candidate who has the capability to represent their social, economic and political needs in the House of Assembly. The wide use of radio by the Opposition Leader, Ieremia Tabai, and his visits to the outer islands to make people aware of the important functions of the government and their critical roles as voters also strengthened people's political awareness. His actions made him popular and he became the Chief Minister replacing Naboua Ratieta's Ministerial Government.

The I-Kiribati political awareness and sense of nationalism was seen in the result of the election on 1 February 1978 (Van Trease 1993). The population of the country at that time was nearly 60 000. Van Trease comments that out of the estimated number of people of adult voting age, 82 per cent registered and 79 per cent actually voted. In the second round of election for those candidates who did not get an absolute majority, it was noted that 76.6 per cent of those who registered turned out and voted. The presidential election held on 17 March 1978 determined that Ieremia Tabai, the Leader of the Opposition, won the election over his three rivals. After the election, the Tabai government toured the outer islands to engage with the people about their needs and also to raise awareness of the newly drafted Constitution that was about to be negotiated (Van Trease 1993: pp.15-16).

In December 1978 the constitutional talks were held in London. The important issues discussed were the adoption of the new Constitution for a sovereign republic, the date for independence, the issue of the Banabans separating from the Gilbert Islands Group and financial aid to support the country when it became independent. The draft Constitution was agreed and the Banabans were given free access to Banaba and the Gilbert Island. Britain provided financial assistance for four years and a reserve fund was agreed to support the initial running of the sovereign nation. The delegation returned with what was considered great news about the independence of the nation which was well received by the people (Teiwaki 1983: pp.21-22). On 12 July 1979, the country celebrated its independence, which was acknowledged by the presence of Princess Anne representing the British Crown. A new nation was born and the country adopted a new name, the *Republic of Kiribati*.

The lessons obtained from gaining and celebrating independence are significant for future generations to understand. Collective effort, perseverance and rationality in the process can produce significant achievements in national, regional and international arenas. Rational thought has to be based on proper planning and reliable information to enable penetration of the minds, existing social structures and cultural norms so that what is argued for and against is well grounded and convincing. Another important lesson is for the I-Kiribati to be proactive and act decisively to face the challenges of globalisation while at the same time trying to maintain their cultural values and traditional institutions. These kinds of responsibilities should be promoted and fostered in the young generation's minds to enable them to be more confident in themselves and their culture and better able to tackle issues of concern whether social, economic or political and linking them either at the national, regional or international level.

Linking Colonisation to Governance

The notion of governance is prevalent throughout the foregoing description of Kiribati colonial history. The dominant position of 'installed island governance' by the colonial rulers is well depicted in the changing scenarios of the colonial era. There emerged feelings of confusion and oppression among island people who had a weak role in governance. The incompatibility of colonial and traditional systems of governance created an imbalance in the way people see each other, their roles and in the way things were implemented to achieve targetted purposes.

The approach used by the first pioneering colonisers and later the ultimate coloniser, the British Government, was different in the ways they penetrated the traditional governance system of the people. When the traders and missionaries first arrived in the northern and central islands, they spent some time attempting to understand the traditional system and its structure before finally making a friendly connection with the chief of the islands (Onorio 1984, Etekiera 1984). They had the same approach when they entered the southern islands. They linked themselves first with the elders before interacting with the wider society. The informal interactions by the traders and missionaries had enabled the building of trust and the setting of a partnership network between them and the people of the islands. There was no short-term replacement of existing systems of governance at first encounter, it was a process of bridging the gap, making collaborative networks followed by reflection and renewal.

The British colonisers took a different approach to governance by inventing a new structure called the Island Government System linked to the central government on Tarawa, the main island. Even though the system was new for the islanders of Kiribati at that time, it was a very traditional imperial approach typical of the British in all of its colonies. It was also typical of the other European imperial powers of France, Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Italy. In fact, throughout history, empires have generally been built with the ‘mother-land’ exercising most power and control over their colonies.

In the Island Government System, the British official recruited young men as policemen and then appointed a magistrate as the head of each island government. This structural system was meant to link the people and the new British-sponsored administration. It was realised that with such a structure, most people on the islands did not really understand how the new governance structure was linked to the traditional systems and customs of the society. Those who were recruited had very limited understanding of their roles and how they affected the lives of the people. There was very limited training and a dearth of consultation went on during the initiation of such arrangements. Consequently, it took quite a long time for people to fully participate. As revealed in Figure 3.4 the hierarchical structure implemented by the British caused many problems because it failed to involve most people in the new governance system.

During the colonisation period, the Secretary of State in London was at the top of the apex exercising powers invested in him by the British Government under the Crown. The British High Commissioner in Fiji was authorised to administer the colonial possessions in the Pacific Region.

The Resident Commissioner in Tarawa was delegated with local powers. Such a structural system required a number of barriers to be overcome in order to achieve the goal of involving the people in the new system of government. These barriers included lack of knowledge and understanding of the structures, and time and resources to operationalise governance involving the people.

During the colonisation period, Britain created the image of a mighty colonial power. The government imposed by Great Britain was authoritative, producing an administration backed by a structured bureaucracy, immense global resources and, above all, a claim to be more civilised than the I-Kiribati. This sort of image was maintained throughout the period of colonisation and generally became a barrier to easy connection and participation in government by the people.

However, the people who were colonised had untouched local pristine lifestyle which reflected the type of culture and environment they lived in so there was a mismatch between the two governance systems. There is a general view by the I-Kiribati that Britain imposed a stronger and irreconcilable governance to dominate over traditional governance which was perceived by the British to be a weaker system. The incompatibility of the two systems has been demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs and emphasises the importance of working together and learning from one another rather than aggressive dominance of one over another.

Understanding structural systems and the kind of interaction approaches which existed are important matters to consider when politically encountering another culture. There are linking factors between the societal attributes and governance in which actors adopt roles in maintaining or reshaping the traditional governance system. The roles are adopted by drawing upon complex rules and resources which already existed within the system (Kooiman 2007: pp.135-150). By completely ignoring the culture and its structural institutions previously proven suitable to its environmental conditions can destabilise both the culture and its political governance equilibrium.

Conclusion

In Kiribati the significance of the *maneaba* to the functioning of the whole society cannot be underestimated. It represents the entirety of life in this society. It is a place for social functions and for decision making. Important decisions made by old men always come out of the *maneaba* system. The order and stability of the society as well as the social and economic welfare of everyone is paramount in framing decisions. Once a decision has been made from the *maneaba*, everyone has to abide by the decision. Because of the limited resources on the islands, the *maneaba* system is regarded as a way to openly make just, collective decisions for the benefit of all. While each family has the right to decide on their own affairs within their individual *kainga*, the *maneaba* system is a traditional political mechanism that can order matters and make just decisions for the whole society. The *maneaba* system has been a vital part of the culture and has remained largely unchanged for centuries. It is within this unchanged system of the *maneaba* that the traditional governance has been and is still embedded within the culture. However, later colonisers, foreigners and even the Kiribati Government are ignorant of its importance in the evolution of modern governance in Kiribati.

The evolution of modern governance began in the colonisation period of the Gilbert Islands Group. The analysis in this chapter explored six major time periods starting from the time when the country became a protectorate until the time it gained independence from the Government of Britain. The analysis highlighted a series of events which occurred in each time period and demonstrated what had been involved in the process, both on the parts of the British officials and the people of Kiribati. In each time event, the I-Kiribati went through many challenges which affected the people's normal way of thinking and acting.

The introduction of a new governance system in the country was viewed as a huge challenge to the I-Kiribati. It involved many foreign concepts which required a different kind of comprehension and knowledge to the collective knowledge people held of the traditional governance system. It is evident from the analysis that there was a mismatch between the new governance and the existing traditional governance system which had existed for centuries in the islands. The British administrators introduced a governance system based on the model of their own government and unilaterally implemented it with strategic approaches that would help them achieve their own goals. The approach of undermining the traditional governance by the British administrators proved to be the major barrier to the people engaging with the installation of island

governments. The sections in the culture are included in the thesis to enable the reader to understand the traditional governance system of Kiribati and the types of issues experienced during the transition period to modern governance. In addition, it shows the reader how the information on culture influenced the data gathering methods used in regards to questions and interviews.

The next chapter will discuss how the I-Kiribati managed to adopt and adapt the new governance system in the post-independence era.

CHAPTER 4: MODERN GOVERNANCE IN THE POST INDEPENDENCE ERA

Introduction

This chapter will analyse how the western democratic political system was adopted and how it functions in Kiribati. The Kiribati Constitution is described below to provide an understanding of the evolution of the new system of government. The policies of successive elected governments are discussed with commentary on civil society and how this has contributed to democratic governance in Kiribati. This chapter also analyses prevalent social and economic issues faced by the nation in strengthening good governance and concludes with a perspective on corruption and how it can impact on the well-being of the people and the growth of the economy. It is important to understand governance in the post-independence era because during this period the state and the people had the responsibility of governing the affairs of the nation as it adopted and adapted western democratic political principles and practices. The maps and diagrams in this chapter were developed by the author unless otherwise acknowledged.

Transition from Traditional to Modern Society

The governing principles of traditional society in Kiribati were stability, sustainable use and equal sharing of resources. They were guided by the norms, values and traditional practices of the culture which were passed on to each generation through stories, chants, music and direct oral communication. The invention of the Kiribati language script by Hiram Bingham and later supported by the Catholic Sacred Heart Missionaries and the government has transformed Kiribati into a literate society and paved the way for modern education and the adoption of new ways of thinking by an *I-Kiribati* (Taoaba 1984: pp.100-101, Lawrence 1992: pp.283-284). The 1800s and 1900s saw the introduction of the Christian religion, adoption of formal schooling and implementation of a western, colonial political system (Talu et al.1984: pp.84-111, Lawrence 1992: pp.283-289).

The Kiribati Constitution

The acceptance by the I-Kiribati of a western, democratic political system for the government of the nation was evidenced in the adoption of the Constitution during independence in 1979. The Constitution marked a turning point from traditional isolated island-oriented government by a Council of *Unimwane* through the *maneaba system* to citizenship in a nation under a central government (Van Trease 1993: pp.3-14, Tabokai 1993: pp.23-29). The new system differed immensely from the previous traditional system as it was based on formal, structured institutions, procedures, rules and laws requiring huge resources for its effective operation.

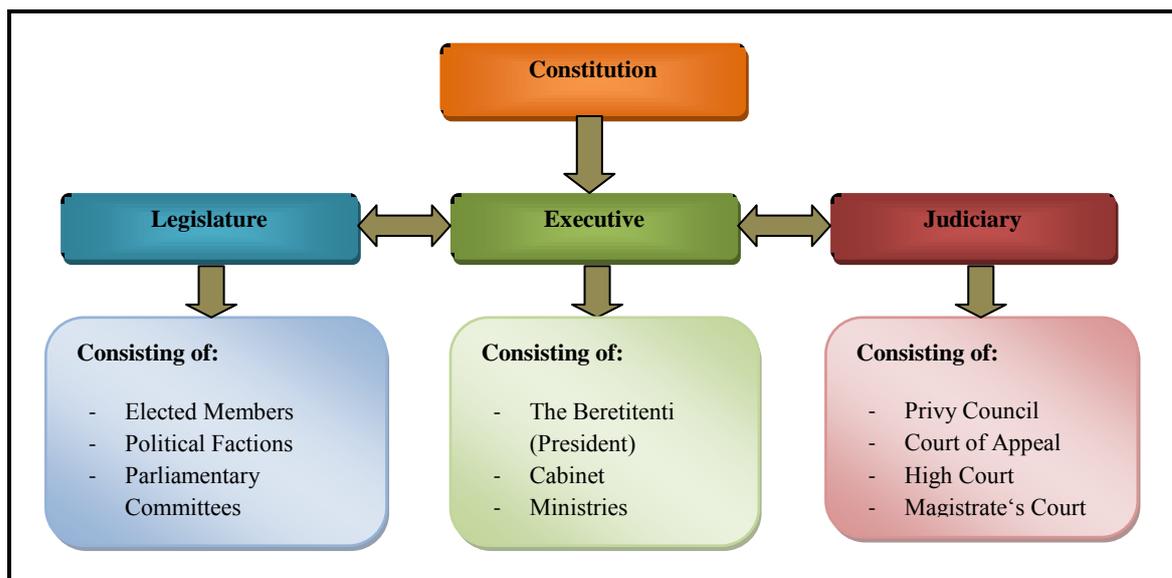
A constitution is “the fundamental principles and laws of a nation, state, or social group that guarantee certain rights to the people in it, determines the powers and duties of the government, and states how the government is appointed and what its structure will be” (Penguin English Dictionary 2007: p.270). The provisions of the Kiribati Constitution were the building blocks for Kiribati to legally establish a democratic government and unify the people of the Gilbert, the Line and Phoenix Islands. It is the supreme law of the nation upon which the government of the country is based; however, an understanding of its provisions was a new experience for most I-Kiribati. It replaced the traditional Council of *Unimwane* with a presidential and parliamentary system. However, the Constitution recognise the fundamental elements of the traditional governance which included maintaining the traditional practices of the culture, affirming the fundamental rights of the I-Kiribati, and respecting the value of consensus decision making in the Kiribati Parliament. Unfortunately consensus is difficult to achieve in modern political systems in Kiribati or elsewhere.

The Kiribati Act of 12 July 1979 declared independence and the adoption of the Constitution. It provides for a legislature, Head of State, executive government, judiciary and the public service. Critical issues relating to citizenship of Kiribati, the special status of Banaba and the Banabans, and fundamental rights and freedoms of an individual are included. It has 139 sections and ten chapters. The Constitution is only available in English which has made it difficult for the wider population to have access to it, so a Kiribati language version is needed. Some of the provisions of the Constitution seem ambiguous and interpreting it has created difficulties. The provision for amendments is explained in Section 69, Chapter V of the Constitution.

The Three Main Constitutional Organs of the State

The adoption of a modern unitary political system was based on the people's acceptance of the principles of a democracy introduced by British administrators (Van Trease 1993: pp.3-6). It is a political system based on the 'separation of powers' between the three arms of the government: the legislature, the judiciary and the executive. The division of powers is stipulated in the Constitution and clearly emphasises the notion that a government under a democratic system cannot exist without true independence of the legislature, judiciary and the executive. The main reason for this is to avoid dictatorship and concentration of power in the executive or the President. 'Checks and balances' are provided when power is divided so that the legislature makes laws, the executive enforces the laws and the judiciary interprets the laws (Kiribati Constitution 1980: pp.30-97). Figure 4.1 illustrates the structure of the government and highlights the three constitutional organs.

Figure 4.1: The Three Constitutional Organs of the Government



The Election Process

The structures and processes employed follow the usual forms found in democratic countries with the establishment of an electoral bureaucracy to run elections, nomination of candidates and the conduct of voting with proper safeguards. Multi-member constituencies, based on the latest quinquennial census, are defined with one elected member for islands with fewer than 1500 people, two members for islands with population between 1500 and 5000 and three members for constituencies with more than 5000. Kiribati has adopted a two-round voting system where a candidate who receives over half the valid votes is declared elected. In the event of no candidate receiving a majority, a second round is conducted with only the leading candidates, depending on the number of members to be elected in the constituency (Van Trease 1993: p.77, Brechtefeld 1993: pp.42-47). Citizens are eligible to vote if they are 18 years old and have registered. Cultural values and family ties have a strong influence on voting behaviour, while on the outer islands, during campaigns, it is quite normal for candidates to visit each household and *bubuti* (plea) members of close-knit families to vote for them (Koaie 1993: pp.105-107; Van Trease 1993: pp.83-85). Some candidates commence their campaign years before an election and make donations and provide other assistance to an island or village in the expectation of attracting votes. Local issues rather than national policies are a powerful influence on remote islands where voters have had limited educational opportunities.

Following the announcement of election results the forty-four successful candidates will commence horse-trading and consolidation of political parties based on shared interests. Two ex-officio members, the Attorney General and a member representing the Banaban community are also members of the new Parliament. The President then appoints the Cabinet. Details of responsibilities and procedures concerning elections are contained in the Kiribati Electoral System 2008 and in Sections 55 and 56 of the Constitution. Appendix A1 shows the electoral districts and islands constituencies including the details of populations, lands areas and number of members for each electoral district.

Political Parties

Political parties in Kiribati exist in the Parliament and do not have entrenched political ideologies connecting to the wider population (Van Trease 1993: pp.79-80). However, with increasing

political awareness, some people on South Tarawa, have affiliated with existing parties, calling themselves *Te Boutoka*, meaning supporters of a certain political party.

Kiribati is regarded as a classless society and is based on a mono and egalitarian culture (Tabokai 1993: pp.27-28). The *maneaba* institution controlled the traditional political system and operated through a ‘cultural consensus’ form of politics in which conflicts were avoided in decision making by the Council of *Unimwane*, following a traditional *maneaba* protocol system, whereby a decision is modified and improved through discussion for the benefit of all. The traditional *maneaba* system had no political groupings to develop opposing ideologies that might prolong the decision making. As such, Kiribati culture has long nurtured consensual decision making rather than the adversarial systems so evident in western countries.

Despite traditional customs, modern political parties in the Kiribati Parliament have evolved formalised groupings that share the same political interests. Kiribati still has not yet reached the stage where political factions in the Parliament can really connect themselves to the people and operate as formalised political parties. The dispersed islands and traditional lifestyles in villages pose difficulties in efforts to mobilise political party movements in the country.

Emulating democratic governments in developed nations, elected members in Kiribati have adopted ways to form groupings based on ‘shared initiatives’ rather than deep-rooted political ideologies such as socialism, liberalism or capitalism. The priority of political parties is to first strengthen the number of party members in the Parliament for the purpose of securing a majority to form a government and thereby securing the party’s candidature for the election of the President. Normally there are two groupings: the government, which holds a majority, and the opposition. Other parties can also emerge as new factions form. Figure 4.2 shows the Kiribati parties in Government and Opposition 1978-2011.

Figure 4.2: Parties in Government and Opposition 1978-2011

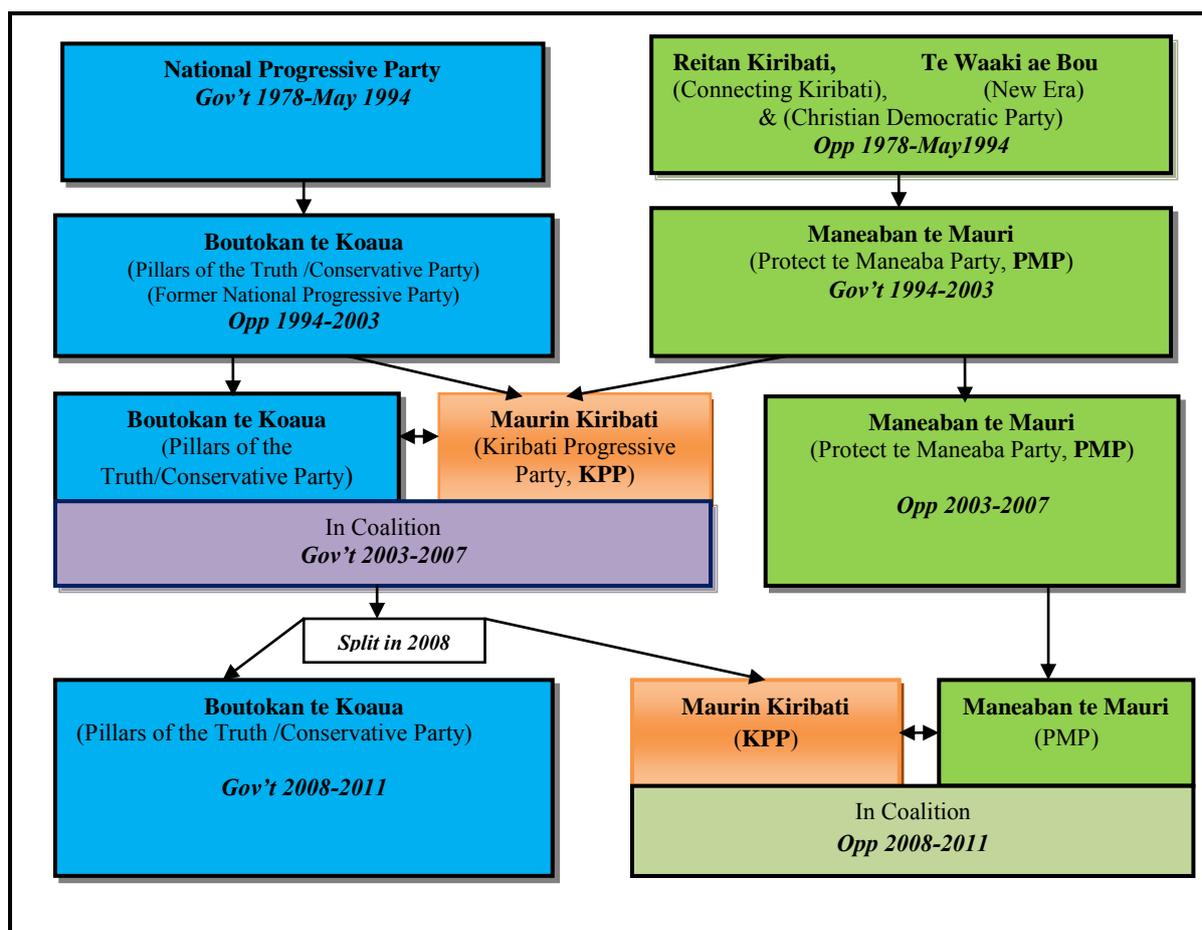


Figure 4.2 also illustrates the way coalitions of parties and realignments have occurred over thirty years with changes of party names from English to Kiribati to demonstrate their nationalism.

Election of the President

The election of the Speaker of the Parliament is presided over by the Chief Justice and carried out at the session after elected members have been sworn in according to Chapter V, 71 of the Constitution. A candidate for the Speaker is not an elected member and should be supported by the majority political party to be elected. The Speaker calls for nominations for the President from existing parties. As required by the law, there will be at least three and no more than four candidates for a national election of the President. A two-round voting system is conducted to select candidates for the election of the President which is conducted nationally (Tetoa 1993: pp. 30-37).

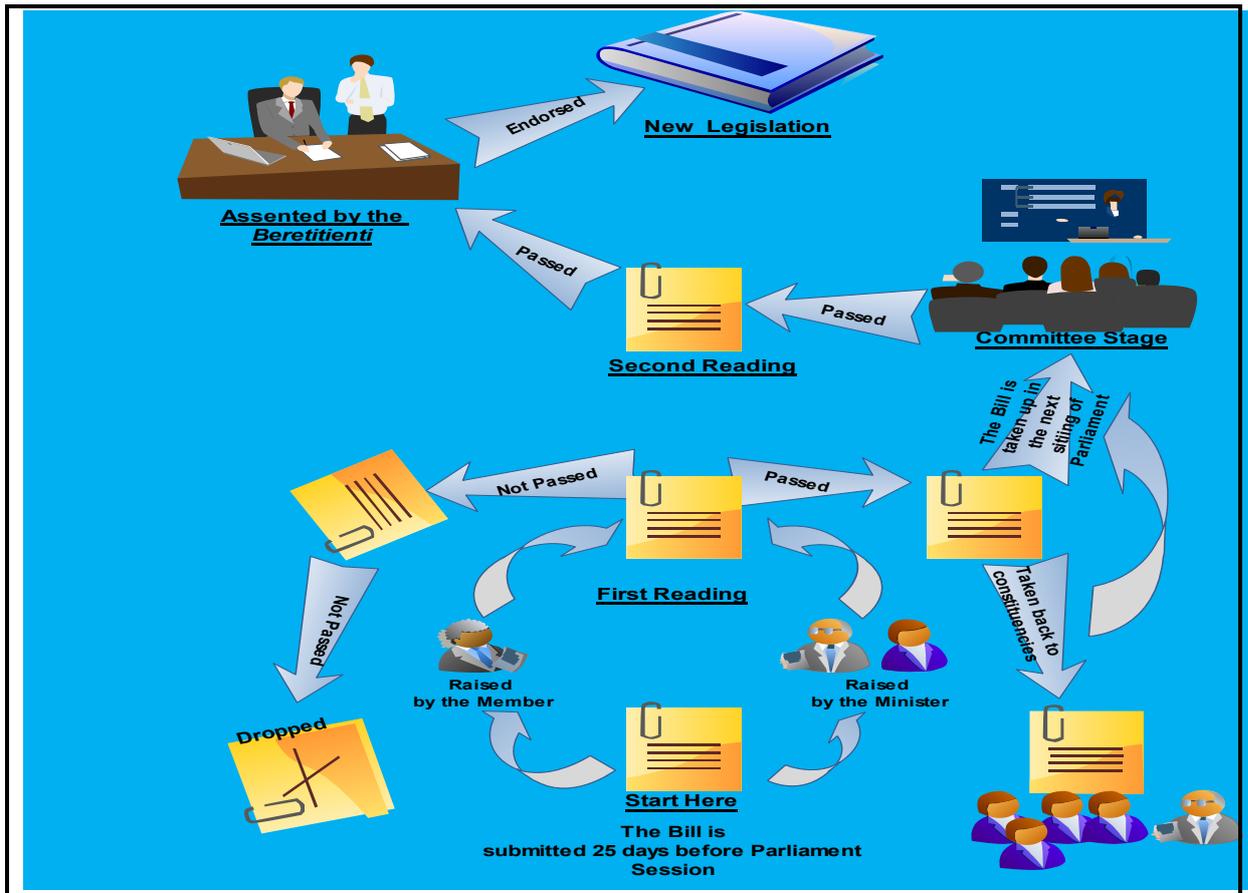
The national election of the President is significant in the formation of the Kiribati Government. It will determine which political party will be elected by the people to form the government and how its policies can bring positive changes to the country. Campaigning for the President has become a highly competitive process in which members of parties struggle to ensure the campaign activities influence the electorates, using the media and visiting island constituencies. Fund-raising by parties has produced allegations of financial assistance from sectional interests in return for favourable treatment. There have been strong arguments in the Parliament and in the media regarding accusations that parties have accepted funds from China or Taiwan to support their campaigns (Kiribati Parliamentary Hansard 2005: pp.300-315). Such incidents demonstrate the interference of foreign politics and the vulnerability of political life in a poor and fragile island nation such as Kiribati. Financial and political networks are widely believed to influence political campaigning for the President. On-going public awareness and transparency are required to ensure free and fair elections. The President appoints members of his Cabinet which currently comprises the President, the Vice President, the twelve Ministers elected from members of the Parliament and the Attorney General.

The Functions of the Legislature

The Parliament is a unicameral legislative institution based on the Westminster system particularly the House of Commons of the British Parliament (Tetoa 1993: pp.36-37). At the national level, the Parliament has three roles: (1) to represent the views of the people, (2) to make laws and to pass the government's budget and (3) to have an oversight of the executive's performance and scrutinise the activities of government to ensure that the country's resources are efficiently used for the welfare of the people.

Figure 4.3 shows the legislation-making process starting from the submission of the bill to the time where the bill is endorsed as legislation. Bills that are not urgent and need the second reading provide Members of Parliament with ample time to take the bill to their constituencies for information and getting the opinions of the people.

Figure 4.3: The Legislation Making Process



Provision is made for the passage of legislation through the Parliament with drafting of legislation, committee stages and, when passed, becoming an Act of Parliament which must then be assented to by the President. Urgent bills can also be expedited and the counsel of the High Court can be sought for clarification of the legality of legislative proposals.

Parliament has a responsibility to scrutinise bills during both the debate and committee stages to ensure the provisions of a bill are desirable and fit its intended purpose. A number of inherited ordinances from Britain are outdated and require amendments or new laws. Members of Parliament need the capacity to understand the process in making laws as it is an important part of their responsibilities. Many I-Kiribati perceive the making of laws as the sole responsibility of the government and regard any bill from an opposition party as likely to undermine the government's legitimacy (Talu 1993: pp.353-354).

Auditing and gaining access to government information is essential to check and control the Executive's performance. The Parliament continues to face difficulties in the execution of its

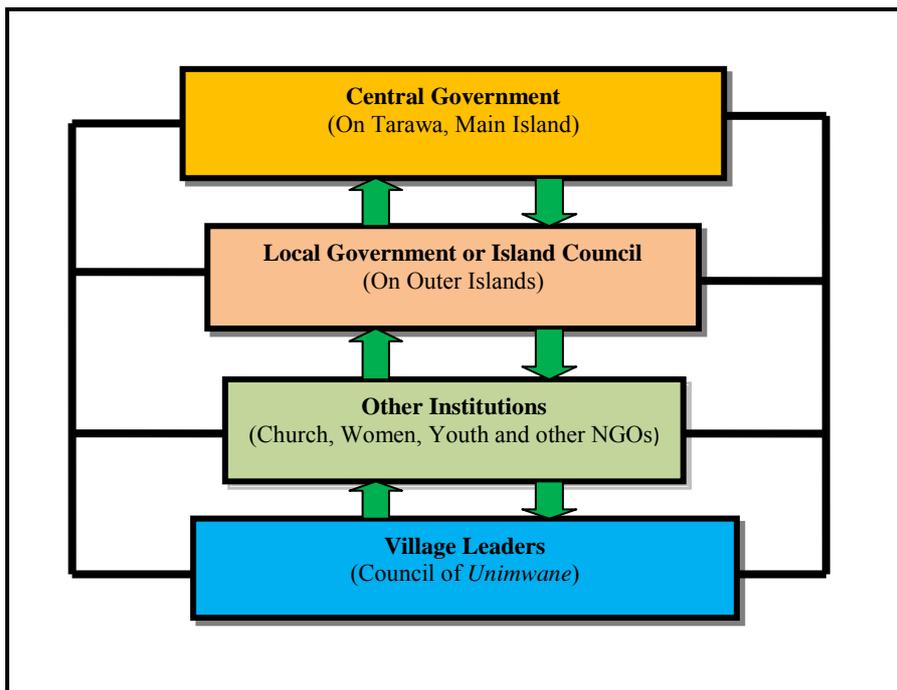
oversight function. Checking and auditing the Executive's abuse of power can be problematic because the information is incomplete, unavailable or lost. Officials are sometimes uncooperative in efforts made by a Parliamentary Committee or member to obtain information when seeking to verify matters. The reports of the Public Account Committee in a number of sessions of the Parliament emphasise the delay in the auditing of government accounts but very little is done to remedy the problems (Kiribati Parliamentary Hansard 2005). Improving the situation is regarded as a challenge for the government and the people, consequently strengthening government institutions, improving leadership and supervisory roles is needed as part of a wide public sector reform program.

Major Issues Faced in the Formation of the Legislature

The major issues faced in the formation of the legislature are mostly related to the strong cultural practices, including the manipulation of the party system in nominating the candidates for the President. In Kiribati society, leaders are not elected to the *maneaba* system, instead they inherit it through seniority and family clan heritage (Teiwaki 1985: pp.169-170). This contradicts the way in which Members of Parliament are elected through a majority vote in an election. The isolation of islands and enduring paternalistic customs also influences voting practices when people view elections as an avenue to further family or island communal welfare- somewhat as a 'safety net' as in the western political democratic systems (Teiwaki 1985: pp.169-173). Consequently, people are often tempted to elect those who are closely related to them, or who have contributed largesse to the village or island.

Figure 4.4 shows the political structure of institutions in the country starting from the National Government to the Council of *Unimwane* or traditional leaders at the village level. The connection of each institution to another shows a shared synergy between all institutions and their dependency on one another. Traditional leaders can influence the voting attitudes of members of other institutions such as families, women's associations, youth and church groups. When implementing changes in Kiribati, consultation with people, particularly through the Council of *Unimwane* at the village level, is essential in order to gain the support of the community.

Figure 4.4: The Political Structure of Institutions in Kiribati



The relative strength of the political parties and the lack of party discipline in the Kiribati system to some extent can be an issue in the formation of the Parliament and the selection of candidates for the election of the President. Political manoeuvring of a major party can eliminate minor parties' candidates, limiting the people's choices of the most capable candidate for President. The domination of a major party by having all of its nominations for the President successful and suppressing minor parties' candidates can be avoided by making appropriate changes to the Constitution. In many cases, the elected President is trapped in his party politics, forgetting that he is also a representative for the people of Kiribati.

A government based on a political party without enrooted ideology and without links to wider constituencies could be detrimental to democratic principles and national development. It can be argued such a government will work first for the interests of its political 'club' members and its own perpetuation in office. It can also lead to the politicising of the public service as sympathetic and pliable public servants are recruited and promoted to continue the task of perpetuating the party in power. In the absence of a holistic human resource management approach based on merit, performance, educational background and accumulated experience gained in the workplace, the quality of the public administration will be in jeopardy (Randell 2000: pp.244-265).

The longevity of a party holding office can be beneficial for the political stability of the nation and accomplishing for the government's agenda. However, there are many instances where regimes maintain power by undemocratic means, breeding inefficiency and corruption. Some governments in developing countries are prone to fraudulent actions of an elite group conspiring with professionals in their public sector systems (Ogundiya 2010: pp.204-205). Strengthening the people's political awareness can contribute to improvements in good governance in a modern democratic system. Improving the people's level of education and strengthening civil society, including the freedom of the press and access to government information, can enable people to hold their government accountable for its actions with a realistic prospect of replacing it, if it is found wanting.

The Judicial System

Traditional customs and values had played a significant role in maintaining peace and stability in society before the introduction of modern legal systems in the country. The family unit was an important institution to enforce the rule of law through cultural disciplinary measures (Talu 1985: pp.4-7). Criminal offences and other wrongdoings in the society were dealt with by family elders or by the Council of *Unimwane* in the community, depending on the severity of the crime (Tito et al. 1984: p.27). Crimes and offences could be resolved if a criminal sought early assistance from men and women elders, a pastor or priest who mediated on their behalf. The offenders were usually required to make compensation to mark sincere confession and avoidance of such an offence in the future. While traditional and communal justice systems are effective at village levels, some of these practices have gradually declined under the increased pressure of modern codified national laws.

Modern Laws in Kiribati

Kiribati laws are derived from four different sources (Kiribati Constitution 1980, Lodge 1988: pp.234-236). Foremost is the Constitution which is the statement of the country's fundamental principles and precedents. Among the many provisions of the Constitution, are rulings for what Orders are to be revoked and how existing laws inherited from Britain before independence should be treated. Laws which contravene the Constitution are considered to be invalid. An amendment to the Constitution is possible if it is supported by two-thirds of elected members and

changes for the provision of fundamental rights and freedoms need two-thirds of votes in a referendum (Tetoa 1993: pp.31-32).

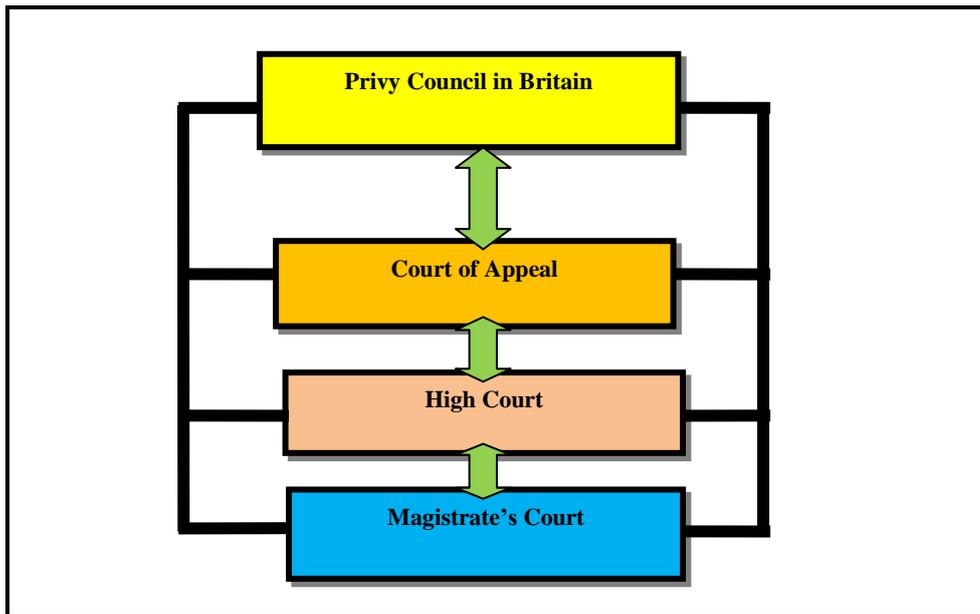
The second source of law in Kiribati is legislation enacted by the Parliament and this is carried out predominantly by the Office of the Attorney General which include the Parliamentary Counsel and the Clerk of Parliament, by properly recording new bills and amendments passed by the Parliament before the President can give assent. Legislation enacted by Parliament can also involve international laws to which Kiribati has agreed by the signing of treaties. Kiribati is no longer an isolated country and contributes to the maintenance of peace, stability and development in the region and internationally.

Common Law is also a source of Kiribati laws. However, the court is now less dependent on English Common Law because there are statute laws existing in the country to cater for specific situations. Kiribati also draws its laws from Customary Law. Customary laws had played a major part in maintaining peace and stability in the society before modern legal and court systems were introduced in the islands. The Constitution recognises the importance of traditional customs and systems which deal with land, marriage, adoption, criminal offences and other general issues. This is dealt mainly in the Magistrate's Court system.

Court Systems in Kiribati

Figure 4.5 briefly outlines the hierarchical nature of the court system in Kiribati. The system is partially inherited from Britain and partially an outcome of provisions of the Constitution and the Magistrate Ordinance.

Figure 4.5: Court Systems in Kiribati



The Privy Council in Britain deals with appeals from High Court decisions and infringement of the constitution. The Court of Appeal is a superior court of record with jurisdiction and powers to hear and decide civil and criminal appeals from the High Court which challenge the interpretation of law. The Chief Justice and other judges of the High Court are judges of the Court of Appeal and are appointed according to Section 81 (3) of the Constitution. The judgment of the court is final when the majority of judges present a judgment.

The High Court is established according to Chapter IV, Sections 80 to 90 of the Constitution which provides for the establishment of the High Court and stipulates the appointment of its judges and the functions of the Court. The Chief Justice is the judge of the High Court and is appointed by the President acting in accordance with the advice of Cabinet after consultation with the Public Service Commission. The Constitution states the High Court is a superior court of record and has unlimited original jurisdiction and powers both in civil and criminal cases. Appeals

and petitions can be made to the High Court when people are not satisfied with the decisions made by a lower court, such as a Magistrate's Court. The High Court is also mandated to settle disputes in relation to the validity of the election of any member of the Parliament.

The Magistrate's Court is a lower court established according to the Magistrate Ordinance 1997 that deals with civil and criminal cases, enforcing order and stability throughout the scattered islands of the country. It is benched by three lay persons appointed by the President on the advice of the Chief Justice. The recruitment of the Magistrates is carried out among respected *unimwane* candidates from the villages of the island who are expected to be knowledgeable in Kiribati culture and land tenure. Their local knowledge of customary laws enables them to deal with such matters as divorce, adoption, care of children, paternity, inheritance, land and criminal offences (Lodge 1988: pp.234-236). Cases which are unresolved at the Magistrate's Court can be taken up to the High Court.

A Land Court has now been incorporated and become part of a Magistrate's Court (Lodge 1988: pp.235-237). The sitting for land issues requires the assistance of *Kaitira* or local land advisors from different villages of the island who are supposed to be knowledgeable about land matters. Land issues are too complex and problematic for the Magistrate's Court to deal with, particularly when people disagree with the court's decision (Lodge 1988: pp.235-237, Corrin Care et al. 1999: pp.1-5). When this happens people can appeal to the High Court for interpretation of Land Codes by officers working in the Lands Office. The advice from officers of the Lands Department of the Ministry of Environment, Land and Agriculture often relies on slow and unsatisfactory responses which can consequently result in disputes and frustrations. All Magistrate's Court are supported by a court clerk of the Judiciary Department who is recruited and stationed on each island. The jurisdiction of the Magistrate's Court is limited to cases which carry penalties of less than five years' imprisonment or a monetary fine not exceeding AU\$3000 (Tsamenyi 1993: p.83).

Issues Faced by the Judiciary System in Kiribati

The legal and court system introduced in Kiribati is complex and there is a need for the government to provide better means of educating the people to understand its workings. Many people on the outer islands have limited knowledge about the law and court systems in the country. It has not been introduced in the school curriculum or promoted to the public in order for the people to better understand the basic concepts of the court systems. The lack of available information in both Kiribati and English languages is one of the factors which make people

unaware of the functions of complex court systems such as the High Court and Court of Appeal (Lodge 1988: pp.234-236). Other major barriers contributing to the handicaps of the judiciary system include shortages of qualified local lawyers and judges, the inefficient work of the Magistrate's Courts that create a backlog of legal work resulting in a large volume of appeals and petitions to the High Court, the continuous dependency on recruiting judges from overseas, and a variation in the mandate of the court where it not only deals with interpretation of the law but also acts as an arbitrator.

The long term goal for the judiciary system to be an independent institution by providing competent, efficient and effective judicial services to the country can be achieved by improving the issues which have been highlighted and continuously assessing the needs of the judiciary. Continued training and the promotion of laws and court systems through different media outlets can improve the knowledge of the people in using the judiciary services, which can contribute to the maintenance of order and stability in the society.

The Police and Prison Services

The police and prison services provide a significant role in keeping peace and promoting order and stability in the country. In the early days of colonisation, *Kabure* were recruited by British administrators to assist with island administration, maintain law and order and with the Magistrate's Court functions (Takaio 1984: pp.66-67). After independence, the police force gradually emerged as a respected department responsible for the country's security, detecting of crime, implementing of correctional services and carrying out other administrative functions.

People who are suspected of committing a crime are arrested, interviewed by the police and may be brought to a court trial. The demand for police services on the main island is greater than on the outer islands. Some of the tasks the police need to carry out on the main island include provision of overall security, assessment and preparation of case documents and presentation of cases in court trials; enforcement of the Traffic Act, Penal Code and By Laws; provision of road safety and traffic control and others. On the outer islands the role of the police is concentrated on law enforcement and crime detection. In most cases this is a routine matter; however, occasionally it can be very dangerous and challenging when village and family involvement in crimes can cause prolonged social disorder requiring extra police from the main island to control the situation and bring the offenders to justice. The police also have a judicial role by investigating and

interviewing offenders, reporting crimes and bringing an accused person to trial. Kiribati has no trial by jury and so court hearings are made based on evidence collected by the police and presented before the magistrate or judge (Lodge 1988: pp.233-237).

The country has three correctional prisons which provide assessment of prisoners and assist the Parole Board Committee with information on prisoners, provide rehabilitation services, and impose punitive actions and correctional services including community services and parole release. While correctional services are essential for reprimanding and rehabilitating prisoners the government may need to explore other avenues of rehabilitation that avoid excessive budgetary demands by utilising prisoners' skills and knowledge to help the community and generate income that could contribute to the management of prisons.

The crime rate on South Tarawa is increasing because of rapid urbanisation and the lack of social and economic opportunities on the outer islands (ADB 2008: pp.20-22). The increase in population in urban areas particularly with the younger people attracted from the outer islands, has resulted in an increase in social disorder (Teriba 2009: pp.1-2). There is a great need for the government and community to engage with youth and devise appropriate measures for meaningful work and leisure. The launching of a community policing scheme in the country in February 2008 is a proactive policing strategy that could enhance crime prevention and address the lack of technical and human resources (AusAID 2008).

The Executive

The executive is the constitutional organ of the state with the authority and responsibility to manage the country on a daily basis. It consists of the President, who is the Head of State and the Head of Government (Chapter IV, Part 1 of the Constitution), and the Vice President (Part II Section 39 of the Constitution). Part III of the Constitution requires the establishment of a Cabinet which shall consist of the President, the Vice President, eleven Ministers and the Attorney General. Kiribati's political system is a hybrid, combining aspects of a presidential system and the Westminster Model with very little adoption of traditional elements. Ieremia Tabai, the first President of the country, summed up the origin of the Kiribati public service as an institution, noting its important role in serving the government and the people.

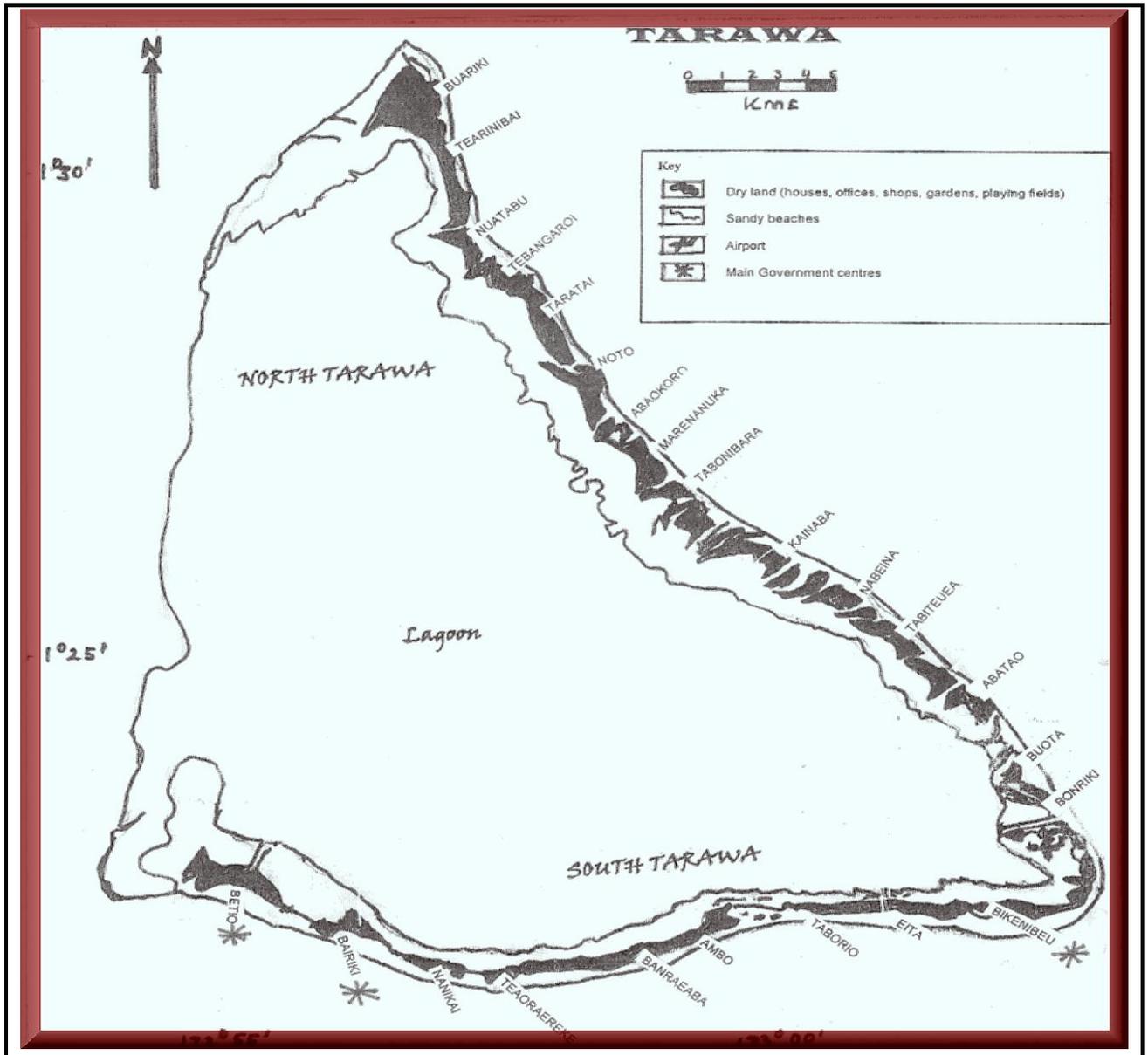
The Public Service is another important institution that contributes to the stability of our system of government. It is really a carbon copy of the British Civil Service, the basic feature of which is the principle that all those employed are expected to be politically neutral and to implement faithfully the policies of whatever Government is in power. In return, they are guaranteed employment until they retire, unless they are dismissed on disciplinary grounds. (Tabai 1993: p.317)

The ministerial structure commenced in 1978, one year before Kiribati gained independence (Tabai 1993: pp.316-317). Appendix A2 shows the three major bodies existing in the Kiribati public sector: the twelve government ministries, government agencies, and public enterprises and corporations. Appendix A3 outlines the functions of each government ministry while Appendix A4 shows the functions of government agencies, the judiciary and Parliament. Appendix A5 summarises the roles of public enterprises and corporations including their ownership status and the responsible ministry.

The National Government

The National Government in Kiribati operates at two levels, the central and local levels. The central government has a large public sector operating under the Constitution and various items of legislation. The Parliament is located at Ambo and most ministries are at Bairiki, Bikenibeu and Betio, all on South Tarawa. Local government is located on the outer islands as well as on South Tarawa (See Figure 4.6). Figure 4.7 shows the structure of the Central Government and the linkages with the Office of the President, Cabinet, Ministries and Local Government on the outer islands. Local Government exists on all inhabited islands in five districts: Northern Gilbert, Central Gilbert, Southern Gilbert, Banaba, and the Line and Phoenix Group.

Figure 4.6: Map of Tarawa Island



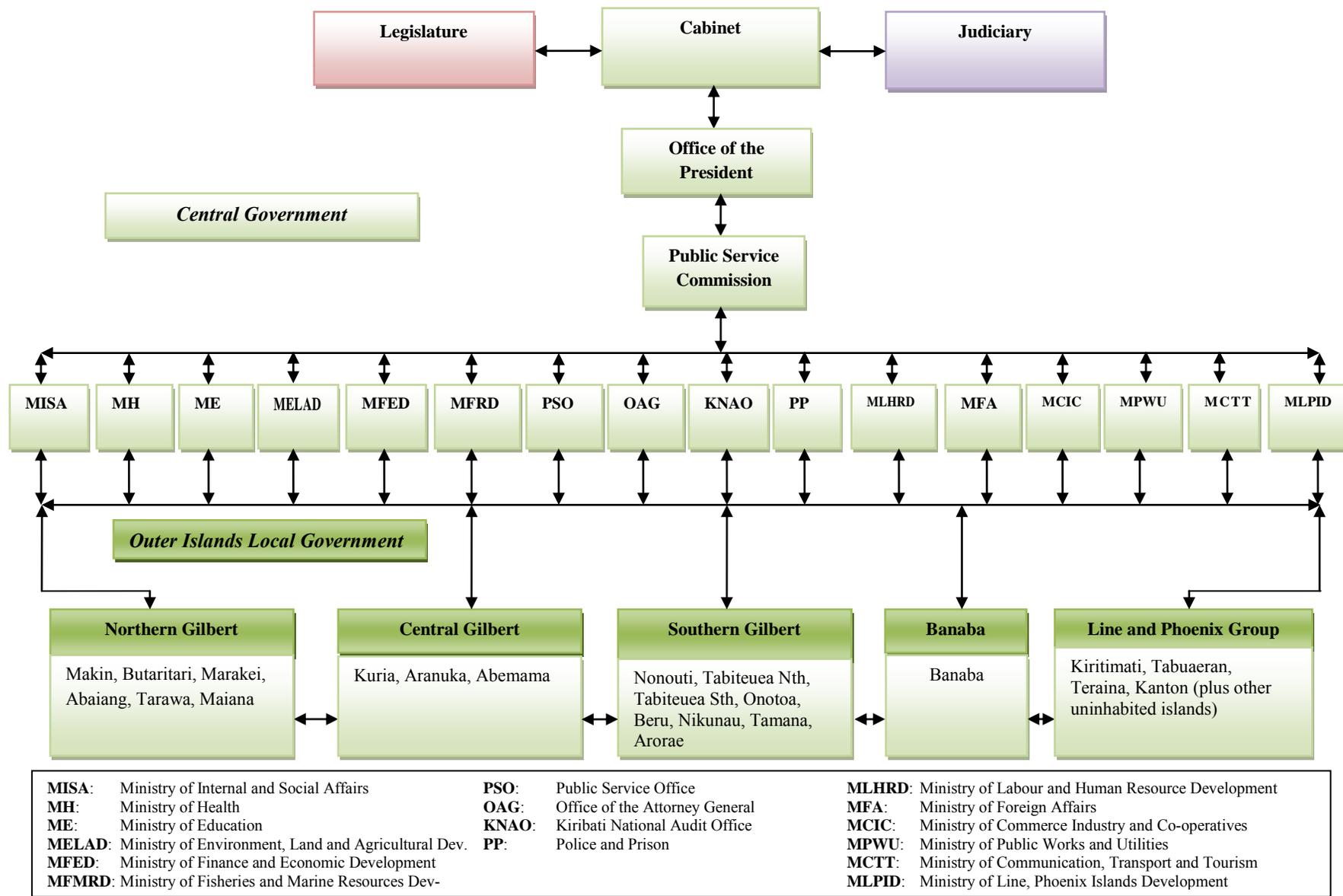


Figure 4.7: The Link between the Central and the Local Government

The functions of the executive are executed through its ministries, corporations and companies under their respective portfolios as highlighted in Appendices A3, A4 and A5. Government policies are reflected in the goals of the Kiribati Development Plan (KDP) which is formulated by ministries and other main stakeholders of the community, and coordinated by the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (KDP 2008-2011, 2008: pp.5-16). Cabinet has to endorse the KDP before it is presented to Parliament. The KDP is a four-year plan matching the life-span of an elected government. The permanent secretaries and staff of each ministry are expected to be non-political and carry forward the policies of the government while the ministers are responsible for relevant legislative action during parliamentary sessions and the execution of such policies, especially those involving the use of public resources.

The role of Cabinet is important in gaining the political confidence of the nation. This is achieved by monitoring the progress of implementing policies as well as in keeping attuned to political pressures and the impact of globalisation on the country's economic and financial resources. Reliable and timely intelligence supplied by police and other civil servants is essential in keeping Cabinet vigilant to changing events in governing the nation. Besides attending to the regular schedule of a government department, civil servants are required to provide policy advice to Cabinet by submitting papers through their ministers in the form of information or memorandum papers (Cabinet Guide to Procedure 2008: pp.1-10). Such papers inform Cabinet of the progress of significant activities and development projects while memorandum papers provide Cabinet with advice on government policies or critical undertakings required to be implemented. Memorandum papers often seek Cabinet's approval and endorsement for using public resources. The meetings of Cabinet, Secretaries and Heads of Departments are important forums to make and adjust policies and monitor their implementation. There have been accusations that in some instances Kiribati Cabinets have occasionally been preoccupied with matters of narrow political self- or party-interest rather than demonstrating a genuine concern for policies essential for the long term benefit of the country (Tabureka 2008: pp.3-4).

The Local Government

The Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs is responsible for the administration of local government throughout Kiribati. Local Government is the second tier of government and its affairs are conducted under the Local Government Act 2000. Councils are appointed from villages headed by a mayor elected from among members and are assisted by an appointed clerk the Chief

Executive Officer, assisted by a treasurer and project officer and other personnel. Major services on the outer islands such as education, health, police, prisons and transport links are administered by the national government while minor maintenance services for roads, government houses, village clinics and classrooms are co-funded by national and island governments. Revenue for local councils comes from taxes, fines and earnings from development projects plus an annual grant from the central government through the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs.

A major issue facing island governments is their heavy reliance on the central government to finance their operational budgets and development projects. People on the outer islands are mainly dependent on subsistence farming and fishing and have very limited scope to develop commercial activities (Tofinga 1985: pp.157-164). Copra is the only significant cash economic activity; however, international copra prices have declined in recent years. The central government subsidises this venture and also the prices for imported commodities. In order to increase commercial potential on the outer islands, training and promotion of commercial ventures is needed along with decentralisation by transferring manageable branches of government services to outer islands. Such a policy will also discourage centralised urbanisation in Tarawa and the abandoning of outer islands to undevelopment.

The isolation of the outer islands requires improved communications through the internet as a means of connecting to the outside world. Continued improvements in air and sea transport will enable better outer islander access to goods and services. To this end, people on the outer islands have prioritised the building of larger catamaran boats to efficiently serve inter-island links. Food security is fundamental to survival and healthy living and therefore people should be abreast with appropriate fishing and farming techniques to support their well-being. A well-nourished people are more likely to achieve political stability and sound governance.

Other Institutions

There are other institutions throughout Kiribati with informal links to central and local governments such as churches, women's associations, cooperative businesses, youth groups, sporting clubs, professional associations and cultural groups who assist their members and society with mutual support and economic welfare, especially in times of need. The government recognises registered institutions (Senior Local Government Officer 2010, pers. comm., 18 October) and those which cannot meet the criteria for registration can register with the Kiribati

Association of Non-Government Organisations (KANGO Membership 2009: p.10). These NGOs and volunteer groups are independent of government and seldom receive government support; however, they are a significant part of Kiribati civil society, making important contributions to community life.

Civil society in all its diversity is an empowering force providing welfare, education and security that a state cannot offer because government and its agencies always operate from political agendas, whereas civil society is seen to be less politically oriented and directly addresses the felt needs of people (Faulks 1999: pp.107-143). Furthermore, civil society fosters a cooperative atmosphere, understanding, neighbourliness, and can mobilise local knowledge and resources to solve problems. The I-Kiribati are already well endowed with the communal spirit of a good civil society which, if properly harnessed, will greatly benefit the country.

The Council of *Unimwane* is a significant association of elderly men on each island which make decisions for the welfare, economic development and security at village level (Tito et al. 1984: pp.13-14). A Council of *Unimwane* decides on matters of traditional custom, ceremonial activities, and participating in decision making with government officials on development projects. It is involved in peace making by mediating and settling conflicts between families or between villages on an island (Teiwaki 1983: p.170). The *unimwane* serves as a member of several organisations such as an island magistrate's court, school committee, island council, informal village associations, and as a participant at national government seminars or conferences (Tabokai 1985: pp.182-184). The role of the *unimwane* on the island is also recognised in modern politics because it can influence the election of an island representative to the Parliament, including the election of the President (Macdonald 1998: pp.30-31). For instance, before every election a candidate who wished to be elected as a representative from an island would usually visit the village *maneaba* during a campaign and ask the Council of *Unimwane* to encourage the people to vote for him or her. The Council of *Unimwane* from each island can also advise an elected member which faction to associate with in the Parliament. It demonstrates that, whatever developmental changes the government needs to bring to the people on an island, the Council of *Unimwane* is a significant body to be consulted with regard to island protocol. In time, the strengthening of an amalgamation of the Council of *Unimwane* with local government councils may be possible for a hybrid governance system on the outer islands.

The Elected Governments

The Tabai Government (1978-1990)

Figure 4.2 shows the parties in Government and Opposition 1978-2011 with the particulars of the transition of political power in Kiribati since independence. Sir Ieremia Tienang Tabai came from the Southern Gilbert Islands and held an Accounting and Administration degree from Victoria University, New Zealand. Before he joined politics, Tabai joined the public service in the early 1970s as an accountant in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. In the late 1970s, during the Naboua Ratieta Ministerial Government, Tabai became a prominent Leader of the Opposition, the National Progressive Party (NPP) (Van Trease 1993: pp.13-16). He overthrew the Ratieta government and held office in March 1978 as a Chief Minister, one year before the country gained independence.

In 1979, when the country gained independence, Tabai was sworn in as the first President of Kiribati in accordance with Chapter IV, Section 31 of the Constitution. This provision made Tabai's National Progressive Party legitimate and it continued to govern the country after independence. During his term of government, the legislature, executive and judiciary were in their formative stages, requiring strengthening with capable personnel. Tabai felt that laying the foundation for an independent nation was not an easy task (Van Trease 1993: pp.48-49). He maintained that major problems existed, arising from economic disadvantages and the legacy of lack of infrastructural development from the colonial period (Tabai 1993: p.310).

Tabai's success in leading the nation through difficult times from 1978 to 1990 is attributed to the principle of **self-reliance**, requiring restraint on high expectations and expenditure, promoting cost efficiency by public enterprises and sustaining culture and traditional subsistence lifestyles (Van Trease 1993: pp.49-52). Tabai's vigilance and self-reliance policy maintained the recurrent budget within AU\$35 million (US\$27 million) drawing on income from the RERF only as a last resort (Macdonald 1998: p.40). The Tabai Government's privatisation policy and the development of diplomatic ties with prospective partners also contributed to the philosophy of self-reliance and encouraged aid donors (Tabai 1993: pp.314-315).

Despite the Tabai Government's achievements, challenges arose mostly on the main island as a consequence of people's increased political awareness and a belief that the government had not fulfilled its promises (Tito 1993: p.337, Tabai 1993: pp.310-311). The people with such agendas

ignited controversies while the people on distant outer islands were oblivious to such political movements and continued their traditional subsistence lifestyles. A strike of members of the trade unions in 1980 for higher pay and better working conditions, resulted in a number of lost jobs by the strikers (Tabai 1993: p.310). The Government also faced unpopularity when there was a rally against the government's fishing agreement with Russia. It was argued that the government should not deal with the communist regime and that Kiribati's diplomatic ties with other democratic countries were jeopardised.

The opposition criticised the government's self-reliance policy, arguing it was a strategy favouring the professional elite rather than ordinary citizens such as copra-cutters (Tito 1993: p.336). These ideas raised people's expectations for change. The opposition party further argued for increased income generation and development projects on outer islands to balance perceived higher incomes and greater development on the main island. Despite the political turmoil, the Tabai Government managed to complete its full three terms, or twelve years, of governing the nation. However, Tabai was no longer eligible under the Constitution to be elected for a further term as the President of Kiribati.

Teannaki's Government (1991-1994)

Teatao Teannaki was from Abaiang Island in the Northern Gilbert Group, and before entering politics he worked with the government as an auditor for cooperative businesses. During his time working with the government, he undertook overseas training to professionally upgrade his skills and knowledge. He joined the National Progressive Party in 1970 and became a minister in the Tabai Government. He held other ministries, became the Vice President and eventually President in 1991 as leader of the National Progressive Party (Teannaki 1993: pp.305-306).

After the departure of Tabai, the National Progressive Party policies based on self-reliance became less popular and the Teannaki Government's performance during its term from 1991 to 1994 came under attack. Talu (1993: p.358) noted the ineffectiveness of the government resulting in many issues such as financial mismanagement and delaying of services to the outer islands, increasing inefficiency of public enterprises, the inability of the government to respond to increased demands of the people, and worsening inflation. The people's high expectation to have better living conditions were not realised, particularly for the younger generation, and contributed to the decline in support of the government's policy of self-reliance.

Macdonald (1998: p.41) comments that the Teannaki Government's ineffectiveness had resulted in the significant drop in aid received in the early 1990s. The Teannaki Government was consequently defeated in a vote of no confidence moved by the opposition in May 1994.

Tito Government (1994-2003)

Teburoro Tito was from Tabiteuea in the Southern Gilbert Islands but had been living on South Tarawa for most of his life. He graduated with a degree from the University of the South Pacific in Science and a Graduate Certificate of Education. In the early 1980s, he joined the Ministry of Education as a scholarship officer and later became an Education Officer for secondary schools. He entered politics in the late 1980s as one of the members from South Tarawa. Tito was an active member and became an opposition leader of the Christian Democratic Party which later became known as the *Maneaban te Mauri* Party.

Tito's Government came into power in September 1994 with a different policy platform (Macdonald 1998: p.41) based on *Kamauraon te I-Kiribati* or the 'improvement of the welfare of the people of Kiribati'. The Tito Government sought to stimulate growth that would touch the life of the people, especially low income earners on outer islands. His philosophy was that people could go beyond the subsistence level if the environment was conducive for better development. This policy helped Tito to win the presidential election.

The Tito Government took many initiatives to fulfil its promises. The EEZ was continually opened to allow licenced fishing by nations. In 2001, AU\$47 million was collected from fishing negotiations, the first time the nation had collected such a huge amount. This was partially associated with the issuing of licences for fishing rights in bold negotiations during the seasonal tuna migration in the Kiribati Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Furthermore, the US currency, used in the negotiations was very strong and doubled when converted to the Australian dollar. However, such amounts were fully spent on increases in personnel costs, a new parliament house and large subsidies for public enterprises (Kiribati National Development Strategies 2004: pp.4-5).

The selling of Kiribati foreign investor passports to Asian business people collected more than AU\$10 million by 2001 (Senior Immigration Officer 2009, pers. comm., October 25). The government allowed mainland China to build its satellite tracking station on the main island for a fee of AU\$700 000 annually: a controversial decision strongly taken up by the opposition party.

Between the years 2000 and 2002, a draw-down of AU\$12.6 million was made from the RERF to expand and continue the government's fiscal policy (Kiribati National Development Strategies 2004: pp.6-7). Another initiative was the establishment of the copra mill to encourage value adding in the production of copra oil to compensate for the rise in the copra subsidy. The level of free universal education was raised to Form Three at junior secondary schools (JSS) with shared funding from the government and AusAID.

In December 2002, in the general election, most of the ministers in the Tito Government were not re-elected (ABC Radio Australia Website 2003). The result of the election showed there were seventeen elected members for *Boutokan te Koaua* (the opposition party at the time), sixteen members for the President's *Maneaban te Mauri* Party and seven seats taken by independents. In February 2003, at the presidential election, Tito was narrowly re-elected. It was a difficult time for the Tito Government as it struggled to form a Cabinet for his final term, as non-government members mostly in the *Boutokan te Koaua* Party and the *Maurin Kiribati* Party, influenced their members not to join the Tito Cabinet. Consequently, in less than a month when Parliament resumed, the Tito Government lost a no-confidence vote.

Tong Government (2003-2011)

Anote Tong is from Maiana Island in the Northern Gilberts. He is a Bachelor of Science graduate from the University of Canterbury in New Zealand and has a Master of Science in Economics from the London School of Economics, Britain. Before joining politics in the early 1980s, he held several senior positions at the secretary level in the government before independence and also during the Tabai Government. He had also been the Director of the Atoll Research Unit of the University of the South Pacific based on South Tarawa. He was the Minister of Natural Resources Development under the Tito Government and later resigned from his ministerial portfolio and opted to join the *Boutokan te Koaua* Party.

In the Presidential election of July 2003, Anote Tong from the *Boutokan te Koaua* Party won the election against his two rivals; Harry Tong, his older brother, from the *Maneaban te Mauri* Party and Banuera Berina of the *Maurin Kiribati* Party. The Tong Government was a Coalition of the *Boutokan te Koaua* Party and the *Maurin Kiribati* Party, and it successfully completed its first term and he was re-elected for his second term in October 2007. However, the number of people who cast their vote in the presidential election was low compared to the total number of those who

were registered (Pacific Magazine Website 2007). Voting in Kiribati is not compulsory so the low voter turnout for the presidential election was attributed to the fact that all the candidates for the President were members of the coalition parties. Since there was no candidate from the opposition party, the *Maneaban te Mauri*, it was a ‘Hobson’s choice’.

The Tong Government came into power at a critical period when the country was facing environmental, economic and social problems (Kiribati Development Plan 2008: p.5). The Tong Government’s policy of ‘enhancing growth and ensuring equitable distribution’ has faced criticism of how such a policy could be fulfilled during this century’s greatest economic downturn, especially given Kiribati’s existing economic and social problems (The Kiribati Parliamentary Hansard 2005: pp.300-316). The difficulties have escalated with the dramatic increase in the population, fewer employment opportunities and diminution in the people’s participation in managing their own affairs (ADB 2002: pp.54-60). The growth of the youth population of the country presents a challenge for the future of the nation. The 2005 population census indicated 37 per cent of Kiribati population (92 533) are younger than 15 years of age and only 5 per cent are older than 60, which indicates the great need to provide essential services, notably in education, health and employment opportunities (Kiribati National Statistic Office 2007: pp.9-12).

Since 2003, the Tong government has contained the government’s expenditure and has tried to strengthen the economy despite severe economic constraints arising from devaluation of the US dollar, the steep rise in fuel prices, the decrease in the world copra price, interruptions in international flights and, the deterioration in the value of government assets (Kiribati Development Plan 2008: pp.7-16). The health of the Kiribati economy is clearly dependent on careful government economic policies and the impact of the global market economy.

While the Tong Government has had to face many challenges, the opposition has been able to criticise the government’s inability to generate more revenue to expand its fiscal policies. Its heavy reliance on excessive draw-down from the RERF during its first term in office is also widely condemned (The Kiribati Parliamentary Hansard 2005: p.315). The alarming amount of overdraft of the government from the Bank of Kiribati-ANZ, amounting to over AU\$30 million, to balance its budget deficit has been hotly debated in Parliament and has become a prominent issue in the media (Pacific Magazine Website 2006). Radio New Zealand International (2007)

confirmed that President Anote Tong was back in office for his second term and he had made the job market one of his top priorities.

We've got a very large number of young people coming out with good education. But unfortunately without employment, because our economy simply cannot provide that employment. (President Anote Tong, Radio New Zealand International 2007)

President Tong perceived the major difficulties facing Kiribati are creating jobs for the growing population, generating revenue for the running of the country, and the looming catastrophe from the effects of global warming. At the present time the Tong Government must find ways to generate sufficient income and manage resources properly and to cater for the needs of the increasing population. A population policy is also needed to help find this balance. The economy of Kiribati is limited and its environment is fragile so that excessive population pressure on the economy and environment is fraught with danger. (Neemia & Thaman 1993: pp.285-289, Kiribati National Statistics Office 2007: pp.81-84). Other strategies such as emigration and overseas employment could alleviate the problems but would require thorough planning and cooperation with other countries such as New Zealand and Australia. The Tong Government has been urged to find ways to meet the increasing expectations of the younger generation in education, health employment and entrepreneurial skills (ADB 2002: pp.59-60, ILO 2005: pp.1-2).

Tabai (1993: p.312) maintained that Kiribati could not rely on other countries to solve its problems. While the Tong Government may complete its third term of governing the nation, what is critical is how its policies could impact on the lives of the people and the development of the nation compared with previous governments.

Kiribati as a Member of the International Community

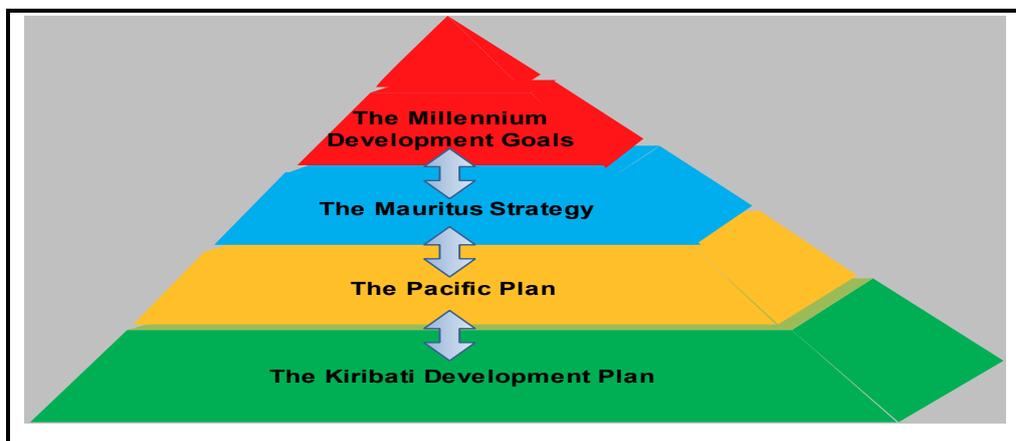
Kiribati is no longer an isolated island country as it has significant links and partnerships with other countries. Despite being one of the smallest and poorest nations in the world, since independence its leaders have established beneficial, selective diplomatic relationships through its foreign policies (Neemia 1993: pp.228-230). Kiribati currently has diplomatic relationships with more than forty countries, is a member of several regional and international agencies and has ratified several international conventions. Kiribati has been vocal at both regional and international forums regarding security and sustainable development. For instance, it has campaigned against nuclear testing, emission of greenhouse gases, exploitation of fisheries in

Western Central Pacific Waters, gill-net and bottom trawling fishing, human trafficking, terrorism, and women and child abuse and has recently been an advocate for sea-level rise and global warming (Climate Change Press Release 2011: pp.1-3, Neemia 1993: pp.229-230).

Kiribati is likely to continue to foster strong links with the international community by upholding the principles of democracy and practising good government, earning good-will in areas such as trade, education, research and exchange of ideas. All developing countries can benefit from such relationships in terms of drawing on expertise and financial assistance from the international community to strengthen their economy, manpower capacities, stability of the nation and welfare of the people.

Kiribati has enjoyed stability and maintained good relationships with the international community by formulating robust policies to govern the country and linking its policies to broader regional and international commitments (Kiribati Development Plan 2008: pp.5-15). These commitments are mostly related to important issues such as poverty reduction, sustainable development and good governance. These international commitments are briefly described in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Mauritius Strategy, the Pacific Plan and the Kiribati Development Plan 2008-2011.

Figure 4.8: Links between the International Conventions and the Kiribati Development Plan



(Source: After Kiribati Development Plan 2008)

The Millennium Development Goals

The MDGs is used by aid donors to guide their assistance to developing countries in order to eradicate poverty and improve the welfare of the people. Table 4.1 shows a summary of Kiribati performance towards the achievement of its MDGs. It demonstrates the country's strengths and weaknesses in different areas and also highlights the priorities which need to be tackled by the country to better able to facilitate the achievement of its MDGs.

Table 4.1: Kiribati MDGs performance in 2007

Goals/Targets	Will the Goals/Target be met?	State of the National Support
Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger Target: Halve the proportion of people living below the national poverty line and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger by 2015	Unlikely	Good
Goal 2: Achieve universal Primary education Target: Ensure that by 2015 children in the country, boys and girls will be able to complete full course of primary education	Likely	Strong
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empowerment of women	Unlikely	Weak but improving
Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality Target: Reduce by 2/3 between 1990 and 2015 the under five mortality rate	Potentially	Good
Goal 5: Improve maternal health Target: Reduce by ¾ between 1990 and 2015 the maternal mortality ratio	Potentially	Good
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS and TB Target: Halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and TB Potentially for TB	Unlikely for HIV/AIDS	Strong
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability Target: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into national policies and reverse the loss of environmental resources	Unlikely	Strong
Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development Target: Develop an open, rule based, predictable no-discriminatory trading and financial system, commitment to good governance, development and poverty reduction nationally and internationally	Potentially	Good

(Source: Republic of Kiribati Millennium Development Goals 2007)

Table 4.1 provides a snapshot of Kiribati's capacity to progress with the MDGs and shows achievement of Goal 2, universal primary and secondary education is likely with a strong commitment of the nation. The MDGs are potentially achievable are; Goals 4, 5, and 8 while Goals 1, 2, 6, and 7 are strongly supported but unlikely to be achieved according to the target year of 2015. The achievement of the MDGs requires strengthening of database infrastructure, formulating and implementing effective policies and involving the people in the commitment.

The Kiribati Development Plan

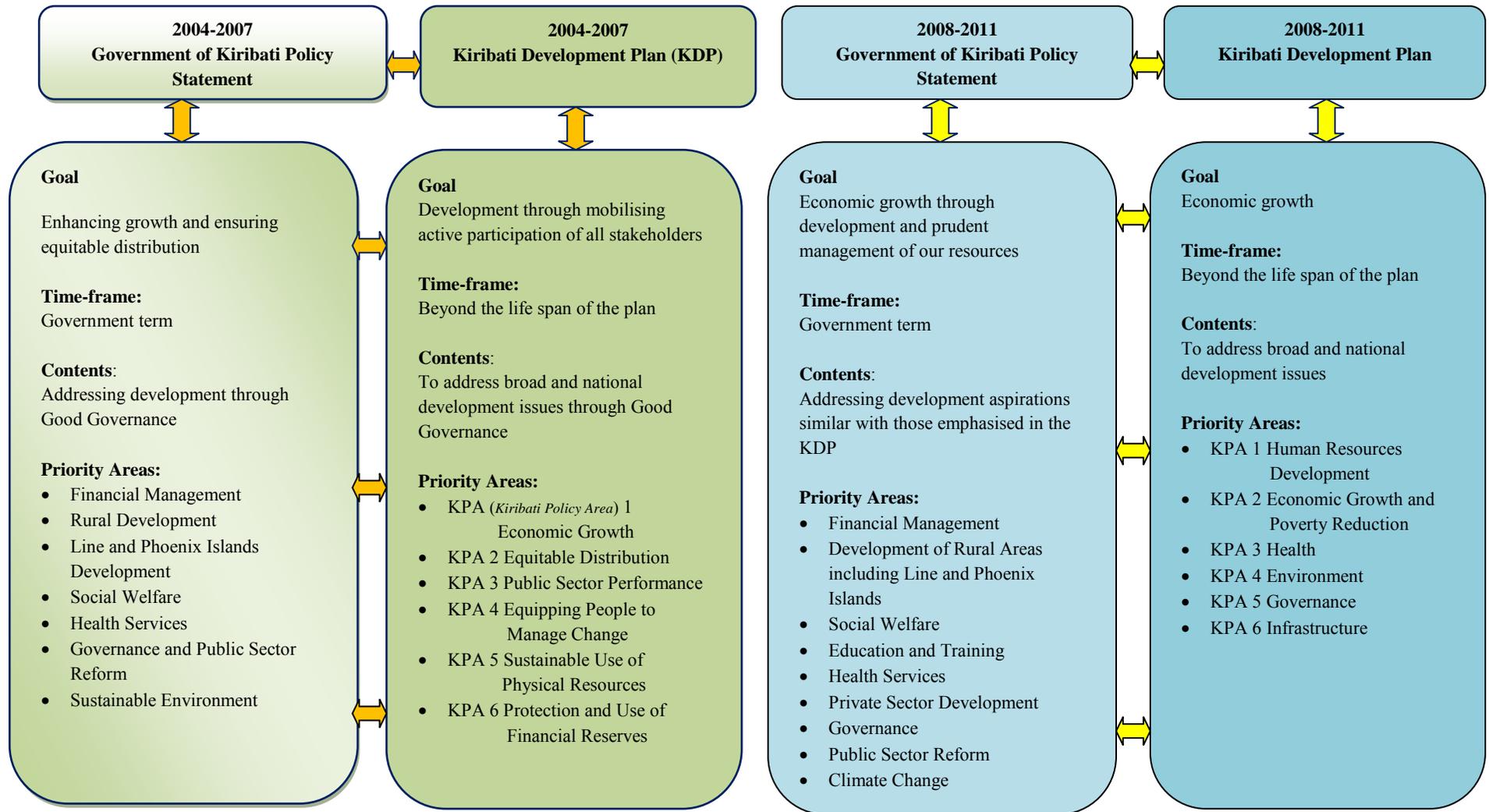
The Kiribati Development Plan (KDP) is based on the elected government's policy statement delivered to Parliament after assuming office. It tries to incorporate the targets of the MDGs which include the aspirations of the country and alleviating poverty. The Tong government was re-elected in September 2007 for its second term with a policy statement that people are the main asset of Kiribati and their lives can be improved through further development of their capabilities and the economy. The policy theme of the KDP 2004-2007 was *'Enhancing growth and ensuring equitable distribution'* which was amended in the KDP 2008-2011 to *'Enhancing economic growth for sustainable development'*.

Economic growth requires time and effort for Kiribati to achieve, and equitable distribution in its real sense is less likely to be achieved even in developed countries with stronger economies. The second policy statement implies a sustained period to achieve its goals. A policy statement is significant as a *'reference point'* in analysing the government's intentions and assessing its performance. The KDP 2008-2011 is the eighth development plan and follows the usual format by reviewing the performances of the previous plan, highlighting the achievements and issues that need to be addressed, and stating the links between the Government Policy Statement and significant regional and international conventions, including previous Kiribati Development Plans.

The KDP 2004-2007 had six key policy areas (KPA) which were priorities of the plan. The review of this KDP in the following KDP 2008-2011 indicated that, overall, the performance was reasonably satisfactory despite unclear indicators and lack of up-to-date data, along with limited achievements by ministries and public enterprises. Appendix A6 briefly summarizes the review of the KDP 2004-2007. The review also drew attention to the inevitability of international issues affecting Kiribati development, consequently the country had to widen its horizons and take a global perspective on many matters.

Figure 4.9 shows the linkages and changes between the Government Policy Statements to the Kiribati Development Plans and compares policy areas for the development plans in 2004-2007 and 2008-2011. Governance is a priority in the KDP which shows the commitment of Kiribati to strengthening the country with principles and practices of good governance. The extent to which the KDP meets the people's aspirations and the targets of international plans, such as the MDGs, depends on the performance of the government, the availability of resources for implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and the global economic and political climate.

Figure 4.9: Government Policy Statement and the Kiribati Development Plan, 2004-2007 and 2008-2011



(Source: After Kiribati Strategic Plan 2004-2007, KDP 2008-2011)

Economic Issues

The key feature of the Kiribati economy is the domination of the government in both the ownership and management of economic activities (ADB 2002: pp.72-73) resulting from its history of colonialism and independence. The government's management of the large public sector, that provides essential services and employs two thirds of the workforce, requires a huge allocation in the budget (Kiribati Budget 2011: pp.72-80) Domination of the economy by the government, coupled with poor regulatory systems, and other environmental and social constraints has produced an economic environment unfavourable for private businesses, resulting in slow growth of the private sector and the reluctance of foreign companies to invest in the country.

However, given the small scale of Kiribati, the very limited economic opportunities and a culture of equality rather than competition, the question remains as to whether there are many more viable opportunities for private sector activities in the country. Transport costs alone make most economic activities on the outer islands unviable.

Kiribati governments to date have seen no alternative to the public sector provision of nearly all of the services in the country, including the creation of employment, utilisation of the nation's resources and the production of goods and services for the people. The public sector continues to lack direction and accountability, and suffers from the low calibre of leading public servants who can efficiently provide services to the people (Lawrence 1992: pp.289-296, ADB 2002: pp.78-79). The public sector needs to promote best working practices, become competitive and produce quality outputs. Employees need to be appointed and rewarded on merit, and held accountable when under-performing.

The government should stimulate privatisation and, if possible, dispense with unproductive public enterprises. As a facilitator of private economic development, government could avoid a conflict of interest in trying to serve the people and while having ownership of all public enterprises. Government fears that privatisation will have a negative impact by creating an economic gap within the population. However, government should continue to provide core services for the public, strengthen business regulatory measures and impose higher taxes on wealthier individuals.

The need for political policy change aimed at strengthening the economy through improving the rule of law and promoting property rights can also facilitate private sector development (Toatu

2003: pp.11-20). The average annual export income is AU\$10 million while the imports often exceeds AU\$80 million (Kiribati Budget 2009: pp.2-5). The impact of the trade deficit on the economy demonstrates the weakness of the private sector and the need for the government to stimulate entrepreneurial activity in Kiribati.

The marine resources of the country need to be exploited for commercial purposes within the current international standards. Local producers need to value add and improve the quality and volume of ocean products exported. Subsistence farming, mostly in the outer islands, should be maintained and improved to encourage commercial production of nutritious local crops such as breadfruits, banana, babai or taro, coconut, pandanus and vegetables and thus avoid dependence on expensive processed imported foods, which can be sold in Tarawa. The promotion of tourism needs to be encouraged by improving infrastructure and training local people in hospitality, catering and ecotourism. Government stimulation of local private industries will avoid heavy reliance on the Revenue Equalisation Reserve Fund (RERF), international fishing licences, and seamen's remittances.

The RERF is a reserve fund established from the earnings of war relics and from taxation of the British Phosphate Company which ceased in 1979 (Toatu 1993: pp.183-185). The fund has grown enormously from AU\$70 million in 1979 to an estimate of AU\$580 million in 2011, despite fluctuations and increasing draw-downs since independence of at least AU\$200 million (Kiribati Budget 2011: pp.1-3). Originally it was managed by the Crown Agents of Britain and later by James Capel and Co. In the mid 1990s half of the fund was given to Nicam (NIKKO) based in London to manage. The two fund managers were overseen by a fund custodian, the State Street, an Australian firm (Senior Economist Investment 2010, pers. comm., October 20). This was a strategy to motivate fund managers to strategically diversify the funds in different currencies and investments, and to submit regular reports to the Kiribati Reserve Fund Committee of the Ministry of Finance. The RERF is mainly used by withdrawing its interest in order to balance the government's fiscal budget. Given inflation, managing the RERF over the last thirty years and utilising it in the most effective ways for the development of the nation are issues raised by Members of Parliament and the wider population. As an example of good and prudent governance, management of the RERF stands out as a shining example from a very resource-poor country.

Licensing foreign fishing vessels to fish in Kiribati waters has provided the government with another significant source of income (Tikai 1993: pp.168-169). Kiribati is not able to harvest and

process the tuna resources and provide surveillance over its 3.5 million sq km EEZ, therefore the government has opted to license foreign fishing vessels (Tikai 1993: pp.176-180). The major countries that have fishing licenses to operate in Kiribati's waters are Japan, Taiwan, the United States of America, the European Union and China (Mamautari 2009: p.5). Annually, the government collects at least AU\$20 million which is mainly used to support the government's operational budget. Kiribati can rely on the tuna resources if its EEZ is well managed. Neighbouring developed countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, are likely to be able to assist Pacific Islands countries in developing their capacities to better manage their offshore fisheries rather than allowing distant nations to exploit the region's tuna resources. In the immediate future, rigorous surveillance of licence holders and their activities is essential to ensure sustainability of Kiribati's ocean resources. The case study in Chapter 10 discusses the management of oceanic and coastal fisheries.

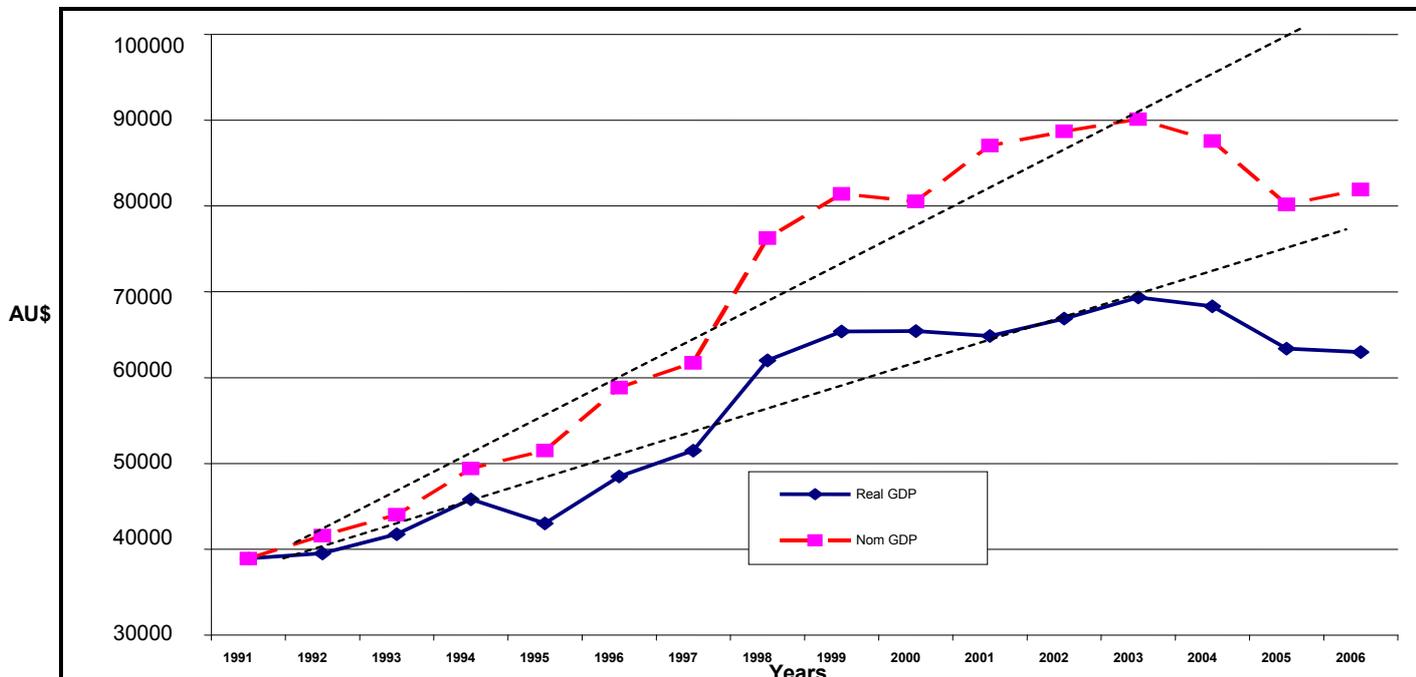
Seamen's remittances also play a significant role in balancing the country's budget. There are 829 I-Kiribati seamen working on eight merchant vessels of the South Pacific Marine Services (SPMS) Company, and these seamen have contributed AU\$10-15 million per annum to their families (Mauri Newspaper 2009: pp.1-3). However, the incidences of drug trafficking by the I-Kiribati seamen have been increasing and this calls for vigorous intervention by government before it jeopardises the future employment of the I-Kiribati young men. It is a situation that demonstrates the impact of monetisation on traditional societies, resulting in a desperate desire by young men to make quick and easy money. Many young I-Kiribati men come from a cultural background that still lacks the knowledge and skills in managing money as a commodity of exchange in the modern world.

Other major sources of income from the customs and taxation are significantly decreasing due to the limited number of capable employees and the out-dated and ineffective systems employed in the two divisions (Kiribati Public Finance Management Plan 2011: pp.1-26). These problems had aggravated a laxity in checking goods ordered into the country and not pursuing cases of non-compliance through the courts. The result is the decline in revenue collection from the two divisions of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.

In recent times, the economic base of Kiribati has been adversely affected by factors such as the global economic down-turn, high fuel costs, the decline in world copra prices, great distances from world market centers, deterioration of government assets including public infrastructure, and

high subsidies and poor performance of public enterprises (Kiribati Development Plan, 2008: pp. 19-24).

Figure 4.10: Kiribati GDP Structural Break: 1991-2006



(Source: Ministry of Finance and Economic Development 2006)

Economic growth between 1991 and 2006 in Kiribati is shown in Figure 4.10 as real GDP and nominal GDP values. Real GDP refers to the value of finished goods and services that have been adjusted for price changes while nominal GDP is GDP unadjusted for price changes. The dotted straight regression lines shown on the graph refer to the average or expected value of GDP during this period. The records indicate periods when the economy was booming, shown by GDP values above the regression line, while there are periods in which the economy was performing poorly, indicated by GDP values below the regression line. The recession periods were between the years 1994 and 1997, and 2003 and 2006. Even though the country's GDP shown in Figure 4.10 is not up-to-date, the growth of the economy up to 2011 drastically declined from the effect of the global recession. The boom and recession periods are the results of many interrelated economic factors, both internal and external to the Kiribati economy.

Social Issues

Social issues are increasing in Kiribati resulting from an explosion in the population, the disparity in economic opportunities, the increased dependence on a cash economy, and the unrealistic expectations of the younger people in particular (ADB 2002: pp.56-61). In the pre-colonisation period, people were dependent on family ties and the communal system in sharing food and shelter and other needs (Tito et al. 1984: pp.19-24). People have abandoned their subsistence lifestyles on the outer islands and migrated to urban areas in search of a so-called ‘better lifestyle’ through employment opportunities based on the cash economy. Parents send their children to relatives on Tarawa for a better education so communication between parents and their children breaks down due to the isolation of scattered islands. Youths who stay with relatives on Tarawa experience the freedom to associate with their peers in boarding schools and other activities which, in many instances, has resulted in behavioural problems such as drinking, expulsion from school and early pregnancy.

The early drop-out rates from secondary schools for personal reasons, expulsion or weak academic performance are increasing and raise concerns. Another vexed issue arises from the increasing numbers of graduates from secondary schools and tertiary institutions unable to find employment. Creating job opportunities to utilise graduates’ knowledge and skills depends on an expanding economy. Simultaneously, the school curriculum has to offer relevant knowledge and life experiences which can prepare students to take on their roles as employable citizens in contemporary Kiribati society. Work experience accompanied by mentoring and careers programs and the link of the government with the international community may assist the youth in finding satisfying employment.

South Tarawa is rated as one of the most heavily crowded areas in the world even when compared with city-states such as Singapore (Kiribati National Statistic Office 2007: pp.1-2). The population density on South Tarawa is 2,558 people per sq.km which may be contrasted with the population density of Kiritimati island, the biggest island in Kiribati, which has only 13 people per sq.km (Kiribati National Statistic Office 2007: pp.2-4). Such high population density on South Tarawa is a consequence of the imbalance in the development and life prospects existing between the outer islands and urban, South Tarawa.

Employment opportunities and so-called ‘better life prospects’ on the main island are ‘pull factors’ that continuously attract people to migrate to urban South Tarawa. Rapid urbanisation can create many social and health problems which are exacerbated by inadequate services and the fragile nature of the environment. Kiribati is a nation of atolls and Tarawa, along with the rest of the country, has an environment lacking the resources to support a large population (Neemia & Thaman 1993: pp.287-289). Shortage of land coupled with limited government housing has produced overcrowding, while living in large extended families on Tarawa has resulted in health and sanitation problems. Declining physical exercise and dependency on imported processed foods with less consumption of natural foods such as fruit, vegetables and root crops has resulted in increased obesity, diabetes, high blood pressure and stroke. Water and sanitation issues are often a problem in crowded family situations, particularly when these services are not functioning properly.

The Human Development Index of the UNDP ranks Kiribati eleventh out of fourteen Pacific Island countries while globally it ranks one hundred and twenty seconds which indicates poor health and low development (UNDP Kiribati Country Profile 2011: pp.1-3). Infant mortality and child morbidity are still rated high, and access to clean water and sanitation facilities is a persistent problem. These indicators are consistent with the result of the assessment of Kiribati’s Millennium Development Goals performance for the year 2010. While basic development indicators for health, education and life expectancy are improving, there is much more to be done by the government and the people to improve those social factors. Idleness and roaming around on Tarawa by the youth are contributing to drunken behaviour, break-ins, violence, prostitution and even deaths. The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs, NGOs and the Police Service have promoted community participation for people to take responsibility for their health and to avoid lawlessness in the society.

When the I-Kiribati men obtain employment on Tarawa or overseas, many difficulties are faced by spouses and children left behind on the outer islands. In the absence of the men from the families, their roles have to be taken by the mother and older siblings. Communication from an isolated outer island to Tarawa and to overseas is very difficult and can result in feelings of neglect and loneliness by all concerned, which obliges the community, church and welfare agencies and the government to provide succour. The remittances received by families on the outer islands are not adequate to meet daily living expenses because it can be shared among extended families or given for church and cultural contributions such as birth, marriage and death.

Long periods of separation often result in the break-up of marriages with the family members experiencing relationship problems. The continuation of extended family and communal support remain a refuge for families in difficulties.

Since it is not possible to live entirely a traditional lifestyle, the people of Kiribati need to learn how to cope with the changes brought by monetisation and globalisation and to be equipped with appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes that will enable them to face new life challenges. The government's structure and systems should be proactive in embracing changes. Involving people in programs that will equip them to face social, economic and political issues in contemporary Kiribati society is essential in the modern era. Strengthening of good governance is fundamental for Kiribati to face the challenges in this 21st century.

Corruption

In most developing countries, including Kiribati, corruption continues to exist partly because people, including leaders, regard the government as a public property that is open to abuse. Corruption is commonly recognised as an act that is dishonest, fraudulent, morally depraved or an abuse of power for personal gain (Harrison 2007: pp.672-674, Wei 1997: pp.7-9). Corruption in Kiribati is often associated with the improper conduct of elected officers and public servants. MacKenzie (2004: p.10) pointed out that while there is no direct translation of the word corruption, in Kiribati, traditional words such as *babakanikawai*, *kamango* or *aonikai* clearly reveal unacceptable and dishonest behaviour intended to do things in a devious way to benefit relatives and friends. I-Kiribati can sometimes generalise the concept of corruption as *te kimoa*, literally meaning *the rat* or an act of stealing. In other countries in the Pacific Region, such as in Vanuatu, the word 'corruption' is used when referring to people's conduct within the introduced political system rather than the general population and their traditional leaders (Newton et al 2004: p.14).

Common Types of Corruption in Kiribati

Corruption can generally be categorised as either grand or petty corruption. Grand corruption often involves authorities' abuse of power by making secretive illegal agreements with multinational companies and business people in exchange for favourable concessions (Pope 1996: pp.121-125). Policy corruption is another form of grand corruption which the World Bank refers

to as *state capture*, where the policies or laws are made to suit the interests and benefit of a minority group (Hellman, et al. 2000: pp.7-16), for instance, legislation can be made to maintain a ruling party in office, or to benefit powerful interest groups. In certain circumstances, policy corruption in the Pacific Islands is deceitfully crafted by authorities in a way that it is not evident to the understanding of the general public.

Petty corruption may involve payment or gifts to officials for the purpose of deviating from the law or corrupting the decisions of those in authority for personal benefit (Drury, et al. 2006: pp.122-125). It is common in Kiribati and is evident in nepotism and bribery (Mackenzie 2004: p.10). Nepotism is a form of favouritism recognised as an act of giving unfair advantages to relatives, friends, members of a church or a political party. Those who hold senior positions in government are often accused of favouring their relatives for recruitment, promotion and access to overseas training. Cases of nepotism occur from time to time in the public service and NGOs such as the churches.

Nepotism was alleged in May 2006 when the Kiribati Parents' and Teachers' Association petitioned government demanding the sacking of those involved in sending eighteen ineligible students to study degree courses at the University of the South Pacific (USP) while better qualified students were allocated places at the USP extension center to undertake their courses extramurally. It was alleged that the students who were sent to USP were related to senior public servants (Radio New Zealand International, 2006). Another case of alleged nepotism occurred in the late 2000s at the Fisheries Training Center (FTC) where one of the instructors released a copy of a test paper to his relatives before the candidates sat an entry exam (T.Kwong FTC Instructor 2009, pers. comm., October 20).

Corruption occurs in the form of bribery, which is giving, receiving or demanding anything of value directly or indirectly with a dishonest or illegal motive for personal gain (Mackenzie 2004: pp.10-11). Some of the incidences of bribery occurring in Kiribati are perverting those in a position of trust by enticing them with gifts or money to do things for an individual's personal benefit. For instance, customs and police officers accept bribes because of their low wages, their dependence on money in order to live in Tarawa and also to meet cultural obligations to support their extended families (Mackenzie 2004: pp.10-11). There are also a number of undocumented bribery cases where members of the public paid extra money or provided gifts to public servants

in order to receive special treatment, for instance, to hasten the processing of an application, to obtain a signature or for the supply of a fraudulent birth certificate or qualifications.

Political bribery in the form of vote buying is also common in Kiribati, especially when an election is approaching. However, it is sometimes difficult to identify political bribery especially under the Kiribati custom of *mweaka* which requires people visiting a *maneaba* to offer gifts. To limit the effect of this custom, Section 3 of the Electoral Ordinance was amended in October 2002 and specifically stipulates that *‘mweaka, moanei or ririwete, in accordance with Kiribati traditions and customs, the giving away or offering of a gift of a block of tobacco containing 30 sticks of tobacco and not weighing more than 500g or its equivalent in cash of not more than \$20.00 or such other higher figure as inflation may allow’* (Mackenzie 2004: pp.10-14). Gift offering and the practice of reciprocity is a custom that can corrupt the minds of people who are obliged by tradition to reciprocate a gift offering with favourable voting.

Embezzlement is financial fraud which is prevalent in Kiribati, particularly by employees such as accountants and account clerks (Mackenzie 2004: pp.10-11). Sometimes it involves public servants and employees working in NGOs. In the Kiribati High Court Criminal Case 42 of November 2008—*the Republic versus Tekiera Mwemwenikeaki*, a loans officer at the Development Bank—Tekiera was found guilty of embezzlement for keeping the amount of AU\$1220 paid to him by Tiaon and Tatereta who had sought a loan for their fishing boat. Also in High Court Criminal Case 49 of December 2008—*The Republic versus Robuti and Teiwaki*—both men were accused of embezzlement in 2005 when they were employed at the Solar Energy branch on the outer islands. However, because of the unreasonable delay of the proceedings of about three years, the case was suspended. Embezzlement is usually motivated by greed or the urgent need for money to meet personal commitments.

Causes of Corruption

Corrupt behaviour was strictly discouraged in traditional Kiribati society. This can be attributed to the ownership of the land by the people, a subsistence lifestyle and hard work which are necessary to produce basic needs from the sea and land. Traditionally, people had low material expectations compared with those of modern generations in Kiribati. Individuals were expected to behave responsibly and work hard to contribute to their family and the community's welfare. Serious deviations from such norms resulted in expulsion from the community or even a death penalty. The concept of money as a medium of exchange did not exist and barter was the only means for

trading goods and services. The strong Kiribati value of upholding the family's reputation and avoiding corrupt acts such as stealing also contributed to acceptable behaviour in traditional society.

With the adoption of a modern lifestyle based on a cash economy and the exposure to western culture, people developed different attitudes, some viewing corrupt actions as acceptable. For instance, some people are willing to act corruptly in government because they perceive the state as a kind of property owned by nobody and therefore it could be abused for personal gain. The adaptation of Kiribati customs to the modern governing system has also caused problems of demarcation of appropriate traditional practices within modern governance. It appears that, in Kiribati, the cause of much corruption is related to the adoption of a modern lifestyle based on a cash economy exacerbated by the weakness of government institutions in fighting crime and mal-administration.

There has been a misuse of the Kiribati custom of *bubuti*, or request, by those who wish to stand for parliamentary election, whereby candidates can offer campaigning payments or other in-kind items to constituents, claiming that the offerings are in response to their requests. It is evident that this kind of practice can corrupt the decisions of voters and undermine the electoral process. The high cost of living in Kiribati has made it difficult for many public servants on a modest salary to meet financial commitments and support a reasonable lifestyle, resulting in temptations to fill the gap through bribery or embezzlement. Also, the authorities have failed to strengthen ethical procedures in the public service as a means of counteracting mal-administrative practices. For instance, an unaccounted AU\$20 to \$30 million worth of payment shown in the Auditor General's report in 2000 demonstrates that proper accounting procedures were not enforced (PIFS Good Leadership Report Kiribati 2008: pp.49-51) The question is whether the unaccounted money was actually lost or is the result of poor accounting records. There is a common mentality in Kiribati that the state is a 'property' open to public abuse by employees.

Impact of Corruption

Corruption can have an adverse effect on the social, economic and political life of the country. Socially, corruption can undermine the performance of a government and lead to loss of trust by citizens in state institutions. This may weaken essential services and reduce the quality of life. Economically, corruption can tarnish the reputation of a country internationally and dissuade investors and aid agencies from providing development assistance. Loss of government revenue

from corrupt practices will retard economic activity and adversely affect services such as education and health. Corruption of financial institutions such as banks, insurance and business firms will lower employment opportunities and provision of capital for housing, roads and other infrastructure. In political terms, corruption can undermine democracy by perverting the political system, weaken law enforcement and national defence, and erode state effectiveness and good governance. Corruption is ubiquitous and citizens need to be alert and report instances to authorities. They need to be involved in opposing corruption through public awareness and education.

Politically, corruption can undermine democracy and the political system, state effectiveness and good governance by weakening the law and formal processes. Those who can do things by escaping the law can destabilise the systems and also provide a bad example for others to follow. This in turn can gradually result in a self-serving kind of attitude rather than serving for the public which can erode the legitimacy of the state to manage the country. As stated earlier, it appears that corruption has commonly occurred in government sectors and therefore citizens have to be informed and become involved in fighting against corruption. They need to understand what actions or activities constitute corruption, report corruption to authorities and be involved in campaigning against corruption through public awareness and education.

While corruption occurs in almost every government, including Kiribati, there seems to be an understanding by international bodies, such as the World Bank that the level of corruption in Kiribati is not devastating compared to corruption in some countries in the Asia-Pacific region and African nations. For example, the offer by the World Bank to turn a loan of about AU\$8 million (RMAT June issue 2010: pp.2-3) to a grant for road rehabilitation on South Tarawa, and providing another grant of about AU\$3 million to assist Kiribati with the payment of shipping costs for the transportation of food items from Tarawa to the outer islands and shipping grown agricultural produce from the outer islands to Tarawa (RMAT May issue 2011: p.2), demonstrates the World Bank's trust in the manner in which the Kiribati Government manages development aid. However, there is still a need for the government and the people to work together and promote ethical conduct in the public service and to discourage corruption.

Lowering the Level of Corruption

The prevalence of corruption in the Kiribati public service indicates inadequate monitoring and accountability of performance. The ethos in the Kiribati public service should foster well qualified staff who are efficient, diligent and have a high level of professional and social skills. Laziness and negligence should not be tolerated. In order to maintain high standard of efficiency, rigorous external assessments of performance should be built into recruitment and promotion procedures as well as regular monitoring of permanent officers. Inefficient and unethical mal-administration should incur punitive measures while incentives can be employed to fast track high performers.

The Human Resources and Personnel Department should set high criteria and enforce standards for recruitment and performance. Recruitment procedures for the public service should be strengthened to ensure only well qualified and talented applicants are appointed. Interviews and tests need to be professionally conducted and all appointments should involve a probationary period under close supervision. New appointments should be required to demonstrate an understanding of employment conditions and the code of conduct.

The exercise of power in the public service requires checks and balances. For instance countersigning by senior officers for all purchase orders for government goods and services is essential as is following the provisions of the Procurement Act. Negotiations related to the development and harvesting of the countries resources, such as fisheries, should involve senior officers from the Attorney General's Office and the Ministries of Finance and Environment. Moves by the Ministry of Fisheries in this direction are likely to curb bribery by distant fishing nations and will strengthen Kiribati's negotiators. Privatisation of some services and trade is also a way to limit the power of public servants; however, safeguards need to be in place to protect people from corrupt profiteering.

Reporting corruption can be encouraged by strengthening oversight agencies, especially in the audit office, parliament and public service. The establishment of an anti-corruption agency, such as an office of ombudsman, is desirable to inhibit abuse of bureaucratic power while whistle-blowers could also be afforded protection under such an agency. Sanctions can be employed to lower levels of corruption such as withholding interest from superannuation or even black-listing offenders for employment. Reforms in the public service and the judiciary to encourage efficiency and effectiveness can also be a deterrent to corruption.

The fight against corruption is a collective responsibility of government, business, NGOs and the people. Apparently in developing countries this important role is left to elected officials and public servants. Employing the checks and balances found in progressive democracies is unfamiliar to most I-Kiribati so the education system and on-the-job training have a major task to redress this problem. A good starting point would be for a modification of the senior social science syllabus to include an understanding of causes, impacts and remedies for corruption. Conducting leadership workshops for citizens is another way to fight corruption and could entail the formation of watchdog committees to put surveillance into the public arena.

The media has a major role in exposing corruption, as was illustrated in April 2008 when suspected corruption was reported in newspapers in Kiribati involving the Minister for Communications, Transport and Tourism. The Minister removed the Board of Directors of the government-owned Kiribati Shipping Services Ltd. (KSSL) for rejecting the purchase of *Mataraoi*, an old and unseaworthy ship owned by a former Member of Parliament from Nonouti Island. The Minister then appointed a new Board which purchased the ship for AU\$500 000. This decision was contrary to the Procurement Act and the payment was claimed to be a corrupt action by the Minister (PIFS Good Leadership Report Kiribati 2008: pp.39).

The role of the media in opposing corruption can be improved by providing better training of journalists to expose wrongdoing and to undertake courageous, professional, investigative journalism. Journalists with such character and skills are rare in most countries. Freedom of the press in Kiribati seems to be limited, especially in the Broadcasting and Publication Authority (BPA) which is a major source of information for the people about affairs in the country via radio and newspaper. This was evident in the case of a newly graduated journalist from the University of the South Pacific who was dismissed from the BPA in 2006 for reporting an outstanding advance loan for government services held by the Auditor General worth more than one million US dollars (Korauaba 2007: pp.35-37). The journalist concerned refused to reveal the source of his information. The government maintained that a journalist has to work within the limit of the BPA Ordinance, implying that the journalist was not supposed to report corrupt acts (Korauaba, 2007: pp.35-38). Article 12 of the Constitution deals with freedom of the press; however, in reality, the government of the day controls the role of the BPA by censoring items that would disclose corrupt actions by government. Corruption can be a secretive business practised by an elite group of politicians and public servants but it is through the freedom of the press and the professionalism of journalists that corruption can also be publicly revealed.

Conclusion

The post-independence period saw the transition from traditional village and island political networks to a western democratic political system which is based on the provisions of the Constitution. The main topics analysed here relate to difficulties faced in adopting and managing the new system of governance. Inevitably, mismatches have occurred between the traditional and modern ways arising from the natural environment, social, economic and political circumstances in Kiribati.

The government needs to drive essential changes, politically, economically and socially and continually work with the people to find better ways to address problems. Educating and involving the people in the new democratic political system is essential to avoid them being alienated. The notion of adopting and adapting changes is crucial for the I-Kiribati as this is the only possible way to survive in the modern era. Kiribati society can no longer isolate itself but must embrace change and be part of the international community.

In order for Kiribati to move forward to become a strong nation in the 21st century, a number of changes appear necessary both in running the government and involving the people. Education and training is an important sector to be improved as it can prepare people for necessary changes. Kiribati's commitment to ratify international conventions such as the Millennium Development Goals and linking its programs to the Kiribati Development Plan, is evidence of progress. Strengthening the important Constitutional organs the legislature, executive and judiciary, is significant for good government. Tightening law enforcement and improving government institutional systems to avoid inefficiency and corruption are major areas for attaining good governance. Increasing political awareness and involving the people in governing their affairs will contribute to strengthening the nation's democracy in the modern era.

CHAPTER 5: AID DONORS IN KIRIBATI

Introduction

Chapter 4 was an analysis of how the I-Kiribati have adopted and adapted the new democratic political government system and demonstrated the kinds of issues and successes the country went through. The prevalent issue highlighted throughout the chapter was how the government and main stakeholders of governance can work together to enhance governance. This chapter focuses on analysing aid donors' assistance in strengthening governance in Kiribati. It discusses the aid policies and approaches of aid donors and how they have been changed over three decades from the 1980s. A critique is provided for each aid donor regarding their policies and process in providing aid and in particular, to Kiribati. The concept of governance is discussed, particularly how it has been incorporated in aid donors' policies. The analysis of approaches to delivering aid to Kiribati focuses on the significant sectors which are assisted by aid donors for the improvement of good governance in the first decade of the 2000s.

Aid Policies and Approaches of Aid Donors

The provision of aid to developing countries such as Kiribati can be viewed according to the interests of aid donors or the needs of aid recipient countries. Commentators (Lai 2003: pp.103-115, McMahon 1991: pp.134-137, MacKinlay & Little 1979: pp.236-240) maintain that in the donor interest model, aid is allocated to recipient countries to promote donors' foreign policies which are based on the political, security, investment or trade interests of an aid donor. Lai (2003) gives an example saying that during the Cold War, the United States gave substantial aid to nations bordering communist countries in order to strengthen its allies. As seen by McMahon (1991: p.137), the bottom line for donors in providing aid to developing countries is to expand national influence, penetrate world markets and strengthen the ideals of capitalism. However, some aid donors such as the USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand would argue that they seek to promote democratic ideals and free trade as a means of improving well-being in recipient countries.

A number of Pacific Island countries (PICs) including Kiribati had already gained independence by the 1980s with connections with aid donors being mainly based on bilateral assistance. Lai (2003) maintains that bilateral aid seems to serve the interest of a donor while multilateral aid targets the needs of a recipient country. However, it is evident from the literature that an element of both can exist either in the donor or recipient. PICs, are given aid based both on the donors' interests and the needs of each country. PICs, including Kiribati, have to seek aid through applications that follow the donor's project templates and align them according to the interest of a donor. Schwebel and others (1987: p.107) argue that such a process reveals the primary interests of a donor which can become a barrier to delivering effective aid to the recipient because the donor's national interests are of more concern to the donor than considering the effect of aid to support development and alleviate poverty.

The decline of many communist regimes in the early 1990s enabled some aid donors to change the focus of their assistance and put more emphasis on development and economic and security benefits (Leftwich 1993: pp.605-610). Consequently, the target of such aid donors is to address new priorities related to global growth, domestic job creation and transnational challenges such as health issues and prevention of diseases, population growth, environmental degradation, achieving sustainable economies, and contributing to a fight against terrorism. The current era can also be viewed as a period re-emphasising the ideals of liberal democracy which advocates the freedom of individuals and the incorporation of human rights, the freedom of the press and the promotion of entrepreneurial activities (World Bank 1991). It was during the late 1990s that the concept of improved governance was emphasised by aid donors as a condition for aid to recipient countries.

The Good Governance Agenda

Advocates of governance comment that the failure to adopt the principles of good governance is the major obstacle to achieving sustainable economic policies (Brautigam 1992: pp.3-15, World Bank 1991). This failure is believed to stem from the complex problems faced by aid recipient countries: undemocratic government, corruption, abuses of human rights and the incapability of governments to formulate and implement prudent economic policies (Lamour 1995, OECD 1997). Advocates believe that good governance can be fostered if the dispositions of the political regime are right and, moreover, the government is capable of creating an atmosphere that is conducive to the growth of market economies. The poor state of developing countries is related to their inability to formulate sound economic policies or, sometimes, their stubborn unwillingness to take risks to

create feasible economic policies. Undemocratic states also have problems which relate to their political regime's abuse of human rights and the failure to uphold the principles of a democratic political system. This has led many aid donors to believe that the principles of good governance which are highlighted in Chapter 2 have to be achieved to justify giving aid.

In the early period of advocating the principles of good governance, aid donors had a conservative attitude and only vigorously advocated economic reforms and the adoption of criteria of good governance to emulate the situation of aid donors themselves without considering the kinds of circumstances faced by recipient countries. Thus, the criteria of good governance have been directly or indirectly used only as a condition in the negotiations of aid delivery between donor partners and aid recipient countries (Clapham 1993: pp.423-430, Robinson 1993: pp.58-60). The economic and good governance reforms criteria advocated by aid donors have been criticised by many leaders of aid-recipient countries, based on the perspective that aid donors are pushing their own agendas rather than the interests of aid recipient countries and without consideration of the effect of such policies on traditional governance (Macdonald 1995: pp.21-27).

The unique cultural system of developing countries is apparently one of the important things about developing countries that seems to be ignored by aid donors. Aid donors also overlook that those who were elected to the national government of the independent states in developing countries are obliged to take account of the values and practices of traditional governance. Some of these traditional values and practices, such as living in a subsistence economy, upholding egalitarian values, and practising paternalistic and discriminative leadership styles, are said to be incompatible with modern governance ideals and need to be put aside as they obstruct advancement of the new governance systems.

Arguments about the different views of aid donors and aid recipients with regard to aid conditions has led aid donors to reset the good governance criteria based on free market ideals as a precondition for economic development and as a component for broader governance principles (Macdonald 1995, Leftwich 1993). In this regard, aid donors advocating good governance principles are an important integral component of international order, stability and economic development which can create and empower civil society and NGOs to take on broader participatory roles (Lamour 1995). This is because civil society and NGOs are believed to be able to represent institutional pluralism in which their contribution needs to be well acknowledged and utilised by the state for the governance of the society. Furthermore, the concept of good

governance was also emphasised in the 1990s as a result of outrage by taxpayers in advanced industrialised countries who refused to support aid programs because of the lack of transparency and accountability. Taxpayers perceive that aid donors were responsible for the mismanagement of the funds, which benefitted the privileged and failed to reach the majority of the population in poor countries (Sobhan 2002: pp.539-543, Bauer & Yamey 1982: pp.53-60).

The provision of aid has changed in recent years as conditions have been relaxed. New emphases are based on what aid donors now stress as good governance criteria which can bring stability and economic development. In addition, aid provision to developing countries is also partially based on moral justifications (Lancaster 1993). However, it needs to be clarified that economic development and democratisation are two different ideals which may not necessarily be achieved at the same time. That is, the aim of economic development is to promote prosperity, particularly by advancing commercial business while democracy aims to promote the principles of freedom, peace and good government. It has to be noted that the attainment of economic development as a pre-requisite for democracy may not always be the case or vice versa (Grosjean & Semol 2007).

It is argued that what is important in the provision of aid is for donors and recipient countries to work together to improve the sectors of the country that result in strengthening governance and economic reforms. While the ideals of good governance and economic reforms are significant in the modern era for developing countries, these ideals can only be relevant if they are applied appropriately to the situation in the country concerned. In this regard, aid recipient countries view the imposition of some conditions as incompatible with their national interests. It is also viewed that conditionality will not work well if it is applied as the basis for accelerating reform development (Leftwich 1993). Developing countries also perceive that aid donors have gone too far with their role of providing aid assistance by eroding their sovereignty as independent nation states through dictating conditions of aid assistance. The important issue that needs to be understood in emphasising aid conditions is that developing countries have to be responsible for making their own economic and governance reforms rather than being dictated to by aid donors, that is, reform has to be endogenous.

In the late 1990s aid donors began to place less emphasis on conditions when providing aid assistance, rather they developed a partnership with developing nations to facilitate reforms and growth (Macdonald 1995 in Lamour 1995). Since then the reforms aimed at aid effectiveness have been promoted for both aid donors and recipient countries to adopt.

The 2005 Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness has been instrumental in urging donors and recipient countries to work in partnership with one another to achieve better results from aid for the promotion of growth and eradication of poverty (Overseas Development Institute 2008). The thrust of the Paris Declaration is to encourage both aid donors and recipient countries to make aid more accountable and transparent to produce effective results. The issue that still remains in aid effectiveness is for both the donor and recipient country, such as Kiribati, to genuinely execute their responsibilities.

The Pacific Island Forum Secretariat (PIFS) has developed a PICs' regional aid effectiveness and monitoring indicators framework to guide PICs' efforts in the implementation of their aid effectiveness strategies (PIFS Report 2011). This has been implemented in Kiribati through a peer review team from the PIFS where the country's aid policy frameworks were assessed in terms of their effectiveness and weaknesses in co-ordination. President Tong (PIFS Press Statement 2011) commented that the failure of aid in the country is not only due to the weaknesses in the government's systems but also because the aid often has terms of execution stipulated by the donor. He argues that such a challenge has reduced the effectiveness of aid for development in Kiribati because many of the funds go back to the donor's country either through paying technical experts and labourers or purchasing goods and equipment from the donor's country. The hope is that the effectiveness in the implementation of the Paris Declaration, including the peer review will enable Kiribati to achieve its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which have become a new standard of assessment in the utilisation of aid (PIFS Report 2011). As indicated by Mellor and Jabes (2004), governance and development reform will take time and patience as both aid donors and aid recipients need to work cooperatively and find ways in which aid assistance can be well utilised.

Good Governance as used by Aid Donors

The next section of this chapter will identify the kinds of aid programs that are available and, specifically, sectors of good governance addressed by aid donors, mostly since 2000. In particular, the aim of the study is to investigate governance issues which are prevalent in Kiribati by analysing a range of aid provided by four major bilateral and two minor multilateral donors. Australia, New Zealand (NZ), Japan and the European Union (EU) are the major bilateral donors while the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the United Nations Development Program

(UNDP) are the two active multilateral donors to Kiribati. China and Taiwan's aid will also be analysed in order to indicate how they have contributed to, or inhibited, governance of the country.

The amount of aid received by Kiribati from aid donors was difficult to trace and therefore is not mentioned in the analysis. However, the maximum aid Kiribati receives from each major aid donor is at least AU\$10 million annually, while aid from multilateral aid donors varies in the range of AU\$10 000 to \$100 000 (Kiribati Government 2011). An understanding of the sectors which need strengthening for good governance will form the basis for creating the research instrument that will be discussed in the methodology and data analysis chapters.

Australian's Development Assistance

Australia's involvement with aid began in the 1950s under the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development (Colombo Plan 2005). During the early years of the Colombo Plan, most of the Pacific Islands were still being governed by colonial powers and it was only in the early 1960s to the late 1970s that a number of Pacific Islands became independent. Australia's first aid delivery to Kiribati can be traced back to the time after Kiribati gained independence from Britain on 12 July 1979 (Van Trease 1993). Since then, Australia has been, and still is, the principal aid donor and trading partner of Kiribati, which also uses the Australian dollar as its currency. As is the case with most other major donors, the reasons for Australia's aid assistance to Kiribati are basically for humanitarian, security, political and economic purposes (AusAID 2008).

In the early years of Australia's development assistance to the country, the focus was based on the priority needs of Kiribati rather on structured good governance. However, in the late 1980s, with the diversification of development assistance from other donors, the shift in the aid development focus by Australia was modified from the general needs of the country to more focused and specific areas which were formulated by the AusAID policy governance framework in consultation with the Kiribati Government (Kiribati Development Plan 2008). In the late 1980s, following international trends, AusAID put more emphasis on the good governance agenda in its aid development assistance.

The 2008 Port Moresby Declaration affirms the commitment of Australia to the Pacific Islands through the Pacific Partnerships for Development Plan which embraces strengthening economic infrastructure and improving work opportunities for local people; strengthening private sector

development, including better access to micro-finance; achieving quality, universal basic education; improving health outcomes through better access to health services; enhancing governance, the role of civil society and non-government organisations; and improving basic service delivery (AusAID Port Moresby Declaration 2008). Australian assistance for improved governance in the Pacific Islands, including Kiribati, under the Rudd and later the Gillard Government's policy is placing greater emphasis on poverty reduction and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (AusAID 2010). As expressed by McMullan (AusAID 2008), the provision of development assistance can be increased over time, provided a recipient government improves its development policies, strengthens its governance systems, and invests in economic infrastructure, health and education.

The key areas mentioned earlier regarding Australia's development assistance to the Pacific Islands are intended to support *inter alia* good governance and the individual country's own development priorities. Australia's aid assistance to Kiribati is categorised under a 'fragile state' framework which focuses on strengthening the social, security and economic development of the nation as well as developing good governance (AusAID 2008). The concept of a 'fragile state' is more fitting to politically unstable countries, yet it can also be applied to countries which are economically vulnerable and face growth challenges and poverty.

The status of an economically fragile state is attributed to either a government's lack of capacity or sometimes to what is perceived as the lack of the state's political will to formulate and implement sound policies that can contribute to the well-being, security, good governance and economic development of the people (AusAID 2008, Anderson 2005). The case for Kiribati being classified as a fragile state is attributed more to its small size, remoteness and geographical fragmentation, a harsh natural environment with infertile soils, limited exploitable resources and the difficulty of creating jobs and promoting growth for the expanding population rather than it being politically unstable (ADB 2002). The Australian Government's review of aid effectiveness recognised the poor economic resources of the country and proposed a continued provision of aid to Kiribati but this has to be based on accountability and its effective delivery in improving the well-being of the people (AusAID Independent Review of Aid 2011). Table 5.1 outlines the three priority areas which Australia assists with in the strengthening of Kiribati governance.

Table 5.1: Priority Areas under Australian Aid

Priority Areas	Sample of Activities
1. Strengthen education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve the quality of education in primary, high schools and technical colleges • Provide enough resources and training to teachers and education managers to improve teaching, planning and policy making • Improve literacy and numeracy, and the teaching of English and setting of education benchmarks • Strengthen the school curriculum and education managers' role
2. Develop workforce skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate and enhance workforce skills in areas of industry to cater for the demand both nationally and globally • Improve workforce skills for youth both on the outer islands and on Tarawa • Liaise with global employment partners for possible employment opportunities abroad
3. Strengthen growth and economic management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist in reforms to improve government revenues • Improve the public sector financial and economic management • Improve service delivery • Improve management of public enterprises and reduce their cost

(Source: After <http://www.ausaid.gov.au/country.cfm?CountryId=20>)

Australia contributes aid to Kiribati for development and good governance mostly in the areas of education, human resource development through scholarships, training and creating opportunities, public sector reform and improvement of budget systems. Australia also contributes in the funding of climate change programs and civil society projects. Among the priority areas shown in Table 5.1, the Kiribati Government is putting emphasis on job creation and improving the public sector's financial and economic management by providing activities which aim to improve financial management and increase collection of revenue which is an obvious need for a country poorly endowed with natural resources.

However, Australian aid to Kiribati is not really touching the life of the ordinary people as it is mostly concentrated on the improvement of the public sector rather than diversifying to help with the basic needs of the people. People on the outer islands face particular difficulties in improving their lifestyles without the means of generating an income. The increasing number of unemployed school leavers is also becoming a big problem in the country.

Jones (2008) of the Lowy Institute for International Policy argues that Australian aid should not only concentrate on the improvement of public sector governance but also strengthen the productive sectors of island economies. Australia needs to extend its assistance beyond the Kiribati bureaucracy to sectors which can strengthen public-private cooperation for generating

entrepreneurial activities, strengthening of infrastructure, and improving the quality of basic services.

Hunt and Morton (2004) maintain that Australian aid needs to be more focused at the grass roots level rather than only concentrating on institutional reform that could support Australian goals and interests in the Pacific. In addition, Kiribati has to be accountable and transparent in the use of aid for the benefit of its people. The *Canberra Times* of 9 December (2011) comments that Kiribati still lacks transparency because, for example, it cannot reveal to AusAID how it determines the allocation of scholarships for those who study in Australia. This demonstrates a continuous need for Kiribati to be accountable in explaining the utilisation of aid.

New Zealand's Development Assistance

NZ's development assistance also began with the commonwealth assistance strategy known as the Colombo Plan (NZAID Fact Sheet 2008). Later NZ extended its aid programs to include the Pacific Islands because of the international politics of the Cold War and also for humanitarian and moral purposes. NZAID is based on 'The Pacific Strategy 2007–2015' emphasises poverty elimination in the Pacific region. The five key pillars of the strategy are strengthening governance, improving people's capacities to manage their environment, improving health and education, reducing environmental vulnerability, and developing regional environmental partnerships in water resources, disaster preparedness, waste management, biodiversity and climate change.

The planned activities for each of the five key pillars of the strategy will be implemented by aligning them to the priority areas of each individual Pacific Island countries (PIC) as highlighted in their specific National development plan. Assistance activities include improving economic and financial decision making, increasing public sector effectiveness in the identification and delivery of key services to meet societal needs, strengthening participatory governance, strengthening law and justice; providing media training and promotion of information for the public good, supporting human rights institutions and activities including NGOs, and supporting leadership development (New Zealand Government 2008). The aim is to assist PIC to progress in the achievement of their MDGs as well as in attaining their own national aspirations.

NZ is regarded as being another significant aid and trading partner with Kiribati since independence (Van Trease 1998). It has assisted Kiribati in many areas, mostly in basic education,

health and human resources development through training and provision of scholarships. It has also supported the Kiribati Marine Training Center which is the main employer for I-Kiribati young men wishing to work on overseas merchant vessels, as well as financing other projects such as seaweed and small community projects (NZ AID 2008). NZ also works together with AusAID and other aid development partners for the implementation of its projects. According to the NZ AID Snapshot Report 2008, NZ Government assistance will focus on three key areas. Table 5.2 below summarises the key areas and the type of activities that will be pursued for strengthening Kiribati governance.

Table 5.2: Priority Areas under NZ Aid Assistance

Priority Areas	Sample of Activities
1. Sustainable urban development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the implementation of sustainable towns program • Provide training and promotion on solid waste management, recycling and safe land fills • Provide support for the improvement of water and sanitation • Strengthen training on small business development to foster economic growth • Funding of Cassidy Airport in Kiritimati Island
2. Improving performance in the public sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the strategic policy unit of the Office of the President • Provide funding in support of Kiribati's Office of Attorney General • Assist the Kiribati Association of Non-Government Organisations (KANGO) with its core operating costs and training
3. Workforce skills and human resource development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the Marine Training Center through building classrooms, dormitories and providing instructors with training • Assist in the development of the Kiribati Fisheries Training Center • Provide long term pre-service training and short term training programs

(Source: After <http://www.aid.govt.nz/where-we-work/pacific/kiribati>)

Good governance as one of the main pillars in the NZ Pacific Strategy 2007–2015, is tied in with the priorities for Kiribati with the aim of improving effective leadership at all levels of Kiribati society, drawing upon a stronger and broader participation of citizens, in the decision making and governing of their affairs. NZ's aid to Kiribati is mostly based on the development of human resources, job opportunities and providing basic services to try and eliminate hardship and poverty for the growth of the country. NZ is also starting to link its aid and activities to the development of NGOs and civil society, such as in the case of the recent support funding to the Kiribati Association of Non-Government Organisations (Tabureka 2010: pp.2-3). NZ's aid programs promote good governance and growth by strengthening the relationships between the state and the people, enhancing democratic institutions, improving economic governance, and facilitating effective management and the delivery of services to the people.

Like Australia, New Zealand's aid policies have also been criticised for not doing much and treating PICs, including Kiribati, as their backyard. The US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, has commented that the direction of Australian and New Zealand policies towards improving short term economic policies rather than focusing on helping PICs to become secure, prosperous and stable allies of the West in the Pacific has made a number of PICs turn their eyes toward China for better deals (Paskal 2011: pp.26-28, *China-Daily* 2010, Terence 2007).

Japan's Development Assistance

Japan's aid delivery goes back to the late 1950s when it agreed to accept the initiative of the Colombo Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency-JICA Annual Report 2004). Its involvement in aid delivery is based on the important goal of achieving world peace and prosperity and enhancing its own security within the region (Sunaga 2004, Japan's Medium-Term Policy 2005). As such, Japan spends about 50 per cent of its aid on neighbouring Asian countries. In order of priority, Asian countries come first, then Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Oceania (JICA Annual Report 2004).

Japan's economic boom in the 1960s and 1970s enabled the expansion of its aid delivery beyond technical assistance to include bilateral grants and loans, and contributions to multilateral organisations (JICA Annual Report 2004). Its economic boom also allowed the establishment of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), which replaced the role of Japan's previous agencies and became the agency which implemented and co-ordinated Japan's project assistance to developing countries. This assistance included technical cooperation and dispatching of Japan's overseas volunteers, and was later extended to the managing of bilateral grants, loans and project activities (JICA Annual Report 2004).

In the early 2000s, Japan underwent structural reforms in its development assistance which included the creation of Japan's Official Development Assistance Charter (JODAC). The Charter's objectives were poverty reduction, sustainable growth, addressing global issues and peace-building (Sunaga 2004). The reforms were made to cope with emerging global issues such as terrorism, war in the Middle East, poverty and environmental degradation and Japan's national interests. Japan's policies for the achievement of the objectives were supporting the self-help efforts of developing countries, strengthening human security, assuring fairness, and utilisation of Japan's experience and expertise (Sunaga 2004). Japan's aid may be increased through a plan of

cooperation with other major donor partners when delivering its aid assistance. Japan's hope is that, in so doing, Pacific Islands will be able to achieve their own aspirations and the goals of the Millennium Development Goals. Table 5.3 highlights the priorities that guide Japan's aid assistance.

Table 5.3: Priority Areas of Japan's Aid

Priority Areas	Sample of Activities
1. Economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist with the development of trade, investment, infrastructure, fisheries and tourism
2. Sustainable development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote and assist with environmental protection • Provide assistance in health, water, sanitation, education and vocational education
3. Good governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen administrative and institutional capacity
4. People to people communication and exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhance of personal and cultural exchange

(Source: After MOFA: Leaders' Declaration 2006)

Japan's four priority areas are based on the declaration of the Fourth Pacific Island Leaders' Meeting in Okinawa in 2006 (MOFA: Leaders' Declaration 2006). The declaration highlights a collaborative effort between Pacific Island leaders and Japan to create a more robust and prosperous Pacific Region. Also, Japan's four priority areas complement the areas of priority of the 'Pacific Plan' which focuses on economic development, sustainable development, good governance and security. Japan views the areas of priority of the Pacific Plan as an excellent framework to align its aid, based on the fact that the Pacific Plan highlights the common regional issues shared by Pacific Island leaders (MOFA: Leaders' Declaration 2006).

Japan's significant aid to Kiribati was initiated in the early 1980s after Kiribati gained its independence from Britain (Van Trease 1998). In the early years of Japan-Kiribati diplomatic ties, Japan's aid was based on Kiribati priority needs which involved technical assistance and building of the infrastructure of the country, including the fisheries sector (Van Trease 1998). With the recent restructuring of Japan's aid program and the outcome of the Okinawa Declaration, Japan's aid to Kiribati is based on the specific needs identified through the Kiribati Development Plan. In JICA's Annual Report (2007), aid records show that Kiribati has received Japan's aid mostly in the areas related to the construction of the country's infrastructure, technical assistance and human development (JICA Annual Report 2007).

The good governance agenda is emphasised in Japan's aid through human resources development activities and programs. This focus is linked to Japan's experience wherein it believes that the establishment of societies and economies can be realised through a capable human resource and a strong infrastructure (JICA Annual Report 2007). Commentators argue that Japan's interest in providing aid to the PICs, including Kiribati, is partially to enhance its access to the country's fisheries and marine resources (Tarte 2007). Yet Kiribati has to capitalise on Japan's aid and work in partnership with her to develop the fisheries sector in order to help improve its economy. Case Study 2 outlined in Chapter 10 of the thesis, will discuss further of Japan's aid to the Kiribati fisheries sector.

European Union Development Assistance

The cooperation between the Pacific Island independent states and the European Union (EU) was formalised with the signing of the first Lome Convention in 1975 for the EU-Pacific Partnership Agreement (European Commission 2002). After gaining independence in 1979, Kiribati became a full member of the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP)-EU Partnership (Van Trease 1998). The signing of the ACP-EU Partnership between Kiribati and the EU is based on the strengthening of social, economic, political and security ties between Kiribati and countries of the EU, both at the global and national level (EU-Pacific Strategy 2008, Dearden 2008). In fact, the emerging link between Kiribati and the EU revives the bonding relationships with the former colonial ruler, Britain, and other member states of the EU which have informal links with the country.

The overall aim of the EU development assistance to developing countries is to reduce, and eventually eradicate, poverty (European Commission 2002). The EU believes that development assistance is a means of promoting change and assisting people to improve their welfare. The EU strategy to assist developing countries is by promoting in its ACP-EU Conventions 'an innovative model of international cooperation based on equal partnership and contractual relationship, aid and trade, mutual obligations and joint institutions to ensure permanent dialogue' (European Commission 2006, European Commission 2002). The strategy involves cooperation with recipient countries' policies and other major aid donors within the region. The aid provision under EU development assistance is concentrated on assisting PICs to overcome the natural and geographical difficulties that obstruct the improvement of the people's welfare and bring them to a level where they can have longer and more productive lives and to enable them to participate in their local and national governance.

The EU is aware of the economic challenges of the Pacific Islands which include their vulnerability to natural disasters as well as their wide geographical dispersion in a vast area of ocean. These circumstances mean that most agricultural and marine activities are of a subsistence nature and, in the main, most islands have a very low level of agricultural production (European Commission 2002). In addition, because the islands are widely separated from one another communication and transport costs are high and this isolationism from international markets inhibits successful inter-island trade. Such disadvantages faced by the Pacific Islands have encouraged recent moves to strengthen their ties with the EU, resulting in the signing of a joint ‘Country Strategies’ between the EU and the Pacific on 18 October 2007 at the 38th Pacific Island Forum in Nukualofa, Tonga (*The Courier* 2007). The ‘green-blue’ perspective was the overall blueprint of EU assistance which emphasises the preservation of the Pacific’s vast resources. The ‘blue’ refers to the Pacific Ocean while the ‘green’ represents forest and sustainable rural development and biodiversity.

As reported by *The Courier* (2007), the magazine for ACP-EU cooperation and relations, eleven out of the thirteen Pacific Island countries highlighted good governance in their respective national strategies at the 38th Pacific Island Forum in Nukualofa, Tonga, thereby demonstrating that improving good governance is a priority area for most Pacific Islands (*The Courier* 2007). *The Courier* (2007) also reported that the countries which show the need to improve their governance are expected to individually receive a 25 per cent funding top-up to be included in the overall figure of EU funding. However, the Pacific Island–EU Strategy for the five year period of 2008-2013 will receive a total of €276 million (*The Courier* 2007). The major programs of the Pacific Island-EU Strategy will be for renewable energy, improved trading and good governance. It is also anticipated that the EU will offer between €29 million and €95 million for supporting the new regional EU-Pacific Partnership Agreement to liberalise trade between the EU and PICs. The funding arrangement may also cover, among other areas, cooperation in telecommunications, development of human resources and fisheries. Table 5.4 below highlights the priorities and the variety of activities that guide the EU’s aid assistance to Kiribati. EU funding assistance to Kiribati has been mostly based on three programs: outer island development, the development of human resources, and the economy of the country through improvement of the fisheries and trade opportunities.

Table 5.4: Priority Areas under EU's Aid

Priority Areas	Sample of Activities
1. Environment and outer islands development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen health services and other infrastructures such as solar energy • Provide advice and training on the role of NGOs and the people • Manage clean water and protection of coastal erosion
2. Human resources development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support trade skills institutes • Assist in the improvement of public sector service
3. Economic development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support seaweed and other income generation means • Support training on income generation for outer islands • Assist in the improvement of economic development and trade • Support to the fisheries sector

(Source: After http://eeas.europa.eu/kiribati/index_en.htm, KDP 2008)

A large portion of EU funding since the 1970s has been spent on the development of outer islands to reduce migration towards the overpopulated main island, Tarawa (Europa 2008). Some of the projects funded were for solar energy, seaweed industry, the Kiribati Training Program, health services in the outer islands, and the effect of beach mining on Tarawa (Europa 2008). Also, Kiribati received EU funding to strengthen its fisheries sector policy. Overall, the European Union's aid assistance to Kiribati involves both the development of human resources and the strengthening of the country's good governance, for instance, the concentration of EU aid assistance on the outer islands aims to improve people's lifestyles by assisting at the grass roots level. Unfortunately EU aid still needs improvement in timely delivery focused on sectors of the country that could alleviate poverty, such as developing the fisheries and human resource sectors.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) Development Assistance

Kiribati became a member of the ADB in 1974 and held 142 shares. It is the thirty-seven largest shareholder amongst regional members and the forty-seventh largest shareholder overall. Kiribati is grouped with the South Pacific Sub-Regional Office (SPSO), which is located in Suva, Fiji. The aim of the ADB is to assist its member countries with their development needs by engaging with individual states in providing and managing loans, technical assistance and grants provided from bilateral aid donors. The ADB's operations are supported and financed by the issuing of bonds, recycling repayments and receiving fees from member countries (ADB Strategy 2020, 2008).

The operation of the ADB is guided by its long term strategic framework which is currently targetting the years 2008–2020. The strategic framework enables the ADB to set out its vision,

objectives and priorities to assist its members and address new challenges in the new millennium. The continuous overarching goal of the ADB’s framework is to reduce poverty and improve living conditions and quality of life. Such a goal is encapsulated in its three complimentary strategic agendas: inclusive growth, environmentally sustainable growth and regional integration. The planning and implementation of its strategic agendas is carried out by focusing on five priority areas which are based on the main areas of specialisation of the ADB. Table 5.5 below highlights the five priority areas which also form the basis of the ADB’s assistance to the Pacific Islands, including Kiribati.

Table 5.5: Priority Areas under ADB’s Aid

Priority Areas	Sample of Activities
1. Private sector development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist with infrastructure investment • Provide advice on business-friendly environment
2. Good governance and capacity development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide advice and assistance on water, sanitation and waste management • Assist with the improvement of public sector professionalism • Assist with the improvement of economic development
3. Gender equity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide assistance for the empowerment of women (This is with regard to equal access to education and health services, clean water, better sanitation, and basic infrastructure)
4. Knowledge solutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For better social and economic development • For better service delivery
5. Partnerships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist with fostering a diverse group of agencies and institutions to help address the risks and challenges encountered in the region (For example, government-private sector alliances, bilateral-multilateral alliances, non-government organisations and private sector)

(Source: ADB Strategy 2020)

ADB member states can be categorised into two groups: ‘low-income countries’ and ‘fragile countries and situations’. The priority of ‘low-income countries’ is either to strengthen their recent growth and make it sustainable or to commence with a healthy economic growth. However, ‘fragile countries and situations’ priorities are to improve business sector development and strengthen the private sector and the governance process in the public sector (ADB Strategy 2020, 2008). Countries under ‘fragile countries and situations’ are often referred to as generally unstable countries due to their weak economic circumstances, their smallness in size, economic vulnerability due to poor soil fertility, shallow fresh water level and being prone to the climatic vagaries of hurricanes and droughts, weak institutions, and the increased level of non-communicable disease victims such as obesity and heart problems (ADB Strategy 2020, 2008).

The ADB's approach to assisting its members is by engaging with the state and society about project grants and development.

Kiribati has gained assistance from the ADB since independence in priority areas which are stipulated in the country's development plan, mainly for loans, technical assistance and grants (Asian Development Bank & Kiribati 2008, KDP 2008). Most of the loans and grants are used for the improvement of social and economic development infrastructure and delivery of basic services such as energy, finance, transport and communications, water supply and sanitation, and waste management (ADB Country Partnership Strategy 2010–2014, 2010). An ADB grant also funded the development of Christmas Island in the Line Islands Group as a growth center for sustainable economic development (ADB & Kiribati 2008: pp.1-2).

The ADB's good governance agenda also involves the provision of technical assistance and human development to upgrade the professions by improving the public services' professionalism, accountability and transparency. The planning and implementation of certain projects such as water and sanitation, promotes the inclusion of NGOs and civil society, and other good governance elements of predictability and participation (ADB & Kiribati 2008, ADB Strategy 2020, 2008).

Like EU assistance, the ADB also assists the Kiribati Government to balance growth throughout the islands. However, the ADB's work plan and immediate priority for Kiribati faces operational challenges most of which are attributed to the significant geographical dispersion of the islands, the increase in the youth population, wherein 40 per cent are under 15 years of age, lack of human capacity, provision of potable water, natural resources and the size of the lands (ADB 2002). These intractable problems will continue to be issues of concern which need to be addressed by the state and the people. As with other donors, the ADB also needs to make sure that sectors provided with aid can be sustained in the longer term by ensuring that the country's absorptive capacity is strengthened.

United Nations Development Program Assistance

The UNDP is a development network of the United Nations. Its function is to help build the capacity of people to attain a better life by the provision of appropriate knowledge, experience and resources. The UNDP believes that capacity building is the basis for people to be able to solve both national and global development issues. The UNDP works for a wide range of countries in Africa, some Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, Latin America and the Caribbean (UNDP Annual Report 2008). The main UNDP headquarters for the nine PICs of Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Palau, Vanuatu, Tuvalu, Tonga, Kiribati, Nauru and the Solomon Islands is located in Fiji Islands. There are also two other UNDP centers in the Pacific region: one based in Samoa which serves Samoa, Niue, the Cook Islands, and Tokelau, while another base is in Papua New Guinea.

The overarching goal of the UNDP is to reduce the rate of poverty by half by 2015 (UNDP Annual Report 2008). The 2008 Annual Report highlights that the UNDP's strategy for achieving such a goal is by working together with other major aid donors and equipping people with the knowledge, experience and resources so that they can achieve their aspirations and Millennium Development Goals. Table 5.6 below shows the four core areas of operation for the Pacific Islands including Kiribati, under the new UNDP Programming Cycle for 2008–2012 to be delivered by the UNDP Fiji Multi-Country Office.

Table 5.6: Priority Areas under UNDP's Aid

Priority Areas	Sample of Activities
1. Poverty reduction and MDGs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist in the formulation of national, sectoral plans to align with the MDGs • Assist in strengthening national statistical capacity for recording of data for poverty analysis • Facilitate trade mechanisms, private sector partnerships, employment policies and financial competencies • Develop multi-sectoral planning/leadership to engage communities to address emerging needs/problems such as HIV/AIDS
2. Good governance and human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen parliamentary mechanisms and local governance • Promote civic education • Strengthen national policy, capacities and governance systems to enable accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and respect to human rights
3. Crisis prevention and recovery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop an integrated approach to minimise vulnerability and disaster • Build capacity to address the main causes of natural disasters • Assist with the long term improvement of the livelihood of the people
4. Energy and sustainable management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist in developing policies to integrate environmental sustainability and sustainable energy • Strengthen institutional and indigenous governance systems to contribute to the maintenance of environmental management

(Source: After UNDP Programming Cycle for 2008-2012)

The UNDP concentrates on the four priorities outlined above through making the linkages of its programs to the important areas of the Pacific Islands that are identified in their national development plans. However, one of the co-priorities of the UNDP is to use linkages for the promotion of human rights and the protection of the dignity, integrity of people and gender equity (UNDP Annual Report 2008, UNDP-Fiji Multi-Country Office 2008). The other important sectors of UNDP's program are protection of women, promotion of volunteerism, joint national programs for HIV/AIDS awareness, importance of young people, support of civil society, and awareness of environmental and disaster risk management. These sectors will become cross-cutting themes and joint programs with national governments and major donor partners in the Pacific Islands during the implementation stage.

Kiribati became a member of the United Nations on 7 November 2003, yet it has been one of the beneficiaries of the UNDP's aid assistance since the early 1980s (UNDP-Fiji Multi-Country Office 2008). The UNDP project records (UNDP-Fiji Multi-Country Office: View Kiribati's Profile 2008) demonstrate that, in the 1990s Kiribati receives assistance for projects for the outer islands, internet services, solid waste management and many others. In the early and late 2000s, more assistance was allocated for strengthening decentralized governance, the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan, the Kiribati National Adaptation Plan of Action, the

Kiribati second national communication of self-assessment exercise, the latter for determining the main priorities of the community with regard to energy and environment for sustainable development (UNDP-Fiji Multi-Country Office 2008). A two-day mock parliament session for women which was conducted from 8-9 August 2011 was also partially funded by the UNDP for strengthening women's leadership roles in contemporary Kiribati (PIFS Press Release No.60/11, 2011).

The projects identified so far can be grouped into the three core objectives of the UNDP Work Plan which have good governance and human rights, crisis prevention and recovery, and energy and sustainable management. The achievement of the objectives of the three main activities is expected to contribute progressively to the overarching goal shared by aid donors, including the UNDP, which is reduction of poverty and attaining the Millennium Development Goals. However, the objective of the good governance and human rights objective is specifically intended to strengthen governance systems in order to enable the equitable sharing of public resources to benefit all, but especially the marginalised (UNDP-Fiji Multi-Country Office 2008). Three strategic governance areas were chosen from UNDP consultative and research work with PICs, namely strengthening of parliamentary mechanisms, civic education and local governance and decentralisation.

The strengthening of civic education and local governance involves activities with the general public and the children which promote the important role of participatory democracy. The application of good governance requires educating the public about their government and issues, as well as strengthening parliament and the professionalism of the executive and judiciary to build trust in the governing process. It is also expected that from such growth of understanding and involvement with civic roles, the people will take charge in the governance issues which affect their lives and wellbeing. At this point people will become participants in solving problems and initiating opportunities for the well-being of everyone. However, it remains important for the state to respect traditional decision making processes at family, village and island community levels as modernisation is introduced. Accordingly, changes in decision making practices should be introduced gradually, accompanied by consultation and information, to avoid resistance from the people.

Strengthening of local governance and decentralisation is the third strategy required to foster the growth of good governance and human rights in the PICs including Kiribati. The aim of

strengthening local governance and decentralisation is to improve the capacity of central government to meet its important responsibilities in managing and leading local government to become involved in local governance and island development (UNDP-Fiji Multi-Country Office 2008). Kiribati is one of the PICs which has received assistance in this area, including the training of local government staff with output budgeting. The idea is to train people at the community level to have the skills to manage development activities and also to vocalise matters that need to be included in the Island Council and National Government budget.

China and Taiwan's Development Assistance

China and Taiwan's aid to Kiribati can only be accessed by the PICs as long as the government of the day recognises either China or Taiwan. In this regard, it is arguable to say that both China and Taiwan are not major aid donors as their aid is dependent on the recognition of either regime as the only legitimate government of China. Their aid has been controversial in that both lack transparency, as their aid is processed outside the normal aid framework provided by donors (Hanson 2008). They have been accused of engaging in cheque-book diplomacy, a kind of assistance to the PICs which does not follow proper aid channels, and their presence in the country concerned produces a tug-of-war for gaining political advantage (Lum 2007). It is argued that their presence in the PICs is to gain access to the PICs' resources, extend their jurisdiction in the islands, and gain the PICs as allies to support their membership in the United Nations and other international bodies (Hanson 2008, Shie 2007). China emphasises that under the 'One China Policy', Taiwan is part of mainland China and therefore should not be recognised as a sovereign nation. Taiwan blames China for its human rights abuses and calls upon China to cease its aggressive opposition to the Government of Taiwan.

Kiribati had recognised mainland China since the 1980s but switched to Taiwan in 2003 under the Tong Government and has continued this policy until 2011 (Shie 2007: p.316). Taiwan may continue its presence in Kiribati if the Tong Government is re-elected in 2012 for his final term in office. China and Taiwan's bilateral assistance to Kiribati is targetted at those areas which the government considers a priority. For instance, some of mainland China's major assistance to Kiribati involved the establishment of the sports complex on Tarawa, the main island, the provision of training and scholarships and small diverse grants to the general public. The small grant assistance is sometimes viewed as a political tool to get the people to support the government of the day in order to maintain the presence of either mainland China or Taiwan in

the country. Mainland China is continually making its presence more evident by increasing aid to the PICs which recognise it rather than Taiwan, and strengthening its links with the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat through providing funding and technical assistance (Shie 2007: pp.312-315, *China-Daily* 2010, Trencce 2007).

When aid from mainland China to Kiribati stopped in 2003, the sports complex was an unfinished task which Taiwan completed. Taiwan also gives at least AU\$10 million annually to the government to help fund the priority sectors of the country, including the provision of small grants to the general public (Kiribati Government 2011). It is arguable to say that, irrespective of whether its mainland China or Taiwan, the aid should be available primarily according to Kiribati's interests and for strengthening the country's governance and not to satisfy the political interests of either mainland China or Taiwan.

A Summary of Common Governance Sectors supported by Aid Donors

Table 5.7 is a summary of the priorities of aid assistance programs by aid donors which lists the types of programs emphasised by donors for improving good governance. It also shows that aspects of good governance are emphasised by aid donors either with specific reference to this aspect made in their programs or encapsulated through the management of the delivery of the programs. An analysis of the priorities listed in this table elicited the core activities of good governance emphasised by aid donors will be the basis of the research instrument when investigating the governance issues affecting development in Kiribati.

Table 5.7: A Summary of Priority Areas Supported by Aid Donors

Aid Donors	Priorities	Samples of Activities
1. Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human resource and public sector improvement • Employment opportunities • Economy and finance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improvement of the public sector and development of human resources - Strengthening of basic education and health - Improvement of budget and financial management - Enhancement of employment capacity
2. NZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory governance, law and justice • Human capacity development and employment • Sustainable environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of human resource capacity - Improvement of sustainable development - Strengthening of NGOs, basic education, health and employment skills opportunities
3. Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public sector capacity and economy • Institutional capacity building • Infrastructure and sustainable environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of human resources - Improvement of infrastructures and environment
4. EU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil society and the people • Rule of law and human rights • Human resource and capacity development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of outer islands basic services - Conservation of environment - Development of human resources
5. ADB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of human resource capacity • Improvement of basic services • Civil society, gender and private sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improvement of public sector and economic development - Improvement of water, sanitation and waste management - Improvement of the capacity of civil society and NGOs
6. UNDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity building • MDGs and local governance • Governance and human rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthening legislative capacity and induction of parliamentarians - Strengthening local government budgeting and community participation - Strengthening civil society and NGOs
7. China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure • Development of human resource capacity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of sports complex - Provision of training and scholarships - Provision of grants
8. Taiwan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure • Development of human resource capacity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Completion of a sports complex and a hospital center for the Southern Gilbert - Provision of training and scholarships - Provision of grants

From the information above there appears to be seven sectors of governance that are emphasised in the donors' aid delivery and also supported by the Kiribati Development Plan. Table 5.8 summarises the seven sectors of governance. The four sectors of the Public Sector and Human Resources, NGOs and the People, Economics and the Rule of Law could be considered to be connected to the functioning of governance, while the other three sectors: Education, Health, and Environment could be categorised as pre-conditional sectors for enhancing governance. However, in a developing country such as Kiribati education, health and environment are still very important sectors that need improving for the overall good governance of the country, and certainly they are the foundation for the development of human resources. The former president of the United States, Bill Clinton, maintains that in order for developing countries to be resilient in facing problems of life, whether natural disasters or inefficiencies of the system, they should

strengthen systems that provide predictable rewards to the people, including among others, the strengthening of education, health-care, economy, environment, and government service (Clinton 2011).

Table 5.8: Governance Sectors

Summary of Governance Sectors	
Sector 1:	Public Sector and Human Resource
Sector 2:	Education
Sector 3:	Health
Sector 4:	NGOs and the People
Sector 5:	Environment
Sector 6:	Economics
Sector 7:	Rule of Law

It appears that the dominant sector is the *public sector and human resources* which can be developed either by providing training, improving education and health services or through participatory democracy. The majority of aid donors contributed to this sector either directly or indirectly through their program activities. The second important sector is the development of *education* which can be supported through the development of education management, policy and curriculum. The third important sector is *health*, which is strengthened by aid assistance from Australia, New Zealand and the EU. Strengthening the health sector is the basis for having a healthy workforce in a democratic governance system. The fourth area is *NGOs and the people*, which is demonstrated either through strengthening of local governance, provision of basic services to the outer islands or through participatory democracy. The fifth area is *environment*, which is promoted through aid assistance from New Zealand, the ADB and the EU. The sixth area is the strengthening of the *economy* which is emphasised through the assistance from Australia, the EU, the ADB, and the UNDP as well as, implied in the aid assistance from other aid donors. The seventh area is the strengthening of the *rule of law*, which is emphasised by several aid donors such as New Zealand, the UNDP and the EU by providing aid assistance to strengthen the legislature, executive and judiciary as well as human rights. Thus the priority sectors which need strengthening for good governance are in the areas of *public sector and human resources, education, health, NGOs and the people, environment, economy, and the rule of law.*

The emphasis on the environment demonstrates the realisation on the part of aid donors of the importance of raising awareness about the need to conserve a fragile island environment from the impact of sea level rise, over population and littering of non-biodegradable waste as a consequence of importing overseas commodities into the country without proper waste management plans. However, the economic development sector is considered crucial for supporting the growth of a nation this is also reflected in the strong commitment of aid donors.

Table 5.7 demonstrates that aid donors contribute much to the economic sector particularly with the improvement of budgeting, financial management and revenue collection. Furthermore, Table 5.7 indicates that the rule of law is another important area being strengthened and supported by aid donors such as NZ, the UNDP and the EU. It appears that development assistance provided by donors can be either direct or indirect. For instance, several aid donors such as NZ and the EU highlight the improvement of civil society and NGOs under their governance programs but the actual activities carried out in Kiribati focus on areas which are aimed at the development of human resources and basic services such as education and health.

Conclusion

Over the past three decades the aid policies of donors have progressively changed in their focus from those of serving the donors' interests to assisting recipient countries with their priority needs. In the 21st century, the focus of delivering aid to developing countries is to alleviate poverty. The good governance criteria has been framed by donors as a condition for receiving aid by recipient countries. However, its imposition as a condition has limited the impact of aid on the growth and welfare of recipient countries, which has necessitated the resetting of the good governance criteria by donors to enable stability and growth in the country. Furthermore, the implementation of the 2005 Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness has been part of the governance reform which urges aid donors to move away from their aid rhetoric and work in partnership with recipient countries. Bilateral and multilateral aid donors are urged to be transparent and engage with one another to harmonise their aid rather than focussing their aid to support their own goals and interests.

This chapter has also stressed that Kiribati leaders and the people have a crucial role in strategically utilising aid by strengthening the governance sectors through improvement and formulating prudent economic policies for the growth of the country. Such policies will encourage Kiribati to become self-reliant rather than continuing to be dependent on aid. The seven

governance sectors such as *public sector and human resources, education, health, NGOs and the people, environment, economy, and the rule of law* identified in this chapter as areas which are targeted by aid donors for strengthening governance, will form the basis for formulating a research instrument in the methodology chapter. The sectors of *government* and *governance* will also be added when formulating the research instrument in order to emphasise the focus of the study.

The next chapter will discuss the field work methodology used in surveying the beliefs and perceptions of participants regarding governance issues in Kiribati.

CHAPTER 6: THE METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The aim of the study is to explore governance issues in Kiribati. Governance is a multi-faceted concept which encompasses different sectors of the national life. Understanding the issues faced in these sectors and how they can be strengthened will indicate how governance can be improved. In Chapter 5 it was argued that the governance issues that need to be looked into are those which are supported by major aid donors and are reflected in the priorities of the Kiribati Development Plan. The priorities are the public sector and human resources, education, health, NGOs and the people, environment, economic development, the rule of law although government and governance are also central sectors receiving emphasis in the study.

This study was designed to examine the perceptions and beliefs of I-Kiribati about governance issues in Kiribati. This knowledge about governance issues in Kiribati is comprehensive and touches many concepts and a wide range of matters relating to the lives of Kiribati citizens. Such knowledge cannot be attained through concentration on one aspect of governance or using just one specific research method. It requires the inclusion of various relevant facts and information, and the application of a variety of research methods in order to collect valid information that may answer the research questions. In this regard four data collection methods were considered appropriate. These consisted of document collection, a quantitative and qualitative questionnaire, interviews and case studies.

The use of a variety of research methods including the conduct of the study by an I-Kiribati researcher is a strength of the study. In the context of I-Kiribati culture it is very difficult for an outsider to acquire the familiarity with the language and the trust of the people necessary to secure honest rather than neutral and non-committal responses to sensitive questions. Based on the knowledge and experience of the I-Kiribati researcher, the perceptions and beliefs of participants regarding governance can be verified in terms of both traditional and modern governance as currently practiced in the country. The use of an investigative approach to a wide variety of matters that bear on the questions of the research is considered appropriate rather than making inferences and remote observations of potential participants. A pilot study was undertaken to ensure the viability of the research instruments while the application of appropriate measures to obtain data

through the administration of the questionnaire and interviews, and data analysis were also used for the purpose of attaining new knowledge about governance in a remote and less developed island country of Kiribati.

Study Design

It was argued in Chapter 2 that the emerging conceptual definition of ‘governance’ deals with government and involves the networks between the state and stakeholders in the community, including independent agencies, and is focused on the setting and enforcement of decisions. It is aimed at solving problems and creating opportunities for the citizens. The methodologies chosen for the study were a combination of quantitative and qualitative questionnaires, interviews, two case-studies and document collection. Of particular relevance was the use of interviews and the case studies on Maiana Island and the application of governance in the management of the fisheries sector. The interviews were intended to argue the findings from the questionnaires by seeking opinions from officials and other key persons. The first case-study in Chapter 9 explores the governance issues that arise when traditional and modern governments are not working in harmony with each other while the second case study in Chapter 10 analyses the application of modern governance in the management of the fisheries. Document collection ensured access to reliable information about governance issues considered in the study.

Creswell and Clark (2007: pp.62-63) comment that applying different methodologies in the study (triangulation) can enable cross-validation of data and increases its internal validity. Furthermore, triangulation is also helpful because it can offer an opportunity for a researcher to compare quantitative data, especially of a statistical nature, with the findings from qualitative data analysis (Marshall & Rossman 2006: pp.200-201).

A Quantitative and Qualitative Questionnaire

It was decided to use a questionnaire in order to explore the views of the general public. Cognizant of the advantages and problems, the researcher considered that the best way to minimise difficulties was to cautiously construct the questions to lessen or avoid uncertainty and to conduct a pilot survey of the instruments to establish their validity and reliability. The following describes the format and contents of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was comprised of three sections (Appendix B1 (iii)). Section A had eight demographic questions which enabled the researcher to make comparative analyses of the views of the respondents elicited from Sections B and Section C of the questionnaire. The data obtained in Section B was mostly of a quantitative nature and it also examined issues related to each sector of governance from the respondents' point of view. Section C was designed to elicit qualitative data from open-ended questions.

Section B of the questionnaire had nine parts, each concerning a specific sector of governance. Under each sector, there are statements for participants to rate using a Likert scale according to their perceptions of the need for improvement. The lists of statements of issues are not exhaustive but meant only to highlight some prevalent issues. It was also intended to engage participants' thinking about other significant issues for each sector. The selection of issues put forward was based on reports from major development partners and the Kiribati Development Plan. The Likert scale format had the potential to transform responses into numerical indicators. At the end of every governance sector of Section B there was an open-ended question inviting participants to provide comments.

Section C of the questionnaire had twelve open-ended questions to which participants were invited to provide detailed written responses. Four of the main questions in the personal interviews were also included in Section C of the questionnaire, enabling a wider population to respond to these significant questions.

Interviews

The open interview method was selected to access people's views, perceptions and meanings related to the themes of the study. Punch (2005: p.168) says the interview method is a powerful approach to understand people for it can build rapport between an interviewer and interviewee during the process and also offer opportunities for an interviewer to follow up unclear or incomplete responses by either asking probing questions or arranging additional times with the interviewees. The data collected through the interview approach can also enrich the data collected through other means.

An interview approach can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. Punch (2005: p.169) comments that the emphasis in a structured interview is to obtain a rational rather than emotional type of response, the semi-structured interview is less rigid as the questions prepared are only a

guide for the researcher, while the unstructured interview combines both discussion and open-ended questioning.

The semi-structured interview approach was used in the study as it was considered more economical, efficient and effective in obtaining data from the participants. A one-to-one interview approach was adopted when interviewing public servants and officials of NGOs, while group interviews were used with the general public on Tarawa and in villages on the outer islands. Group interviews were found to yield rich information regarding governance issues from the dynamic interaction within the groups (Burrows & Kendall 1997, Thomas et al. 1995). The group interviews also suited the culture of the people where similar things are discussed openly in the *maneaba* system. The semi-structured interview had eight open-ended questions (Appendix B2 (i)). Out of the eight questions, seven were designed as leading open-ended questions, occasionally supplemented by several probing questions, while the eighth question asked the respondents for any further comments. The main aim of the interviews was to learn from the respondents what was their understanding about the notion of governance and how it worked in Kiribati. It was hoped to discover what the people thought were the major governance issues prevalent in Kiribati, and the people's understanding of the linkages between development and good governance.

Case-Studies

The conflict on Maiana Island in 2009 between the Local Government Council and the Council of *Unimwane* was investigated as a case study. The analysis of the conflict was based on information from different sources on Maiana Island and from the press reports. This case study shed light on the kind of issues that emerge when the two different government systems are not in harmony. Chapter 9 of the thesis will present the detail of the case study on Maiana Island and its findings while Chapter 10 details a case study on modern governance and fisheries in Kiribati and analyses how oceanic and inshore fisheries are managed.

Document Collection

Documents were gathered to survey legislation, policy guidelines and other related matters for each governance sector considered in the study. These included the Constitution, Public Service Acts, the National Conditions of Service, Education Ordinance, Health Ordinance, Public Finance

and Audit Act, Environment Act, The Kiribati National Development Plan, The Kiribati Government Budget and the Millennium Development Goal report for Kiribati.

Determining the Population Sample

Sampling of the General Public and Public Servants

The concept of governance implies the interaction of two categories of people. On the one hand there are the politicians, elected officials and civil servants whose primary function is to govern and, on the other hand, there are people whose lives are impacted by the governing process. Governance in Kiribati poses great difficulties because of many factors, not least is the dispersion of islands over the vast mid-Pacific Ocean. The government is mostly carried out from the national headquarters on Tarawa in the Northern Gilbert Group and is linked to local governments on the outer islands.

Purposive sampling involved the decision of the researcher to choose the subjects to be included in the sample based on their specific characteristics which fitted the nature of the study. According to Cohen, et al. (2003: pp.103-104), the researcher's judgment in selecting the subjects on the basis of their typicality is the key to purposive sampling. Once the sample group has been identified, the researcher must decide the characteristics of those to be sampled, such as their circumstances, experiences and attitudes. Given that the focus of the study was on governance, the researcher believed that the appropriate sample for the general study were the I-Kiribati living in the country of voting age 18 years and above. These are the people who are most likely to be involved in the governance of the country either through the election process, decision making or development. The target population for the at-length interviews was civil servants working in those governance sectors highlighted in the study as well as representatives of the general population. People interviewed on Tarawa included church leaders, officials of NGOs and a representative of the Chamber of Commerce. On the outer islands most interviews were in group sessions but individual clerks and members of elders and women's groups were also interviewed.

In deciding the demographic characteristics of the sample, the researcher targetted participants with different personal backgrounds such as whether they are married or single, employees or self-employed, live on the main island or on the outer islands. The sites planned for conducting the study were mainly on the four islands of the Gilbert Islands Group. Tarawa, the main island,

Butaritari Island in the Northern Gilbert, Maiana Island for the Central Gilbert, and Onotoa Island in the Southern Gilbert (Appendix B3 (i) to B3 (iv)). In fact, Maiana Island is not located in the Central Gilbert but was chosen for its proximity to the islands of the Central Gilbert and also because of the case study where there was a clash between the Council of *Unimwane* and the local government on this island.

The Gilbert Islands Group was chosen for reasons of economy and access. In fact, the islands of the Gilbert Group are the most populated in the country and can easily be reached by domestic airlines. The restrictions of time and budget prevented visits to isolated island groups such as Banaba Island and the Line and Phoenix Island Groups. Of importance was the fact that Tarawa is the capital of the country and it is the place where the bulk of the population is concentrated.

The three islands of Butaritari, Maiana and Onotoa were selected as representative of each district and also for providing different perspectives of the people living outside the main island. Of particular interest was the fact that on both Butaritari Island in the Northern District, and Maiana Island, in the Central District, conflicts had occurred between the traditional councils of *Unimwane* and the local government councils. For instance, in the year 2000, the decision of several senior old men of the Council of *Unimwane* in Butaritari influenced the decision for men on the island to attack several families who lived close to the government station, claiming those families were going against the decision of the Council of *Unimwane* on important matters which had been decided. Consequently, there was disorder on the island for several days and one man reportedly died from this incident. Also several old men of the Council of *Unimwane* who were the initiators of the conflict were imprisoned.

The incident on Maiana Island occurred when the Council of *Unimwane* overthrew the Local Government Council in 2009, by instructing the mayor and the councillors from each village to resign. This incident was chosen for the case study as it depicts the conflict between traditional and modern governance. The conflict occurred because the councillors of the local government on the island did not respect the decisions of the Council of *Unimwane*. During the disturbance the mayor's home was burned down and the councillors and the mayor were asked to resign by an order of the Council of *Unimwane*. Maiana was also selected because it was an island constituency of President Tong during the time the study was implemented, and therefore, it was considered interesting to get the views of the people from the constituency of the Head of the State. Chapter 9 is a detailed account of the Maiana incident. Onotoa Island in the Southern

District was chosen because of the strong traditional culture practised on the island which is a typical characteristic of people living in most islands of Southern Kiribati. It was expected that by conducting a survey on the three outer islands beside Tarawa, the main island, significant information would be gathered and contribute to the achievement of the aims of the study.

All the necessary assistance to effectively conduct the study on the four islands was provided from the Office of the Beretitenti (President) and the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs of the Kiribati Government.

Group and Individual Interviews

Most interviews were conducted with public officials and, to a lesser extent, the general public, while the questionnaire was distributed to a wider population both on the main island and the three selected outer islands. The target population for interviews on Tarawa was public servants working at ministries and also employees from organisations such as churches and the Kiribati Association of NGOs and the Kiribati Chamber of Commerce. The inclusion of officials from NGOs, such as the churches, was considered to be able to partially represent the views of these groups. Group interviews of the general public were also conducted at centers or villages. Table 6.1 shows the available number of participants to be interviewed while Table 6.2 shows the number of group interviews on South Tarawa.

Table 6.1: Participants Available for Interview on South Tarawa

Ministries/Agencies	Officials	No	Ministries/Agencies	Officials	No
Office of the President	Chief Secretary Deputy Secretary	1 1	Ministry of Environment, Lands and Agriculture	Deputy Secretary Director of Environment	1 1
Public Service Commission	Commissioners	2	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development	Director of Planning Senior Accountant Salary	1 1
Ministry of Education	Director of Education Director of Curriculum	1 1	Kiribati National Audit Office	Deputy Auditor General	1
Ministry of Health	Secretary Director of Hospital Director of Public Health	1 1 1	Kiribati Police and Prison Services	Deputy Commissioner of Police	1
Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs	Director of Local Gov't Senior Local Gov't Officer Women Officer Youth Officer	1 1 1 1	Judiciary Ministry of Works & Public Utilities	Chief Registrar Deputy Secretary	1 1
Catholic Church	Bishop	1	Protestant Church	Vice Secretary General	1
Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development	Deputy Secretary	1	Ministry of Communication, Transport & Tourism	Senior Assistant Secretary	1
Total		15	Total		10
Grand Total = 25					

Table 6.2: Group Interviews on Tarawa

Group Interview	No	Total
Bikenibeu Town	2	6
Bairiki Town	2	
Betio Town	2	

Table 6.3 shows the sample of officials interviewed on Butaritari, Maiana and Onotoa who were mostly from members of prominent groups such as the Council of *Unimwane* and officials from local government on each island. As can be seen, the sample from each island was consistent because the organisations, such as the Council of *Unimwane* and Women's Association, existed on the islands and their members were considered to be the most likely to represent the views of the general public. Nevertheless, the inclusion of group interviews for each village visited which shown in Table 6.4 was also considered significant for getting wider views from the people. The group interviews on Tarawa were concentrated on the three main centers of Bikenibeu, Bairiki and Betio.

Table 6.3: Participants Available for Interview on the Three Outer Islands

Butaritari Island Agencies	Officials	No	Maiana Island Agencies	Officials	No	Onotoa Island Agencies	Officials	No
Local Gov't	Clerk	1	Local Gov't	Clerk	1	Local Gov't	Clerk	1
	Councillors	2		Councillors	2		Councillors	2
Council of <i>Unimwane</i>	Members	2	Council of <i>Unimwane</i>	Members	2	Council of <i>Unimwane</i>	Members	2
Women Association	Members	2	Women Association	Members	2	Women Association	Members	2
Youth Association	Members	2	Youth Association	Members	2	Youth Association	Members	2
Total		9	Total		9	Total		9
Grand Total of Outer Island Officials = 27								

Table 6.4: Group Interviews on the Three Outer Islands

Villages of Butaritari Island	No of Groups	Villages of Maiana Island	No of Groups	Villages of Onotoa Island	No of Groups
Tabukinimeang	1	Tekaranga	1	Tekawa	1
Temanokunuea	1	Tematantongo	1	Tanaeang	1
Onomaru	1	Tebangetua	1	Buariki	1
Ukiangang Meang	1	Tebiauea	1	Temao	1
Ukiangang Maiaki	1	Buota	1	Aiaki	1
Total	5	Total	5	Total	5
Grand Total of Outer Islands Group Interviews = 15					

Sample for the Questionnaire

The distribution of the questionnaires was targeted at the three major centers on Tarawa and five villages from each of the three selected outer islands. The total number of questionnaires distributed was 600 of which 300 were dispersed on South Tarawa and 100 each in the three outer islands. It was anticipated that there would be problems in the number of returned questionnaires as participation was voluntary and there were inherent difficulties in guaranteeing the returned of completed questionnaires. However it was expected that by following the essential protocols to contact and reach the participants, the return rate of the questionnaires would reach an adequate number to enable a viable analysis of the data. Table 6.5 below shows the distribution of the questionnaires for each island.

Table 6.5: Sample in Dissemination of the Questionnaires

Islands	Towns/Villages	Number of Questionnaires
South Tarawa	Bikenibeu	100
	Bairiki	100
	Betio	100
Butaritari	Tabukinimeang	20
	Temanokunuea	20
	Onomaru	20
	Ukiangang Meang	20
	Ukiangang Maiaki	20
Maiana	Tekaranga	20
	Tematantongo	20
	Tebangetua	20
	Tebiauea	20
	Buota	20
Onotoa	Tekawa	20
	Tanaeang	20
	Buariki	20
	Temaao	20
	Aiaki	20
Total		600

Pre-Study Activities

Procedures before implementing the study

The research questionnaire and the interview schedule were written in both English and Kiribati and were checked by the principal supervisor. The Kiribati language version was regarded as suitable for people on the outer islands as it was believed they would feel more comfortable participating in the Kiribati language. The English language version for both the questionnaire and the interview was to be used mostly on Tarawa where people are more confident in using English. However, if there were difficulties for participants in using the English version, the Kiribati versions were always available. During the process, amendments were made to the structure and content of the instruments to avoid ambiguities. The approval from the University's Human Research Ethics Committee was received on 31 August 2009 (Appendix B4).

Before conducting the field study in Kiribati, it was necessary to observe several protocols. The Chief Secretary of the Office of the President was informed of the study and approval requested to visit government ministries for the purpose of conducting interviews and distributing questionnaires. Approval was granted and a letter of support was issued to concerned ministries requesting their support when visited by the researcher (Appendix B5). The Secretary for the Ministry of Internal and Social Development and the Senior Local Government Officer were also informed and their advice on protocol when visiting the three outer islands was obtained, along

with letters of support to the clerks of the local governments on the selected islands. Letters of support were sent to the clerks of the three outer islands (Appendix B6). The researcher carried copies of the letters when visiting the islands.

The Pilot Study

A pilot study was considered necessary to hone the instruments, to test their effectiveness, to assess the actual time participants needed to complete them and to check that they would produce useful information. A pilot study can enhance and facilitate the reliability of the study by testing the procedures and considering how effective they are in achieving worthwhile data. While the concept of reliability refers to the extent to which the research findings can be replicated, the problem in many studies in the social sciences is that human behaviour is never the same (Merriam 2001: p.205). As such, the connotation of reliability in conducting qualitative methodologies can be better perceived from the point of view of how dependable or consistent the results are from the data obtained (Boeiji 2010: pp.173-178, Jurs & Wiersma 2005: p.264). Merriam (2001: p.206) commented that the issue is not whether the findings can be replicated but whether the results are consistent with the data collected. In taking such a stance, what is important for the researcher to do is to clearly explain the intentions and theory behind the study, apply multiple methods of data collection and analysis of data in order to strengthen the internal validity and reliability of the study (Marshall & Rossman 2006: pp.200-202). The validity and reliability of the study can also be facilitated by having the participants respond to interview questions without indicating approval or endorsement of their responses. Instead, the researcher can elicit more information by probing with ‘_why’ and ‘_how’ questions to enable the respondent to clarify his or her position about the topic. Also the open-ended questions should not be framed in a way that might show a preference for a particular response. Furthermore, the researcher needs to clearly document how the results of the study were reached and to admit his or her subjectivity.

The participants in the pilot study were a group of fifteen in-service students of the Kiribati Teachers' College (KTC) and fifteen local people from the rural area of Bonriki village. The in-service students from the KTC were selected because they were employed people, had a wide range of ages and were also easily accessible to the researcher. The people from Bonriki village on Tarawa were selected because they came from a rural area with similar characteristics to people living on the outer islands.

The Principal of the KTC and the chairperson of a group of local people from Bonriki agreed to take part in the pilot study. The pilot study took two weeks and the results showed that four open-ended questions of the English version of the questionnaire required minor changes to make them more specific. The questionnaires completed by the participants in the pilot study were not included in the actual study. The researcher also found that there was benefit from undertaking trial interviews prior to conducting the actual interviews for the study.

Implementing the Study

Implementing the Study on the three outer islands

The study on each of the three outer islands was implemented by following necessary protocols given in advice by the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs. Prior to the researcher's arrival at each island, the clerk of the local government council was informed of the arrival date of the researcher. This was important so that the clerk could have ample time to inform the councillors from the villages involved in the study. Forward planning also enabled the researcher to schedule visits in a timely manner.

The study was conducted first on Butaritari Island, followed by Maiana Island and Onotoa Island. A courtesy visit to the clerk was carried out on arrival on each island followed by a meeting with a clerk and the councillors from the villages to be visited. A schedule of visits to the villages was arranged so that each councillor was aware when his/her village would be visited by the researcher. Each councillor was then able to inform every household in the village of the time when the researcher would visit their village and the venue for the meetings. A staff member from the local government council accompanied the researcher to each venue and facilitated the smooth running of the meetings. Their presence had some influence on the meetings by enabling the villagers to adhere to the purpose of the visits.

In every village *maneaba* (traditional meeting hall) visited on the three outer islands, most of the people who attended the meetings were mature or elderly men representing each household in the village. The number of people attended the meetings varied from village to village of each island. Table 6.6 shows the number of people attended the meetings by village of each island. In total there were 670 people attended maneaba meetings. That is, South Tarawa 350, Butaritari 110, Maiana 100 and Onotoa 110.

Table 6.6: The Number of People who attended Maneaba Meetings

Villages visited for maneaba meetings	Number of people attended maneaba meetings
South Tarawa Island	
Bikenibeu	100
Bairiki	95
Betio	100
Other Villages	55
<i>Sub-Total</i>	350
Butaritari Island	
Tabukinimeang	20
Temanokunuea	20
Onomaru	20
Ukiangang Meang	25
Ukiangang Maiaki	25
<i>Sub-Total</i>	110
Maiana Island	
Tekaranga	21
Tematantongo	19
Tebangetua	22
Tebiauea	18
Buota	20
<i>Sub-Total</i>	100
Onotoa Island	
Tekawa	22
Tanaeang	28
Buariki	20
Temao	20
Aiaki	20
<i>Sub-Total</i>	110
Grand Total	670

The way they organised themselves in the *maneaba* was by sitting in a circle at their customary assigned sitting places. The researcher was seated either on the eastern side or western side of the *maneaba*. There were also women present but they were often out-numbered by men and made little contribution in the discussion or decision making. Their role was apparently to accompany a husband, to represent a particular family or to help serve meals or undertake minor tasks to enable the smooth running of the session. This situation was not new to the researcher because he is from an outer island where such age/gender practices are still a strong part of traditional governance. In almost every village using the custom, the spokesperson opened the meeting by greeting everybody and then the visitor was given a time to inform the people about the purpose of his visit. A question time was usual so that everyone could understand and participate.

The researcher thanked everyone present and acknowledged the importance of their contributions. People were told their participation was voluntary. An indication of approval from the people to participate was secured at this initial stage. The researcher explained that there were two parts of

the study: first was a group interview involving all those present and the second part was individual completion of the questionnaires by participants. The limit of twenty questionnaires for each village was explained as a method of sampling of the views of the people from the selected villages. In most villages visited there were sufficient questionnaires for everyone present to complete a copy. At other times representatives of the whole village did not attend but there were always enough questionnaires available. An assigned date to collect the questionnaires was also decided in the session.

Conducting the group interview at the beginning of the sessions was thought to be desirable as the participants were likely to be alert and enthusiastic to contribute to the discussion. In conducting an interview, the researcher explained the anonymity of participation and the way in which the responses would be documented using pseudonyms, and how the data would be analysed using a coding system for categorising common themes emerging from the discussion, rather than reporting an individual's contributions. It was also explained that the study was not meant to be an occasion to accuse government or any officials of failure or wrong doing but rather to document what people felt about the governance in Kiribati and how it could be improved. The interview was conducted in an informal manner by asking questions and recording responses manually. Different views and opinions were expressed by the participants who apparently appreciated the informal discussion with other outer island people about governance issues. The researcher's role was to act as a facilitator to elicit people's opinions, to document the views expressed, to seek clarification and to ask further questions.

The second part of every session was an explanation on how to fill in the questionnaire. Because it was written in Kiribati, the people easily engaged with filling in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed among those who were present at the session and the researcher went through each section and then allowed the people to ask questions. People often found Section B of the questionnaire required time and practice to answer the questions because of the lack of experience in using Likert scales to answer questions. Consequently, explanation and practice were always provided for the people every time Section B was covered in the session. The rest of the sections of the questionnaire, such as Section A and Section C, were quite clear and easy for the people to follow.

The two weeks duration in conducting a study on each island was needed for the researcher to participate in village meetings, to conduct one-to-one interviews with employees as indicated in Table 6.3, to collect completed questionnaires and make records.

Implementing the Study on Tarawa

The study on Tarawa was conducted between visits to the outer islands. There were times when flights to the outer islands were either heavily booked or cancelled and therefore the researcher made use of those days by continuing data gathering in the main centers of Tarawa.

The study on Tarawa was conducted at the three main heavily populated centers of Bikenibeu, Bairiki and Betio. Bikenibeu is the educational center for the nation where the Ministry of Education, the Kiribati Teachers' College, and King George V and Elaine Bernachii national secondary schools are located. The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Agriculture are also located in Bikenibeu. Bairiki town is known as the Headquarters of Kiribati where most of the government ministries and agencies are located, while Betio is regarded as a commercial and port center for the nation with a few government ministries and the judicial arm of the government.

The approach taken for interviewing participants and distributing questionnaires on Tarawa was similar to the approach carried out on the outer islands. However, appointments were required prior to conducting interviews, for seeking assistance to organise gatherings for group interviews or for distribution of questionnaires. The interviews conducted with government officials were on a one-to-one basis and were recorded using a tape-recorder, while group interviews were manually recorded. The distribution of questionnaires to government ministries and the general public was carried out with the assistance of heads of divisions of ministries, pastors and councillors.

The group interviews with the general public on Tarawa were organised through the assistance of pastors of major churches such as the Catholic and the Kiribati Protestant Church at the three main centers. Schedules were arranged and the researcher visited each venue where there were about twenty participants at each group interview. Conducting of group interviews and explanations to the general public of how to fill in the questionnaires were conducted in the parish *maneaba* in a manner similar to the on outer islands. Church membership on Tarawa has created an effective forum for people to come together and share their views regardless of gender or

island origin. Church meetings can also avoid the biases towards the voices of male elders associated with traditional meetings. They are regarded as an effective means of mobilising and getting access to the people, particularly on Tarawa where the majority are from different outer islands. It is also through the church gatherings on Tarawa that the researcher was able to access women as it was here that they were accustomed to exercising their rights and had regular involvement in decision making.

Learning Experiences gained from Conducting a Study in Kiribati

The researcher learned that conducting a study on the outer islands required patience and respect for the norms of the community. In every village meeting in the outer islands the participants involved did not seriously consider the importance of adhering to the time schedules set for the meetings. Many people would arrive twenty or thirty minutes late or sometimes, when there was no one in the *maneaba*, someone would be sent to call the people to the *maneaba*. Also the researcher noticed that there were traditional norms and practices of the *maneaba* that are still strongly practised, such as close adherence to the master of ceremonies' orders regarding the program arranged for the meeting. Even though the meeting was only for the purpose of conducting a study it was realised that it could also involve speeches, garlanding and feasting. The researcher realised that permission for giving a speech or leaving the *maneaba*, especially by a visitor at the end of the meeting, had to be sought from the master of ceremonies. Such customs experienced on the outer islands were not practised in Tarawa. The participants on Tarawa were more conscious about punctuality and dealing with business in a timely manner, nor did they bother much about entertainment or making speeches. It was also noticeable that women on Tarawa were more vocal in discussions than their counterparts on outer islands.

Data Analysis Procedures

The research methods used in the study yielded quantitative and qualitative research data. Quantitative data was collected mainly from the answers to Sections A and B of the questionnaire while qualitative data was elicited from the responses collected from the open-ended questions of Sections B and C of the questionnaire and also from the responses collected from the interviews and the case studies.

Quantitative data often provided numerical values that could be easily interpreted by using statistical analysis tools. The intention of using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software was used as it could provide considerable help in carrying out a wide range of analysis as well as in implementing cross-tabulations of independent variables with dependant variables. One of the essential tasks when entering data was to code responses for participants from Tarawa separately from those of the outer islands by giving a different identity number, so participants from Tarawa were given a number and abbreviation starting with *TRW* while those from the outer islands were given a number starting with *OT*.

However, when it came to analysing qualitative data, the huge amount of amorphous data collected from the open-ended questions during the interviews often required the most manageable form of data analysis to draw meanings from such data. Qualitative data can be analysed either manually or by using appropriate software or a mixture of both (Brewer & Hunter 2006: pp.71-75). As the researcher's interest was to fully understand the meaning behind the data to enable better comprehension of the views and perceptions of participants, a procedure was adopted whereby recurrent features in the data were identified first and then later established as themes. Based on the established themes from the data, a coding system was developed and used to analyse the data. Coding refers to the process of assigning some kind of shorthand description to different aspects of the data to enable easy retrieval of part of the data (Babbie 2004: pp.376-379). The coding system could be enhanced and facilitated by adopting the characteristics of good governance identified in the conceptual background chapters and adding them to themes already identified from the data to form part of the codes for analysis.

Chapters 7 and 8 of the thesis will focus on the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data respectively. The quantitative data analysis in Chapter 7 will present essential results in frequency and cross-tabulation tables received from running the SPSS for descriptive analysis, while the qualitative data analysis in Chapter 8 will present main themes substantiated by samples of verbatim reports which emerged from analysing the qualitative data. Chapter 9 will present the case study on Maiana Island and its findings while Chapter 10 will discuss the case study on the management of fisheries. Chapter 11 will present the summary of the study's findings, provide recommendations and a conclusion.

CHAPTER 7: QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter focuses on analysing the participants' responses obtained from Sections A and B of the questionnaire. In the first part of the analysis, the independent variables of Section A, such as the geographical locations of participants, gender, marital status and age range will be analysed using frequency distribution tables. Frequency tables of the dependent variables of Section B of the questionnaire will also be presented, highlighting trends of the participants' responses to the different items in the sectors of governance. A green highlight is used in the tables in an alternate manner to enhance the reading of the data by rows.

In the second part of the chapter, the focus is on the presentation of cross-tabulations of independent variables with each item of the nine sectors of governance that demonstrate variations in the dispersion of the data on a three point scale. It will involve a discussion of the findings revealed in Sections A and B of the questionnaire. A cross-tabulation technique is used to reveal how respondents perceived each item of governance, mostly by geographical location. Chapter 8 provides participants' responses regarding governance issues that would help substantiate the quantitative data of this chapter. Given the great number of tables that were produced from the cross-tabulations of six independent variables against the forty-five items under the governance sectors, it was considered appropriate to

- 1) Discuss and include the tables of items that show *notable dispersion* of their data on the three point scale, and
- 2) Omit tables of items that show *limited variation* in the dispersion of their data on the three point scale. Tables with limited dispersion will be shown in Appendix C1 to C6. This approach ensured the key variables were included and reduced the need to state repeatedly numerous tables that revealed limited variations.

It was anticipated that those surveyed for the study would provide the researcher with valuable information regarding governance issues in Kiribati. In addition, the knowledge gained from the research might be useful in suggesting areas that require possible improvement in the governance

of the country. The strategy used to collect the data from the main island and three outer islands was intended to draw a representative sample of I-Kiribati views on good governance.

Part 1A: The Analysis of Independent Variables

Geographical Locations of Participants

There were 600 questionnaires distributed: 300 on Tarawa and 100 on each of the three islands of Butaritari, Maiana, and Onotoa. Table 7.1 shows that there were 321 responses giving an overall response of 54 per cent. There were 151 or 50 per cent of those distributed from Tarawa, 60 or 60 per cent of those distributed from Butaritari, 59 or 59 per cent of those distributed from Maiana, and 51 or 51 per cent of those distributed from Onotoa. Participants from other villages on Tarawa are employees who work on main centres but actually reside in other villages.

Table 7.1: Number of Respondents by Island and by Village

Geographical Locations	Frequency
<i>South Tarawa Island</i>	
Bikenibeu	22
Bairiki	46
Betio	34
Other Villages	49
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>151</i>
<i>Butaritari Island</i>	
Tabukinimeang	13
Temanokunuea	13
Onomaru	13
Ukiangang Meang	11
Ukiangang Maiaki	10
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>Maiana Island</i>	
Tekaranga	12
Tematantongo	11
Tebangetua	12
Tebiauea	11
Buota	13
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Onotoa Island</i>	
Tekawa	10
Tanaeang	10
Buariki	9
Temao	12
Aiaki	10
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>51</i>
Grand Total	321

Table 7.2 shows the number of respondents by two main geographical locations, Tarawa and the outer islands. The two contrasting geographical locations will form the basis for interpreting the

data as they can reveal a better understanding about the different views of the respondents regarding governance. The data reveal that there was a slightly higher percentage of respondents from the outer islands than Tarawa, the main island.

Table 7.2: No of Participants by South Tarawa and Outer Islands

Geographical Location	Frequency	Percent
South Tarawa	151	47.0
Outer Island	170	53.0
Total	321	100.0

Gender of Participants

Table 7.3 shows the gender of participants and reveals that more males (224 or 70 per cent) than females (97 or 30 per cent) participated in the study. The number of males participating in the study confirms Kiribati as a male dominated society where women are less involved in leadership and decision making processes.

Table 7.3: Number of Respondents by Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	224	69.8
Female	97	30.2
Total	321	100.0

Age Range of Participants

Table 7.4 shows that three-quarters of respondents were within the age range of 18 to 47. It also reveals that about a quarter of the respondents were within the age range of 48 and over. The young adult age group has a higher literacy rate than older people and this may have partially contributed to a higher number of young adults aged 18 to 47 filling in the questionnaire.

Table 7.4: Number of Respondents by Age Range

Age Range	Frequency	Percent
18-27	54	16.8
28-37	104	32.4
38-47	85	26.5
48-57	49	15.3
58 and over	29	9.0
Total	321	100.0

Education Level of Participants

Table 7.5 shows that approximately three-quarters of the respondents had completed primary and secondary education. The table also reveals that, out of the 321 respondents, slightly over a quarter had completed a college or university education. In Kiribati the majority do not have the opportunity to go on to higher education at either at the colleges or the universities. Therefore, the majority can only finish formal education either at primary or secondary level.

Table 7.5: Number of Participants by Education Level

Educational Level	Frequency	Percent
Primary and Secondary	237	73.8
College and University	84	26.2
Total	321	100.0

Employment Sector of Participants

Table 7.6 shows that a slight majority of respondents, 172 (54 per cent), lived in a subsistence economy. It also demonstrates that 119 (37 per cent) were employed in the public sector while 30 (9 per cent) were employed in non-government organisations (NGOs). The data demonstrate that the majority of the respondents live a subsistence lifestyle on outer islands where there are limited opportunities for employment and the private sector.

Table 7.6: Number of Participants by Employment Sector

Educational Level	Frequency	Percent
Public Sector	119	37.1
NGOs	30	9.3
Subsistence Living	172	53.6
Total	321	100.0

Part 1B: The Analysis of Dependent Variables

In Section B of the questionnaire, participants were asked about their perceptions and beliefs regarding items in the governance sector using descriptive phrases presented on a five-point Likert scale. There were nine dependent variables and each variable had five items. The pre-test running of SPSS demonstrated that there were a number of empty scales and also scales with fewer than five frequencies, which enabled compressing scales to three points. SPSS rearranges the values of the three scales to match each condition such as 3 for Strongly Agree and Agree, 2 for Undecided and 1 for Strongly Disagree and Disagree.

Public Sector and Human Resources

Table 7.7 indicates that almost 60 per cent of respondents think that the performance of the Kiribati public service is less than satisfactory while almost 70 per cent consider customer service is also unsatisfactory. Similarly, about 70 per cent think the public service sector is huge and expensive and some government services should be privatised. Overwhelmingly more than 95 per cent of respondents think improvements in the public sector are needed.

Table 7.7: Public Sector and Human Resources

Public Sector & Human Resources Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
The performance of the public sector is excellent	75	23.4	61	19.0	185	57.6	321	100
Customer service in Kiribati is excellent	61	19.0	37	11.5	223	69.5	321	100
Kiribati public sector is huge and expensive	229	71.3	55	17.2	37	11.5	321	100
Privatisation of some government services is essential	224	69.8	36	11.2	61	19.0	321	100
Improvements in the public sector is required	306	95.3	9	2.8	6	1.9	321	100

Education Sector

Responses about the education sector are shown in Table 7.8. Over 80 per cent consider education in Kiribati focuses most on academic studies and slightly more than three-quarters perceive that the school curriculum is geared to western ideals. About 97 per cent think teaching performance needs improvement and parents should be involved more in their children's education. The belief that improvements in the education sector are needed is almost unanimous.

Table 7.8: Education Sector

Education Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
The school curriculum in Kiribati is geared to western ideals	246	76.6	28	8.8	47	23.4	321	100
The education in Kiribati focuses most on academic studies	264	82.2	30	9.4	27	8.4	321	100
Parents should be involved more in their children's education	311	96.9	4	1.2	6	1.9	321	100
Teaching performance needs improvement	312	97.2	6	1.9	3	0.9	321	100
Improvements in the education sector are needed	314	97.8	6	1.9	1	0.3	321	100

Health Sector

Only a quarter of respondents believe preventative health services in Kiribati are excellent; however, nearly 60 per cent do not consider such services need to be charged at appropriate costs. There was a strong response of over 96 per cent agreeing that the health sector needs improvements, specifically in water and sanitation services. Nearly 87 per cent agree that population control needs to be promoted.

Table 7.9: Health

Health Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Preventative health services are excellent	80	24.9	44	13.7	197	61.4	321	100
Health services need to be charged at appropriate costs	91	28.3	38	11.9	192	59.8	321	100
Water and Sanitation services need improvement	308	96.0	10	3.1	3	0.9	321	100
Population control needs to be promoted	278	86.6	25	7.8	18	5.6	321	100
Improvements in the health sector is needed	310	96.6	7	2.2	4	1.2	321	100

Non Government Organisations and the People

Table 7.10 shows that responses to items about NGOs and people participation in Kiribati governance. Nearly three-quarters of respondents believe the people are hardly ever consulted about public policies. About 65 per cent consider that NGOs are poorly developed and work for their organisations and members, meaning they have no real connection to the general population. Nevertheless, nearly 90 per cent of respondents believe that the people and NGOs can strengthen good governance in Kiribati and 94 per cent agree that people should have the capacity to voice their concerns. This demonstrates the need for NGOs to encourage people's involvement in building a civil society.

Table 7.10: NGOs and the People

NGOs & the People Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Development of NGOs is low	207	64.5	63	19.6	59	15.9	321	100
NGOs mostly work for their organisations and members	209	65.1	51	15.9	61	19.0	321	100
The people are hardly ever consulted about public policies	234	72.9	51	15.9	36	11.2	321	100
NGOs and the people can strengthen good governance	286	89.1	27	8.4	8	2.5	321	100
People should have the capacity to voice their concerns	303	94.4	12	3.7	6	1.9	321	100

Environment Sector

There was a consistently strong response to questions about environmental issues. About three-quarters of responses indicated that people are ignorant of ideas for a sustainable environment and are not involved much in environmental issues. A similar percentage believe Kiribati should do more about global warming. Over 80 per cent consider people contribute to environmental pollution and 90 per cent support enforcement of environmental legislation.

Table 7.11: Environment

Environment Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
People are not involved much in environmental issues	253	78.8	29	9.1	39	12.1	321	100
People are ignorant about ideas for a sustainable environment	234	72.9	27	8.4	60	18.7	321	100
People contribute to waste environmental pollution	260	81.0	33	10.3	28	8.7	321	100
Kiribati should do more about global warming	238	74.1	45	14.1	38	11.8	321	100
Enforcement of environmental legislation is required	291	90.7	17	5.3	13	4.0	321	100

Economic Development

Table 7.12 shows that over 50 per cent consider that the government has not made a great effort to stimulate the economy. About 89 per cent believe that the economy can be stimulated by involving the people and strengthening the private sector. Also, about 87 per cent agree that aid donors should be asked for more aid. The idea that the limitations of the Kiribati economy can contribute to poverty is supported by almost 93 per cent of respondents. This reveals that the majority of the people feel the economy of the country should be improved to support governance.

Table 7.12: Economic Development

Economic Development Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Government has made a great effort to stimulate the economy	83	25.9	60	18.7	178	55.4	321	100
The people need to be involved in stimulating the economy	284	88.5	17	5.3	20	6.2	321	100
The private sector in Kiribati needs strengthening	285	88.8	20	6.2	16	5.0	321	100
The limitation of the Kiribati economy can contribute to poverty	297	92.5	5	1.6	19	5.9	321	100
Aid donors should be asked more for aid	278	86.6	24	7.5	19	5.9	321	100

Rule of Law

Approximately 90 per cent of respondents agree that the people do not understand much about the rule of law and that the legislative capacity to make laws needs improvement. The same percentage of respondents consider that the capacity of the judiciary requires improvement. Improvement in the government's capacity to enforce laws is supported by 90 per cent of respondents, and promotion of rule of law through education is supported by 95 per cent of respondents. The rule of law is one sector that the people consider requires constant improvement.

Table 7.13: Rule of Law

Rule of Law Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
People do not understand much about the rule of law	284	88.5	14	4.4	23	7.1	321	100
The legislative capacity to make laws needs improvement	294	91.6	16	5.0	11	3.4	321	100
Government capacity to enforce laws needs improvement	304	94.7	13	4.1	4	1.2	321	100
The capacity of the judiciary requires improvement	286	89.1	27	8.4	8	2.5	321	100
The rule of law should be promoted by educating the people	306	95.3	10	3.1	5	1.6	321	100

Government

About three-quarters of the respondents agree that the Kiribati Constitution is in need of revision. However, nearly 60 per cent do not believe that the Kiribati Government is efficient while over three-quarters of respondents disagree that there is no corruption in government. Approximately

40 per cent do not consider government policies reflect good government and nearly 90 per cent agree that appointment of an ombudsman to look into civil complaints is needed.

Table 7.14: Government

Government Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
The Kiribati Constitution is in need of revision	238	74.1	71	22.2	12	3.7	321	100
The Kiribati Government is efficient	49	15.3	75	23.3	197	61.4	321	100
Corruption does not exist in government	32	10.0	40	12.5	249	77.6	321	100
Government policies reflect good government	105	32.7	80	24.9	136	42.4	321	100
Appointment of an ombudsman to look into civil complaints is needed	287	89.4	26	8.1	8	2.5	321	100

Governance

Responses about the governance sector are revealed in Table 7.15. About 61 per cent agree that the leadership style in the government is weak while 46 per cent agree that present law enforcement in Kiribati is appropriate. Only about 50 per cent agree that the legal system in Kiribati provides justice for all. Nearly 90 per cent of respondents consider that parliamentarians need professional training to represent their constituencies and over 90 per cent consider that improving electoral systems and involving the people is needed.

Table 7.15: Governance

Governance Items	Strongly Agree & Agree		Undecided		Strongly Disagree & Disagree		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
The leadership style in the government is weak	195	60.7	62	19.4	64	19.9	321	100
Present law enforcement in Kiribati is appropriate	148	46.1	65	20.3	108	33.6	321	100
The legal system in Kiribati provides justice for all	152	47.4	72	22.4	97	30.2	321	100
Parliamentarians need professional training to represent their constituencies	279	86.9	30	9.4	12	3.7	321	100
Improving electoral systems and involving the people is needed	293	91.3	21	6.5	7	2.2	321	100

Part 2: Opinions on Sectors of Governance from Cross-Tabulations

The cross-tabulation of the forty-five items of the sectors of governance (dependent variables) with six independent variables, geographical location, gender, age range, marital status, highest education and employment organisations, revealed a remarkable level of common views held by the respondents, that is 60 per cent or more of respondents together agreed or disagreed with particular propositions. For these items showing strong agreement or disagreement, the analysis of the data will be discussed under *consensus items* and the tabulation of those items will be referred to in Appendix C1 to C6. However, items that show a difference of 10 per cent or more in the respondents' views will be discussed separately as *areas of divergence* with a presentation of the tabulations. The geographical location of participants was used as a basis for analysis in the cross-tabulation to highlight this aspect of divergent opinions. However, other independent variables of gender, marital status, age range, highest education and employment organisation will be commented on when there was a notable difference in the data. The intention of the cross-tabulation analysis was to reveal perceptions beyond what was shown in the frequency analysis of dependent variables in Part 1B of this chapter.

Public Sector and Human Resources

Consensus Items

About 70 per cent of the respondents from the two geographical locations of Tarawa and the outer islands disagree with the statements that “customer service in Kiribati is efficient” and “Kiribati public service is excellent”. Furthermore, more than 90 per cent consider that “improvement of the public sector is needed”. The trend of the views in these three items with variables of gender, marital status, age range, highest education and employment organisation shows a similar pattern in the level of agreement and disagreement (see Appendix C2 to C6)

Areas of Divergence

Table 7.16 below shows that about half of the respondents of Tarawa while two-thirds of the respondents in the outer islands disagreed with the proposition that “the performance of the public sector is excellent”.

Table 7.16: Views on Performance of Public Sector by Location

Geographical Locations	Item 1: The performance of the public sector is excellent			
	<i>Strongly Agree & Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree & Disagree</i>	<i>Total</i>
South Tarawa	26%	26%	48%	100%
Outer Islands	21%	13%	66%	100%

The data indicate that more residents of the outer islands expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the public sector than those from Tarawa. The people on Tarawa are less likely to feel dissatisfaction with the performance of the public sector as all the necessary services are in close proximity to them. Also, when they encounter problems with regard to delay, lack of certain services or goods, people on Tarawa are in a better position to access responsible agencies for supplies or services than those in the outer islands. However, from the perspective of the people from the outer islands, the performance of the public sector is not up to the standard they expect. It is evident that the main problem is the long distances between each island and the lack of timely delivery of services and goods to the outer islands, consequently the respondents felt the public sector was inefficient and ineffective. For instance, flying a plane from South Tarawa to an outer island for emergency medical evacuation of critical cases sometimes resulted in serious delays or even the death of a patient.

Imported foodstuffs and fuel supplies on outer islands often run out before the next shipment arrives and this can detrimentally affect the lives of people. Flour, rice, sugar and other food commodities become important in the community and people are unhappy when these items are out of stock for a long period of time. When fuel runs out on the outer islands, the running of certain services such as secondary schools, hospitals and the running of transport can be affected.

The education and health standards provided on the outer islands are often regarded as sub-standard compared to those provided on Tarawa and are often among the reasons for increased urban migration. The provision of better equipment, supplies and delivery of better services to the

public is deficient in most of the outer islands. In addition, public roads and sea ports are of critical concern and maintenance of these structures is often neglected. The provision of efficient and effective transport and communication services to residents on the outer islands is critical because it can lessen the burden on local people living in rural remote areas and at the same time help prevent urban migration.

Table 7.17 shows the percentage disagreement from the cross-tabulation data for “the performance of the Public Sector is excellent” with other independent variables and reveals that a significant difference in the disagreement was evident between the younger age ranges and those at 58 years and over whereby 20 per cent of the older respondents disagree with the notion that “the performance of the public sector is excellent”. This may result from the fact that this age group is either not experiencing much direct benefit from modern services or live in rural areas on the outer islands. There was also a different opinion between single and married respondents whereby 17 per cent more of the married respondents disagree that “the performance of the public sector is excellent” than those of single respondents. The reason for the differences between the opinions of married and single respondents may be partially attributed to the fact that in traditional societies, including Kiribati, married people get more involved in public life than those who are single.

Table 7.17: Views on the Public Sector Performance by Other Independent Variables

Other Independent Variables	Item 1: The performance of the Public Sector is excellent	
		% Disagreement
Gender	Male	58
	Female	56
Age Range	18-27yrs	46
	28-37yrs	60
	38-47yrs	53
	48-57yrs	59
	58 yrs and over	83
Marital Status	Single	43
	Married	60
Highest Education	Primary & Secondary	58
	College & University	56
Employment Organisation	Public Sector	54
	NGOs	50
	Subsistence Living	62

The idea of privatisation was also an area of difference in the opinions of the respondents from Tarawa and those of the outer islands. Table 7.18 shows that almost 80 per cent of the respondents from South Tarawa supported privatisation and nearly a third from the outer islands did not.

Table 7.18: Views on Privatisation of some Government Services by location

Geographical Locations	Item 4: Privatisation of some Government Services is essential			
	<i>Strongly Agree & Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree & Disagree</i>	<i>Total</i>
South Tarawa	79%	12%	9%	100%
Outer Islands	62%	10%	28%	100%

Overall there is a very strong support to privatisation of some government services from the people of Tarawa compared with residents from the outer islands. The majority of respondents from Tarawa were public servants who recognised the benefits of privatisation. Some respondents from Tarawa commented that the government have to find a means to privatise some part of the public service with a view to it being run by capable I-Kiribati. In the latter case, outer island residents fear that the private sector would not be prepared to deliver many services such as inter-island transport, to remote islands. The people on the outer islands are also concerned about inflation of prices by the private sector due to the absence of strict monitoring and regulation on private businesses on remote islands. It seems that, on the whole, Kiribati is not yet ready to embrace the idea of privatisation because of the feared repercussions on the lives of the people on remote islands. For example, private sectors may only operate in areas in close proximity to the main island where the cost of operating the business is minimal compared to doing business on remote islands with very few people living on those islands.

The need to understand more about the views of the respondents on item 4, “privatisation of some government services is essential” apart from the geographical locations of respondents, enabled a further cross-tabulation of this item with other independent variables of gender, marital status, highest education and employment organisation. Table 7.19 reveals that there is limited difference in the level of disagreement of respondents by gender and marital status. There is a greater level of disagreement among respondents according to level of education and employment organisation. That is, nearly a quarter of respondents with primary and secondary education and those who live in a subsistence economy disagree that “privatisation of government services is essential”. It is evident that these respondents are mostly from the outer islands where they view communal

governance as an accepted norm rather than advocating being individualised through the encouragement of privatisation.

Table 7.19: Views on Privatisation by other Independent Variables

Other Independent Variables	Item 4: Privatisation of government's services is essential	
		% of Disagreement
<i>Gender</i>	Male	20%
	Female	18%
<i>Age Range</i>	18-27	26%
	28-37	17%
	38-47	17%
	48-57	14%
	58 and over	28%
<i>Marital Status</i>	Single	24%
	Married	18%
<i>Highest Education</i>	Primary & Secondary	23%
	College & University	8%
<i>Employment Organisation</i>	Public Sector	11%
	NGOs	17%
	Subsistence Living	25%

Tables 7.17 and 7.19 indicate that apart from the different geographical locations of respondents, the marital status, level of education and employment organisations have an impact on the perceptions of respondents on the governance in the country. Marital status in Kiribati confers responsibility and authority in decision making recognised by society, especially in daily family and community matters. Likewise the level of education and being employed in employment organisations are seen to enhance people's notion of good governance. These attributes were seen to influence the opinions and behaviours of respondents from Tarawa and the outer islands. Those respondents who are highly educated have a wider view about strengthening governance, such as the need to improve the election process and avoid corruption, while those who have a lower educational background have limited understanding with regard to the improvement of governance, apart from the improvement in the delivery of services. Chapter 8 provides samples of in-depth responses of participants which reveal the differences in the responses of participants from Tarawa and the outer islands.

Education

Consensus Items

The five items of the education sector in Table 7.8 (p.153) reveals that the majority of the respondents hold a strong consensus of opinion concerning education. By cross-tabulating the five items of the education sector and the two geographical locations (Tarawa and the outer islands), more than 75 per cent, rising to near unanimity of the respondents, strongly confirm that the school curriculum in Kiribati is geared to western ideals, the education in the country focuses most on academic studies, parents need to be involved in the education of their children, teaching performance needs improvements, and improvement in the education sector is needed. The strong consensus of opinion concerning education was also revealed when cross-tabulating the five items of the education sector with the rest of independent variables (Appendix C2 to C6).

Education is a driving force in the country and has the potential to determine the stability and development of the nation. The agreement of the respondents on the five items of the education sector, regardless of their different geographical location, gender, marital status, age range or level of education, emphasise the confidence of the I-Kiribati in education as a means of improving governance and national development. A number of reports (Ministry of Finance & Economic Development 2008: p.8, Kiribati National Education Summit 2008: pp.7-10) have indicated that the standard of education in Kiribati has been diminishing and this has been widely felt by the public. Kiribati is a developing nation and therefore there is a pressing need for educated and capable citizens. Accordingly, both the government and the community need to make renewed commitment to the quality of education. The cause, effect and implications will be provided in the next qualitative chapter.

Health

Consensus Items

The great majority of the respondents agree with Items 3, 4, and 5 of the health sector (see Table 7.9, p.154) with about 96 per cent or more of the respondents supporting Item 3 that “water and sanitation services need improvement”, 86 per cent or more agree that “population control needs to be promoted”, and 96 per cent or more endorse the view that “improvement in the health sector is needed”. The cross-tabulation of the three items with other independent variables such as

gender, marital status, age range, level of education and employment organisation also reveal that 80 per cent consistently support the three items (Appendix C2 to C6). Overall, the people of Kiribati, regardless of geographical location, gender, marital status or education level, endorse water and sanitation as critical areas to be improved for the health of the population. The geological nature of low-lying coral atolls results in the extremely limited availability of natural water systems has resulted in scarce water supplies on the islands. Rainwater rapidly escapes either by evaporation or by seeping through porous sandy soil where it can only be collected underground to a limited extent.

Overpopulation on Tarawa has polluted underground water and, at the same time, put a strain on the available resources. The problem is exacerbated as people continue to build their homes on South Tarawa without proper planning and regulation of the provision of an approved sewerage system. Consequently there are limited designated reserved water areas on Tarawa which can supply adequate clean water for daily consumption. The problem of water supply, sanitation and health are made worse by rapid population growth, particularly on Tarawa. Item 4 of the health sector indicates that about 87 per cent of respondents believe that population control needs to be promoted (Table 7.9, p.154). The overwhelming support for the improvement in the health sector suggests the need to educate the public in effective ways to improve their health. Ironically, the people generally need to realise that personal attitudes and practices must also change to protect their health and the environment—it is not simply a government responsibility. Despite existing health risks the drift of population to an urban lifestyle on Tarawa continues.

Areas of Divergence

Understandably, residents of the outer islands have less positive views of preventative health services than those on Tarawa. Item 1, “preventative health services are excellent” and Item 2, “health services need to be charged at appropriate costs”, show variations in responses. Table 7.20 confirms that, while a majority of respondents on Tarawa do not believe preventative health services are excellent, a much higher percentage of respondents from the outer islands hold this negative view.

Table 7.20: Views on Preventative Health Services by Location

Geographical Locations	Item 1: Preventative health services are excellent			
	<i>Strongly Agree & Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree & Disagree</i>	<i>Total</i>
South Tarawa	28%	17%	55%	100%
Outer Islands	22%	11%	67%	100%

Residents of the outer islands have experienced many deficiencies in the health system on the remote islands where there are no doctors but only medical assistants and nurses who are capable of providing only limited medical care. Emergency evacuations to Tarawa sometimes fail because there are difficulties in communicating with the Tungaru Central Hospital in South Tarawa or air transport is delayed or unavailable. In addition, the medical supplies on remote islands are not adequate and are often exhausted before new rations for the outer islands are delivered. There are also complaints by the public, as evident from the researcher’s discussions on the outer islands, that at other times the doctors and nurses do not perform their duties well or do not turn up during their duty shift particularly on Tarawa, which can cause anxiety and feelings of neglect by patients and accompanying family members. Chapter 8 provides samples of responses from the participants regarding the issues related to the health sector.

The cross-tabulation of Item 1, “preventative health services are excellent” with other independent variables did not reveal remarkable variation in their data. That is, about 60 per cent of the respondents for each of the variables disagree that health services are excellent (Appendix C2 to C6).

However, nearly 80 per cent of respondents in the outer islands do not believe health services need to be charged at appropriate costs (Table 7.21). The majority of the population of the outer islands live a subsistence lifestyle and are not employed, therefore they would not be able to pay for health services if cost recovery was imposed. Understandably, employment opportunities and the means of generating an income on remote islands are very limited and this can cause extra worry for ordinary families to budget for the payment of health services.

Table 7.21: Views on Charging Health Services by Location

Geographical Locations	Item 2: Health services need to be charged at appropriate costs			
	<i>Strongly Agree & Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree & Disagree</i>	<i>Total</i>
South Tarawa	48%	13%	39%	100%
Outer Islands	11%	11%	78%	100%

A further tabulation of Item 2 with gender and marital status, confirmed that about 60 per cent of males and those who were married disagree that health services need to be charged at appropriate costs (Appendix C2 & C3). Males and married people have their say in the community because they are given more authority and because of the male dominant role in the society. With regard to level of education and employment organisation of the respondents, it was revealed that 70 per cent or more of those whose education was limited to primary and secondary schooling and lived a subsistence lifestyle do not support the view of health services cost recovery (Appendix C5 & C6). About 60 per cent or more of those in five age ranges disagree with the notion of a health recovery proposal except for those in the age range of 28 to 37 where 40 per cent agreed, 14 per cent were undecided and 46 per cent disagreed (Appendix C4).

Non-Government Organisations and the People

Consensus Items

The cross-tabulations of the five items concerning the NGOs and the people reveal that the majority of the respondents agree with all of the items (Table 7.10, p.154). That is, two-thirds agreed that “development of NGOs is low” and nearly two-thirds consider that “NGOs mostly work for their organisations and members” rather than being involved with whole community. At least 70 per cent confirmed that “the people are hardly consulted about public policies”. In addition, about 90 per cent endorsed the view that “NGOs and the people can strengthen good governance”. Further, 94 per cent agreed that “people should have the capacities to voice out their concern”. The cross-tabulation data of the five items concerning the NGOs and the people with the geographical location of the respondents revealed a similar pattern with the kind of data produced when cross-tabulating the five items with other independent variable such as gender, marital status, age range, education level, and employment organisation (Appendix C2 to C6). Chapter 8 provides a sample of issues the respondents viewed as problems related to the sector of NGO and the people.

The Council of *Unimwane* is a legitimate body which makes certain decisions in every village so the role of NGOs could have been better managed if harmonised with the existing traditional roles in the community. It is important for good government that the roles, responsibilities and limitations of each body contributing to the governing of the country are clearly defined. Processes need to be available for investigation and resolution of disputes between government agencies. Furthermore NGOs have a role in wider community development. In fulfilling their roles they need to respect and incorporate local aspirations. By recognising and utilising the existing structural pattern in the community, important matters such as government policies can be better directed and implemented by the people.

Environment

Consensus Items

The cross-tabulation of data for the five items dealing with the environment sector demonstrates that the majority of the respondents agree with the five items (see Table 7.11, p.155). The data elicited in cross-tabulating the five items dealing with the environment with the geographical locations and other independent variables (gender, marital status, age, education and employment organisations) also indicated a unanimous consensus of the respondents (Appendix C1 to C6).

The strong consensus of the respondents to the five items dealing with the environment justifies the need for both the government and the community to work cooperatively to avoid environmental degradation such as littering and dumping solid waste along coastal areas. Tarawa is an overpopulated island as indicated by the 2005 Kiribati Census, where poorly managed rubbish collection and disposal systems need to be improved. The lack of land space on South Tarawa, the urban area, to designate for dumping sites is a problem faced by the Tarawa Urban Council and the Betio Town Council, as well as, the Ministry of Environment, Land and Agriculture. Current dumping sites are inadequate to cope with the growing volume of domestic waste, mainly consisting of non bio-degradable imported products. There is a lack of proper town planning, enforcement of environmental legislation, and community involvement in management of waste disposal. Waste management needs to include composting and recycling in order to educate the people and avoid environmental damage. While a recycling project for cans and plastic containers on South Tarawa, the urban area, has been operating well, what is needed is a

wider commitment of the government and the community to combating environmental degradation and pollution locally and internationally. A sample of responses regarding the issues related to the environment sector is provided in Chapter 8.

Economic Development

Consensus Items

A great majority of respondents (about 90%) agree that ~~the~~ people need to be involved in stimulating the economy” and that ~~the~~ private sector in Kiribati needs strengthening” (Table 7.12, p.156). They also overwhelmingly agree that ~~the~~ limitations of the Kiribati economy can contribute to poverty” and that ~~aid~~ donors should be asked for more aid”. Item 1, ~~g~~overnment has made a great effort to stimulate the economy” shows limited difference in the data by geographical location. About half of the respondents from Tarawa do not believe that ~~g~~overnment has made a great effort to stimulate the economy” while even a greater proportion (nearly 60%) from the outer islands shared this negative belief (Appendix C1). The data indicate that the people should be more involved in stimulating the economy. Also, there seems to be a lack of motivation in the general public to be involved in appropriate activities that could stimulate the economy and this has been revealed especially by the views of the people concerning privatisation (Table 7.12, Item 3). This may arise because most people have limited capital, knowledge and skills to undertake small businesses. The limited inland resources and the difficulty of extracting maritime resources also contribute to the inability of the government to develop the private economic sector. Furthermore, the lack of involvement by most people in decision making and their awareness of economic matters, especially the residents of the outer islands, is a severe hindrance to private economic activity. The inability of the media to critically analyse and report how the economy has been managed is also an obstacle to the growth of understanding of the general public about the development of the national economy.

Rule of Law

Consensus Items

The large majority of the respondents (about 90%) agree with all of the five items of the rule of law propositions (Table 7.13, p.156). The respondents agree that ~~“people do not understand much about the rule of law”~~ and that ~~“the legislative capacity to make laws needs improvement”~~. There is almost unanimous agreement that ~~“government capacity to enforce laws needs improvement”~~ and ~~“the capacity of the judiciary requires improvement”~~. The item, ~~“the rule of law should be promoted by educating the people”~~ is overwhelmingly supported by the respondents throughout the country. The cross-tabulation of the five items dealing with the rule of law with other independent variables also confirms that a large majority of the respondents support the five items (Appendix C2 to C6).

The data reveal that the respondents recognise that the rule of law should be continuously enforced so that good order and peace is maintained in the community. The appropriateness of the law to suit various situations in the country and educating the general public about fundamental elements of the law can enable individuals to better understand what to do in circumstances where they believe they have been ill-treated, abused or exploited. The respondents also perceive that strengthening of the judiciary is important to the functioning of a democratic society so that legal matters are dealt with in an efficient, effective and unbiased way.

Discussions with the respondents revealed that there is a growing concern about independent work being undertaken by the Office of the People’s Lawyers (OPL) which is meant to work for the people rather than, to a certain extent, being controlled by the Chief Registrar of the judiciary system. Chapter 8 provides a sample of responses regarding issues related to the rule of law sector. When established, the intended role of the OPL was to assist the locals with legal matters on a full time basis. It was mentioned that there are instances where cases put forward by local people to the OPL have been delayed or dropped because it conflicts with the interest of the State or there are not enough resources or the people’s lawyer who should work on the case is asked to do other urgent tasks directed by the Chief Registrar. With limited legal aid services in the country, people have had to engage one of the few private lawyers who practise in the country, thereby incurring a heavy financial burden in terms of fees and waiting time.

The difficulties experienced by many people in accessing legal aid may arise because the resource allocation for the OPL is managed by the judiciary and consequently this creates a conflict of interest between the purposes of the OPL and the control of the judiciary (Registrar 2009, pers. comm., 10 October). Some respondents commented that there were times when they have had to wait for several months for their case to be heard. It is evident that the OPL should be fully independent and have its own funding allocation in order to fulfil its mandate. The respondents also commented that there was a backlog of legal cases on remote islands, resulting in long delays while waiting for the Chief Justice and his team to visit the outer islands.

Government

Consensus Items

Nearly three-quarters of respondents support the notion that “the Kiribati Constitution is in need of revision”. A majority of the respondents do not believe that “the Kiribati government is efficient” and that “corruption does not exist in government”. Furthermore about 90 per cent of respondents support the idea that “appointment of an ombudsman to look into civil complaints is needed”. A similar pattern in the data was also evident in the cross-tabulation of the four items with other variables (gender, marital status, age range, education level and employment organisations) (Appendix C2 to C6).

The strong consensus of opinion from all respondents on the four items dealing with government indicates the need for the government and community to monitor and improve governmental systems, whether institutional, legislative or the provision of the public services. For instance, the majority of the respondents believe the Kiribati Constitution needs to be revised to reflect contemporary needs. Also the efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector, which is often a problem in the Kiribati public service, needs to be examined in order to better provide adequate resources, technical facilities, as well as training augmented by incentives and disciplinary measures to boost morale and eliminate corruption.

The abuse of public office by civil servants for their own benefit or for their friends, relatives, church groups, particular island or village are forms of corruption evident in Kiribati. These accusations are shown in Chapter 8 under the Public Sector and Human Resource sector as well as the Government sector. As indicated by the respondents, an independent body such as an

ombudsman who would investigate allegations of corruption may effectively deal with some forms of misconduct. It appears that the current system of dealing with corrupt conduct by the Kiribati Auditor General’s Office and the Public Service Commission is inadequate. These bodies have broad responsibilities and their mandates are limited in dealing with corruption. Furthermore, the appointment of the officers and commissioners in the two agencies are made by the Head of State, including the provision of their budgets and resources, which may further constrain investigating allegations of corruption. The establishment of the office of ombudsman and the provision of resources and greater autonomy in the currently established bodies may suppress corruption and improve ethical practices in the public sector.

Area of Divergence

Table 7.22 shows that 28 per cent of the respondents from South Tarawa and 55 per cent from the Outer Islands reject the statement that “government policies reflect good government”.

Table 7.22: Views on Government Policies by Location

Geographical Locations	Item 4: Government policies reflect good government			
	<i>Strongly Agree & Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree & Disagree</i>	<i>Total</i>
South Tarawa	43%	29%	28%	100%
Outer Islands	24%	21%	55%	100%

The outer islands’ respondents pointed out in discussions that policies cannot always reflect good government. Sometimes they do, but at other times they are made to buy the votes of the people. For instance, the forty dollars monthly welfare payment policy by the Tong Government to people of age 70 and above was a policy which divided the opinions of the nation. On the one hand, some regarded it as a good policy while, on the other hand, people said it was a vote buying policy which undermined the Kiribati traditional family caring system for elderly people. People who were against it, commented that the forty dollars was an inadequate amount to support an elderly person for a month and as such it could create conflict between the children of an elderly person when it came to the management of the payment. The current payment was widely seen as unnecessary because the care for the elderly was not an issue for families in Kiribati. However, for those who favoured the policy it was regarded as a good way to recognise the important role of elderly people in contributing to the maintenance of the culture, stability and peace in the society.

Residents of outer islands are often sceptical about government policies, particularly when it comes to delivery, because they suffer the disadvantages of living on remote islands where it can take weeks or months before goods and services can be delivered. A further cross-tabulation of Item 4, “government policies reflect good government”, with other variables (Table 7.23) reveals that a substantial minority, generally between a third and a half of respondents, disagree with the proposition. The most notable exceptions occur in the age range variables where only 29 per cent of respondents in the 48-57 range disagree with the proposition, however nearly two thirds (62 per cent) of the respondents in the 58 and over range registered their strong disagreement with the proposition. An explanation of this contrasting response may be seen in the relative low level of disagreement among public sector employees (36 per cent) compared with the higher level of disagreement among respondents whose employment was in subsistence living (47 per cent). In other words, public sector employees in the senior years of their careers apparently think the government policies reflect good government—not surprisingly, as this is what they are paid to do—while subsistence workers mainly on the outer islands, have a decidedly lower opinion of the government policies reflecting good government.

Table 7. 23: Views on Government Policies by other Independent variables

Other Independent Variables	Item 4: Government policies reflect good government	
		% Disagreement
Gender	Male	40
	Female	47
Age Range	18-27	46
	28-37	46
	38-47	37
	48-57	29
	58 and over	62
Marital Status	Single	33
	Married	44
Highest Education	Primary & Secondary	45
	College & University	36
Employment Organisation	Public Sector	36
	NGOs	40
	Subsistence Living	47

Governance

Consensus Items

A majority of respondents agree that “parliamentarians need professional training to represent their constituents”. An even larger majority confirm that “improving electoral systems and the involvement of the people is needed”. A discussion with a senior government officer who was responsible for the electoral commission argued that improvement of the electoral system could be better achieved by establishing it as an independent commission with a mandate to make policies and plans to improve and implement voting in the country. The current practice of having the electoral commission under the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs apparently tends to limit and slow down changes because the officers responsible for the electoral commission are not dedicated full time to work on electoral matters; rather they do other work, and only commit themselves full time when an election is approaching. As an autonomous commission with its own budget and staff it could have the power to plan its activities, such as training of electoral officers from the outer islands, conduct public awareness and visit schools to educate the younger generation about the importance of voting and democratic principles. As an independent commission it could also spend time reviewing previous elections and plan ahead for the kinds of procedures that could improve future elections. Also its members could observe in other democratic countries and acquire knowledge and skills needed to improve elections in Kiribati.

The need for parliamentarians to have professional training to represent their constituents is also viewed by the people as an important commitment in strengthening governance. This implies that parliamentarians should not only possess traditional values and be loyal to their people but they should also be well educated and knowledgeable about the parliamentary system. Furthermore, such training would enable them to better represent the views and concerns of the people in parliament, as well as when representing the country at meetings, seminars and conferences. Nowadays, people are gradually understanding the important role of parliamentarians and want those who are elected to be better able to present their views in parliament and through the media and this is evident in some of the comments provided in Chapter 8.

Areas of Divergence

Half of the respondents from Tarawa agree that “present law enforcement in Kiribati is appropriate”. Slightly fewer from the outer islands hold a similar view. Approximately half of respondents throughout Kiribati agree that “the legal system provides justice for all”, although about a quarter disagree with this perception and the final quarter are undecided. A reasonable level of satisfaction and a sense of balance in the people’s view about law enforcement in Kiribati is evident which suggests that the law enforcement in Kiribati is generally acceptable. Kiribati is a stable country, however, there is a level of domestic violence experienced which necessitates the police and leaders of the community enforce order to maintain peace and stability in the country. Law enforcement is mostly needed on South Tarawa, the urban area where overpopulation is experienced and the growth of youthful disorder is most prevalent. Collaborative efforts between the police and the community can reduce the costs of policing and law enforcement. In addition, the involvement of the leaders of the community on the remote outer islands where very few police are stationed can promote stability in remote places and strengthen the bonds between the police force and the community.

The only item that reveals a considerable difference in the views of the respondents of Tarawa and the outer islands is in regard to “the leadership style in the government is weak”. Table 7.24 shows that about three-quarters of the respondents from the outer islands compared with about half of the respondents from Tarawa agree that “leadership style in the government is weak”.

Table 7.24: Views on Leadership Style in the Government by Location

Geographical Locations	Item 1: The leadership style in the government is weak			
	<i>Strongly Agree & Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree & Disagree</i>	<i>Total</i>
South Tarawa	47%	26%	27%	100%
Outer Islands	73%	13%	14%	100%

The outer islands’ residents have more resentment about the perceived “weak” performance of the government, particularly concerning those policies that the government needs to improve for the welfare of the people. From the researcher’s discussion with the respondents, such policies are effective communication and transporting systems for delivering goods and services, as well as opportunities for generating income in the outer islands. The frequent delay in the supply of funds to island councils including repair and maintenance funds, were among the reasons for complaints

about leadership style. These residents maintain that issues raised in Parliament should be dealt with on their merits according to the genuine needs of the people and not dismissed as falling outside the policy priorities of a particular party in power.

Table 7.25 shows that there is a low level of about 20 percent disagreement by the respondents when cross-tabulating Item 1, “The leadership style in government is weak” with other independent variables, except for the older age groups and level of education of the respondents. That is, respondents in the 48 and over age groups and those who have only primary and secondary education were even less inclined to agree with the proposition that the leadership style in government is weak.

Table 7.25: Views on Leadership style by other Independent variables

Other Independent Variables	Item 1: The leadership style in the government is weak	
		% Disagreement
Gender	Male	18
	Female	24
Age Range	18-27yrs	22
	28-37yrs	23
	38-47yrs	22
	48-57yrs	12
	58 yrs and over	10
Marital Status	Single	19
	Married	20
Highest Education	Primary & Secondary	17
	College & University	29
Employment Organisation	Public Sector	25
	NGOs	20
	Subsistence Living	16

Conclusion

The quantitative data analysed in this chapter was obtained from Sections A and B of the questionnaire. Part 1A discussed the frequency data of the independent variables which show in detail the size, density and distribution of gender, marital status, age range, highest education and employment organisation of the respondents, while Part 1B analysed the dependent variables of the nine sectors of governance and revealed the general trends in the views of the respondents on the various items of the sectors of governance. Part 2 of the chapter detailed the cross-tabulation data of the governance items by geographical location and also drew on other independent

variables which enabled comprehensive data to be described based on the views of the respondents according to each item of the sectors of governance.

It emerged that the geographical location, marital status, gender, employment organisation and educational levels of the respondents are the five contributing factors that most influence the way people view governance in Kiribati. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that from among the five contributing factors that influence the way people view governance, geographical location tends to influence people most with regard to the issues of governance in Kiribati. The analysis of the data confirms that the locality of people's dwelling places, whether they be on the main island or on the outer islands, has an impact on the lives of the respondents with regard to accessing better services, goods and job opportunities, which consequently largely determines how the respondents view the process of governance. The detailed analysis of the data using the geographical location of the participants as the basis for analysis along with other variables, has revealed the different views of the respondents. That is, the majority of the respondents agreed to most of the items presented in the sectors of governance except those items which they felt disadvantaged them with regard to leadership, effectiveness and efficiency of the public sector, health payment recovery, privatisation, environmental pollution, communication and transport. Some of these findings supported the findings of the World Bank examined in Chapter 2 particularly in the decline of the government effectiveness and efficiency to deliver services to the public.

The next chapter will present a qualitative data analysis based on the open-ended questions of the questionnaire and the responses collected from interviewing the respondents

CHAPTER 8: QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the qualitative data. The qualitative method was used in the research because the researcher believed that through this method, the participants' information regarding their beliefs and perceptions about governance issues affecting development in Kiribati can be attained and reported in their original versions. Through this method, this research study is believed to be unique and contributes new knowledge about the issues of governance in the remote and less developed country of Kiribati.

The responses from the open-ended questions of Sections B and C of the questionnaire will be covered in Part 1, and the broader interviews will be covered in Part 2. Section B of the questionnaire asked the respondents about their perceptions of the nine sectors of governance by rating their responses on the five-point Likert scale. At the end of each sector, there was an open-ended question aimed at getting the respondents' comments about other issues of governance affecting each sector. In total, there were nine similar open-ended questions asking the respondents about other issues of governance affecting each of the nine sectors.

Section C had twelve open-ended questions which were designed to gather the views of the people regarding the respondents' understanding of good governance; the ability of local and modern governance to serve the country well, the issue of governance most common in Kiribati; the kinds of political and economic development needed and the ability of the country to achieve them; the links between development and governance; and finally, suggestions to solve or minimise the issues hampering governance in the country. For the purpose of getting a wider response from the respondents the interview questions (Appendix B2 (i)) included six of the main questions from Section C: the definition of governance, governance issues which are common in Kiribati, what contributed to emergence of the governance issues, ways to minimise the governance issues, the kind of political and economic development needed in the country, and the link between governance and development.

The Analytical Approach

The responses from the open-ended questions of Section B of the questionnaire were analysed by listing the issues under each sector of governance and grouping the responses under each specific category or theme and providing a code of TRW for Tarawa and OI for outer islands respondents, followed by a number for a particular respondent. With regard to the analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions of Section C of the questionnaire, the responses were also categorised by the themes explored by the questions. Because of the verbosity and comparable responses elicited from Sections B and C, only a sample of appropriate responses are provided to reveal the kind of beliefs and opinions respondents hold regarding the question under consideration.

The analysis for the responses to the interview questions are also presented by themes and substantiated with reported verbatim sample statements by the respondents. The responses provided in the Kiribati language have been translated into English by the author and marked by tsld at the end of each response to show it as a reported translation, while the English responses are reported as recorded. About 50 per cent of the respondents responded to the open-ended questions of Section B of the questionnaire, while about 70 per cent responded to the open-ended questions of Section C. As was intended that by using the theme analysis approach substantiated with verbatim samples, the responses obtained from both the open-ended questions and the in-depth information revealing the kind of perspectives the respondents held about governance in Kiribati.

Part 1: The Analysis of Responses to Open-Ended Questions

Below are the respondents' comments and perceptions with regard to the issues of each sector of governance. In reviewing the comments and perceptions, a number of views were commonly held by both the main island and the outer island respondents, but were expressed in different forms. As such, some responses have been omitted to avoid repetition.

Governance Issues Affecting the Public Sector and Human Resources

Management

Government ministries and agencies were perceived as lacking in accountability. Many respondents consider that leaders should be more efficient in monitoring performance and eliminating corruption (*TRW125, OI80*). They also advocate better publication of policy changes, performance targets and incentive schemes (*OI90, TRW177, TRW167*). Public services and enterprises should avoid duplication and be regularly evaluated for economic efficiency and viability (*TRW201, OI111*).

Customer Service

Respondents indicated their perception that the public service is inefficient and ineffective and that this matter is a long-standing issue (*OI55, TRW161*). Respondents complained of their inability to access responsible officers who are often late and leave their workplace early (*TRW121, OI168*). Phone enquiries are often not answered or subject to long delays (*TRW204*). Poor service to the public causes much loss of time and expenses (*TRW193*).

Resources

Budgetary constraints limit resources available to public servants to provide services needed, this is especially so for people in the outer islands such as copra cutters (*OI128, TRW100*). The public service is inadequately staffed and government should generally improve the delivery of services to the public (*TRW81*). Nepotism and favouritism should be eliminated from the public service so that recruitment and promotion are fairly conducted (*OI150*). *'The loss of public funds is often reported to Parliament without any trace by the Auditor General's Office'* (*OI75* translated from I-Kiribati to English (tsld)).

Governance Issues Affecting the Education Sector

Management

Comments on management issues in the education sector revealed that good teachers often abandon classroom teaching for administration positions (*TRW145 _tsld*). It is also considered that teachers' salaries compare poorly with those earned by ex-students whom the teachers had taught (*OI130 _tsld*). It is thought that new appointments should be to islands other than a beginning teacher's home island in order to avoid non-professional demands associated with living in the new teacher's home community (*OI60*). Teachers' accommodation in the outer islands is considered very poor (*OI230 _tsld*). Continuous in-service training is considered essential and school inspectors should visit schools regularly to ensure quality teaching (*OI41*

tsld'). Many weaknesses in education were attributed to poor leadership, specifically the lack of capacity by leaders to carry out strategic plans (TRW250).

Teaching and Curriculum

The teaching of English is thought to be poor compared with standards reached in the 1970s and 1980s (OI59). A balance between Kiribati culture and knowledge of the wider world in the curriculum should also be achieved (TRW181). A greater focus on skill-based learning activities is needed in addition to academic studies to better cater for school drop outs (TRW187).

Resources and Facilities

A number of respondents were very critical of the lack of resources for teaching, especially in pre-schools and primary schools (TRW200, OI129). The lack of reading materials is considered to be a serious problem (OI70). Poor learning environments result from insufficient and irregular maintenance funding (TRW221) and the lack of basic facilities such as desks, tables and chairs (OI43). Some respondents consider that resources and facilities are not well looked after and checked for distribution, care and recovery (OI40).

Professionalism

One respondent believes that there is a serious problem with some teachers who were unpunctual and *missed their classes for the whole day* (TRW111). Lack of punctuality and unnecessary absence is not only unprofessional but could be regarded as a failure of 'duty of care' for students (OI30).

Community Consultation

There was some criticism of school committees for their lack of consultation with parents and local communities (TRW187). It is considered that they should be strengthened as 'teacher-parent associations' with wider responsibilities (OI35, TRW178).

Governance Issues Affecting the Health Sector

Management

The transfer of medical staff from the islands should not occur until replacements arrive to avoid lack of care (OI17 tsld'). It is considered that the Tungaru Hospital does not have sufficient beds to cater for the increasing number of patients (TRW133). Checking that children vaccinated should be more rigorously undertaken (OI73 tsld'). One respondent believes that there is favouritism in the selection of patients sent overseas for treatment with the majority being from 'top people and those from Cabinet' (TRW199).

Health Awareness and Care

Basic health awareness such as diet, exercise and hygiene should be better promoted (TRW146, TRW41). Medical supplies should be delivered more regularly to the outer islands and when patients are referred to the Tungaru Central Hospital their care should be improved (OI212, OI91).

Resources and Facilities

A number of respondents consider that medical equipment and clinics available in the outer islands and at Tungaru Central Hospital are inadequate (OI126, TRW132). Water and sanitation in the outer islands and at the Tungaru Central hospital were considered unhygienic and required regular checking (TRW171, OI24). There was criticism of the use of ineffective and 'out-of date' medicines (TRW250).

Professionalism

Respondents consider that there is a need for more nurses and doctors, especially on the outer islands (OI12). More specialised doctors are needed, particularly in surgery (TRW200 'tsld'). There was criticism of the lack of professional conduct of some nurses, medical assistants and doctors such as irregular attendance and lack of specific knowledge and skills (TRW231, TRW212). It is thought that nurses and medical assistants working in the outer islands should make allowance for people needing treatment in emergencies and in unexpected circumstances out of normal working hours (OI15 'tsld'). One respondent considers that many people do not take a responsible attitude towards their own health and are too heavily dependent on government (OI35 'tsld').

Governance Issues Affecting NGOs

Management

It is considered that NGOs lacked resources and equipment, and they should have well trained staff who know the purpose of their organisation (TRW221 'tsld'). One respondent said, '*NGOs work for themselves and are less involving other people or promote their roles to the community*' (TRW140).

Community Consultation

Respondents think that there is a lack of public awareness about NGOs. They also think there should be closer links and access to information about government policy and NGOs roles (TRW136, OI30). There appears to be a lack of follow through by those attending meetings involving NGO personnel and communities on the outer islands (OI12 'tsld').

Professionalism

There was a call for greater transparency and accountability in the affairs of the Kiribati Association of Non-Government Organisations, especially in the use of aid donor funds and implementation of projects (TRW132). One respondent drew attention to the inevitability of bureaucratic systems in NGOs but objects to large numbers of retired government officials occupying positions in NGOs, and stated *'it does not really help the people in many ways if corrupt people are working in NGOs'* (TRW234).

Governance Issues Affecting the Environment

Management

A climate change and rising sea levels policy should be drafted to explain plans by the government to cope with emerging problems for the people and the country (TRW105). There should be adequate funding for control of coastal erosion and building of sea walls to lessen the effects of rising sea levels (OI110 _tsld').

Public Awareness and Consultation

People should know how to manage their waste disposal especially in dealing with biodegradable materials for compost and non-biodegradable substances for recycling and non-recycling (TRW130). Looking after the environment should be a priority for all people and prominent in town planning and for disease control with designated areas for waste disposal (TRW221). The increase in population and lack of education concerning the link between people and environment has put pressure on the environment and resources (TRW134). The green bag and recycling project should be implemented on the outer islands (TRW172). Public awareness about care of the environment has to be constantly promoted by those working in environmental fields, especially with regard to non-biodegradable waste arising from importing large volumes of goods into the country (TRW215).

Law Enforcement

There is a lack of enforcement of the law for the care of the environment and especially disposal of waste materials (TRW201). Fisheries law enforcement needs to be strengthened, particularly with regard to overfishing and fishing small fish stocks (TRW83, TRW88, OI36).

Governance Issues Affecting Economic Development

Resources

Kiribati is a nation of coral islands and consequently lacks land resources; however, the government should do more to develop its vast ocean resources (TRW228, OI23). Village banks should be supported by government and local people trained to run them (TRW183). Economic development can be stimulated by improving taxation and linking the work of government with the private sector, for example through the chamber of commerce (TRW172).

Food Security

Strengthening fishermen's cooperatives will also help by providing employment and a supply of fresh food (OI53). Planting the land with local food crops will lessen dependence on imported food (TRW213, OI50). Parents should allocate land to their children to encourage gardening and food production and marketing (TRW203).

Business Knowledge and Skills

Respondents think that people should be taught how to start small viable businesses such as cottage industries to reduce dependence on imported products (TRW160, OI47). Research into viable forms of economic development in Kiribati is seen as important (TRW163). Improving financial management is also seen as a way to help people to earn, save and invest their funds wisely (TRW172). The agriculture department needs to be strengthened to better fulfil its role throughout the islands (OI37). More business companies should be encouraged to operate in Kiribati to help develop the country's economy (TRW206).

Accountability, Transparency and Corruption

The use of public funds by government should be fully accounted for and transparent to the people by official publication of Kiribati language translations of the annual budget (OI87). The Report to Parliament by the Auditor General indicates the *'loss of public funds'*, and, therefore, a serious weakness in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (TRW252). Annual withdrawals from the Revenue Equalisation Reserve Fund should *'comply with the legal amount that should be withdrawn to enable better management of the fund'*, thereby ensuring the viability of the fund for future generations and placing an obligation on government to work harder to finance the annual budget (TRW228). There was comment on lack of accountability for the use of public funds: *'the lack of compliance of senior officials to return and clear their travel expenses is an ongoing problem'* (TRW170).

Governance Issues Affecting the Rule of Law

Awareness about the Law

A number of respondents consider that knowledge of the law is limited to the well-educated and that basic legal literacy should be part of the school curriculum for future citizens (TRW165, TRW109, TRW169). It is believed that Members of Parliament have a responsibility to inform their constituents about new legislation (OI63, TRW132). It is also believed that the Kiribati Constitution and legislation should be revised at appropriate times and available in the Kiribati language (TRW188, TRW140). One respondent considers that *'legal services provided by the office of the people's lawyer should be improved by making the office truly independent to provide legal services to the people rather than being controlled by the judiciary'* (TRW188). There were some complaints that legal assistance is much delayed and a people's lawyer should be available on each island (TRW106).

Professionalism and Enforcement

Government officials and senior officers have an obligation to be role models in keeping the law and enforcing its provisions (TRW154). Enforcement of the law is weak throughout the country and this is evident in minor offences such as littering and major illegal offences (TRW108).

Rule of Law and Council of *Unimwane*

Conflict between elected local government and the Council of *Unimwane* on Maiana apparently requires resolution at the highest legal levels. Comments from some respondents illustrate the situation: *'The rule of law on the outer island can be taken in the hands of the Council of Unimwane and decide what is better for their own decisions out off (sic) the written law such as in the case of a clash between the local government in Maiana Island where the mayor and the councillors were ordered to resign by the traditional authority of the Council of Unimwane'* (OI124) and *'The rule of law should not be mixed with the cultural practices. The government should inform the people of where the boundary for the two institutions [exists]'* (TRW261).

Governance Issues Affecting Government

Efficiency and Effectiveness

Government officials should be better equipped with leadership skills (*TRW170*). Official reports on important issues from committees of enquiry should be easily accessible to the public (*TRW183*).

Accountability, Transparency and Corruption

Corruption in any form should be eliminated and discouraged by imposing heavy penalties on offending politicians and government officials (*TRW189*). Strengthening regulations and procedures in government administration to provide greater accountability and transparency is needed together with the establishment of an ombudsman's office for the protection of citizens from official malpractice (*TRW190*).

Consultation and Partnership

The government lacks strong networking with the people, especially leading citizens, so that the burden of implementing policy results in inefficiencies and failures (*TRW166*). Inflation is seen as a problem which government needs to address continuously in order to provide employment on the outer islands (*OI123*). The attainment of universal political literacy is an important goal for the school curriculum and adult education if Kiribati is to develop a prosperous and peaceful democracy (*TRW168*).

Issues Affecting Governance

Leadership and Public Policy

Parliamentarians and government leaders should work hard to fulfil the expectations of their constituents in order to improve the welfare of the people and develop national prosperity (*TRW133, OI25, OI03*). Public policies should target the needs of the people rather than the promotion of political party campaigns (*OI05, TRW91, TRW252*).

Finance and Budgets

Presidential candidates from political parties should present their policies at public forums and explain how these will be implemented and financed, and the extent to which their budgets will draw on the Revenue Equalisation Reserve Fund (*TRW203*). Governments need to devise new ways to attract income into the country, such as development of eco-tourism (*OI63*).

Elections

Laws and regulations governing elections should be enforced to prevent cheating, bribery and other forms of election malpractice (*TRW103, OI25*). Prior to every election there should be campaigns throughout the country to heighten public awareness of how the election will be conducted and the importance of voter participation (*OI44*). Candidates for public office in elections should meet certain criteria besides ‘cultural values’, such as demonstration of their good character, competence, education and relevant experience (*TRW184*).

Democratic Governance

People should be continuously involved in the process of good governance and not simply restricted to their role in electing leaders (*TRW239*). Government representatives and officials should visit the outer islands more frequently to demonstrate the partnership role of government with the people (*OI55, OI49*). There is some indication that politicians are only interested in visiting the outer islands during election campaigns (*OI29*). There is recognition of the important role of the media in the dissemination of information and the provision of feedback to political leaders in order to maintain good governance (*TRW192*).

Summary

The opinions expressed by the respondents in their comments on the questionnaires may be summarised as follows:

- Good governance requires responsible leadership in managing society for a stable government based on democratic principles.
- Good governance implies decision making for competent economic development, sustainability, participation, rule of law, communications, responsiveness, consensus, equity, inclusiveness, effectiveness, efficiency, transparency, accountability, human resource development, social well-being, and opportunities for health, education and shelter.
- Good governance also includes civil rights such as freedom of thought, speech, movement, the media and religion as well as maintaining appropriate relations with other countries.

The next part of this chapter analyses the responses to the open-ended questions of Section C of the questionnaire which seek to investigate the respondents’ understanding about the definition of

good governance, the benefits to Kiribati from understanding good governance, and how the different governing systems can best serve the country and the people. The responses to the other open-ended questions which were also asked in the interviews are analysed in Part 2 of this chapter.

The Responses to Section C of the Questionnaire

It appears that some respondents considered good governance to be a process while the others thought of it as an output.

Governance as a Process

- Good governance involves the making of good and effective policies, appropriate laws, good communication system[s] between the government and the people and a stable government (*TRW89*).
- Governance involves managing the affairs of the nation such as its economy and the people as well as establishing good relationships with the outside world (*TRW134*).
- Governance or good governance is leading the people fairly in a democratic manner (*OI68*).
- Good governance is a means of making and implementing decisions by members of parliament, officials and the people. This process takes into consideration the concepts of participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability (*TRW254*).
- It is a system that runs the society through transparency, sustainability, social development, and support to increase personal/human resource development to improve social well-being (*TRW196*).

Governance as an Output

- It is a way in which the government assists and supports the people with their needs, peace and stability in the community (*OI19, _tsld'*)
- Governance refers to peace, stability and the improvement of the lives of the people (*OI27, _tsld'*)
- Governance is a way to deal well with the economy of the country, and the ability to be vigilant to problems that may arise from the outside world which could affect the welfare of the people (*OI63 _tsld'*).
- When people can live peacefully and also can afford their means of living (*OI79 _tsld'*)

- It follows the wishes of the people and aims for the prosperity and welfare of the nation (*TRW142*).
- Governance is being loyal to the nation and fulfilling the obligations of officials to improve the social welfare of the people (*OI51*).

The Benefit to Kiribati from the Understanding of Governance

The following is the sample of responses expressed by the respondents regarding the kinds of benefits to Kiribati from the understanding of governance.

Increased knowledge and understanding about governance

- To enable individuals to understand the part they play in the governance of the country (*TRW71*).
- In order for people to grow and develop (*OI143 _tsld'*).
- It can enable the new generation to acquire knowledge about good governance and be part of the process when they grow up (*TRW140 _tsld'*).
- To get more involved and know the system (*TRW217*).

Facilitate participation and networking among the people

- The understanding of governance will enable people to be aware of their roles and help contribute with what they can offer for their own development (*OI48*).
- To understand governance can lead I-Kiribati to be more productive people (*TRW175*).
- To avoid frustrations and improve people's participation to work hard and survive within their own means (*OI56*).
- It enables better decision making from the majority and also enables individuals to comply and participate (*TRW216*).

Facilitate and enhance growth and development in the lives of the people

- It will enable people to understand the importance of governance in their daily life (*TRW183*).
- If people are familiar with the system they will increase their compliance and may make fewer complaints. Their motivation for development also increases (*TRW241*).

- Because whatever decision that would be made and implemented would be most likely to be relevant, appropriate and applicable to the needs of Kiribati (OI58 _tsld').
- To help people grow and be self-reliant (OI33 _tsld').

The Different Governing Systems (traditional and modern governance) and their Contribution to Serving the Country Well

When the respondents were asked about how their understanding of the different governing systems (traditional local and modern governance) can contribute to serving the country, they indicated that they each have their distinct contribution as does the combining of the two. The following is a list of samples of their responses.

Modern governance: To govern the nation and applying a universal rule of law

- Modern governance in terms of applying the rule of law should be seen as paramount rather than the application of cultural practices kinds of decisions (TRW180 _tsld').
- The local governance system should be continued and practised to help in the running, maintaining of peace and stability in families and villages, while modern governance should run the affairs of the nation and the application of the rule of law. When there are clashes both systems will be considered on their merits but the rule of law which is written will be the final point in making a decision (TRW149).
- Our cultural practices should be maintained as our identity but the modern governance system and the application of the rule of law should take the lead in the running of the country (OI31 _tsld').

Traditional governance: To maintain cultural practices for strengthening an I-Kiribati identity

- There is a need to maintain our cultural values and practices but there should be a clear understanding of where or at which point the culture should stop (TRW142).
- The traditional governance system has the weaknesses of being unwritten and can be changed from generation to generation and therefore it is wise to apply it only to traditional and cultural practices outside the modern governance system (OI83 _tsld').
- Each island or each village may have a different traditional governance system which operates and functions specifically to their situations but not universally applicable to the rest of the villages or the islands in the Gilbert Group and therefore it is better not to fuse it with the modern governance system, like what was happened in the case of Maiana island

where the Council of *Unimwane* overthrew the local government simply because the mayor and some of his councillors did not accept the decision of the Council of Unimwane (TRW132 tsld).

Hybridity Governance: To foster a merging governance system (local and modern)

- The local governance system should stick to cultural practices within the villages while modern governance should run the nation. However, there should be an understanding by the old men that local governance cannot mix but can work side by side for the purpose of achieving development and the improvement of the welfare of the people (TRW144).
- The Kiribati Constitution stipulates the role of the government and the people to respect the traditional values and practices of the I-Kiribati and therefore both have to work hand-in-hand, but each one needs to understand where its boundary is (TRW221).
- The traditional governance system needs to be strengthened but also has to be practised in its own context and merits. For example, peace and stability and progress of families is not entirely contributed to by the role of modern governance but rather facilitated also by the role and contribution of the traditional governance system through the decisions of the council of unimwane in the villages and elders in the family. So to me when we done [sic.] away with one then there will be a lot of difficulties and anarchy experienced in the society (OI28).

The responses revealed that the participants can perceive governance as either a **process** or as an **output**. It appears from the analysis that interpreting governance as either a process or as an output is influenced largely by the *geographical location, educational level, employment status, and marital status* of participants. Those who see governance as a process are mostly those who are well educated and also have had work experience in the public service sector. This is especially so if they live on Tarawa. On the other hand, those respondents who view governance as an output are mostly those who have had limited access to education and employment opportunities and have usually lived in a subsistence economy. This is especially so if they live on the outer island. Furthermore, it is evident from the responses that people felt that many benefits can result from an understanding of the role of traditional local and modern governance, and from their own contributions to serving the country. That is, by understanding the role of traditional local governance verses local and national modern governance it can make people aware of the differences between the two governance systems and the specific roles and contributions they can offer in governing the country. For instance, according to the respondents, the local governance system is best suited for strengthening the cultural values and practices of the people which are

important for strengthening the identity of an I-Kiribati. On the other hand, the modern governance system is best suited for the running of the nation and managing the economy and the affairs of the people. There is a belief that fostering a hybrid type of governance system in the country can be possible and should be adopted only if the people are aware of the boundaries for the traditional local governance system. It is also believed that it is most important for the I-Kiribati to have the conviction that an efficient modern governance system is the way forward to govern the people and in managing the economy.

Part 2: The Analysis of Interview Responses

Encouraging individuals to talk has the potential to reveal innermost thoughts and feelings. Comparing the responses of the I-Kiribati public servants to those of non-employed people was undertaken in order to provide a better understanding of current governance issues that affect development in the country. The main ideas investigated during the interviews were about the governance issues the respondents perceived to be prevalent in Kiribati, the conditions that contributed to the emergence of governance issues and ways to deal with them, the kinds of political and economic development needed for the country and how to achieve them and the views of the people about the links between good governance and development.

Types of Governance Issues Common in Kiribati

Table 8.1 outlines the emerging themes regarding the common issues of governance in Kiribati revealed in the interview responses.

Table 8.1: Themes Emerging from the Data about Governance Issues

- Leadership and Public Policy
- Government Institutions
- Economy and the Cash Flow
- Accountability, Transparency and Corruption
- Tyranny of Distance between Islands
- The People and the Culture

Respondents interviewed frequently expressed the view that the foundation of good governance, whether it is traditional or modern, is based on good leadership and effective public policies. Interestingly, the majority of the people on the outer islands have limited education backgrounds but through their continuous engagement in their small village meetings and the exposure to the function of the council of *unimwane* and island local governments there seemed to be a sound collective view about the importance of the work of leaders and the decisions they make in the government of the nation. Listening to the radio broadcasts of the Parliament in session also enables them to understand the importance of the role of the leaders and the policies. The Kiribati phrases *te tia kairiri, taan kaira te waki, te tia tobwa*, meaning a leader, leaders, mentors commonly refer to the leader or a leadership process. In some cases the interviewees thought of leadership first as an issue of governance in Kiribati. For example, Kaata a church leader of one of the main churches in Kiribati, put his argument this way.

◆Kaata: *I believe that the main issue of governance in the country is ... That, leaders have to be fully aware of the significant role they shoulder and be ready to...work hard for the people and the nation...These days, leaders tend to forget the essence of their duty. (Tarawa _tsld‘)*

Bwaata, an elderly man, briefly reminisced about the days of the British administrators and how they often visited islands and involved the people compared with the infrequent visits of officials from Tarawa these days.

◆Bwaata: *It was not like in those days, the high commissioner and officials often came and met with people on each island and checked things out. ...could it be our independence made us slack? ... mmm things changed. (Maiana island, Central Gilbert, _tsld‘)*

A number of respondents believe also that the leaders should seriously consider the trust bestowed on them by the people. Tenten, an elderly man made a comment on leaders who remain on Tarawa most of the time and fail to be with their constituencies on the outer islands.

◆Tenten: *It is sometimes depressing to note that those you have trusted to work for the constituency...only do it for a short period of time by living on the island and then you hardly see them to come back to live and work for their constituency but stayed on in South Tarawa. Sometimes we feel neglected. (Butaritari Island, Northern Gilbert, _tsld‘)*

Pastor Ben also made a comment about people putting their trust in the leaders.

- ◆Ben: *People are often victimised by their trust in their leaders. I think in governance, people need to exercise a more check and balance role, communication and consultation is also needed. It is still a challenge to... for the people and government to improve. (Tarawa _tsld‘)*

The Speaker of the Parliament explained the difficulty faced by the Parliament and the government with regard to the lack of leadership by parliamentarians.

- ◆Speaker: *... it is my observation, parliamentarians have many roles to play, one is to make laws, second, is to [provide] oversight on what the government does and the third is to be a good leader. Parliamentarians are very good in their first and second roles ... [but have] failed to become good leaders to their constituencies. The parliament realises that most of the sessions are packed with oh! something like a shopping list for the government to consider and implement. Parliamentarians can do better by ... initiating ways for people to solve their needs. (Tarawa _tsld‘)*

Some people interviewed commented on the important role of government leaders and their ability to create relevant and viable public policies, while others commented on the delivery and implementation of public policies. This was evident with Tautam and Beteta. Tautam is a retired employee while Beteta is unemployed.

- ◆Tautam: *Certainly, some governance issues can be minimised by the leaders and officials as they have been trained and experienced in making policies and budgeting those policies for implementation. [I...] cannot understand why things go wrong. Sometimes policies [are] announced by the government but were not fulfilled like ... creating a canned fish industry...[and] paying the 70 year old people with a \$40.00 monthly pension money made you wonder about the logic of such policy versus other pressing need and our culture in caring for the old. (Onotoa Island, Southern Gilbert, _tsld‘)*

Tautam put emphasis on the canned fish industry as he thinks it is a good policy to pursue to make use of Kiribati's abundant tuna resources. He believed that in so doing, it could create employment and help boost the economy of the country.

- ◆Beteta: *You should know...the main road on South Tarawa had to be understood by the government as one of the needs for the public and mostly those living further away ... Still, the road was worse with the rain... we could not be reached by the buses and went out ... did our shopping or visited our patients in the hospital...you often heard... government policies to improve transport and communication links but [they are] still not yet there. May be ... in the future. (Tarawa tsld)*

Beteta's comment about the appalling road conditions is a classic example of people's remarks regarding the neglect, poor conditions and delivery of some of the services. Despite the Tarawa Teinaino Urban Council's request for buses to go to the remote villages of South Tarawa, bus owners are reluctant to serve these remote villages, only wishing to serve the populated areas, believing poor road conditions to remote villages cause damage to their buses. Without proper council surveillance, buses mostly serve the populated areas of urban South Tarawa for the purpose of making profits and thus avoid serving the remote villages with small populations.

The outer island respondents were often critical of poor public systems and commented on the need for improving the institutions of government. It was also evident from the responses of those from Tarawa that government institutions are negligent, particularly in regard to overhauling old legislation, their enforcement and reform of the public service. Bontia explained his views about the delay in sending copra funds to his island as an indication of the lack of timely action by the system which should provide improvements in the lives of people on the outer islands. In addition to seaweed and fishing, copra cutting is one of the main sources of income for people living in isolated islands and is subsidised by the government. The financing of copra is controlled from Tarawa by the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Cooperatives and funds are sent in allotments to the ministry's agents on the outer islands who administer them.

- ◆Bontia: *... informing the ministry from outer islands about the exhaustion of copra funds, oh it is easy by telephone, but [one] wonders why, why the decision making and sending of money could take weeks or months. I don't know...our copra bags can be stacked up...the money you were thinking about to get from copra to pay your children's fees was not paid on time or I tell you... yeh yes, even the maintenance funds for classrooms or clinics. (Butaritari Islands, Northern Gilbert, tsld)*

Tenten also expressed his views that improvements were needed in the delivery of services to the outer islands. He believes that the long distances to the outer islands from the main island is an outstanding issue since independence which made him wonder why such an issue was still allowed to persist.

◆Tenten: ... *the separation of outer islands from one another was known as an outstanding issue which was and is hardly improved by government...especially in the delivery of cargoes. Mm... those islands further away from Tarawa, yeh, were often victimised compared to people living in closer islands to Tarawa, you knew, lucky, they were lucky. You should know that, people closer to the main island could also be serviced by private boats or ... flew to Tarawa as the fare was and still cheaper compared to us. (Onotoa Island, Southern Gilbert, _tsld')*

Ata, the Permanent Secretary, agreed that there is still more work to be done to improve the governance of the country. The following is an extract from his comments.

◆Ata: *Ah, governance! ... overall, I felt there were a number of improvements made by the government in terms of good governance. In comparing Kiribati with our neighbours [e.g Fiji and Solomon Islands] and richer countries, I believed we had done reasonably well... don't you think? However, there were still some areas to improve and strengthen such as in revising old legislations and enforcing work conditions and also in making things more effective...the National Conditions of Service (NCS) needed thorough revision. Yeh, ... provisions in the NCS seemed to be outdated, I thought, mmm... current employment conditions encouraged a safer work place and safe working equipment to discourage putting employees at risk but mm... our NCS is very old, making employees to do work which could put them into risks and be paid allowances such as in the case of dirt allowances to plumbers... and others. (Tarawa)*

Tama, a Member of Parliament and a member of the Public Account Committee, emphasised his points about the importance of transparency and accountability as a requirement for strengthening work ethics in the public service sector and a deterrent to corruption.

- ◆Tama: *...what is important in governance is the concept of transparency and accountability. The process of involving the people and letting them know that things or ... were carried out this way... and why? People would be happy and more satisfied when government officials justified things and provided proper records. Ah yes...the credibility was important ... if corruption or inconsistency was found later, the government... yes, could be in trouble. (Tarawa)*

Botika, a deputy secretary, among others, held the view that the people and the culture are also contributing to governance issues. She believes that people are sometimes slow to come up with ideas to improve things and depended on the government of the day. At other times the usual custom of the people to remain quiet may be exploited by officials leading to corrupt practices and nepotism.

- ◆Botika: *Our culture of being quiet and silent oh yes listening to the elders... yes avoiding things to be disturbed can also be capitalised by officials to do corruption. For instance, nepotism is often an issue but people say, well its okay... mmm the saying of wait for your turn when you hold the chair and then... you are right, ... do the same thing again for your friends and close relatives.(Tarawa _tsld‘)*

Tiime, from Maiana Island in the Central Gilbert, also raised the problem about the clash between the traditional and modern governance on his island. The clash was between the clerk and, the mayor and village councillors. The later were ordered by the Council of *Unimwane* to resign from their jobs because of their unwillingness to abide by a decision of the Council of *Unimwane* following a dispute that arose from an administrative clash between the clerk and the mayor and several councillors. A full account of this dispute is presented as a case study in Chapter 9. This dispute and consequent events raises many unresolved difficulties for governance in Kiribati.

- ◆Tiime: *It is a controversial issue to think about which governance system has the legitimacy to govern the islands, the modern governance through the government or the Council of Unimwane. I think... well it needs to be clarified as to the place of the traditional governance in modern governance. This is important because it can cause big problems among the people like what happened here on Maiana. Because...and those like the mayor and others disobeyed the decision of the Council of Unimwane, the mayor’s home was burned. Yes... it may be a big problem in future if such issues are not solved now. (Maiana Island, Central Gilbert _tsld‘)*

Mererin, an officer of the Women's Association on Tarawa claimed that there is a need for a more cohesive kind of approach to raise people's awareness of the connection of their everyday life to either the achievement of the common national goals of the nation or the likelihood of failure to achieve what is expected.

◆Mererin: *...the women associations are trying their best to reach out and train women with their demanding roles...as a mother, councillor or entrepreneur. We (women's associations) trained women members and sometimes youth to try to see ... yes to realise the important of their roles to the whole picture. The governance, mmm I think it started from the home and linked to larger institutions. If a wife and husband raised a good family then they helped to set the foundation of good governance... yes, of course, in an indirect way. (Tarawa)*

It appears from the responses that one of the roots of the problem regarding governance is caused by a lack of connection between leaders and the general public. On the one hand, officials or elected leaders may not do their work properly by ignoring pressing issues of the nation and not solving them, or sometimes not involving the people as much as possible in the running of national affairs. On the other hand, many citizens are still living a simple subsistence lifestyle and do not realise their important role as responsible citizens. There is a tendency to leave things in the hands of the government for programs to be implemented and problems solved. Such attitudes may become worse when the general public is left in a vacuum without effective leadership role models which are needed to encourage social participation, community cooperation and education in order to achieve widespread understanding, knowledge and skills to foster personal growth and good governance in the modern era.

Ways to Minimise Governance Issues

The respondents tended to be consistent in their responses when suggesting governance issues most common in Kiribati and how to minimise them. For instance, if the respondent believed that leadership is one of the common issues of governance then they invariably proposed improving the system to elect leaders or by better educating the public about the importance of elections. Similar responses were made with regard to the management of the economy by proposing that the government should implement effective approaches to manage the economy and enforce legislation to avoid corruption. The following are some of the interview responses demonstrating

the views of the respondents on how to solve the common governance issues highlighted in Table 8.1

- ◆Naata: *Maybe it is about time to improve the criteria for those who wished to be elected as members of parliament. ...and also including the criteria for electing the mayors and councillors on outer islands. ...mmm, often the case leaders did not have good education and could be possibly the reason for their inability to make and implement effective changes in a modern governance system. (Tarawa)*

Bontia commented on the laxity of the system in sending copra funds to the outer islands. He was articulate in giving his suggestions to improve the system.

- ◆Bontia: *...the officer assigned with the task of managing the copra funds needs to know the approved budget for the copra and work out how much money for each island according to the average number of bags of copra or kilogram each of the islands produced. When the funds are nearly exhausted the officer should apply for the funds as early as possible rather than waiting right at the time the funds are depleted. ...after all it's the government's commitment to fund these undertakings. ...yes, it is surprising as though it is a completely new task to them. ... and these people are right, the supervisor should encourage the officer who is dealing with the copra funds or the maintenance funds to be efficient. Government should work hard to develop the economy and...including balancing its budget. (Onotoa Island, Southern Gilbert, _tsld')*

Botika, a Deputy Secretary who commented on the people and the culture as a governance issue in the country proposed a strategy of solving such an issue by saying the following:

- ◆Botika: *The nation cannot progress if the modern governance is corrupted by the local governance. The local governance should stay where it is and that is for the maintenance of the culture and the preservation of the Kiribati cultural values I for one disagreed to mingle it (traditional governance) with the modern governance ...of course the modern governance should be for managing and administering Kiribati as a nation and its resources for the people...and including the rule of law. (Tarawa)*

Nanta, a recognised Member of Parliament and also a member of the Public Accounts Committee felt the need for the finance and the accounts systems to be more effective and efficient in auditing the government's accounts on a timely basis and also the need for improving the professional development and capability of the officers concerned.

◆Nanta: *...from being a member of the public account committee, I now realised that the fault in the delay of auditing the accounts lies in the hands of our government officers. It is quite surprising if you interview them [senior public servants] to hear their explanations as though they don't know or understand what they are supposed to do...and they often blame others or the system. It sounds as if they still need training... and I think also that better supervision and some sort of strong reprimand is also needed. (Tarawa _tsld')*

Ami, a prominent leader and a Member of Parliament commented on the need to improve the work ethics of public employees and the improvement of the government institutions.

◆Ami: *In discussing about the governance issues, my personal impression is to look at the weaknesses of the government these days and analyse those weaknesses. I consider learning from our weaknesses... one of the best ways. People may have a different view but I feel that when the government is...taken into court by the people and found to be deviating from what it should do and then ordered to pay compensation...[this is] a sign of a [slackness] in the institutions of the government. The systems have to be tightened and improved...public servants should also know exactly what they are doing. (Tarawa _tsld')*

In addition to the above interview responses, the rating responses in the Likert scales showed that the respondents agreed that there should be more work undertaken to improve and strengthen the different sectors of governance, the public sector and human resources, education, health, non-government organisations and the people, environment, economic development, rule of law, government and governance, mostly in those areas cited in Table 8.1. That is, the majority of the responses agreed with the kinds of proposals put forward with regard to possible ways to strengthen each sector of governance. For instance, the respondents agreed to the suggestions that the public sector and human resources could be improved by focusing on essential services, establish effective public service working policies, strengthen leadership roles, improve supervisory roles, establishing effective reward systems, and providing professional development, resources and equipment. Likewise, with other sectors of governance, most respondents agreed to

options put forward to improve each sector. It is therefore evident from both the responses provided in Sections B and C of the questionnaire and from the responses to the interview that people require changes and improvement, mainly in areas as suggested in Table 8.1, to realise effective governance of the country.

The Type of Political Development Needed in the Country

It is evident from interview responses that most people in Kiribati support a democratic political development in the country. The respondents understand that the western political process adopted by the country from Britain at independence should be used to run the country. However, respondents had different views on such political developments. Table 8.2 shows the themes that emerged from the written responses and the interview responses.

Table 8.2: Types of Political Development needed in the country

- Increased participation and public awareness of political processes
- Strengthening of democratic principles
- Demands for better delivery of services
- Enforcement of legislation
- Inclusion of political literacy in the curriculum

Individuals' educational background and exposure to the concepts of politics and political development have a strong influence on the views of the respondents. For instance, Kautoa, an elderly man from an outer island, put his thoughts in the following manner.

◆Kautoa: *I do not know much about politics, but I think that the type of political development we inherited from Britain is suitable in running the country. Well, ...maybe the rest of these people know better. ..., come on you people, what do you think?*
(Onotoa Island, Southern Gilbert, tsld)

Uabong, a youth leader, expressed his amazement that other kinds of political development were possible.

- ◆Uabong: *Is there any other kind of political development beside what is practised now? ... yeh, like the election and then the government run the country. Oh, I don't know... not sure but I think we already have it. (Tarawa _tsld')*

Nei Auti and Niko held the view that the political development needed in the country is related to the role of the government in providing better services for the people.

- ◆Nei Auti: *Well, isn't the political development we need related to the role of the government to provide services for the people? People elect the government...I think its role then is to help the people with their needs. ...I am not sure but I think that is the political development, the people's need...mm that's what I think. (Butaritari Island, Southern Gilbert, _tsld')*
- ◆Niko: *We get the political development when we feel that the government provides the services that could improve our welfare...including the means of income generation. Well, is that not the sort of political development needed? (Maiana Island, Central Gilbert, _tsld')*

The views expressed by the respondents from the outer islands regarding the kinds of political development needed in the country were different to those of respondents from the main island, especially those who are educated and hold senior positions in the public service sector.

Betaia, a former senior government officer and a Member of Parliament, and Momo, the head of a division of the government ministry, put their views this way.

- ◆Betaia: *I think the political development needed in the country is related to making the people politically literate and also improving their participation in the political process. Leaders are models to the people and we can empower them through our actions and doing the right things but not lying and being dishonest to what we [politicians] say. ...the other thing which I think is important is to lessen the life of the Parliament from 4 years to 3 years in a term to make government work hard and ...enable voters to evict corrupt officials soonest.(Tarawa)*
- ◆Momo: *The political development [is] needed in the country, I guess, is about the social changes required for a better politically literate society. It involves the process of increasing literacy and numeracy, the freedom of the press and for individuals to voice out their concerns, freedom of association, better economic development...it's a move towards full democracy and better growth for the people. (Tarawa)*

Tataua, who is also well educated but is now a retired public servant, perceived the concept of political development in a sophisticated manner. He commented that political development entails a move away from a concentration on traditional ways of thinking and living in small communities based on kinship relationships towards to thinking and working for diversity and collaboration in a nation building process. It essentially means adopting greater altruism throughout society.

◆Tataua: *Political development is a totally new concept to most I-Kiribati and can be interpreted differently. It suits, I guess, new emerging nations mostly because of the fact that we [I-Kiribati] used to live in our traditional lifestyles in villages and not get used to think nationally and globally. I think political development helps individuals to think and live universal norms rather than regarding yourself from a particular village or island. Encouraging full participation in the affairs of the nation and leadership roles are some of the early steps...I guess we have to build on that.(Tarawa)*

The written responses also reflect similar responses provided by the respondents to the interview questions. The following is a list of the respondents' answers which encompass confessions of apparent ignorance of the political process and development to clear statements revealing sophisticated understanding and vision.

- I have no idea, I think we already have the political development needed in the country (OI 25 _tsld')
- Not very sure of the political development needed in the country (OI32 _tsld')
- The politicians and government officials have to work hard and help the people (TRW134).
- The government has to carry out its obligations and find feasible means of developing the economy and utilising aid development funds wisely for the people (TRW214).
- Improving the election procedures and the legislation, and public awareness for improved participation (TRW157).

The Type of Economic Development Needed in the Country

There were consistent responses from both the written comments on the questionnaires and interviews regarding the type of economic development needed in the country. People recognised that Kiribati has limited natural resources coupled with low levels of technological capability and scarce human resources which all hinder development of the economy. As such, the respondents only made general comments that economic development is needed in the country commensurate with the resources available. The following are the themes raised regarding the type of economic development needed in the country.

Table 8.3: Types of Economic Development needed in the Country

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government Economic Development Initiatives• Increasing Human Resource Capacity (Education)• Eco-Tourism• Fish Industry• Improved local produce

The responses also demonstrate that people are mostly dependent on the work of the government to generate the economy with very little knowledge of how they could contribute, with the exception of suggestions such as establishing vendor stores or retail shops that sell imported goods. The following are samples from the interviews and written responses.

Meti recognising the condition of the country's lack of resources thinks that education could be the basis for economic development, while Titi, who has already started a small local motel on an outer island, commented that tourism could be another means for economic development.

- ◆Meti: *...and I think that the economic development needed in the country is the one that the government think is viable and can be properly managed and, the people will benefit from in the long run. ...we don't have many resources so maybe increasing the education capability of the new generation ... to enable them to work in other places. (Onotoa Island, Southern Gilbert _tsld')*

- ◆Titi: *Kiribati has a different unique culture and landscape which I think is good for developing eco-tourism which has less impact on the environment. Well.. mm I think it needs again the government to start it off. (Butaritari Island, Northern Gilbert, _tsld‘)*

Uati, who is from South Tarawa, thinks that the government should promote more economic growth by concentrating on what the country can offer and develop in the long term.

- ◆Uati: *Developing the economy should be the major work of the government. I think people don't know much about doing business in the long run. ...mmm I think the government should concentrate on our strengths and what the country can offer...yeh may be tourism or developing our own fishing company. (Tarawa)*

Tato, who is working at the Ministry of Fisheries, thinks that fish from Kiribati's vast territorial waters could be better exploited for trading to overseas markets if the government could find a way to build appropriate onshore processing plants with the help of aid development partners.

- ◆Tato: *Economic development is critical...but I think the government can [stimulate] it by developing a small industry for fish processing. I believe there are many aid development partners which can support it. Oh you are right it is not new but I think that is the only resource, big resource we have. (Tarawa)*

Bwatao, who is a retired public servant, considers it important to develop the human capacity of the I-Kiribati in order for the younger generation to find work overseas.

- ◆Bwato: *There is a limitation in Kiribati for economic development compared to the increased number of its unemployed youth. Education and human development capacity may be the way to go. May be the government must focus on these areas...you know improved health and education and skills-based training institutions to educate and train the youth. I think that is one way to go for economic development. (Tarawa 'tsld')*

The following are some of the written responses from the questionnaire regarding the kind of economic development needed in the country.

- Encourage our people to farm their land then grow and sell their local produce (OI06 _tsld‘).

- Encourage fishing cooperatives and simple ways to preserve the catch for the local market first (TRW132 _tsld‘).
- To produce more qualified people to work in Kiribati and in the region (TRW213).
- The education system should be modified in order to train more people who can work outside the country (TRW210).
- Tourism on the outer islands should be encouraged (OI41 _tsld‘).
- Village banks and creating reserve funds for local governments to assist them with their development projects (OI43 _tsld‘).

The Link Between Good Governance and Economic Development

It was interesting to note that the majority of the written and interview responses identified a link between good governance and development and, furthermore, respondents believed that good governance should be improved which in turn can result in better economic development. Others believe that good governance is ineffective without accompanying economic development reaching the lives of the people.

Uatea, from an outer island, believes that there is a need to continue improving the governance to enable better economic development.

- ◆Uatea: *It is obvious that the country needs to strengthen the governance. The result is there will be more peace...yes security and growth. I think because the lives of the people are not threatened which make them to have more time to work for the improvement of their lives. (Butaritari Island, Northern Gilbert, _tsld‘)*

Meri, who was another respondent from an outer island, believes that governance is the way to go to enable the growth of people and the country, while Ato, a public servant, believes that governance and a strong economy have to go together to enable growth.

- ◆Meri: *...yeh, governance can result in development. The people can improve their standard of living if the government can assist them through strengthening of good governance. (Maiana Island, Central Gilbert, _tsld‘)*

- ◆Ato: *We can govern ourselves well but if we don't have the resources to run things then we can't see much development. ...mm, it is simple, I think it is like running a healthy and happy family. (Tarawa)*

The following are some written responses which also show how the respondents perceive the link between good governance and economic development.

- Good governance through effective leadership and management of resources will provide the basis for sustainable development (*TRW196*).
- From understanding good governance people will have a better understanding and knowledge of how things [should] be managed which would enable them [to be] more committed to their responsibilities (*TRW106*).
- The understanding of good governance would enable leaders to realise the importance of their duty to help the development of the country (*OI52 _tsld'*).
- Good governance can be seen as a process of setting the scene for the people to commit themselves and work together for stability and social growth for the development of the country (*TRW 194*).
- Good governance provides growth for people by increasing the standard of living through increased literacy and numeracy, better health, strengthening of the rule of law, developing the economy and promoting transparency and accountability. All of these will then lead to gradual development (*TRW 187 _tsld'*).

Conclusion

This chapter detailed the responses of the respondents from Tarawa and the three outer islands with regard to their beliefs and views about the issues concerning governance they perceived to be generally relevant to Kiribati. The analysis of both the open-ended questions and the interviews further substantiates the quantitative data from Chapter 7 and highlights the views and concerns of the people regarding governance in Kiribati. The analysis of the views of public servants holding senior positions, including Members of Parliament, provided a deeper understanding of the issues of governance while the people from the outer islands yielded perceptions akin to the level of ordinary citizens living in a subsistence economy, most of which are issues related to the improvement in the delivery of services.

Overall, the analysis confirms that some of the common governance issues existing in Kiribati are related to the extent to which dedicated leaders and officials carry out their responsibilities to the people and the nation, the laxity of the government institutions in enforcing and implementing appropriate changes, the weaknesses of the economy in supporting the nation, the inability of the government to involve the people in the governing of their affairs and the difficulty in bridging the gap between those who live on Tarawa and those who live on outer islands in terms of providing better life opportunities and basic essential services. Apart from the many factors that contributed to the evolving issues, the lack of commitment by the leaders and public servants to fulfil their duties and implement appropriate changes for the betterment of the country seems to be one of the main problems in the governance of the country. Other circumstances of the country, such as its dispersed population living mainly in subsistence rural settings on scattered outer islands, and the lack of better life opportunities for the younger generation, add great pressure on the government to find effective ways to involve the people in the governing of their affairs, and to fulfil the expectations of an I-Kiribati in this 21st century.

The next two chapters will present case studies. Chapter 9 will present a case study on Maiana Island regarding the conflict between the Island Council and the Council of Unimwane called *Te Bau ni Maiana*, while Chapter 10 will present a case study on modern governance and fisheries. Chapter 11 will provide the summary, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 9: CASE STUDY 1

Introduction

The case study reveals the issues which emerge when traditional and modern government have unclear leadership roles and authority. Furthermore it will show what can happen when the leaders and other national stakeholders depart from their roles in harmonising the two different systems of traditional and modern governance for a better governing of the island. The case study discusses the conflict between the Maiana Island Council, (the local government) and *Te Bau ni Maiana*, the Council of *Unimwane*, where the mayor and the elected councillors from each village on Maiana Island were overthrown by *Te Bau ni Maiana*. *Te Bau ni Maiana* means ‘the crown of Maiana’ signifying the status of the council of old men as the traditional authoritative body on the island. This study describes how the conflict emerged, what happened during the conflict and the key players involved in trying to resolve the conflict.

Maiana Island

Maiana Island is located east of South Tarawa at latitude 1° 00' N and longitude 173° 00' E (Appendix B3(iii)). It is about forty-five kilometers away from Tarawa and has a total land area of 16.72 sq km and a population of 1908 (Kiribati Population Census 2005, Matiera 2003: pp.20-21). The population is composed of 946 females and 962 males, with a high proportion of youth population within the age groups of 6 to 14 (Kiribati Population Census 2005). It has twelve villages with the population of each village ranging from 75 to 473 and the capital of the island is Tebangetua village. It has two Members of Parliament and one of them is Mr Anote Tong, who was elected as the President of the country. Like all of the islands in Kiribati, Maiana is a coral atoll with a calm lagoon and vegetation dominated by coconut trees, pandanus and other tropical island plants. The island has limited fauna except for domesticated animals such as pigs, dogs, cats and chickens. The lifestyle on the island is mainly subsistence. Public servants posted to work on the island live mostly on their salaries supplemented by subsistence agriculture and fishing. The cultural customs on the island are still observed by the people - one of the most important is to pay respect to the elderly people. By tradition, men are recognised as providers of social security in the family and, at the age of 50, are eligible to become members of a council of old men (Tabokai 1993: p.26).

Council of *Unimwane*.

The *Te Bau ni Maiana* is a traditional governing body which existed on the islands before the introduction of the modern political system based on the British Westminster system. Every village on the islands has its own association of old men, mainly capable old men representing a clan or family. The association of old men is a leading body which emerged in response to the need to achieve a collective consideration of issues and consensus on issues which affect the people. Members of the council of *unimwane* have to agree and become owners of the decision before the decision can be implemented. This collective consensus and effort of the people is the basis of the traditional political system in the islands. This collective effort of individuals is vital in the islands for executing huge tasks such as the building of a *maneaba* or a seawall. Such collective efforts help to strengthen the bonds and working partnerships of the members of the community. The longevity and accumulation of knowledge and leadership skills of old men give them the legitimacy and authority to become traditional leaders of the people.

The old men are charged with decision making for the common good of the people. While families manage their own affairs in their homes, the old men decide on matters that concern the local population and then consult the people about what should be implemented by talking with their family members and neighbours. The *maneaba*, which is a traditional open walled hall, is the place where the council of old men meets to preside on matters concerning the community. The combined association of old men from each village forms a council of old men known traditionally as the *Te Botaki ni Unimwane* and traditionally has the legitimate authority to deal with the local affairs of the people on the island. The head of the council of old men is called the *Te Katu Mara*, which means the most senior old man among the members who has the leadership skills and wealth of knowledge about the culture of the people. The council of old men from each island has its own specific name to set it apart and to be recognised as a council of old men from a particular island. For instance, the *Te Toka Tarawa* is a council of old men from Tarawa Island, the *Marewen Tabiteuea* is a council of old men from Tabiteuea Island, and the *Te Bau ni Maiana* is a council of old men from Maiana Island. The name for each council of old men shares in common a meaning which implies that the council of old men is a traditional authoritative body on each island. For instance, words such as *toka*, *marewen*, and *bau* refer to the prominent status of old men. The council of old men is involved in the enforcement of order and stability on each island and also in the strengthening of the culture among the people. For instance, on some islands, the council of old men can prohibit the selling of liquor on the island when it is felt that

unacceptable behavior has arisen from drinking excessive amounts of alcohol. Sometimes the council of old men acts as a representative of the people to the national government.

The Island Council or Local Government

The island councils on the outer islands were established during the British colonial period in the early 1900s to represent the national government on the inhabited outer islands. This was part of an attempt by the British administrators to unify scattered outer islands under the management of a national government system. There are twenty-three island councils established on outer islands under the provisions of the Local Government Act (including two on South Tarawa). An island council is composed of councillors who are elected from each village, while the mayor is elected from among the councillors by the people. The number of councillors from each village depends on the size of its population. The life span of an elected island council is four years, matching the term of the national government.

The management of the island council is administered by the mayor and councillors plus the public servants who are posted out from the national government in South Tarawa. These public servants comprise the clerk, who acts as a chief executive officer to the Island Council, the treasurer, and the court clerk who assists with judiciary matters on the island. The role of the clerk, treasurer, the mayor and councillors is to implement the strategic plan of the island council in line with the provisions of the Local Government Act. Some of the responsibilities of the island council deal with the administration of island affairs, management of the economy of the island and the enforcement of the rule of law. Part of the role of the clerk is to liaise with government ministries in South Tarawa for processing matters which are needed by the island council and the people. Most of the important services on the island such as policing, health, teaching, fisheries, agriculture, telecommunication and commercial trading are the responsibility of public servants who are posted from South Tarawa. There are also employees recruited by the island council such as motor mechanics, drivers, and nurse and teacher's aids, most of whom are paid by the island council.

The main economic revenue of an island council comes from the national government's annual grant and other revenue collections from the people such as taxes and fines. The island council and ex-officio members meet regularly, presiding over matters important in the community and the economic development of the island. The council of old men is recognised under the Local

Government Act and its representative is also a member of the island council (Local Government Act 1998: p.6). The clerk and the mayor often represent the island council and the people at meetings and workshops conducted in South Tarawa.

The Chronology of the Conflict on Maiana Island

The conflict on Maiana between the island council and the council of old men, culminating in the removal of the mayor and the councillors from office by order of the *Te Bau ni Maiana*, was the first such case in the history of Kiribati. This account of the conflict is based on the author's interview on Maiana Island with Itimuinang, who had a connection with the *Te Bau ni Maiana* and two councillors who were among the councillors deposed by the council of old men (Itimuinang & two councillors 2009, pers. comm., 18 October.). The genesis of the conflict was a disagreement between the mayor and the clerk about certain expenses incurred by the island council. The mayor and the councillors were resentful of the clerk's confrontational attitude and decided to inform the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs about their unwillingness to continue working with the clerk and the need for her to be transferred back to South Tarawa. The clerk heard about the decision for her to be transferred and she approached the mayor in order to apologise.

The mayor did not sympathise with the clerk but was adamant that the decision of the island council to have her recalled and posted away from Maiana was final. The clerk was deeply concerned about her transfer as it would mean a negative record about her performance which could jeopardise her future career prospects. She decided to approach the *Te Katu Mara*, a senior old man of the *Te Bau ni Maiana*, who agreed to plead on her behalf to the mayor and the councillors. The role of the *Te Katu Mara* in this case was significant because he acted on behalf of the council of old men, and his role as an old man and a peacemaker was significant in the culture because he pleaded on behalf of the clerk who was a foreigner coming from a different island and a senior public servant who was posted from the national government to work for the Maiana Island Council. The clerk was familiar with the protocol and that was why she approached the *Te Katu Mara* of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* with the hope that a reconciliation on her behalf would succeed.

The clerk knew of a special meeting that was organised by the mayor and councillors without the presence of the clerk and ex-officio members and so she informed the *Te Katu Mara* about the

date of the meeting so that he could approach the mayor and councillors. As part of the reconciliation process, the clerk also prepared a small feast for the mayor and the councillors after the end of the meeting. The mayor and the councillors knew that the *Te Katu Mara* would come to plead on behalf of the clerk and that he was waiting outside the venue to be invited. Unfortunately, the *Te Katu Mara* was not called into the meeting and the councillors and the mayor did not accept the clerk's invitation to a reconciliation feast. The *Te Katu Mara* retired, very disappointed because he had been shown disrespect by the mayor and the councillors. It was an insult also to the *Te Bau ni Maiana* which was represented by the *Te Katu Mara*. By tradition the *Te Bau ni Maiana* represented the local population on the island which had elected the mayor and the councillors to form the island council.

On 15 May 2009, the day after the island council failed to invite the *Te Katu Mara* to its meeting, the *Te Katu Mara* called a meeting and informed the *Te Bau ni Maiana* about what had happened between the clerk, the mayor and councillors, and how he had been involved in trying to settle the conflict. He further informed the council of old men about the disrespectful attitude of the mayor and the councillors, who had humiliated him in his role as a peacemaker and a representative of the *Te Bau ni Maiana*. The decision was made that, because of the arrogant attitude of the mayor and the councillors in dishonouring the *Te Katu Mara*, who represented both the *Te Bau ni Maiana* and the local population which elected them, the island council should be deposed. The mayor and councillors were informed of the decision of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* that they were no longer recognised as the body of an island council and that they should leave their jobs. In addition, members of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* returned from the meeting and informed their people about the decision and also not to be friendly or be involved with the mayor and the councillors. It was the first time the *Te Bau ni Maiana* had given a direct order and penalty against the mayor and councillors. The people understood that any obstruction to the *Te Bau ni Maiana's* decision by the mayor and the councillors would have a negative impact on their lives.

On 22 May 2009, the news about the conflict on Maiana Island appeared on the front page of the *Uekera*, the national bilingual weekly newspaper of the country, which is only available on Tarawa (*Uekera* 22 May 2009: pp.1-5). The news did not provide details of what the conflict was all about or how the *Te Bau ni Maiana* could depose the island council. The news was reported from Maiana by an anonymous person who further asked the officials of the *Uekera* newspaper to find out from the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs how the conflict could be resolved (*Uekera* 22 May 2009: pp.1-5). The senior local government officer who dealt with local

governments on the outer islands confirmed receipt of the news several days earlier and commented in the *Uekera* newspaper that the case on Maiana was a sensitive issue and implied that it would take some time for the Ministry to deal with the matter (*Uekera* 22 May 2009: p.5).

It is evident that the conflict between the Maiana Island Council and the *Te Bau ni Maiana* began with a dispute between the clerk of the island council and the mayor and some councillors. To have avoided the involvement of the clerk and the *Te Katu Mara* at the outset, the Island Council should have handled the case better by calling directly on a Senior Local Government Officer of the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs in South Tarawa to resolve the dispute. The island council should have understood that the proper channel for reporting complaints about the clerk was directly to the national government via the Ministry, which is the employing agency of clerks. The island council's delay in handling the matter and also in allowing its decision to be publicly heard, had created an opportunity for the clerk to approach and involve the *Te Katu Mara* to plead on her behalf. It was at this point, when the *Te Katu Mara* came onto the scene, that the scenario changed from a minor issue into a conflict between the council of old men and the island council. However, had the *Te Katu Mara* understood the jurisdiction in which he should operate, he could have advised the clerk that her case was a matter to be decided by her employer which is the Ministry. Moreover, if the island council had shown due respect and honoured the presence of the *Te Katu Mara* and invited him to the special meeting, there would have been the possibility of the two parties settling the matter more amicably.

Resolving the Conflict

The *Uekera's* news in the 19 June 2009 issue revealed that the national government intervened by sending two teams to Maiana Island to meet with the *Te Bau ni Maiana* (*Uekera* 19 June 2009: pp.1-3). The first team was led by the Minister of Internal Affairs and Social Development and government officials from the Office of the President and the Attorney General's Office who flew to Maiana on the 22 May 2009 in response to the island council's request. The island council wanted to know what the national government's view was on the issue and also how the matter could be resolved. The Minister pleaded with the *Te Bau ni Maiana* to resolve their differences with the mayor and councillors; however, the *Te Bau ni Maiana* refused to be reconciled and continued to stand by its decision not to recognise the mayor and the councillors as a body representing the local government on the island, implying the need for new members to be elected.

The *Te Bau ni Maiana* believed it had to penalise the mayor and councillors for going against the traditional protocols in disrespecting the old men and dishonouring the culture.

The second team led by members of the Kiribati National Council of Churches, comprised members of the Catholic and Protestant churches and government officials, flew to Maiana on the 29 May 2009 in another attempt to resolve the conflict. The involvement of the major churches in the peace process by the government was implemented in the belief that it could help change the decision of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* by seeing their religious leaders involved in the mediation process. The second team met with the *Te Bau ni Maiana* and pleaded for reconciliation and also explained to the *Te Bau ni Maiana* that the rule of law is paramount over their traditional ruling (*Uekera* 19 June 2009: p.3). Unfortunately, the second team's approach and clarification about the supremacy of the law over the traditional decisions of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* did not convince the council of old men to change its ruling. The *Te Bau ni Maiana* felt disappointed and also baffled as to how the rule of law, which was 'imported', should become supreme over the traditional rule of the council of old men. When the researcher spoke with some of the elders, they were still puzzled and did not accept that introduced written law could overrule age-old traditions.

The case was left unresolved. However, the national government believed it had played its role in informing the people, the island council and that the *Te Bau ni Maiana* about the supremacy of law and the fact that the council of old men had no authority to overthrow the island council (*Uekera* 29 May 2009: p.3). As such, the issue was left to the people to resolve. This was an interesting circumstance which demonstrated the clash between modern and traditional political systems. It also illustrates how the local and national government can become entangled in such a controversial issue and also how they are unable to provide a clear solution to such a problem. The decision made by the national government did not make things better as it seemed to leave the matter in the hands of the *Te Bau ni Maiana*. The case remained unresolved as the people on the island also continued to honour the decision of the *Te Bau ni Maiana*. That is, the case could only be resolved if the mayor and the councillors voluntarily resigned to allow a new election.

There were twelve councillors on Maiana of whom seven followed the decision of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* and resigned. However, the remaining five councillors, including the mayor, refused to resign and wished to resolve the case through the courts. The mayor took the case against the *Te Bau ni Maiana* to court (*Uekera* 10 July 2009: p.2). The *Te Katu Mara* who represented the *Te Bau ni Maiana*, informed the High Court that the decisions and the leadership of the council of

old men were just and supreme above the law (*Uekera* 10 July 2009: pp.2-3). The Chief Justice of the High Court was not convinced by the argument of the *Te Katu Mara*. It was explained that even though the island's traditional ruling body existed long before modern law and government, they are not included nor recognised in the Constitution of the country. The Chief Justice emphasised that under Chapter 1, Section 2 of the Constitution, the 'Constitution is the supreme law of Kiribati and if any other law contradicts the Constitution, that other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void' (*Uekera*, 10 July 2009: p.2, Kiribati Constitution 1980: p.9). The Chief Justice further explained that under the Local Government Act, the election, vacation, and the term of office of the elected councillors and the mayor are stipulated under Part III, Section 9, 10, 11 and 11(A) of the Act (Local Government Act 1984: pp.7-14).

The island council is a representative institution of the national government on the island and therefore the elected councillors and the mayor could only vacate office by petition or referendum as in accordance with the provisions of the Local Government Act. Nevertheless, the council of old men is recognised under Section 2 of the Local Government Act to be a representative body of the local population on the island. The clarifications of the court enabled the people to understand that the action of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* to depose the mayor and councillors was illegal. However, there was no ruling by the court to reinstate the mayor and councillors or to reprimand the *Te Bau ni Maiana*. As was stated in the *Uekera* of 10 July (2009: p.2), the Court acted in its judicial role only to interpret the law, and explained how the *Te Bau ni Maiana* had interfered illegally with the Constitutional governing of the country.

While the mayor pursued the case in the court on Tarawa, his residence on Maiana Island was burned. There was clearly a suspicion that there could be a link between what the mayor did and the burning of his home. In addition, the second order of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* to the five councillors who refused to vacate their posts to resign intensified the feeling that their lives or properties could be in danger if they continued to disobey (Itimuinang 2009, pers. comm., 18 October,). It should be understood that there are only three police on Maiana who were placed in a very difficult position when local inter-group disputes turn violent. They are hardly in a position to enforce law and order and have to wait for re-enforcements to be flown in. The burning of the mayor's home sent a message to the remaining councillors to ease the conflict by obeying the decision. The five councillors who did not want to resign felt apprehensive when they heard of the burning down of the mayor's home and also when receiving the second reminder from *Te Bau ni Maiana* to consider resigning as early as possible (Itimuinang 2009, pers. comm., 18 October,).

The incident gave them the final warning to obey the decision of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* without further consequences. Thus, the rest of the councillors, including the mayor submitted their resignations. The mayor was the last member to resign after he came back from South Tarawa (*Uekera* 27 November 2009: pp.1-3). The concern of the councillors about the likely threat posed against them and their families by the reminder from the *Te Bau ni Maiana* had forced them to ‘voluntarily’ resign and avoid further attempts to fight for justice.

The conflict showed the complexity of such political issues and also the difficulty faced by the national government in overruling the *Te Bau ni Maiana* and providing an effective solution to the problem. It also revealed a governance issue which can happen when the local population disregards the rule of law in resolving conflicts. The resignation of the remaining councillors and the mayor marked the end of the conflict and the preparation for the election of new councillors. As was dictated by the *Te Bau ni Maiana*, they were not allowed to stand for the new election. The *Uekera* of 7 August (2009: p.6) pointed out that the election for new councillors was conducted on 31 August 2009 while the election of the mayor took place on 15 October 2009. The election had made it possible to re-establish the island council on Maiana Island with the opportunity for new councillors to rebuild a better working relationship with the people.

The Criticisms of the Opposition Party

The Maurin Kiribati Party (MKP), which is in opposition, criticised the government because of the way it handled the conflict. In its newsletter, quoted in the June issue of the *Uekera*, the MKP blamed the government for its inefficiency and incapability of intervening and claimed this had caused an escalation of the conflict (*Uekera* 19 June 2009: pp.1-3). The MKP further accused the government of misleading the public by saying that the election of the councillors and the mayor is the prerogative of the people. This was not the case on Maiana Island because the overthrowing of the island council was not carried out by the people through referendum but by the order of the council of old men. Furthermore, the announcement by the *Te Bau ni Maiana* to call for the resignation of the councillors and the mayor demonstrated that the power of the council of old men prevailed over the right of the people and the supremacy of the rule of law. The MKP also attacked the President, who belongs to the constituency of Maiana, claiming that his Cabinet is incompetent in failing to detain the *Te Bau ni Maiana* for breaking the law. The MKP pointed out that the *Te Bau ni Maiana* had established a political alliance in supporting the election of the President who came from Maiana Island (*Uekera* 19 June 2009: p.3).

The MKP's newsletter further maintained that after the arrival of Britain and the establishment of a new political system based on the three separate powers of the government (the legislative, the executive and the judiciary), this meant that the adoption of a governing system based on the rule of law was embraced (*Uekera* 19 June 2009: p.2). However, there is a consensus by the people to still acknowledge the old men as custodians of the land and the traditions of the people. The conflict on Maiana Island culminated with the resignation of the national government's Minister for Environment, Lands and Agriculture. The Minister was adamant that the reason for his resignation was with regard to his disappointment in seeing the government's incompetence in failing to resolve the conflict and by allowing the *Te Bau ni Maiana* to act against the law (*Uekera* 11 August 2009: pp.1-4). The resigning Minister referred to the actions of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* in overthrowing the local government as an act of terrorism, a plot to destroy democracy and an attempt to revive the old traditional governing system where old men's decisions prevailed (*Newstar* 14 August 2009: p.2, *Mauri* 28 August 2009: pp.1-3).

In replying to the allegations of the MKP and the Minister who resigned, the President clarified the position of the national government saying it had been proactive in intervening by sending two teams to resolve the conflict. The referendum could be undertaken only if there is a submission made by the people. He explained that the government recognised both the council of old men and the local government which was embodied by the mayor and councillors and that the government had to work together with both parties (*Uekera* 18 August 2009: p.3). The government had informed the people of Maiana Island about the supremacy of the law and how the role of the council of old men was expected to relate to the modern governance of the country. The people had been informed that what the *Te Bau ni Maiana* did was illegal. The councillors and the mayor have the right to decide whether or not to follow the decision of the *Te Bau ni Maiana*. It was left for the two bodies to reconcile their differences and move forward for the better governing of the island (*Uekera* 18 August 2009: p.3). The national government had a role in maintaining peace and stability among the people and to encourage those who were dissatisfied to take the matter to court as was done by the mayor. The President believed that there was no infringement of the law nor had a riot taken place on the island; it was only the directive of the *Te Bau ni Maiana* for the mayor and councillors to resign (*Uekera* 18 August 2009: p.3).

The Way Forward

The deposing of the local government on Maiana Island was evidently illegal. It constituted a precedent which could set a bad example to the rest of the islands if the local or national government are not able to rectify a situation. The national government felt responsible and decided to hold a workshop for mayors and to include representatives from the councils of old men from the outer islands for the purpose of clarifying their roles and to make them also understand the importance of the law as the sole authority for arbitration (*Uekera* 25 August 2009: p.3). This workshop was only attended by mayors and leaders from each council of old men from each island.

This workshop was an appropriate move by the national government to attempt to avoid similar conflicts and to clarify the law for traditional leaders and the mayors so that they could understand their roles in the modern political system. The national government sought assistance from the Commonwealth Local Government Forum based in Suva, Fiji for conducting the workshop and in providing funding (*Uekera* 25 August 2009: p.3). There were two experts sent to Kiribati, one of which was an I-Kiribati, and they were joined by other officials from the Kiribati Government to conduct the workshop. The officials assisting in the workshop were from the Attorney General's Office, the Office of the Speaker, the Ministry of Home Affairs and Social Development and others (*Uekera* 25 August 2009: pp.3-5). The workshop started on 28 August 2009 and lasted for three days. The *RMAT* (28 August 2009: pp.2-8), which is a government newsletter, maintained that some of the recommendations developed from the workshop were:

- to revise certain parts of the country's Constitution where individual rights are protected irrespective of the right of the people;
- to include traditional leadership principles and practices that are not conflicting with existing laws;
- to establish a separation of the powers and roles of the councils and the old men and the protection of the old men's councils under the law;
- to create a well defined role for the island council and the council of old men;
- to improve the training of council clerks so that they are equipped with the knowledge and skills to enhance their roles and working relationships with councillors and the people;

- to establish a closer working partnership between the council of old men and the island council;
- to recognise, maintain and improve a symbolic trust and cooperation between the council of old men and the councillors; and
- to solve the difference between the two bodies in an amicable way for the purpose of attaining peace and harmony in the community.

The recommendations were only a starting point for the national government and the people to work together towards achieving a better working relationship between the council of old men and the island council. It called for recognition of the rule of law and an understanding by the leaders to work cooperatively for the stability and progress of the country. The national government and the community need to implement the recommendations and continually assess the need for conducting training workshops for old men, councillors and other national stakeholders on the outer islands to educate the people about harmonising the rule of law and traditional leadership practices. The development of a rule of law strategy by the national government and other national stakeholders is essential for doing outreach programs and education campaigns that could increase better awareness by the people about their role in the modern political system.

From a broader perspective, beyond Kiribati there have been several authors who have written somewhat romantically of the benefits of hybrid governance for the Pacific; that is through a blend of traditional and modern. As the Maiana example amply demonstrates, someone has to have the final say and this can pit the male elders against the legally authorised elected body. Giving a role to the elders does not of itself resolve matters where there are clear differences of opinion.

Conclusion

The case study revealed a controversial issue about governance on Maiana Island and indeed for Kiribati. It is evident that the conflict emerged from the ignorance of the council of old men and other national leaders in understanding their responsibilities and the extent to which they can employ their leadership roles in the modern political system. The lack of knowledge by traditional leaders results from their limited understanding about the new political system and the role of the rule of law. However, people may be willing to adopt changes if they are better informed about the changes and involved in the process. The government, as stated in Chapter 2, is the main

caretaker of good governance and therefore it has a significant role in educating and involving the people in the governing of the country. The workshop conducted by the government is one of the strategic means of informing the old men and other national leaders about the new political system and their significant role in harmonising both the local and modern governing systems. Involving the people in the decision making process is the best way to make them take ownership of such decisions. The recommendations developed from the workshop revealed that the rule of law is a fundamental principle of governance for the purposes of adherence, accountability, fair arbitration and justice.

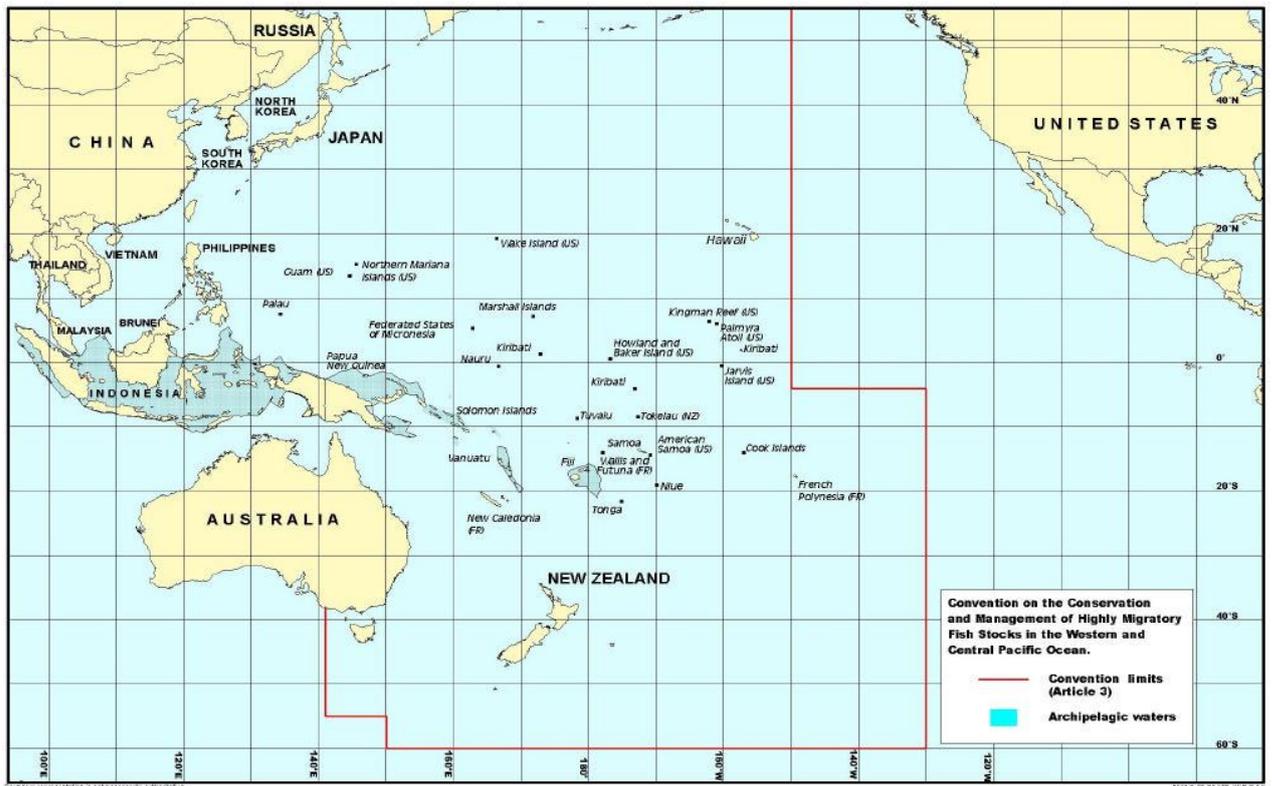
CHAPTER 10: CASE STUDY 2

Introduction

This case study puts into context how the concept of modern governance is important in the governing of the tuna resources in Kiribati which are the only major resources for Kiribati's economy and a source of food for the subsistence living of the people on the islands. It will also reveal how significant it is for Kiribati as a small island nation to get involved with other major stakeholders of fisheries, such as the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC), the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), the Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA), the Distant Water Fishing Nations (DWFNs), and the community for the proper management and conservation of the country's fisheries resources. In order to achieve the aim of this chapter, this case study will analyse Kiribati's membership of the WCPFC, FFA and the PNA, and how such engagements have contributed to the sustainability of the country's tuna resources. The WCPFC is the fisheries commission which was established by the convention for the conservation and management of highly migratory fish stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean and came into force on 19 June 2004. Figure 10.1 shows the waters covered under the Western and Central Pacific Commission. Its members are mainly Pacific Island countries (PICs) and DWFNs. The PICs are the Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Australia and New Zealand. The DWFNs are China, Canada, the European Union, France, Japan, Korea, Philippines, Taiwan, and the United States of America. There are also observers such as Greenpeace and others which are not members of the WCPFC.

The FFA is a regional body created in 1979 by leaders of the Pacific Islands Forum primarily for the purpose of strengthening national capacity and regional solidarity for the sustainability of the tuna resources. The PNA (Parties to the Nauru Agreement) is a sub-group of the FFA, created in 1982, and consists of the Federated State of Micronesia, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Tuvalu. These islands own waters which supply 25 per cent of the world's tuna resources and approximately 60 per cent of the WCPC tuna supply (Ride 2010). The PNA has been innovative in designing effective conservation and management strategies for the tuna resources, most of which have been recognised and adopted by the WCPFC. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

Figure 10.1: The Waters covered under the Western Central Pacific Commission



(Source: http://www.daff.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/001)

This case study will also analyse Kiribati’s problems and successes in the conservation and management of its oceanic and coastal fisheries. In addition, it will investigate Kiribati’s licencing policy with Distant Water Fishing Nations (DWFNs) and its ramifications for the sustainability of its off-shore or oceanic fisheries resources and the healthy economy of the country. The second part of the case study will analyse the management of coastal fisheries and examines how it is important for I-Kiribati subsistence living.

As stated earlier, the governing of fisheries in Kiribati warrants investigation in this case study because it is an important resource for the country that requires effective management for sustainability. It has supported I-Kiribati livelihood for centuries and the I-Kiribati are heavily dependent on fish for food security. It is also an important sector of the modern economy, with a third of the government’s revenue gained from licencing DWFNs to fish in the country’s exclusive economic zone (EEZ). The enormous size of Kiribati’s EEZ and the migratory nature of the tuna stocks require the government to multilaterally engage in the surveillance of its ocean. It also calls for the WCPFC’s major stakeholders to commit themselves to the conservation and management of the tuna stocks.

The research for this case study is based on the existing literature about fisheries in Kiribati, and more broadly the Pacific Islands, the interviews with senior officers of the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources Development (MFMRD) in 2011 and the extensive work experience of the researcher when serving in the MFMRD as Deputy Secretary from 2005 to 2007.

Fisheries Governance of Pacific Island Countries

Fisheries governance refers to the engagement of major stakeholders such as coastal states, fishing companies, non-governmental agencies and the community to decide on institutional systems that would enable stakeholders to comply with measures for the conservation and management of the fisheries resources. Bromley (1989: pp.87-100) maintains that the governance of fisheries is a complex issue because it often involves conflict between the interests of different parties engaged in the process. Bromley further proposes that conflicts of interest can possibly be solved by establishing well specified property rights and institutional mechanisms for enforcement. In this regard, fisheries governance should consist of the rights, duties and rules and how these are implemented (Bromley 1989, Hanna 1997). In so doing, the impact of overfishing and unregulated fishing in coastal states' EEZs could be minimised.

The 1982 Law of the Sea Convention (LOSC) over oceanic fisheries gave coastal states such as Pacific Island countries (PICs) the right to manage their oceanic fisheries (UNCLOS 1982: pp.46-48). This kind of right would have been insignificant to PICs, including Kiribati, which did not have the capacity to effectively exercise management, including surveillance, over their EEZs, without the establishment of the multilateral FFA and WCPFC. The establishment of the WCPFC in June 2004 provided Pacific Island governments with the opportunity to present a united front in asserting their rights as coastal states for the long term sustainability of the tuna stocks in the Western Central Pacific Ocean (WCPO) under the agreement of the 1982 United Nation Convention of the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The FFA, which is a regional body created in 1979 by the leaders of the Pacific Islands Forum primarily for the purpose of strengthening national capacity and regional solidarity for the sustainability of the tuna resources, has been instrumental in providing assistance to PICs, including Kiribati, for their participation in the WCPFC's meetings and also at other fishing negotiations with DWFNs (FFA Website 2011).

The WCPFC's membership comprises the powerful DWFNs of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the United States of America, China, and the European Union, the weakest PICs and Australia and New Zealand. A conflict of interest between the two parties, the DWFNs and PICs is causing problems within the WCPFC. DWFNs often assert their rights to exploit more of the tuna resources from the waters of the PICs because they have the technology and long standing experience in oceanic fishing (Barclay and Cartwright 2007: pp.1-3). However, the PICs, which are the weakest members want to manage and conserve their tuna resources and be more involved in the development of their fisheries but do not have the resources and capability (Barclay & Cartwright 2007: pp.1-2).

The governing of the fisheries in the WCPO is often determined by the consensus of DWFNs and PICs of which Kiribati is a member. The differences in the beliefs and interests of the two blocs can consequently polarise the decisions of the WCPFC and affect the sustainability of the tuna stocks. For instance, powerful DWFNs are interested in exploiting more tuna in the waters of PICs and often under-report their catch. When it comes to complying with management and conservation measures of threatened tuna species such as the yellowfin and bigeye, DWFNs often have excuses saying that they need more data from research to prove the decline of the stock. On the other hand, PICs are interested in controlling more of their tuna stocks by proposing management and conservation measures and developing their own tuna processing plants but they are often weak as they do not have the manpower, capability and technology.

Kiribati's Responsibilities in Regional Fisheries Organisations

Kiribati's membership in the WCPFC and FFA is significant as it owns 3.55 million sq km which makes it the largest EEZ amongst the Pacific Island countries (Lewis & Ledua 2004: pp.1-2). Kiribati's EEZ is also regarded as one of the most productive zones with skipjack tuna in the Gilbert Island Group, and abundant yellowfin and bigeye tuna in the Line and Phoenix Islands Groups (Gilbert et al. 2001). The membership of Kiribati in the FFA as well as the WCPFC, and as a signatory to the treaty of the Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA) in the management of the tuna stocks, has enabled the government to utilise its licencing policy as a mechanism to impose on DWFNs' fleet the Commission's measures for managing the tuna stocks.

The fleet dynamics of the DWFNs fishing in the WCPO has been increasingly complex because of the use of modern technology and the improved design of fishing vessels which makes them more efficient in harvesting increased numbers of fish in restricted zones such as in the high seas, and in escaping when found fishing illegally in EEZs (von Strokirch 2007: pp.561-565). It has resulted in the increase of fish landing to more than 80 million tons since 2002 (von Strokirch 2007). These incidents mean that the WCPFC's science committee needs to continually create robust research works and stock assessment activities and strengthen network partnerships between members and non-members to enable effective compliance with fisheries regulations, including the provision of a joint surveillance in PICs' EEZs. The WCPFC has tried to ensure that fishing vessels using purse seine, long-lines, pole and lines, and troll comply with the specific measures developed for different vessels because each type of vessel uses different fishing gear to target specific species (WCPFC website 2011).

The engagement of members and non-members in the WCPFC is significant for the designing and enforcement of conservation and management measures for highly migratory tuna stocks such as skipjack, yellowfin, bigeye, and albacore. In general, PICs, including Kiribati, play their role by designing and raising conservation and management measures in the WCPFC with the assistance and advice of the FFA. In the WCPFC, PICs raise measures such as the vessel day scheme, observers scheme and others which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. These measures both help the conservation of the tuna stocks and at the same time empower the PICs to have more control over the development of their tuna resources either through domestic processing, bilateral licencing or joint-venture fishing.

Kiribati plays its role in the WCPFC mainly through the enforcement of conservation and management measures on fishing vessels of the DWFNs which are licensed to fish in the country's EEZ or with whom they have a joint-venture arrangement. As part of the deal in the fishing negotiations, the DWFNs are required to comply with measures designed and agreed to in the WCPFC. Article 70 (3a) of the UNCLOS requires that parties be bound through bilateral, sub-regional or regional agreements which take into account the need to avoid fishing activities which are detrimental to fishing communities or fishing industries of a coastal state. Kiribati is a signatory to the treaty of the Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA) which obliges the country to enforce the WCPFC measures on its bilateral fishing counterparts.

One of the important policies adopted in the PNA is for members to only license fishing vessels which are in good standing, which means they have a good record of not being involved in illegal fishing and other fishing offences in PICs' EEZs including oceans of other Regional Fisheries Management Organisation (RFMO). The FFA maintains the regional register of foreign fishing vessels which has been operational since 1982. The compilation of the register is possible through the FFA's engagement with other RFMO by adopting their lists and by the cooperation of the FFA members reporting vessels that have good and bad reputations when fishing in their EEZs.

The agreement of minimum terms and conditions of access to fish is also emphasised in the PNA's arrangement (FFA website 2011, WCPFC website 2011). In order to prevent independent catch, it contains a prohibition on the DWFNs' fishing fleets trans-shipping their catch at sea, and all high seas catches should be reported. Daily catch and effort must be recorded as well as maintaining their log books to show their fishing positions and activities. In addition, every purse seine fishing vessel requires the emplacement of the WCPFC's vessel monitoring system (VMS) and an observer.

Other important measures include the encouragement of purse seine vessels to retain on board and then land their catches of bigeye, yellowfin and skipjack tuna, except fish considered not fit for human consumption, and non-deployment of fish aggregating devices (FADs) during the third quarter of each year, the time when the EEZs of PICs are rich in tuna stocks (FFA website 2011, WCPFC website 2011). The closure of fishing in the two high seas pockets of the WCPO as a condition of bilateral licencing is also an important measure agreed to by PNA members. In addition, in 2006 Kiribati demonstrated its commitment towards good governance in the conservation of marine resources by declaring the Phoenix Island Group as a sanctuary for marine species, including the threatened species of yellowfin and bigeye tuna often fished by the DWFNs in the area (PIPA 2011). The Phoenix Island Protected Area (PIPA) was added to the world heritage list by UNESCO and is the largest and deepest world heritage site in the world with a size of 408 250 sq km.

A review of the Palau Agreement (PA), a subsidiary agreement of the PNA was carried out in 1993. This agreement had set a limit on the number of purse seine vessels to 205. The PNA members believed that by developing a management measure to limit the number of purse seine vessels fishing in the EEZs of the parties, fish stocks could be conserved. Juvenile yellowfin and

bigeye are often caught among the skipjack tuna during purse seine netting and their early mortality rate can affect the long term sustainability of the threatened stock (FFA website 2011, WCPFC website 2011). The rationale was that 80 per cent of DWFNs' fishing fleets are mostly purse seine vessels and always fish in the PICs' EEZs. In 1993 it was decided to control the decline of the yellowfin stock by cutting effort rather than limiting the number of vessels. This led to the adoption of a new management and conservation measure the Vessel Day Scheme (VDS).

In 2007 the PNA abolished the cap on the number of fishing fleets but replaced it with a total allowable effort (TAE) in fishing days managed through the VDS (FFA website 2011). One of the difficulties faced by PNA members was in how to effectively apply the VDS when it was first introduced. The VDS involves PNA members setting the total number of days the DWFNs have to fish in their EEZs and then apportioning it among the members. The allocation of days can be made for one year or in advance for three years. It is strongly expected that the trading of fishing days to fishing companies of the DWFNs can constrain the tuna catches and also increase the amount of return from the access fees. Having had the PNA members establish these essential measures for sustaining the tuna stocks through the WCPFC, the thrust of the matter is that DWFNs require scientific research robust enough to convince fishers to comply with the measures and, above all, that members do actually comply with the measures. Measures can be also effective if backed with appropriate resources and training development, particularly in the poorly resourced small island states.

Kiribati finds it difficult to implement some of the conservation measures because it does not have enough technical and professional fisheries staff and resources to effectively implement the measures, one of which is the requirement of observers on every licensed fishing vessel, and ensuring that fish aggregate devices are not deployed by the DWFNs licensed in Kiribati waters. The situation is becoming worse with fishing companies of the DWFNs being uncooperative and refusing to comply with the measures. For instance, the government finds that some fishing companies can delay the reporting of their catch or at other times fail to submit their log-sheets (Director of Fisheries 2011, pers. comm., 10 October). Fishing vessels can also turn off their vessel monitoring system (VMS) to avoid their fishing positions being detected, and make excuses saying that their VMS has a technical problem or is completely out of order. The requirement for observers to be placed on every purse seine vessel fishing in the EEZ is also difficult as many of the vessels do not come into port. At other times, the observers who board the vessels find it difficult to enforce certain measures such as advising the captain not to fish close to

FADs or getting access to the ship's log book. Sometimes the captain is not able to communicate well or just pretends not to understand the English language. The persistent occurrence of these problems by the same fishing companies can enable the government to cancel their fishing licenses or advise the FFA to blacklist them from fishing in Kiribati's EEZ.

The governing of the tuna stocks by the WCPFC is complex and this is partly due to the imbalance in power between the DWFNs and the PICs. DWFNs always regard themselves as more advanced with the technology and capacity to effectively harvest tuna resources based on their fishing histories, and therefore claim they should be given more rights to fish in the small island states' EEZs (Hanich & Tsamenyi c.2000). PICs, including Kiribati, are former colonies of some of the DWFNs, have often experienced resource exploitation by foreign countries and have very limited capacity to both develop their tuna resources and compete in the international fisheries market (Hanich & Tsamenyi c.2000). The governing of the tuna resources and the sharing of its benefits will continue as a matter of controversy between the PICs and the DWFNs. Tuna stocks are highly migratory and therefore require a multilateral conservation measure both by the countries whose EEZs are fished and those fishing companies which harvest the tuna resource (Barclay 2006: pp.10-11). Critics comment that the effectiveness of the WCPFC can be further enhanced by accepting a wider membership, including interested NGO groups. The WCPFC is currently viewed as a club consisting of only the DWFNs and PICs whose EEZs are being fished. It is perceived that the involvement of more international non-government organisations can further pressurise fishers in the WCPO to act more responsibly and comply with the Commission's management measures (Greenpeace 2010: pp.5-6). Furthermore, both the DWFNs and PICs have to honour their commitments, make decisive policies backed by science and abide by the Commission's decisions; without it the sustainability of the tuna stocks cannot be guaranteed.

Kiribati's Licencing Policy

The involvement of Kiribati with regional and global fisheries agreements can be traced back to 1979 when the country gained independence (Teiwaki 1988: pp.273-274). It was also a period when the mining of phosphate was exhausted and the government found it difficult to obtain an alternative source of income that could replace the loss of the country's main revenue from phosphate. Facing this dilemma alongside the undeveloped nature of the country, the government decided to enter into bilateral agreements with the DWFNs to license their fishing vessels in the

country's EEZ in order to provide an immediate form of revenue that could directly support the governing of the country.

Teiwaki (1998: pp.273-276) comments that maximising the revenue from access fees is the main aim in the Kiribati policy of encouraging the DWFNs to fish in its EEZ. Initially, after the implementation of the policy, Japan, South Korea, the USA, and Russia were the main DWFNs to fish in Kiribati's EEZ. In the late 1990s Russia ceased fishing, while Taiwan and China joined Japan, South Korea and the USA, and more recently Spain, as major DWFNs fishing in the Kiribati EEZ. It is Kiribati's policy to license the DWFNs in line with the provisions in UNCLOS which stipulates that when a coastal state has excess supply of its fish resources it shall allow other states through arrangements made pursuant to Article 62 (4). This Article also clearly outlines the eleven binding conditions, including the parties' individual rights that require them to comply with the conservation and management measures for the sustainability of fisheries resources, some of which have been discussed earlier as initiatives of the PNA. In addition, Article 62(4a) provides a coastal state with the right to decide on the level of fees or other in-kind subsidies related to fishing sector development (UNCLOS 1982).

The licencing policy is an effective policy in so far as the government does not need to invest substantial capital in the development of the tuna resources. It is also a policy which is attractive to the DWFNs' fishing operations. The government's approach to secure a high return from licencing the DWFNs is critical and dealt with cautiously (Former Secretary MFMRD 2010, pers. comm., 3 September). In this regard, the government tries to ensure that the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources Development (MFMRD) are led by a capable Minister and Secretary, to initiate and implement policies that are conducive to the development and conservation of the country's marine resources.

The Minister and the Secretary posted to the MFMRD are expected by the government and the people to have a wide experience in relevant sections of the public service including the fisheries sector, international relations and diplomacy. The Minister should have the skills and knowledge to negotiate well with the DWFNs' fishing companies and bid for a high return from licencing the country's EEZ. The Cabinet is heavily dependent on the licencing policy for financing its budget, so much so that certain procedures are put in place for the negotiation process. That is, the Minister should be the head of the delegation and be in charge of negotiations with fishing companies. This seems awkward for a Minister in his capacity as a political leader to negotiate

with a manager but by ensuring that its Minister actually does the negotiations for the benefit of the country this demonstrates the extent to which the government values the licencing policy. This is also to ensure that any form of bribery is avoided and a higher fee is secured from the negotiation process.

The involvement of the Minister as the mediator in the fishing negotiations is also meant to deter government officials from being involved in any form of inducement by the DWFNs and from being in a submissive position in the determination of the licencing rate during negotiation with overseas fishing companies (Former Secretary MFMRD 2010, pers. comm., 3 October). Instead the negotiation needs to be based on facts about the value of the tuna resources in the international market and the situation of the country as its main resource. When the Minister and the Secretary are not performing well in securing high fees or there is an allegation of corruption related to fishing negotiations, a reshuffle can possibly be made by the Cabinet (Former Secretary to Cabinet 2010, pers. comm., 10 September).

Critics generalise that because some PICs are corrupt in their fisheries, the rest of the PICs are, therefore, also heavily affected by corruption. For instance, Tsamenyi and Hanich (n.d) argue that the involvement of the PICs' ministers in fishing negotiations has proven to be corrupt as DWFNs pay for the officials and their spouses to fly first class, provide generous per diems and lavish hotel accommodation including entertainment, and pay the overseas tuition fees for the children of ministers. Critics propose that a committee for negotiation should be established and replace the minister as the mediator in fishing negotiations. The government of Kiribati is heavily dependent on its fisheries licencing policy and therefore the Minister and officials involved in corruption can be disciplined either by being transferred, demoted or dismissed.

The licencing policy is critical to the government and so all necessary information is gathered about the previous catch of the DWFNs, the world tuna price, the likely profit which would be gained by the DWFNs through selling their catch and the value added processing. Other circumstances that affect the fishing activities such as the fuel price are taken into consideration by the Minister and his delegation during the negotiations. The FFA is the main regional agency besides the secretariat of the South Pacific Community (SPC) that always provides advice to PICs to enable them to negotiate well and secure high bids for their tuna resources.

Kiribati's licencing policy follows strict payment procedures. That is, once fishing companies of the DWFNs have signed an agreement with the government, they are required to pay their fees promptly before each fishing vessel can be issued with a licence (Senior Fisheries Officer Licencing 2011, pers. comm., 5 September). The fees have to be paid in US dollars into the government's account at the Kiribati ANZ bank based in South Tarawa, reported to the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources Development, and copied to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MFED). The fees paid by the DWFNs have to be checked by the MFED to ensure they are the correct amount according to what is stated in the licencing agreement before the MFMRD can issue a licence.

The government prefers a lump sum payment but it can also accept an initial payment of at least three quarters of the full fee while the rest can be paid by instalment but needs to be paid in full before the end of a year (Senior Fisheries Licencing Officer 2011, pers. comm., 5 September). The revenue collected from licencing is also political and is reported to the people by the MFMRD's paper, *Te Mamautari* Newspaper and other forms of media. At other times the government is asked in parliamentary sessions during question time to explain its dealings with DWFNs and the amount of money the government has raised from licencing the country's EEZ.

There are times when Kiribati does not allow a member of the DWFNs to fish in the country's EEZ, either because they do not accept the level of fee proposed in the negotiations or do not want to comply with the WCPFC's conservation and management measures which Kiribati tries to impose on their fishing fleet. In 1981, the government closed the country's EEZ to Japanese fishing vessels when they refused to pay a higher fee than they had paid in previous years based on 3 per cent of the landed value of fish (Teiwaki 1987: pp.274-276). In 2006, Kiribati allowed several Spanish fishing vessels to fish in its EEZ when they agreed to pay higher fees. In many instances illegal fishing fleets caught fishing in the EEZ are heavily fined and sometimes the vessel and its fishing gear are also confiscated as part of the penalty. The High Court Case 67 of 1996, the Republic vs Tsai Ching Shan, who was a captain of a People's Republic of China fishing boat, alleged that the vessel was fishing illegally in Kiribati's EEZ and they were fined US\$100 000. Also in the High Court Case 11, March 2009, the Republic vs No Euihyeong Athena Shipping Ltd from Singapore the fishing vessel was found to be entering the EEZ illegally and unloading fuel to fishing vessels. They were also fined US\$100 000. There is also a possibility that in many instances illegal fishing fleets escape with unreported catch because Kiribati cannot effectively maintain full surveillance of its vast EEZ with only one patrol boat.

Criticisms of the Kiribati Licencing Policy

Due to overfishing, the long term economic benefit to the islands can be compromised if Kiribati and the PICs remain heavily dependent on licencing as the only policy option for revenue generation. In addition, tuna stocks can be under pressure if the DWFNs' fishing gear and activities are not properly monitored. Critics argue that small island states such as Kiribati should adopt robust fisheries polices by establishing a domestic industry or auctioning licences to fish in its EEZ to the highest bidder to enable the country gain more from its tuna resources (Duncan 2006: pp.98-103). It is proposed that through auctioning, it can limit the overcapacity of DWFNs' vessels in the WCPO, preventing overfishing and deterring illegal fishing fleets from entering the country's EEZ by reducing the number of fishing vessels and dealing with companies that offer the highest bid. It can also provide an efficient way to monitor vessels in the country's EEZ.

Kiribati's licencing policy, which is based on bilateral negotiation rather than a multilateral approach, is also condemned. Almost every Kiribati licencing deal with fishing companies of the DWFNs is based on bilateral negotiations with the exception of a multilateral deal with the United States of America in which other PICs are also involved (FFA website 2011). Critics consider that bilateral negotiation has empowered the DWFNs to disunite the PICs and has resulted in less licencing fees in return for fishing in their EEZs (Hanich & Tsamenyi c.2000).

These criticisms have been taken seriously by the PICs including Kiribati and has encouraged the establishment of stringent efforts by the PNA members to create robust conservation measures, some of which have been discussed earlier. The measures established by the PICs have also been taken up by the WCPFC to address fishing issues such as overfishing, overcapacity of fishing fleets and the need to maximise the benefits of their tuna stocks to small island states. The efforts of the PNA members to manage the sustainability of the skipjack tuna in their waters has been recognised by the World WildLife Fund (WWF) Australia and confirmed that the fishery managed by the PNA members has been proved sustainable by the Marine Stewardship Council. The WWF Australia commended the invaluable result of the leadership work of the PNA and said that this would help the future sustainability of the skipjack tuna not only in their waters but also in other neighbouring oceans (WWF Australia Media Release 2011).

Multilateral negotiations have been advocated as a better licencing approach than bilateral. Advocates maintain that multilateral negotiations can strengthen the PICs' position and enable

them to gain more control over DWFNs gaining access to productive fishing grounds. The US multilateral treaty is regarded as a good example which the PICs should apply when negotiating with various fishing companies of the DWFNs. Through the US multilateral treaty, the PICs could achieve higher access fees because of the strengthening of their bargaining power. This avoids the competition between coastal states and enables the sharing of fees among the states based on the amount of tonnage caught in each country's EEZ. It can also improve the reporting of catch by DWFN fleets to avoid being overcharged for fishing in specified zones (Hanich & Tsamenyi c.2000). Furthermore, multilateral negotiations can also lessen the administrative costs of enforcing unified effective measures as they are being enforced by a designated management body. DWFNs are entirely dependent on access to the EEZs for their financial viability and therefore PICs, including Kiribati must play to their strengths by negotiating as a bloc in order to increase the return from their tuna resources.

However, Kiribati is often unwilling to adopt multilateral fishing negotiations because the government believes it denigrates the sovereignty and right of the country to manage and develop its tuna resource. The tuna resource is very political in that the government does not allow other agencies to manage the tuna resource for its immediate or long term development. The Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources Development is the sole agency that manages the tuna stocks in consultation with Cabinet. The intention to establish the Kiribati Tuna Commission in order to regulate the management of the tuna resources, including the licencing of DWFNs, did not materialise as the government was very sceptical of the likely change in the authority to control the licencing fees, which is the main source to finance its budget.

The government also doubts the benefit of multilateral negotiations because they can raise a disagreement as to the level of fees among the small island states. Furthermore, the way the access fee is shared is sometimes seen as unfair, particularly to countries which are entirely dependent on the tuna resource for their main source of revenue. The government believes that there are countries that have very few tuna resources, but because of the combined negotiation, they can get a reasonably good amount of the share of those who own larger and more productive EEZs. In addition, there are other times when the share may not be paid promptly because of the need to wait for all catch log books before the fees are accessed and distributed.

The bilateral licencing policy is also condemned because of its complication when it is tied up with foreign aid. Japan's foreign aid to small island states such as Kiribati is generally regarded as

being mostly driven by its desire to access raw materials and in this case, is to gain fishing access in the country's EEZ (Gerard & Terence 1997: pp.3-5, Tarte 1997: pp.5-6). Kiribati's fishing agreement with Japan sets it apart from other agreements with the DWFNs in that it combines both cash and goods and services that are related to fisheries project (Teiwaki 1998: pp.273-276). Critics argue that Japan's fishing agreement is inappropriate in that the goods and services may not adequately compensate for the value of the tuna harvested from the country's EEZ. However, the positive side of goods and services aid by Japan is that it can offer the country appropriate technology and equipment required in developing fisheries projects.

Kiribati accepts the Japanese form of fishing agreement which consists of cash and goods and services. This is because Japan has the right technical expertise and technology related to fisheries to assist the government with fishing projects which require expensive equipment and technologies, otherwise cash would be the only accepted form of licencing payment. Goods and services are also accepted by the country because Japan has been the major aid donor for fishing projects in Kiribati since independence. In fact, Japan was the first DWFN to engage Kiribati in a fish access licencing venture (Teiwaki 1998: pp.276-278). Japan has continually offered training and manpower development and other in-kind subsidies to foster the development of the country's fisheries (Director of Fisheries 2011, pers. comm., 10 October).

The Difficulties Faced by Kiribati

Kiribati reaps only a fifth of its EEZ resources through fishing license while the major benefit is harvested by the DWFNs (Director of Fisheries 2011, pers. comm., 10 October). The tuna harvested from Kiribati and other PICs' EEZs has enabled the creation of jobs and profit making by the DWFNs through establishing tuna industries and the subsequent job creation for their own people. The international community also enjoys the benefit of such tuna exploitation by purchasing reasonably priced canned tuna and other value-added fish products in the market. Ironically, the fish that are caught in the EEZs and other PICs' waters are sometimes exported back to the country as tuna in cans and sold to the people at higher prices. The government is fully aware of the enormous benefits that can be gained from being more involved in the development of its tuna resources. In the early 1980s the government established Te Mautari Fishing Limited and bought several fishing boats to harvest its tuna and sell it to the fish cannery in American Samoa (Barclay & Cartwright 2007: pp.119-123). These initiatives did not last long as there were

many difficulties encountered including shortage of manpower in the professional and technical areas to effectively manage the company. High fuel costs, maintenance costs, and the deficient water supply for the operation of a domestic canning industry were all major problems. The critical shortages in the technical and professional areas were in refrigeration, hydraulics, electrical and mechanical engineering, and fisheries management (Barclay & Cartwright 2007: pp.131-136). The isolation of Kiribati from the international market is always a hurdle for the long term survival of any industry, but especially one that involves a perishable product.

The government believes that the joint-venture policy will be an alternative way for the people to enjoy more of the benefits from the country's tuna resource. In the late 1980s, one fishing joint-venture was made and four were organised in 2010, two with Japanese and two with Korean fishing companies (Former Secretary 2011, pers. comm., 10 October). The five fishing vessels are flagged by Kiribati and fish in the country's EEZ. While the joint-venture is an extension of the licencing policy, the government understands that it is the most economical way to enable the country to gradually gain skills and knowledge in managing its own purse seine vessels. These joint-venture fishing vessels are also obliged to comply with the WCPFC's conservation and management measures.

The joint-venture policy has provided several benefits to Kiribati. It offers the country an opportunity to manage its fisheries resources and gain the technical and professional skills which are important for the government's future plans in the operation of purse seine vessels (MFMRD 2011). It also helps to create more jobs by recruiting young men as fishing crews on joint-venture fishing vessels, which in turn brings in money to the family and the community. Furthermore it enables Kiribati to exercise its obligations and rights in the conservation and management of its tuna resources by imposing on its joint-venture partners and the DWFNs conservation and management measures agreed in the WCPFC. It can thus help to avoid overfishing of threatened tuna species such as bigeye and yellowfin. It is arguable that western DWFNs, which as aid donors often promote the concept of good governance, tend to be hypocrites when it comes to the adoption of conservation and management measures for the tuna resources. Kiribati is still left with the problem of how to properly govern and develop its tuna resources while most DWFNs mentioned earlier are continually overexploiting them (Director of Fisheries 2011, pers. comm., 10 October).

Traditionally, the I-Kiribati are long distance seafarers and also have the local knowledge to conserve their resources yet these skills are only suitable domestically for subsistence living. The conservation and management of the tuna resources in the 21st century require advanced knowledge and scientific understanding of the politics of fisheries and international law, negotiation skills and the ability to communicate well in the English language. The government needs to provide more scholarships to capable secondary school leavers and train fisheries officers to equip them with the necessary knowledge and skills to manage and develop the tuna resources. It also calls for the need to update the fisheries legislation and other government procedures for the conservation and management of offshore and coastal fisheries so that they complement international laws. The review of the fisheries legislation could also widen the inclusiveness of relevant agencies and empower them with responsibilities to strengthen their effectiveness in the management of the fisheries resources. Currently, it appears that the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources Development is the sole agency in the country to have authority in the management and conservation of fisheries without engaging the people. This necessitates improvement in fisheries governance that will promote engagement and involve other stakeholders in the country such as the NGOs and the people in the conservation and management of its oceanic and coastal fisheries.

Conservation and Management Measures for Kiribati Coastal Fisheries

The conservation and management of coastal fisheries to I-Kiribati has been part of the traditional life of the people (Teiwaki 1988, Sabatier 1977, Grimble 1933). The modern concept of inshore fishery refers to everything existing in the coastal zone, apart from the tuna resources, and these include all the reef fish, molluscs and crustaceans. In Chapter 3 and 4 of the thesis, it was mentioned that, as part of traditional governance, the I-Kiribati also live harmoniously with their environment and harvest what is adequate for the needs of the family both from land and marine resources. The practice of moderation in lifestyle and consumption by the I-Kiribati demonstrates the extent to which the people understood the importance of the long term sustainability of their resources.

The I-Kiribati understand the significance of enforcing conservation and management of inshore marine resources for the long term survival of the people on the islands. The inshore fishery is an integral part of the I-Kiribati everyday life in that people are heavily dependent on fish as a

protein source as well as for social and spiritual ceremonies. It also connects them with their past origins and beliefs as seafarers and survivors of long distant sea voyages (Teiwaki 1988: pp.273-276).

Before the introduction of codified laws, the I-Kiribati conserved and managed their coastal fisheries through traditional village-based marine resource management systems which encompassed different practices (Teiwaki 1988: pp.273-274, Zann 1990: pp.79-90). They range from marine food taboos relating to age, sex and totem to cultural activities such as in dancing, game competitions or in warfare (Teiwaki 1988, Sabatier 1977, Grimble 1933). The closure of certain fishing areas for some periods during spawning time was also observed in villages of certain islands to allow a certain number of days for the species to spawn before people could be allowed to fish (T.Teuoi 2011, pers. comm., 29 September). The traditional rights of landowners to manage fishing access to the coastal zone adjacent to their land also contributed to the sustainability of marine resources by limiting fishing trespassers. The traditional practices also included the strict limiting of access to certain fishing spots to a defined group, the use of specific fishing gear and the application of rules to some fishing methods with enforcement by village authorities. The penalties for not complying with traditional regulations could be supernatural curses, sanctions, fines, removal of fishing rights, expulsion from a village or even death (Bobai 1987).

The introduction of the colonial administration to the country brought changes to the traditional practices in the conservation of coastal fisheries. Through a centralised system where the initiation and enforcement of coastal fisheries policies have been made by the bureaucrats, certain traditional conservation practices have been weakened while others have been destroyed. For instance, the introduction of a western law which regards all waters below the high tide mark as being state property and thus allows public access is in contradiction to customary law regarding inshore property rights. The dramatic changes in the traditional management systems have also been increasingly affected by the recent pressures of commercialisation of fisheries resources once only used for subsistence living, but now overexploited for the monetary value. Other contributing factors to unsustainable changes are related to the increase in population, the effect of urbanisation and the new education system, the push for economic development, and the use of modern efficient fishing gear.

On Tarawa, the impact of overexploitation of coastal fisheries for commercialisation has been felt by the people. Inshore fishing on Tarawa is becoming difficult compared to the 1970s when people could easily get abundant fish from the lagoon. The shellfish in the lagoon of South Tarawa had been exhausted by the early 1900s and it is very difficult these days for women and children to forage for them during low tides (Tebano & Paulay 2000, Tikai 1993). The fishermen on Tarawa need to move out into the ocean in order to get access to more productive fishing grounds.

However, on the outer islands where a smaller number of people live, overfishing is not an issue, as people from time to time fish for different fish species. There have been conflicts between the village-based conservation and management systems and the centralised government policies for coastal fisheries. On the one hand, supporters of traditional conservation measures advocate that traditional coastal fisheries conservation measures have proved to work well over the centuries. Traditional maritime tenure empowers the people with the responsibilities to look after their own marine resources using various practices conducive to the culture (AusAID 2007). On the other hand, the bureaucrats trained with modern knowledge and scientific methods view traditional practices and property rights as not always authentic and consider that they can become obstacles when it comes to the development of the fisheries resources for the national interest (Ruddle 1998). What is important is to strike the balance by recognising traditional conservation fisheries measures that are effective to enable the empowerment of the people in the management of the resource and at the same time educate them with the importance of applying scientific methods. People can be willing to contribute in the development of fisheries if they are well informed and engaged in the process.

It is evident that the dilemma in the governing of coastal fisheries is between the recognition of property rights and traditional practices versus the need for commercialisation and development of the fisheries for the benefit of the country. Dependence on the central government as the sole body to enforce the management of coastal fisheries can be ineffective in the situation of Kiribati. Kiribati has dispersed islands over a vast ocean distance which cannot be guaranteed to be effectively policed by only a few officials based on Tarawa. The claims by the government that they are experts in the fisheries area can also create resentment in the community as the government is ignoring an important part of their culture. The subsequent disengagement of the people can then jeopardise the sustainability of the resources as it will then completely rely on the government for regulation with the people taking no responsibility.

The blending of traditional and modern systems of management of coastal fisheries is one of the effective approaches which the central government has implemented in conjunction with local governments on outer islands (Johannes & Yeeting 2000, Adams 2011). In this system the government is empowering the community through the local government to make by-laws that would enforce the management of their coastal fisheries (Johannes & Yeeting 2000: pp.4-5). These by-laws are assessed and approved by the central government before they can be enforced. A number of by-laws have been created by the outer islands. For instance, on almost every island the banning of small mesh fishing nets is enforced (Johannes & Yeeting 2000: pp.4-6). On Marakei Island in the Northern Gilberts, the prohibition of motor boats and flashlights for catching flying fish during the night is also enforced (Takenteata 2011, pers. comm., 27 September).

The system of encouraging the people on the outer islands to make fisheries by-laws also recognises the property rights of individuals by encouraging people to register ownership of coastal areas adjacent to their lands and traditional fish traps built in coastal sites with the court. In addition, it allows local authorities to enforce measures that complement modern scientific systems. Traditional practices of conservation through seafood taboos are encouraged as they do not contradict modern conservation measures. The prohibition of DWFNs from fishing within the sixty nautical miles of the inshore also contributes to the conservation of the coastal marine resources for I-Kiribati subsistence living. It is evident that the conservation of coastal fisheries requires a balance of both traditional and modern practices to ensure the sustainability of marine resources (Cohen & Foale 2011: pp.3-11). It appears that traditional marine tenure should not be completely banned but has to be adapted to form part of the new policies. The people are more likely to contribute to the enforcement of coastal fisheries policies if traditional conservation measures are acknowledged and taken on board to form part of the new system (Teiwaki 1988). It seems that the design and enforcement of appropriate measures for lessening the impact of overexploitation of marine resources need to be viewed as an important ongoing responsibility of both the government and the people.

Conclusion

This case study has investigated the application of good governance in the management of Kiribati fisheries resources. It is evident from the analysis that the governing of the country's oceanic fisheries is complex and difficult to manage. Part of the reason is the imbalance of the power positions between the DWFNs and the PICs. DWFNs often take advantage of their advanced stance of being more technologically capable and having extensive tuna fishing experience and undermine the conservation and management measures of the Commission. Kiribati is a small island state which owns part of the resource but is disadvantaged in its status as a developing country. It finds it challenging to secure its vast EEZ and be more involved in the development of its tuna resource. It appears that the long term sustainability of the tuna stocks can be guaranteed if fishing companies and the PICs, including Kiribati, are mutually bound by the WCPFC's tuna conservation and management measures, some of which have been discussed in this chapter. Members of the WCPFC should be accountable and transparent in whatever oceanic fishing activities or dealings they employ. The interests of the DWFNs which have been driven by the motives of commercialisation, have blinded them to their roles to fish responsibly in PICs' EEZs. The extension of the membership of the Commission to international NGOs, with the aim of advocating the importance of sustaining the tuna resources in the WCPO which are claimed to be the last healthy stocks in the world could also be a way in convincing the DWFNs that they are overexploiting fish stocks. It could be also the best way to fight globally against the impact of overfishing and the unfair treatment of small island states in the development of their tuna resources.

This chapter has also examined the governing of Kiribati coastal fisheries and proposed that the sustainability of inshore fisheries could be achieved by combining traditional maritime tenure with modern management measures. As indicated, the I-Kiribati would be more willing to support the conservation of their coastal fisheries if their traditional conservation methods are acknowledged and included as part of the government's new policies. Overall, the governing of Kiribati's oceanic and coastal fisheries is complex requiring the government to continually engage with various stakeholders such as the people, its Pacific Island neighbours, the South Pacific Commission, the Forum Fisheries Agency, the Western Central Pacific Fisheries Commission, Distant Water Fishing Nations, aid donors, and the international community. The analysis also reveals that the Kiribati fisheries sector should be strengthened with essential resources and

enough trained staff for implementing their critical role in patrolling the country's EEZ and managing the sustainability of the country's major resource.

Finally, this chapter has demonstrated that in modern governance there is a need for the government to network with other major stakeholders such as the private sector, the market, NGOs and the people, to work together to solve problems and create opportunities for the benefit of the people and the growth of the country's economy.

CHAPTER 11: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of the research, states the limitations of the study, offers recommendations for future research and possible implementation in the Kiribati context, and provides a conclusion.

The focus of the study was to investigate governance issues that affect development in Kiribati. The three key questions addressed in the study were:

1. What are the governance issues currently prevalent in Kiribati?
2. What circumstances contribute to the existence of governance issues in Kiribati?
3. How can governance issues be resolved in order to enhance and facilitate good government and development in Kiribati?

An understanding of the concept of governance was established by examining perspectives from different scholars, aid donors, international, regional and non-government organisations, and the I-Kiribati. This study also investigated how the concept of governance has emerged, is practised and applied in the contemporary era. While there are differences in the understanding of what governance is, it emerges from this study that governance in Kiribati is seen as a type of networking of the government between the state and other stakeholders, such as the private sector, the market and the people, in order to work together and solve problems and create opportunities for the wellbeing of the people and the growth of the country. The historical background and the traditional governance of Kiribati were analysed in Chapters 3 and 4 of the thesis and revealed that governance in Kiribati is not something new, as people have long practised it through their traditional governance system where matters are decided and solved in the *maneaba* system through consensus for the benefit of everyone living in the community. Chapters 3 and 4 also provided an understanding of the evolution of modern governance in Kiribati. Aid donors have used the concept of good governance for the purpose of promoting international order, stability and economic growth which can help the wellbeing of the people and the growth of the country. The thrust of the aid donors' argument is that the country should have a strong democratic political system to effect good governance and development. The dimensions of good governance are participation, consensus, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and

efficiency, equity and inclusiveness, and the rule of law. The failure of a government to achieve the characteristics of good governance can be seen as a sign of bad government and mismanagement of a country's resources.

The interest of the researcher to investigate the governance issues in Kiribati has enabled him to choose the sectors which are assisted by aid donors for the improvement of the country's governance and use them as the basis for surveying the views of the people. The nine sectors of governance in Kiribati, namely the *public sector and human resources, education, health, NGOs and the people, environment, economic development, the rule of law, government and governance* were used in formulating the research questionnaire and interview questions. The nine sectors of governance selected for the study are among the priority issues for the country and are reflected in the Kiribati Development Plan 2008–2011. They are also the sectors in which the government was seen as likely to improve governance. A survey was conducted in Kiribati involving a sample of people from South Tarawa and three outer islands.

Two case studies were included in the research in order to better understand the reality of the daily governance issues in the country. One case study was about the clash between the Council of *Unimwane* and the island council on Maiana Island concerning the overthrow of the island local council by the Council of *Unimwane*, while the other case study examined modern governance in the management of fisheries in the country.

Findings

The discussion of the findings is based on demographic characteristics and responses about the nine sectors of governance in the country.

The Respondents

A total of 321 individuals contributed to the survey data gathered in the research. There were 151 (47 per cent) respondents from South Tarawa, the urban center while 170 (53 per cent), came from the outer islands of Butaritari, Maiana and Onotoa. The 2005 Population Census of Kiribati showed that there were 52 222 (56 per cent) people living on the outer islands and 40 311 (44 per cent) on South Tarawa, the urban centre. The population of South Tarawa has grown dramatically through urban migration. With the main populated areas of South Tarawa at Bikenibeu the

education center, Bairiki the headquarters of the country, and Betio the port and commercial center, most of the land spaces on South Tarawa are rapidly being occupied by outer island people, either by leasing or buying the land, thus creating overcrowding which has contributed to various health, social and economic problems faced by the people and the government. Urban migration to South Tarawa is inevitable as people from outer islands continue to move to the main island for the purposes of seeking better life opportunities, health, education and also for enjoying what they see as the benefits of an urban life-style. Increasing urban migration implies the need for the government and the people to work together to design appropriate plans that can mitigate the motivation of outer islands' people to migrate to South Tarawa.

Table 7.3 showed that, overall there were more male than female respondents to the survey (224 or 69 per cent vs 97 or 31 per cent respectively). This is mainly because of the dominant position of males in Kiribati society. In modern governance, gender equity is an important aspect for empowering women and the marginalised in the community. The 2005 Census showed that there were more females 46 921 (51 per cent) than males 45 612 (49 per cent) in the national population. A small majority of females can be explained partially by the many young males leaving Kiribati to study and work overseas. In many populations, a slightly higher percentage of males are born but their attrition by earlier death is also slightly higher leading to a slight majority of females. However, the larger number of males who volunteered to be involved in the study indicates that the country is still a male dominated society and suggests the need for women to be empowered to take on responsibilities and leadership roles.

The data also showed that female respondents from Tarawa (38 per cent) were more forthcoming than from the outer islands (24 per cent). The data further demonstrated that women respondents from Tarawa were better educated and were more likely to be in paid employment compared with women from the outer islands who were mostly primary school leavers and were not in paid employment. This situation is similar to that for men respondents where the majority from the outer islands did not have higher levels of formal education and were not in paid employment. Formal education in Kiribati, as in most developing countries, has a significant role to play in the empowerment of women. Women appear to play a subservient role to a greater extent in the outer islands and this explains both their lower participation rate and their lower level of education.

In modern governance, the value of education is significant. It is essential for the strengthening of literacy and numeracy and expanding life opportunities for those who were previously

marginalised in the decision making and leadership roles in the community, particularly so for women and the younger generation. UNESCAP (2008) maintains that *equity and inclusiveness* are significant in modern governance, and therefore the need for gender equity in accessing education and other life opportunities is essential in the development of a country.

Three quarters of the respondents to the survey were within the age group of 18-47 years, while the remaining quarter came from the age range of 48 years and above. The 2005 Census showed that the total population of the country was 92 533, constituted mostly of people below the age of 50. The youthful age structure of Kiribati implies the need to invest more in education and training of the young generation to enable them to become capable citizens able to participate in the development of the nation. The older generation will also need to provide guidance and mentoring to the young, especially in preservation of indigenous knowledge and skills essential for them to operate and survive in the Kiribati community and environment.

The findings showed that three quarters of the respondents' educational background was composed mostly of primary and some secondary education with a majority residing on the outer islands practising subsistence living. Only a quarter of the respondents had a college and university education and they were generally employed on Tarawa. Nearly half of the respondents who were employed were in the public service sector and in NGOs, while the majority are living a subsistence living. The figures indicated that there were very few better educated people working on the outer islands while most of the well qualified people were living and working on Tarawa, the capital of the country. This demographic pattern is not unusual as better educated people are needed in the headquarters of a government service for conducting government, education, health and business services. Despite the need for strong and capable central government, the outer islands need better administration with qualified and experienced public servants as well as better life opportunities to improve the welfare of the people.

Government employees on the outer islands are usually professionals such as teachers, nurses, medical assistants, policemen, fisheries and agricultural assistants with a few qualified and experienced administrators and economists to assist in the management and development of the outer islands. The study reveals the need for better qualified and experienced public servants who are capable of assisting in the management of island councils and the development of the economies of the outer islands.

The discussion of the Maiana Island conflict also reinforced the importance of the need for professional and qualified public servants to manage the outer islands. Had the clerk of the Maiana Island Council, the mayor and the councillors been better informed and experienced in handling sensitive issues, the conflict that was outlined in Chapter 9 could have been dealt with in a strategic, timely and cordial manner. Most clerks of Island Councils employed on the outer islands have limited experience and lack political finesse. There is a great need for public servants on the outer islands to have access to continuous professional development to enable them to become effective leaders in executing their duties. The Maiana Island affair also demonstrates the need for councillors and mayors to be better educated in the responsibilities of their offices. Retired people could be encouraged to return to duty as mentors and assist in the governing and facilitation of outer island development.

The outer islands are isolated from Tarawa and have comparatively poorer living and development conditions. The management and administration of the outer islands, including the strengthening of the rule of law, will require public servants who are competent, mature and dedicated. Incentives are needed in order to recruit better qualified and dedicated public servants to serve in the outer islands. The performance of those public servants needs to be monitored and supported by the national government agencies. Good governance could be facilitated by electing capable political leaders and employing professional administrators dedicated to improving the lives of the people.

The Nine Sectors

There was clear indication in this study that all nine sectors of governance in Kiribati need to be strengthened. The nine sectors can be regarded as enabling the attainment of good governance in the country. Establishing and maintaining good governance is a people-oriented strategy whereby the people's capacity is raised and individual freedom and creativity flourishes.

Public Service and Human Resources

The research found that the perceptions and beliefs of the respondents about the public service and human resources sector was that the public service's performance needs strengthening. The professionalism of public servants in dealing with clients and their effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of services were among the priority areas that need serious and ongoing improvement.

Perceptions of the roles played by the public as opposed to the private sector differed among participants according to their level of education. An option for downsizing the public service sector by privatising some public services was only positively received by educated and employed respondents while the majority of respondents, largely from the outer islands, rejected such an idea, fearing the consequences of private ownership and the likelihood of uncontrolled costs and inefficient delivery of goods and services to remote outer islands. Islanders well understood the difficulty of running financially viable businesses on the main island as well as on the outer islands. Further work is needed to improve the performance of the public sector through the implementation of better recruitment, training and promotion procedures based on merit, as well as effective disciplinary measures to counteract unprofessionalism and unethical conduct of employees. The provision of ongoing professional development for employees, strengthening of the public service regulations, creation of effective management performance assessment, and the provision of essential resources to effect better quality outcomes through the public service were perceived by the majority of the outer island respondents as aspects which also require continuous improvement.

Education

Nearly all respondents perceived education as an important foundation and vehicle of good governance. The majority of the respondents considered that the school curriculum in Kiribati should be diversified, providing academic and traditional knowledge and skills, as well as trade skills, in order to prepare students to be capable citizens of the country. A partnership between parents, the community and the education providers is needed to strengthen the education system. In addition, the respondents believed that improving management, teaching and curriculum, resources and facilities, professionalism and community consultation would ultimately help promote good governance in Kiribati.

Health

Most of the respondents agreed there was a need to strengthen the public health sector in Kiribati. A public health program should promote preventative health measures through public awareness and education of the people about healthy ways of living. Such a preventative health approach for a country like Kiribati with its dispersed population on remote outer islands and with limited

resources and manpower to operate a comprehensive health system is essential. Any public health scheme should empower the people to take more responsibility for their own health. This kind of service can be realistically provided on isolated and remote islands if better resources are provided and well trained personnel are posted out to work on those islands.

The majority of respondents agreed that water, sanitation and population control were among the priorities for the health sector. Population control is critical and essential in Kiribati where more than half of its population consists of youth with a high fertility potential. Population control is needed in Kiribati because of its limited land capacities and resources to cater for the increasing needs of the people. The government and other stakeholders need to promote planning and continually educate the people about ways and means to manage population growth and its many advantages for the health and economy of the people and the country. Changing of the mentality of the people on the outer islands regarding the traditional belief that having many children is important for the security of the family is important as it is no longer fitting in contemporary Kiribati, which has embraced modern medicine and other changes as a result of globalisation, which means that far fewer children die in infancy. Other governance issues that the respondents considered need improvement were in the areas of management, health awareness and care, resources and facilities, and professionalism.

NGOs and the People

The majority of the respondents considered that the degree of development of NGOs in the country was low and they often have limited engagement with the public. The respondents also commented that NGOs should improve their management, community consultations and professionalism. Respondents believed that NGOs needed to link with the community by reassessing their roles and strengthening their engagement strategies with the community. That is, NGOs have to work with the whole community and encourage the people to participate in those activities that would contribute to the improvement of their wellbeing and the strengthening of the governance of the country. It also appears that churches and youth groups are important NGOs that need to be tapped in terms of strengthening governance and contributing to the development of the country. It was also considered that NGOs should co-ordinate their plans with Government programs.

Environment

Kiribati is a fragile and vulnerable country which demonstrates the need for the people to be better educated and aware of environmental issues faced by the country. It also requires an engagement by the government with the community with each playing their role in maintaining a sustainable environment. The respondents agreed that environmental problems had arisen from overcrowding on Tarawa, particularly from a lack of knowledge and understanding of solid waste and pollution management. The management of non-biodegradable waste products from imported products was seen as one of the major threats to the fragile environment of the country.

The respondents viewed the fate of the islands facing global warming as an environmental issue and called for the government to work with international agencies to put pressure on global powers to act responsibly, especially in regard to the people of the islands. As such, the respondents considered that the main priorities that require improvement for the environmental sector were management, law enforcement, public awareness and consultation. The respondents recognised that laxity in enforcing environmental legislation has contributed to environmental degradation, such as in the case of beach mining for building materials and pollution of fresh water and coastal areas from the dumping of rubbish and solid waste. Government authorities and community stakeholders need to work in partnership to design environmental clean-up activities and promote conservation awareness programs. Furthermore, the enforcement of environmental laws can help strengthen public compliance by penalising those who infringe the regulations

Economic Development

Good governance was viewed as dealing with both non-materialistic matters and materialistic concerns. The materialistic side of governance refers to instituting economic reforms which in Kiribati were perceived by the respondents as absolutely essential for governing the country and in providing essential services to improve the standard of living of the people. The respondents believed that the stimulation of the economy has to be the role of both the government and the people with the assistance of aid development partners. The second case study on modern governance and the management of fisheries in Kiribati revealed that the proper management of oceanic and coastal fisheries is vital for the country's economy and the subsistence life of the people. However, as was revealed in the case study, the governing of Kiribati's oceanic and coastal fisheries is extremely complex, necessitating the government's continuous engagement

with various stakeholders such as the people, its Pacific Island neighbours, the South Pacific Commission, the Forum Fisheries Agency, the Western Central Pacific Fisheries Commission, the Distant Water Fishing Nations and the international community generally. The Kiribati fisheries sector also needs to be strengthened with essential resources and enough trained staff to manage the sustainability of the country's major resource.

The respondents considered that some of the means of improving the country's economy were through the development of the marine resources and human capacity through education, the running of village banks, improving the taxation system and developing eco-tourism. The strengthening of the private sector was perceived by the respondents as important. Nevertheless, people from the outer islands were sceptical of how the private sector might be properly regulated to avoid the consequences of poor delivery of goods and services and uncontrolled prices, especially on remote outer islands. Some of the governance issues related to the economic sector which need improvement are in the areas of food security, business knowledge and skills, accountability and transparency. Strengthening of accountability and transparency through setting of work standards and benchmarks, improvement of work ethics and accountable institutional systems in the public service were regarded as effective means to lessen the effect of corruption in the workplace.

Rule of Law

The rule of law is one of the fundamental principles of good governance by ensuring order and stability. The respondents believed that the legislature's capacity to make laws should be strengthened, particularly for Members of Parliament to understand their role in proposing bills, rather than depending on the government. The role of the executive government to enforce laws and the judiciary to interpret the law should also be improved. The respondents maintained that better public awareness about the importance and applicability of the rule of law including higher standards of professionalism, are essential requirements for the reform of the rule of law in Kiribati.

Government

The government is the major stakeholder in institutionalising good governance in the country, along with NGOs and the people. The contributive role of international agencies to governance in

the country is also evident through the assistance of aid development partners such as Australia, New Zealand, the European Union and Japan. International organisations also play a role but this is limited owing to the very small political weight of Kiribati by global standards. The market is also recognised as another player in facilitating good governance but this is not really the case in Kiribati as the management of the resources and the delivery of the services are largely controlled and implemented by the state. A country with a total annual GDP of US\$151 million (World Bank 2009) and less than 8000 workers earning a wage outside the subsistence sector simply does not present many opportunities for the private sector. The government's significant economic role has necessitated the enhancement of institutional systems of the government so that they are designed to promote and facilitate the growth of good governance. The adoption of a western democratic political system by Kiribati at the time of the country's independence has fostered good governance whereby the three arms of the government, the legislature, executive and the judiciary had to work collaboratively for the achievement of a stable and successful nation. Risk aversion is a feature of traditional culture and has strongly influenced modern governments.

However, it is evident from the views of the respondents that the institutions of government need to perform at a higher standard and also be proactive in adopting changes to enhance delivery of services. The respondents considered that the Constitution and legislations have to be appropriately revised to reflect the changes in contemporary Kiribati and the impact of globalisation. Public policies have to reflect the needs of the country, and the fight against corruption needs to be improved through strengthening of existing mechanisms such as the Public Service Commission and the Kiribati National Audit Office. The appointment of an ombudsman to look into civil complaints was also proposed by the respondents as one effective means to deal with corruption. The government needs to be proactive and continually examine its institutions and their performance with regard to their efficiency and effectiveness.

Governance

Respondents' comments from questionnaires and the interviews concerning governance in Kiribati were mostly related to the improvement of the delivery of services to the people. It was only the better educated respondents, working in senior posts of the public service, who were able to provide meaningful comments on governance issues in terms of democratic principles practised in Kiribati, the competency of the government to govern and develop the country, and how

government consulted and worked in partnership with the people. These respondents considered that capable leaders should be elected to form a government that could effect good governance and better develop the country.

Electing capable leaders who are well educated and understand traditional and modern governance is a complex process. A good government has the capacity to effect beneficial changes and continually engage with the people and community organisations to overcome voids and barriers, some of which are related to the extreme scattering of the atoll islands and the negative influences of the traditional culture on modern governance. Kiribati leaders should work closely with the people when designing and delivering public policies while the people need to reconsider some traditional practices which result in electing leaders based on kinship and reciprocity customs. A concerted program of political literacy is needed in Kiribati to improve electoral processes and encourage the election of leaders on merit.

Contributors to Governance Issues in Kiribati

The analysis of the findings reveals that modern governance is a complex concept because it involves foreign and traditional multifaceted themes, processes, systems and factors that require continuous development and improvement. Requirements range from developing the capacity of the people, forming the government, strengthening the institutions of government, improving public policies and strengthening the economy, to engaging with the people and fighting against corruption and mal-administration. These complex issues necessitate a shift in the mentality of the people from what they normally internalise and practise in traditional local governance in the islands to new ways of thinking and broader involvement in national democratic governance processes. The people of Kiribati are united by a common language and history but frequently their awareness does not extend beyond the scale of their home island.

The concept of governance is omnipresent and dynamic. It can be metaphorically compared to a seamless garment in which elements are woven together forming a strong fabric. That is, good governance cannot work by merely improving or fixing one part of the system, for it requires an encompassing remedy for the whole governance system and all of its processes. It requires a broad engagement in the improvement of the governance processes by governments, public and private agencies, organisations and individuals.

Modern governance is still a concept new to the I-Kiribati, and, therefore time and patience necessary as part of the political evolution of the people. The gap between the educational background and life opportunities of the respondents from Tarawa and those of the outer islands was revealed to be one of the contributing factors in comprehending what governance issues exist in the country. That is, outer island respondents viewed governance as an output rather than a process. Outer islanders considered that the output of governance should suit their expectations rather than paying much attention to how the output is achieved. On the other hand, those respondents from Tarawa who are generally better educated and work in senior positions in the government considered governance as a process characterised by the dimensions of good governance: efficiency and effectiveness, rule of law, transparency and accountability. The people are the stakeholders of governance and therefore it is essential that they understand what constitutes good governance, including the capacity to be involved in the governing process.

The scattered nature of the population on the remote outer islands requires capable leaders, such as public servants, to be posted to the outer islands to work with the people. The current extent of decentralisation needs to be revisited by the government in order to involve the people in improving their conditions and opportunities. From the analysis of the nine governance sectors of the country, it appears that education, health and improvement of the human resources in the public sector were the priorities that require attention for improvement in good governance. The education and health sectors always take nearly half of the Kiribati annual budget which demonstrates the fact that sustainable human resource development is a priority for the country. UNDP (2011) maintains that good governance and sustainable human resource development are indivisible. Human development is the enabler for expanding the choices for all people in the society, a key to eliminating poverty and a facilitator in effecting good governance. It is also evident from the analysis of the nine sectors that the capability of the government to effect good governance by making effective public policies, managing the economy well, and continually engaging with the people were issues that need to be strengthened.

Benefits From Understanding Governance

The respondents maintained that there are many benefits for the people when they understand the concept of governance. Firstly, the I-Kiribati will have an increased knowledge and understanding of what governance is about and its important link to the governing and the development of the

lives of the people. In particular, the understanding of governance issues in Kiribati can also enhance the people's comprehension of the kind of governance issues prevalent in the country, what causes such issues and how they can be resolved. It can also form the basis for strengthening the involvement of the people by coming together to form networks in solving problems. The inclusion of the study of democratic governance in the school curriculum with specific units at the senior secondary school levels is essential in order to prepare national and community leaders.

The Link between Governance and Development

The link between governance and development is through the strengthening of the processes and networking of key players to enable better outcomes (Chapter 2). Governance processes are the means that could facilitate and enhance the role of the government and the people in the governing of the country and also in the management of its resources. The state, NGOs and the people, and the private sector are viewed as key players that have critical roles in the growth of sustainable human development. For instance, the government needs to strengthen aspects of democratic governance to promote a stable political and legal system that would be conducive to sustainable development. The NGOs, the private sector and individual consumers need to be involved so that they can interact in the political, social and economic activities of the nation.

The respondents' comments regarding the issues in the nine sectors supported the view that the requirement for sustainable human development in the country is critical. The findings of the study reveal that the areas of human development which require improvement in the public sector and NGOs are related to the need for better leadership and management skills, including the strengthening of the professionalism of public servants. Improvement in consultation and engagement skills by the leaders and public servants was a clear need in the findings.

Kiribati is one of the poorest countries in the world. This is mainly a result of its smallness in size, remoteness from the world markets and its lack of economic resources. The main resource of the country is its huge oceanic territory. The development and management of the country's resources can only be possible provided its human capacity is fostered with the necessary knowledge and skills to effect good governance. It was revealed in the study that the development needs of Kiribati are related mostly to the facilitation and enhancement of the capability of the population in order for them to exercise their choices for better living and also to have the opportunities to participate and approve decisions that would affect their lives.

Summary of the Findings

The geographical location of Kiribati and its consequent isolation is a fundamental factor in the respondents' views and beliefs on how they perceive the governance of the country. Furthermore, the isolation of many island communities and the tyranny of distance adds to the inaccessibility of essential services such as better education, health and life opportunities which could improve their standard of living. The study revealed these major contributing factors for the respondents in determining their perceptions regarding governance issues of the country.

The study also revealed that the respondents from Tarawa, the main island, had better education levels and were employed in higher positions of the government and so had a far superior understanding of governance compared to those respondents from the outer islands who generally had limited education and lived a traditional subsistence lifestyle. Modern governance is a new concept so that an understanding and application of it requires a higher level of education including the skills to communicate and practise it in their daily lives. There is a need for government and significant organisations to take measures to improve the life opportunities of people on the outer islands.

The other contributing variables that also affected the perceptions of the respondents regarding the governance of the country were, marital status, gender, educational level and employment opportunities. It was evident from the findings that the most involved respondents were male respondents who were married, which gave them more say about governance than single male respondents. In addition, male respondents also tended to dominate females regarding views and beliefs about governance.

The majority of respondents were married males as they tended to dominate senior positions in government employment, business and service organisations and traditional life throughout the islands. Conversely, fewer single males and females were respondents. The dominance of married male respondents is partly related to the Kiribati custom where males are given leadership obligations in the management of the affairs of the country as compared to the contributions of single males and nearly all females who are often marginalised in the decision making processes. The dominance of men in the survey points to the need to empower both women and the younger generation with regard to accessing and gaining better education and employment opportunities.

Mentoring programs could be developed and implemented to empower women and younger single men to take more leadership roles.

The analysis of the nine sectors confirmed that governance issues in Kiribati are closely related to the improvement in the delivery of the services and the strengthening of human resource development. Human resources, education and health emerged as priority sectors that require strengthening and common aspects which need improvement in these sectors are management, leadership, professionalism and ethical conduct, resources and equipment. The scarcity of the country's economic resources, traditional culture and dispersion of the population on remote islands were also seen as barriers to effective government and development of the country. Overall there is a pressing need for improvement in government, private enterprises, NGOs in their operations and delivery of the services to the public.

Limitations of the Research

The study faced inhibiting factors such as limited time, expenses and lack of access to all of the islands of Kiribati. The non-representative sampling of the study is also viewed as one of the limitations of the study. The number of respondents involved in the study was 321 out of the 95 000 population of Kiribati, but a larger sample would not necessarily be more representative of the population as a whole. Therefore it cannot be inferred that the perception and beliefs of I-Kiribati regarding governance issues revealed in this study are valid for the entire population.

The respondents in the sample used in this study from Tarawa, the main island and the three outer islands, one representing each district of the Northern Gilbert, Central Gilbert and the Southern Gilbert, involved a range of different age groups, both genders, education and employment backgrounds which has enabled a degree of generalisation and recommendations to be stated.

There has been relatively little research on governance issues which affect development in Kiribati that could allow the comparison of the results of this research with those of previous studies. The results of the study can only demonstrate the perceptions of the respondents involved in the study at the time the research was implemented. The respondents' moods and experiences in participating in the study are such that they cannot be controlled as people can change their behaviours based on many circumstances such as the contextual and historical aspects of the study, the time, environment and personality factors.

Implications for Further Research

The findings and limitations of the study suggest that there are a number of possibilities for future research. These include:

1. The instruments used in this study for investigating the perceptions and experiences of the respondents could be used to develop improved research instruments when investigating the governance issues in Kiribati or in similar environments.
2. Continuous research on the efficiency of governance of the country by a collaboration of expatriates and residents could be undertaken. The I-Kiribati should be encouraged to participate in governance through publications, seminars and other forms of education and accountability.
3. Further research is required in designing uniform, appropriate measurements of good governance in small Pacific Island nations. Such research is warranted to enable comparable studies to be made.

Recommendations for Possible Implementation in the Kiribati Context

The understanding of modern governance by many respondents, as revealed in the findings of the study, is still at a rudimentary stage. It appears that there is a considerable gap in the understanding of the concept of governance between those who are better educated, employed and living on Tarawa, the main island, compared to those respondents who live in a subsistence economy on the outer islands and have had fewer opportunities to attain a higher level of education. Such differences in the understanding about governance by the respondents and their beliefs about the role they should play in the governing of the country have, to a certain extent, influenced their attitudes and perceptions about the governance issues.

The research on governance in Kiribati suggests that there are three main areas that need to be strengthened and improved. These are:

- strengthening of the democratic processes of the country,

- improvement in the performance, transparency and accountability of the government's institutions, and
- enhancement of the government's engagement and partnership roles with the private sector, NGOs, and the people.

The following are some of the recommendations for potential implementation in the Kiribati context. They are based on the ideas raised by those interviewed and in general discussions on the islands and are presented by the author for consideration in Kiribati.

Strengthening democratic governance

1. *The Constitution to be considered for review from time to time and important aspects of it should also be introduced in the civic curriculum for senior forms to learn.*

Comment: The Constitution should be perceived as a living document which requires changes dictated by time and circumstances for the future democratic stability and prosperity of the nation. Introducing it into the curriculum can educate future citizens about the importance of strengthening the governance of the country. (See Chapter 4, p.106, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, Chapter 7, p.172, Quantitative Analysis and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.186)

2. *Out-dated legislations, government systems and procedures during the colonial era should be considered for changes.*

Comment: There appears a need for the changes in old legislations and in old government procedures to reflect contemporary lives in Kiribati and in order for the government and the people to accommodate and meet their international obligations. For instance the BPA legislation should be reviewed in order to promote transparency, accountability and inclusiveness and human right. (See Chapter 4, p.106, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era and Chapter 7, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.171)

3. *Review the role of the Electoral Commission.*

Comment: The Electoral Commission should be an independent body with sufficient resources to effectively execute its roles, particularly in regard to citizenship education, promotion of free elections, liaison with the media and education and support for the political parties. The enforcement of election laws will, over time, mitigate voting on traditional clan lines and reciprocity practices. (See Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, p.175 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.186)

4. *Candidates for election to the national parliament must be university graduates with at least five years experience. Parliamentary workshops and support mechanisms need to be provided for elected members to enable them to fulfil their role in drafting bills and guide them through the legislative process.*

Comment: Modern governance requires parliamentarians to have a high level of education and some first-hand work experience in addition to knowledge of the Constitution and parliamentary practice. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.63-64 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis p.186 and p.200)

5. *All parliamentarians should be provided with a copy of the Constitution, a written description of their roles and ready access to existing laws.*

Comment: Members of Parliament, whether in government, opposition or independent, should know and be answerable for the duties and obligations their role demands. (See Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis pp.186-188)

6. *All parliamentarians should undergo induction and continuing training in good governance.*

Comment: Parliamentarians should understand their roles in law making, oversight of government and representation of their constituents. Mandatory training will foster good governance, accountability and transparency and should include overseas experiences such as conferences and visits to relevant political institutions. (See Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, p.174 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.188)

7. *A Member of Parliament should normally live and work in their constituency rather than exclusively on Tarawa.*

Comment: A parliamentarian should normally live and work in their constituency rather than on Tarawa, in order to be well acquainted with local requirements and have the ability both to represent and educate their constituents. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.63-64 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.195)

8. *The Leader of the Opposition should be provided with adequate resources to fulfil his/her role.*

Comment: In a democratic parliamentary system the role of the Leader of the Opposition is vital in ensuring the accountability, transparency and efficiency of government. The Leader of the Opposition is the ‘_alternative President’ and should have access to resources such as offices and staff to fulfil his/her role. (See Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.186)

9. *Government and Opposition ‘whips’ should have training and resources to fulfil their roles.*

Comment: In a democratic parliamentary system the role of ‘party whips’ is important for marshalling Members of Parliament to speak on issues in the house and vote. (See Chapter 8 Qualitative Data Analysis, p.186-188)

10. *Laws are required in order to clarify the information about and operation of political parties.*

Comment: In a democratic parliamentary system political parties are needed to formulate and promote policies for good governance. Robust and effective political movements are needed at grass roots level in the community. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.62-70, Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.188 and Chapter 9, Case Study 1, pp.213-217)

Improvement in the accountability of government’s institutions

11. *Review the Public Service Act, National Conditions of Service and aligned procedures.*

Comment: The review should place the principle of merit uppermost in matters of recruitment, promotion, discipline and retention. Benchmarks should be clearly stated with access to decisions available to the public. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, p.69 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.188 and p.197)

12. *The size of, and the resources available, to the public service should match the roles and commitments of the government.*

Comment: The public service must have sufficient qualified staff, leadership and resources to support government in the implementation of policies. This is especially so in matters of national financial management. (See Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, p.161-171)

13. *Establish a Department of Public Service Management within the Kiribati Institute of Technology.*

Comment: The recruitment and training of human resource management personnel at all levels of the public service is necessary to ensure that current practices achieve efficient, effective and accountable administration. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, p.69 and Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, pp.160-162)

14. Institute a program of performance improvement in the public service.

Comment: This program should develop a means of enhancing leadership and management capacities of officers and refocusing the roles of government ministries and public enterprises. Attention should be given to effective output planning and budgeting, dissemination of information to the public, effective reporting and accountability systems, clear job descriptions for employees, and strengthening performance monitoring, supervision and incentive mechanisms for increasing motivation. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, p.104, Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, pp.161-162 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, pp.182-186 and p.201)

15. Review the functioning of the Public Service Commission and the Public Service Office with a view to their amalgamation.

Comment: The review should consider the need to improve management of personnel matters in the public service and reduce costs by removing the duplication of functions. The link between the management of personnel matters with the Budget and Salary Section of the Ministry of Finance should also be considered to effect robust management of personnel emoluments in terms of salaries, deductions and auditing. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post-Independence Era, p.69 and p.173, and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.180)

16. A Commission of Enquiry should reassess the management, accountability and delivery of services in the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education.

Comment: The Commission should include independent outside experts, consultants, government officials, representatives of NGOs, the public and private sectors and community members from Tarawa and the outer islands. While reviewing the management, accountability and delivery of services the Commission should also seek ways to strengthen partnerships between the people and the service providers. (See Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, p.161 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, pp.182-184)

17. Promotion of population control and reproductive health is required.

Comment: Population control should include training, education and public awareness of culturally acceptable family planning. Incentives should be devised to encourage adoption of appropriate policies. (See Chapter 11, Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions, p.50)

18. The Ministry of Health should undertake a vigorous campaign to ensure hygienic water storage and supply and sanitation systems.

Comment: Community projects for water and sanitation should be devised which avoid pollution of underground water, protect catchment systems and encourage storage of rain water. Projects should also encourage the development of hygienic and affordable sanitation systems suitable to island environments. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.97-98 and Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, pp.165-166)

19. *The Kiribati National Audit Office should be an independent body attached to the Kiribati Parliament to effect its mandate to audit public expenditure of the executive government.*

Comment: Rigorous and independent auditing of government finances is necessary in a democratic system to prevent corruption and malpractice. (See Chapter 11, Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions, pp.253-254)

20. *An Office of Ombudsman should be established to provide an avenue for all citizens to have their complaints against mal-administration adequately investigated.*

Comment: Few citizens have the means and knowledge to seek redress from malpractice by public officials. An ombudsman with adequate legal powers will go far in providing this protection. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.104-105 and Chapter 11, Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions, pp.253-254)

21. *The Kiribati Government has a prime responsibility to improve the national economy through appropriate development, public finance and enterprises reforms, and enhanced employment opportunities.*

Comment: The Kiribati Government has a prime responsibility to raise revenue through taxes, rates, charges and fines. Training officials and enforcement officers will facilitate revenue collection. Economic development can be improved by greater efforts to utilise marine resources, eco-tourism, and increased aid from donor countries and organisations for specific projects. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.90-96, Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, p.170, Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, pp.205-207 and Chapter 10, Case Study 2, pp.230-234)

22. *The Reserve Fund (RERF) should be wisely and cautiously invested and withdrawals by governments to balance budgets should be conservatively capped.*

Comment: The Revenue Equalisation Reserve Fund (RERF) is a national fund intended to secure the long-term financial security of the nation. Governments should be obliged by law to avoid eroding the value of the RERF. Governments should balance current budgets without recourse to the RERF except in critical and exceptional circumstances. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.86-87 and p.93)

23. *Traditional and new knowledge of fishing, agriculture and husbandry should be promoted in the education of the workforce.*

Comment: The community and schools should foster traditional and new knowledge and skills in developing basic industries in Kiribati. A large measure of self-reliance in food production is a healthy goal for the nation. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.97-98, and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.185)

24. *The government should continue to advocate in international forums for corrective measures to prevent sea level rises suffered by Kiribati and other island nations as a consequence of continuing emissions of greenhouse gases.*

Comment: The continued emission of greenhouse gases, especially by industrial countries, is directly causing sea level rises and consequent problems in low-lying atoll islands. The advocacy for corrective measures by a pressure group of nations at international forums is essential. (See Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, pp.87-88 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.184)

Enhancing government's engagement and partnership roles with the private sector, NGOs and the people

25. *Communication and transport links to the outer islands should be improved*

Comment: Legislation for essential transport services should be enacted. Private businesses which can provide safe, reliable and appropriate transport to the outer islands should be encouraged. Establishing mobile phone and internet communications throughout Kiribati using innovative technologies should be a high priority. (See Chapter 3, Historical Background to Kiribati Governance, pp.46-47, Chapter 4, Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era, p.80 and Chapter 8, Qualitative Data Analysis, p.197)

26. *The management and functioning of NGOs should be improved with greater transparency of policies, practices and outcomes.*

Comment: Recognised NGOs should inculcate in their planning the objectives of the Kiribati Development Plan which include the strengthening of governance and development of the country. (See Chapter 7, Quantitative Data Analysis, pp.168-169 and Chapter 11, Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions pp.250-251)

27. *The media in Kiribati should include programs that enable people to express their concerns about governance in the country.*

Comment: Radio, television and newspapers should be proactive in devising forums for government ministers and public officials to explain their policies, exchange views and respond to expert interrogation and citizens' concerns. (See Chapter 4, *Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era*, pp.105-106 and Chapter 8, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, pp.188)

28. *The structure and function of island councils should be reviewed with a view to their improvement.*

Comment: The criteria for candidates for election to island councils should include a good education and work experience. Retired senior public servants should be considered for appointment to island councils as honorary councillors. (Chapter 9, Case Study 1, pp.213-215)

29. *A Local Government Act should clarify the roles of the Island Councils and the Councils of Unimwane.*

Comment: It is essential to have a clear demarcation of authority and function between Island Councils and Councils of *Unimwane* in order to avoid conflicts and misunderstandings between traditional and modern local governments. (See Chapter 9, Case Study 1, pp.211-218)

30. *Policies for decentralisation of government should be devised to promote development schemes and assist the people of outer islands to share in economic and social development.*

Comment: The post of Clerk on outer islands should be upgraded and filled by experienced and dedicated senior, graduate public servants. All public service positions on outer islands should be upgraded and filled by capable and committed public servants. (See Chapter 4, *Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era*, p.80, Chapter 5, *Aid Donors in Kiribati*, pp.126-127, Chapter 8, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, p.183-184 and Chapter 9, Case Study 1, pp.213-215)

31. *A Commission for Outer Island Development should be established with links to outer island clerks and island councils.*

Comment: The Commission should include relevant representatives of government and parliament, public officials, leaders and representatives, from island councils, NGOs and the private sector. The objective of the Commission should be to improve outer island governance and development. (See Chapter 4, *Modern Governance in the Post Independence Era*, pp.97-98 and Chapter 9, Case Study 1, pp.211-213)

Conclusion

The evolution of developing countries from colonial to independent countries, such as in the case of Kiribati, has put great pressure on the leaders and the people to adopt and adapt a modern democratic political system based on principles of good governance with a view to prosperity, peace and happiness. The many conflicting issues arising from the adoption of modern governance as perceived by the respondents to this study, revealed that the improvement and strengthening of good governance is an ongoing process which requires many interlocking processes to be planned, budgeted, implemented and assessed both by the government and the people. On the one hand, the need for improvement of the delivery of services to the people on remote islands is highlighted in this study. On the other hand, it has also emerged that the strengthening of government institutions and processes for the execution of governance and fighting against corruption are equally important. Governance cannot be fixed and become perfect forever for it is a dynamic process that is constantly affected by changes in social, political and economic circumstances, hence it requires the ongoing commitment of all stakeholders.

It has emerged from this study that the performance of Kiribati towards these goals requires the following:

1. Strengthening of the democratic governance of the country,
2. Improvement of the performance, transparency and accountability of the government's institutions, and
3. Enhancement of the government's engagement and partnership roles with the private sector, NGOs and the people.

This research study revealed the perceptions of many I-Kiribati about governance issues affecting development in the country. The findings and recommendations of the study have provided an avenue for further investigation and research on this important topic affecting development in Kiribati and also other small island neighbouring countries of the Pacific.
