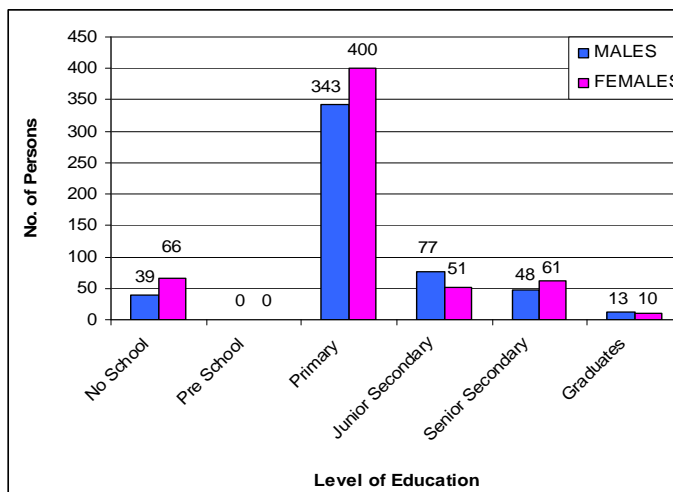


3.5.4 Pupils completing Primary and JSS

Unfortunately, completion of Primary and JSS school data are not available to clarify the completion percentage of the above stated school students.

However, the PoPGis data of 2005 showed the levels of education for 1109 islanders aged over 25 years comprising 521 (47%) males and 588 (53%) females, as further illustrated in the right chart. Of this number, 105 (9%) did not go to school at all, none had any pre-school education, the majority of 743 (67%) had primary education, 128 (12%) had junior secondary education, 109 (10%) had senior secondary education and 23 (2%) had graduated.

Fig 11: Level of education



Those that did not go to school at all included 39 males (4%) and 66 (6%) females, 343 (31%) males and 400 (36%) females attended and completed primary, 77 (7%) males and 51 (5%) females completed junior secondary (Form 1-Form 3) high school, 48 (4%) males and 61 (6%) females completed senior secondary (Form 4-Form 6) education while 13 (1%) males and 10 (1%) females had completed university or other forms of tertiary education.

Reflected in the above chart is the fact that pre-schools have just recently been introduced to Kiribati and thus none of the people in Marakei over 25 years old had had any form of pre-schooling. Nowadays, pre-schools are greatly supported by island councils including the Marakei Island Council. Normally, it would be hard to find a graduate living or working on an outer island and to find 23 graduates on any one island is always a surprise. However, it should be noted that upgrading of teacher qualifications has been an improvement over the last decade and also includes the upgrading of KPC ministers/pastors qualifications which could attribute to the high number of graduates on the island.

3.5.5 Number of schools, type and state of facilities

Marakei has three types of schools, primary, junior secondary and pre-schools. The central village of Rawannawi accommodates Aontenaa JSS where all the junior secondary school along with Nikiereere Primary School.

Table 6: Schools on Marakei

	School	Location	Student locations/villages
1	Nikiereere Primary School	Rawannawi	Rawannawi and Temotu
2	Uaabong Primary School	Raweai	Raweai and Tekarakan
3	Taiti Primary School	Norauea	Bwainuna, Norauea, Tekuanga and Antaai
4	Aontenaa JSS	Rawannawi	All 8 villages of the island

Generally throughout the country, the JSS schools, which were all established in the late 1990s are in better/good conditions and adequately furnished while primary schools are generally lacking in status and furniture. This however seems to be the opposite for schools in Marakei thus Primary schools have tables and chairs for the students while Aontenaa JSS is not fully furnished for all the students with some classrooms not having desks and chairs. This observation could be misleading nonetheless as the JSS school was visited after school hours at which time the classrooms were closed other than the ones that did not have any doors which also did not have desks and chairs.

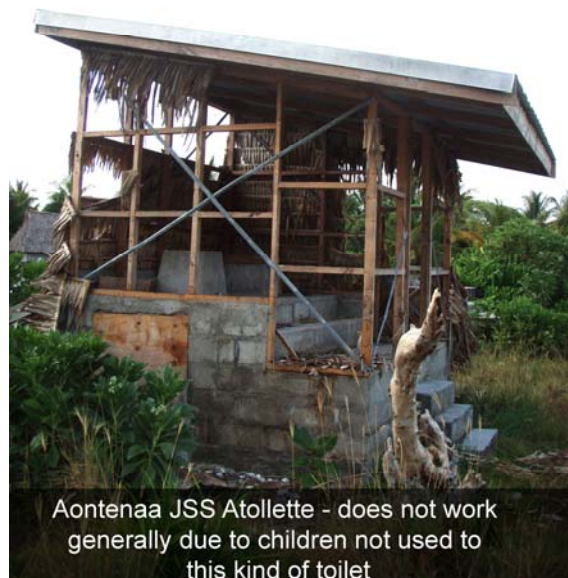
As a legal requirement for all schools, they are to be provided with safe and appropriate toilet facilities. The following toilet / person ratios were deemed appropriate for Kiribati conditions including Marakei:

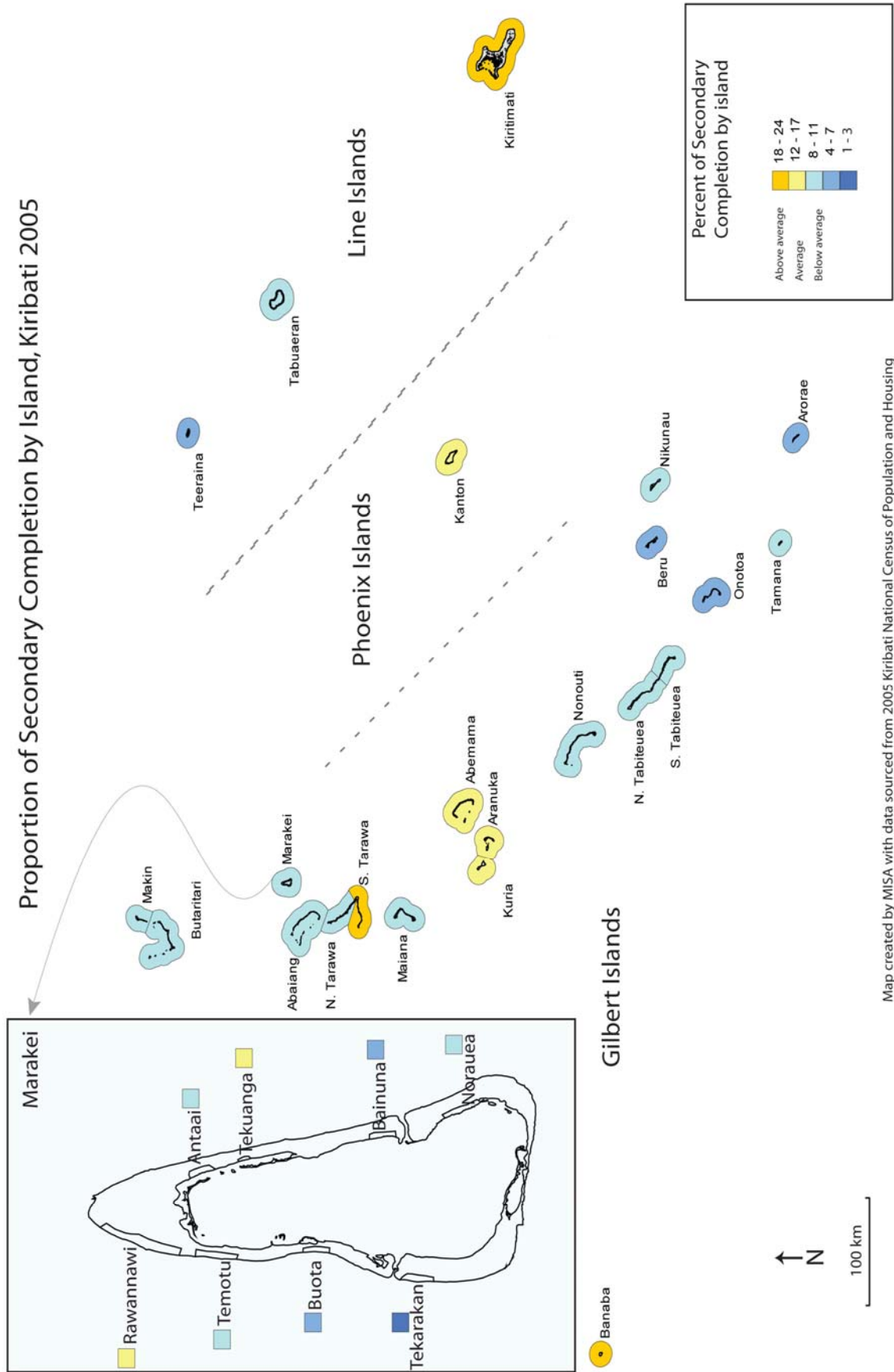
- 1:40 for girls;
- 1:60 for boys; and
- 1:25 for teachers in urban schools only (it is assumed that teachers in all other schools will have access to toilets at their quarters).

Teacher living quarters at the different schools are all located around the school compounds and are maintained by the Council and funded by the Government. Maintenance work of teacher living quarters or for any other Government employee living quarter for that matter are normally contracted out to the islanders but this varies from island to island. In Butaritari for example, committees are established from villages whose children attend a certain school and it is also these committee members that carry out maintenance work on the teacher quarters when required whereas on Marakei, the Island Council contracts islanders mostly those living the nearest village to the school to be maintained.

Updates or information requiring maintenance work to be carried out is collected annually by officers from the Ministry of Public Works and Utilities for inclusion in the maintenance costs in the following years budget. Funds for local house maintenances are sent to individual island councils from the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs (Maintenance Unit) whereas materials are bought and sent the island councils for permanent structures. Maintenance on the outer islands are carried out by select community members and supervised by the Island Council.

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3.5.6 Performance of Pupils in national tests/exams

In the formal education sector, children at pre-school and primary school levels transit to primary and JSS respectively without having to sit entrance examinations. This policy supports the concept of compulsory and accessible education for every child, especially at the early stages of formal education.



With the introduction of preschools, children on Marakei are now starting their formal education at the age of three before they attend primary school at the age of 6. Primary school lasts for 6 years at which time, the children enter JSS straight away. At the end of JSS at Form 3 level, students must compete with each other nationally for the limited places available in Form 4 in any of the few Senior Secondary Schools in the country (See Table XX above). The students of Aontenaa JSS in Marakei therefore have to compete with all Form three students from all over Kiribati to secure entrance to Form 4 in the senior high schools in other islands as Marakei is one of the islands that does not have a senior secondary school.

The Digest of Education Statistics does not provide information on the performance of pupils in national examinations and consequently, student performances are not included in this profile.

3.5.7 Community involvement to improve standard of education

Normally the community does not interfere with the school curriculum, as it is the responsibility of Government to design them to suit the ages being taught to and ensure their effective implementation. However the community, through the school committee, often takes the initiative to address a wide range of other issues, such as children and teachers comfort, security, staffing, sports, and even school infrastructure. In a lot of cases, the teachers have to take the initiative and assign each pupil a specific task to do for a class activity or a school project at which times, the children always seek and are given help and support from families. This kind of help and support from individual families can take the form of money, food or their own involvement such as in the building of a school 'mwaneaba' or singing in a school dancing practice and competition etc.

Over the past years the community has assisted both the primary and junior secondary schools especially in performing critical maintenance work on classrooms, offices and teacher residences. These buildings are by right the responsibility of Government who, in many cases has been very slow in providing the financial support needed to keep school infrastructure in good shape. Marakei is not an exception in these slow provisions of financial support from the Government. Despite this, the community continue to support their school children and their schools by being guardians of the school property as well as in provision of pupil/student's school needs for school activities or other school requirements as may arise from time to time. Fundraising activities carried out are normally in the form of raffle tickets, cleanup activities for individual households and sale of local brooms and frond mats.

There is also a school committee on most of the outer islands who plan school development activities including fundraising activities and projects. This committee is normally made up of the teachers

themselves who when required, raise their needs to the Island Council or the island community whenever their support are needed for their school projects or involve their pupils who in turn involve their parents.

3.6 HEALTH

"The Ministry of Health and Medical Services will provide optimal level of health to the people of Kiribati using a Primary Health Care (PHC) approach that promotes both prevention and curative services to improve outcomes through accessible, affordable, integrated, and quality services at every level of the health delivery system". This is the mission statement of the Ministry of Health and Medical Services contained in its Operational Plan for 2004-2007, which reflects the overall responsibility of the Ministry of Health and Medical Services for the nation as a whole.

3.6.1 Health Facilities & Staff

The Ministry of Health Family Planning and Social Welfare through its Medical Assistant and three qualified Nursing Officers stationed on the island at the different clinics are doing the promotion and maintenance of health on the island.

The following **Table 7** lists the medical facilities on the island and their status:

	Location	Status	Information
1	Rawannawi	Good – the KiriEu project has not come to the island yet to establish new clinics. Wards have just been renewed in September but the clinic does not seem to be enough for the people of these two villages considering that Rawannawi is the biggest village on the island with 39% of the total population and 43% including Temotu sharing the same clinic. An attempt was therefore made to establish a local clinic at the northern end of Rawannawi to assist in the need medical requirements that has however ceased as the approval and supply process from the MHMS has been slow.	Medical Assistant is in charge of the facility that caters for the villagers of Rawannawi and Temotu
2	Raweai	Good – as above	A Nursing Officer is in charge and the clinic caters for the villagers of Raweai only
3	Tekarakan	Good – as above	A Nursing Officer is in charge and the clinic caters for the villagers of Tekarakan only

4	Norauea	Broken down and unusable	No nursing officer due to the clinics condition non-existence thus the villagers of Norauea and Bwainuna, who share the clinic now have to seek medical aid from the other clinics on the island
5	Antaai	Good - the KiriEu project has not come to the island yet to establish new clinics.	A Nursing Officer is in charge and the clinic accommodates the medical needs for the people of Tekuanga and Antaai



The Eu project (KiriEu) is expected to start building the new clinics on the island at the end of 2008 (Ag. Clerk pers. Comm.)

Each village has its own Village Welfare Group that is helping the medical staff on the island in promoting and carrying out health activities such as raising awareness on health issues etc. Members most of the time are willing village members interested in promoting health activities in their village

3.6.2 Most Common Health Problems

Health data for the island are not available and thus cannot be

included in this profile.

3.7 HOUSING

3.7.1 Total number of residential houses, type and status

There were 437 households on Marakei in 2005 and 401 (92%) of these are privately owned while 14 (3%) are owned by the Government and a further 18 (4%) belong to the Marakei Island Council. Government buildings include schools and medical facilities.

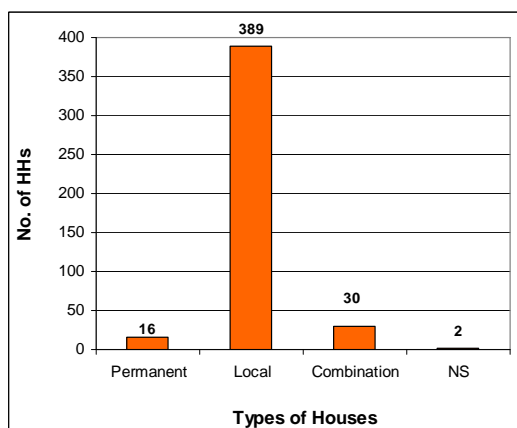


Fig 12: Types of houses (above)

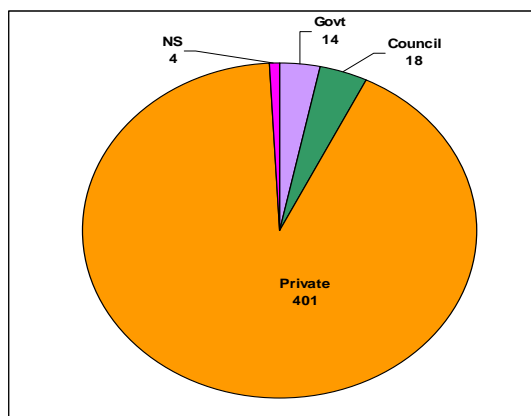


Fig 13: House ownership (above)

All houses are located in the village area where people were brought together during colonial times to make administration and management easier for the then administrators. Unlike some of the outer islands where a combination of permanent and local materials are now used for local houses, the people on Marakei have not taken up this trend of housing as quickly as the other islands considering that the island is near to urban South Tarawa where such permanent materials are easily accessed. 30 (7%) of the 437 households are made from a combination of local and permanent materials and in comparison, 72% of the total 241 households in Arorae in the South, were constructed from a combination of local and imported materials even though inter island transportation can be difficult and expensive. 389 (89%) of the households are locally made while 16 (4%) are made from permanent materials.

Local housing structures are similar throughout the country with some differences here and there. Local sleeping quarters are normally placed off the ground while the rest of the houses most of the time do not have raised platforms and are either used to carry out daily chores, meals, social gatherings or provide canoe shelters. Houses made from local materials require regular maintenance especially the roof thatches thus the general trend in combination homes having iron roof slats and local wood as support frames. Depending on the type of thatch used, whether it is made from coconut fronds or pandanus leaves, determines the regularity of maintenance.



Those made from coconut fronds require maintenance every 2 years while pandanus thatches can last for more 4 years in dry weather.

A local house is made up mostly of pandanus, coconut, ironwood and *guettarda* wood which the men hack out of their own lands or with permission from others lands. The women on the other hand have to prepare thatches, string (from coconut husks) and mats made out of pandanus leaves while the men have to put the

thatches on. Since pandanus roof thatches generally last longer than those made out of coconut fronds, women and men alike prefer pandanus thatches than coconut thatches that require the women to make and store thatches in readiness for house maintenance. The weather also affects how long the thatches

last and in rainy climates, house maintenance is more frequent.

Council houses are the Council responsibility to maintain and renovate as necessary whereas the Government buildings are the Government's responsibility. Government officers from the Ministry of Public Works and Utilities are responsible for monitoring the status of these outer island Government buildings and budgeting for all maintenance work required every year. The Government sends funds to individual island councils through the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs who (island councils) are then responsible for dispersing funds to maintenance workers on the Government buildings. Maintenance work on Government buildings differ from island to island and on some, the Council organizes maintenance work while on others, a school committee or social welfare group etc can carry out maintenance work.



3.8 WATER

3.8.1 Water Supply Sources

The only water source for drinking and sanitary purposes on the island is groundwater and to a small extent, rain. Piped water is basically an introduced water system where PVC pipes provide the means of transporting manually pumped water from wells to cooking areas and toilets. Full piping systems however, are rare on the outer islands and can be found mostly in Council households and Government buildings.

Groundwater in atolls occurs as a lens of freshwater floating in hydrostatic balance on salt water below it. Toward the center of the atolls, the water is generally potable and is where most of the wells used for drinking are dug (Preston E. Cloud Jr. 1952). Wells for other general purposes such as washing, cleaning and gardening are dug next to households for easier access. The fresh water wells however are subject to brackishness during times of drought. During these times, potable water can be fetched from as far as a kilometer away.

Statistics (further illustrated in the chart below) showed that 65% (222) households main source of water are open wells, 27% (90) households use closed wells as their main source of water while a mere 2% are using rainwater as their main source of water and the remaining 6% were using piped water as their main source of water.

Rainwater tanks are getting quite popular on the island and where available, the rainwater is still a guarded commodity that is rarely used except for cooking and drinking. Rainwater is normally saved for times of drought when the wells turn brackish. During rainy seasons, the rainwater can be used for washing, cooking, cleaning and bathing. Most of the water tanks are not owned by church groups, the Island Council, the Government and individuals who own brick houses and aluminum roof slats which in Arorae's is quite significant at 79% given that all combination homes (72%) have iron roof slats added with permanent homes (7%) recorded in the 2005 census.

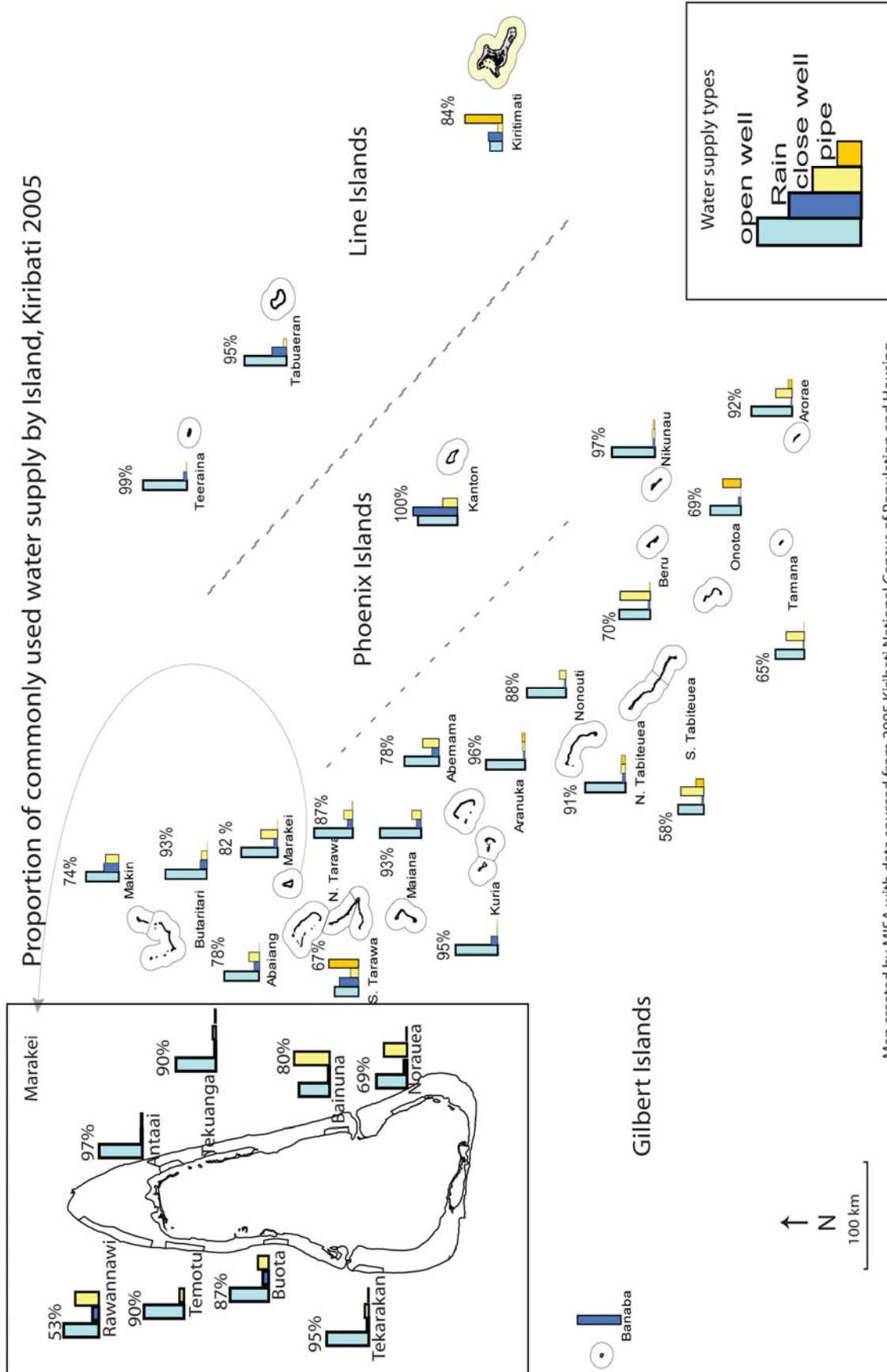
3.8.2 Status of Water Supply

Supply of water from the wells are dependent on the amount of rainfall that falls and Marakei's location in the northern Gilbert group has allowed the islanders to be luckier than the southern islands where water can become an issue during times of drought when the freshwater lens sitting atop the seawater in wells are depleted without rains restoring the lens. Water supply on Marakei is therefore abundant throughout the year but prone to brackishness during times of drought specifically those placed near to the coastal areas. In such cases, there are wells built behind households, away from the coastal areas and these provide drinking water to households in the villages. However, there are certain areas on the island where fresh water sometimes overflows into the sea such as where one of the goddess shrines is located, 'Nei Naantekimam' in the village of Norauea. Here, one can dig on the beach and still get fresh water but then this occurs during times of rain when the underlying water lens overfills.



Data collected from a 1991 hydrology on Onotoa by the Atoll Project of the National Research Council's Pacific Science Board in Hawaii indicated that a well dug at the center of the wider (>1000 feet) parts of the island has a good chance of producing a continuous supply of potable ground water. On the other hand, wells in narrower parts of the island are apt to be brackish (Preston E. Cloud Jr. 1952). Marakei, being in the northern group and wide, compared to some of the other outer islands, would naturally have a higher chance of having a continuous supply of potable water all year round even during drought times.

In the villages of Bwainuna and Norauea, the wells are shallow indicating on the depth between the surface and the water level. Even though this is advantageous in that it would not take too much hard work to get to the water, it has its disadvantages as the wells and thus water are easily contaminated during heavy rains when the wells overflow and mixes with surface water. A water project funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) had been undertaken in these two villages and it involves bringing water in a piped system from safe water aquifers beyond the villages (Marakei profile 1991).



3.9 ENERGY

3.9.1 Lighting

The main source of light for the people on Marakei, like the rest of the outer islands is the pressure lamp and nowadays, with the introduction of generators and solar systems, these two later introduced sources of light can now be found on the island. The chart (right) shows that 325 (74%) of the 437 households stated the pressure lamp as their main source of light.

The introduction of the solar system to the outer islands by the Kiribati Solar Energy Company Limited (KSECL) in 2000 allowed 280 (64%) households an alternative source of powered light and electricity. 49 (11%) households on the other hand were using generators as their main source of light. PUB lighting unfortunately is presently providing electricity only to those on South and North Tarawa (not all of North Tarawa) and therefore the PUB user on Marakei as statistics show is nothing more than a misunderstanding or data input error. According to KSECL data (table below), 332 solar systems were installed of which 35 were not operational in 2007.

Fig 14: Sources of light

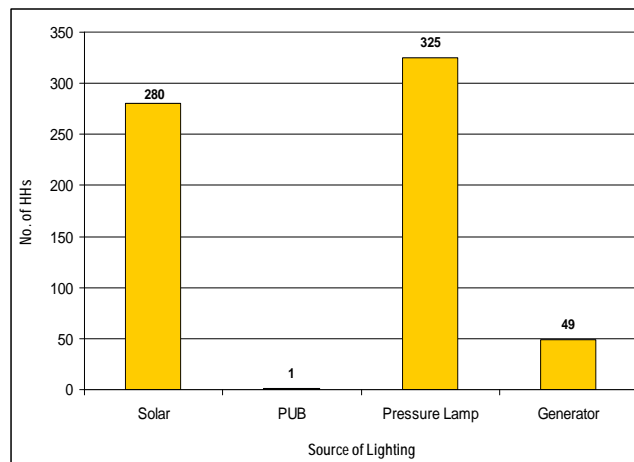


Table 8: Outer island solar systems

	SOLAR HOME SYS		MANEABA SYSTEM			TOTAL
	Operational system	NOT Operational system	M200	M300	M600	
Makin	75	1			5	81
Butaritari	75	0			2	77
Marakei	288	35	5	2	2	332
Abaiang	82	17		6	3	108
Tarawa Ieta	199	83	4	3	3	292
Maiana	87	1		2	2	92
Kuria	75	1		2		78
Abemama	75	0		3		78
Aranuka	73	2		3		78
Nonouti	140	70	2		3	215
Beru	75	0			1	76
Nikunau	74	1			2	77
Tab North	119	1		3		123
Tab South	75	1			1	77
Onotoa	80	1	3	4		88
Tamana	74	1			2	77
Arorae	75	0			1	76
Banaba	77	1	1		2	81
	1818	216	15	28	29	2106

Pressure lamps are normally owned by the majority of households on the outer islands as it is not only used as a source of light for the homes but is also mobile enough to be moved to required places and locations such as in night fishing expeditions known locally as 'te kibee'. Where before this kind of fishing required two people (the fisherman and someone to carry plaited coconut fronds), the pressure lamp has conveniently allowed only one person to carry the lamp and fish at the same time without needing another to carry extra loads of coconut fronds.

Imported kerosene is the normal energy source for these kinds of pressure lamps and including other simply innovated bottle

lights common throughout the rest of the Kiribati islands. Generators on the other hand are powered by benzene or what is universally known as unleaded petrol (ULP) and are not run daily but occasionally, unless it is a church group generator, in which case, they can be run as often as required by the group activities and church functions.

3.9.2 Fuel

The traditional form of fuel is firewood, mainly in the form of coconut husks, dry coconut leaves and dead

wood of existing vegetation and trees. Firewood is never an issue on the island due to its spacious woodland that is abundant with trees, and copra products. However, people still use kerosene stoves especially during rainy days or functions. Gas stoves on the other hand are used on the island but are not particularly popular due to the remoteness of the island and the difficulty in transporting gas cylinders to the outer islands. Even though people are resorting to the use of modern technology to provide energy to meet their private and public needs, wood, coconut husks and dried wood remain the main



The Marakei Island Council generator that powers the Council office and resthouse as required

energy source for cooking. These fossil fuels are imported and distributed to all the outer islands by the Kiribati Oil Company (KOIL) that is based in Betio on South Tarawa.

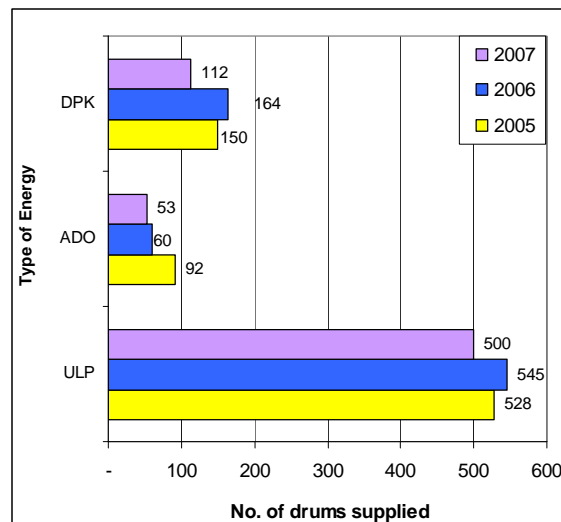
To reduce dependency on fossil-based fuel Government has been promoting the use of solar energy on the outer islands, through its company – the Kiribati Solar Energy Company Limited (KSECL). Over the last 3 years KSECL, with funding from the European Union, has installed more than 2000 stand alone solar photovoltaic systems throughout the Gilbert group excluding those in the Line Group of islands. The objective of this “Outer Island

Electrification Project” is to enhance economic activity and improve children performance in school through the provision of affordable and efficient lighting, as well as to provide an alternative environment-friendly energy source that does not pollute the air and is abundant all year round.

Marakei fuel energy needs since 2005 as provided from KOIL totaled 2,204 drums comprising 1,153 (71%) un-leaded petrol (ULP) drums, 205 (10%) automotive diesel oil (ADO) drums and 426 (19%) drums of dual purpose kerosene (DPK). At 200 liters per drum, Marakei has received a total of 314,600 litres of ULP, 41,000 litres of ADO and 85,200 litres of kerosene (DPK).

Fig 15: Fuel supply 2005-2007

The KOIL data for 2005 recorded that a total of 770 drums of fuel were sent to Marakei that comprised 528 drums of ULP, 92 ADO and 150 DPK drums. In 2006, total fuel provision to the island dropped by a drum and comprised 545 drums of ULP, 60 ADO and 164 DPK drums. The total amount supplied in 2007 dropped further by 4 drums and comprised 500 drums of ULP, 53 ADO and 112 DPK drums. It should also be noted that KOIL data for 2007 were received in November 2007 at which time KOIL had not yet completed entering their data for the months of neither November nor December thus the figures for 2007 could have been more than those portrayed here and in the right chart.



Generally, the ULP is used solely to run vehicles such as trucks and motorbikes as well as an energy source for generators and outboard motor engines. Kerosene is used mainly as fuel for kerosene stoves and also as fuel for ‘bottled’ night lights, lanterns and pressure lamps. ADO on the other hand runs cars, generators and other machinery.

CHAPTER 4: TE RAOI – SOCIAL CAPITAL, COMMUNITY LIFE AND GOVERNANCE

4.1 LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

4.1.1 The Mwaneaba System and 'Unimwane' Association

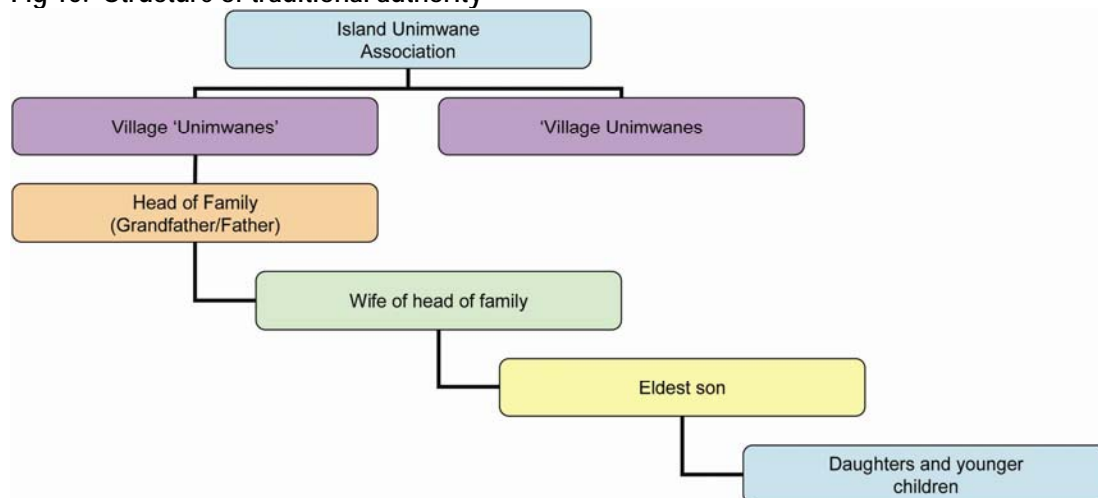
The *mwaneaba* was, and remains the most important institutional symbol and foundation of community life in Kiribati. Its importance is related to its function as the center of social life, where matters pertaining to the social, economic and political life of the community are discussed and resolved with the leadership of the '*unimwane*'.



Beside the *mwaneabas* traditional function as a community hall, court of judgment/reconciliation, and sanctuary for all, the purpose of the *mwaneaba* has considerably widened to include shelter for the sick, storage facility for copra, fundraising venue, and more. Despite the additional uses invented for this culturally important structure, the system of governance and leadership that developed with and revolves around the *mwaneaba* has remained largely intact. This was the result, first of colonial support, and later on of Government's recognition of the importance of traditional leadership vested in the '*Unimwane*' and secondly by the shortcomings of foreign governance in solving local community issues. In all Island Councils (outer island local governments) including Marakei, there is a seat for a representative of the '*Unimwane*' Association, who embodies the highest traditional authority for the community on the island.

However, on Marakei, due to the fact that the village *mwaneabas* have long been replaced by church *mwaneabas*, the traditional inheritance of *mwaneaba* roles has also died out. This however does not mean that women can be seen sitting in the front during formal village discussions as they still sit in support of their family men behind them with their views channeled through their husbands or their '*unimwanes*'. Nonetheless, their sitting behind their male family members does not prohibit their voicing their ideas or concerns as necessary.

Fig 16: Structure of traditional authority



4.1.2 Women Organizations

AMAK ('Aia mwaea ainen Kiribati), is the mother organization for all women groups in the country and is therefore the initial body to register under for recognition as a valid women's group. General women development and issues are the responsibility of AMAK. There is a community development center at Council station that was established in the 1990s and it provides a centre that women use to meet, discuss issues and learn new skills for home-care and store away their equipments and materials. Together with the youth groups on the island, the centre is used as a meeting and training venue for the youth and women alike, aimed at their general development.



There are a couple of women organizations on the island, most of them belonging to the different church groups most notably the 'Itoi Ni Ngaina' (Roman Catholic), 'Reitan Ainen Kiribati (RAK – Kiribati Protestant Church), and the Seventh Day Adventist women's group. The umbrella women's organization on the island is known as 'Te Toka Ni Marakei' and comprises members from the 'Itoi Ni Ngaina' and RAK only (Ag. Clerk pers. comm.)

Generally, women organizations in the country have similar objectives aimed at introducing and increasing capacities and skills in:-

- Both traditional and new knowledge;
- Traditional art and craft;
- Health awareness and promotion in the homes
- Traditional medicine;
- Individual talent skills
- Enhance integration among themselves
- Provision of assistance and skills to community and island council as required
- Provision of assistance as required by the church on the island and respective headquarters

The women in Kiribati have two general major fundraising activities, handicrafts and the game of bingo. Weaving mats is a tradition that is slowly not being taught anymore to young women especially in the urban areas, now, that mattresses and Chinese mats are readily and cheaply available from the shops in South Tarawa. The bingo fundraising activities allow the women from the different community groups to mingle together in respect and support of each other's fundraising activities as well as catch up with each other's activities and happenings.

The 'Toka Ni Marakei' meets monthly to discuss activities and issues and the Marakei Island Council supports these monthly meetings by providing transport free of charge for their meetings. In return, the 'Toka Ni Marakei' provides support to the Island Council when it requires assistance especially when Government/Ministry requests for local handicrafts (mats most of the time) arise. The women also assist in the Marakei Island Council clean up activities and also provide catering services for the island council during important council functions especially during independence celebrations.

4.1.3 Youth and Sports Associations

It goes without saying that the smaller and simpler something is, the easier it is to manage. However, Marakei, has not got any youth or sports associations registered yet but this does not mean that there are no youth clubs on the island. . There are youth clubs in the villages, mostly youth church groups and it is actually the trend for most on the outer islands to not register their groups as most see registration as an un-needed cost, as they do not understand the benefits that can be provided if their groups were to be registered.

Youth entertainment on Marakei, like the rest of the outer islands, is limited to football and volleyball. The fact that there is not a multi-purpose court could also be one contributing factor to sports limitations on the islands. Clubs such as the Kiribati National Table-Tennis Association, the Kiribati football association etc are registered bodies in urban South Tarawa, and the general understanding on the outer islands is that there is no need to register with the Island Councils if they are already members of such national associations.

Youth groups on the island are church youth groups whose main objective is to assist their church communities in fundraising activities or any other activity that may come up from time to time. Even though they do play football and volleyball, it is not as an organized effort to keep themselves trained but more to entertain and pass the time.



Nevertheless, once the national championships are drawing near, the youth form their own sport groups in preparation for the championships. Unlike other islands, Marakei, as a whole does not get together to select players for these championships and thus, participation in these national games are random. For the 2008 national championships, the Acting Clerk acted as the go-between the Championship organizers in South Tarawa and the players on the island which she picked out from the youth groups that she had observed had been

playing the championship games such as volleyball and football etc. The youth groups on the other hand have to pay for their own way to attend the games in South Tarawa whereas on other islands, the Island Council or the 'Unimwane' Association organizes and selects youth to represent the island in the different games.

4.2 RELIGION

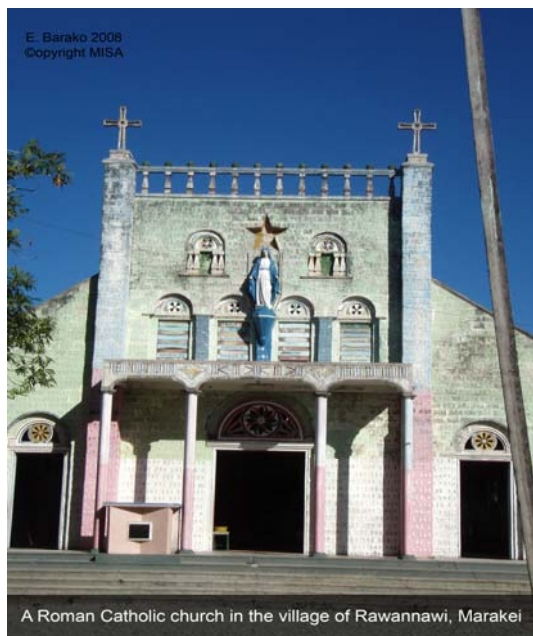
4.2.1 Main religious denomination

Religion on Marakei is predominantly Roman Catholic numbering 2135 (78%), more than three quarters of the 2741 population with only 6 people having religions not stated in the 2005 census. The rest 22% of the population are distributed amongst the rest of the existing churches including the Kiribati Protestant Church (KPC), Seventh Day Adventists, Bahai, Mormons and Church of God followers.

Table 9: Island religion by gender

Marakei	Total	KPC	RC	SDA	Bahai	COG	Mormon	Other	None	NS
Total	2,741	450	2,135	68	27	12	43	6	0	0
Male	1,375	233	1,065	29	16	4	23	5	0	0
Female	1,366	217	1,070	39	11	8	20	1	0	0

The Kiribati Protestant Church was established in 1870 when a Samoan clergy, sponsored by the London Missionary Society, arrived at Arorae, Tamana, Onotoa and Beru. Nearly two decades later, in 1888 Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in Kiribati (*Commonwealth Country Profiles*). Likewise, the London Missionary Society or the KPC as it is now known, was the first religion to reach Marakei but most of the population on the island has picked up the Roman Catholic faith since introduction. The RC



priests made a lot of effort and gained a lot of followers in the central and northern islands who did not see 'eye to eye' with the ethics of the LMS. The RC converts when asked in 1892 by Captain Davies of the 'Royalist' why they preferred Roman Catholic than the LMS (now KPC), they had answered with indifference, 'Oh! that Roman Catholic missionary man, he no trade, he no fine, he give ummm book no makee pay – oh he belong good man' (Capt. Davies Diaries).

An important aspect of the coming of Christianity to the Kiribati islands was that it not only stemmed the out-flow of the native I-Kiribati through black-birding and recruiting by overseas company's for work in copra plantations across the Pacific and the world. It also marked the introduction of literacy to the people initially with the translation of the bible to the Kiribati language and later in those early days, the production

of religious books and a vocabulary/dictionary by both the RC and KPC clergy.

Generally, Churches have a huge influence in the lives of the islanders and a considerable portion of the people's time and income are spent on activities related to the churches whether it is fundraising, praying or planning development of the church amongst others. To this end, on most islands, village mwaneabas have now been replaced by church mwaneabas and thus church communities. There are still some islands with village 'mwaneabas' and on these islands, traditional customs are still being carried out. Such islands are those of Tabiteuea North and Tabiteuea South, and even though there are still church 'mwaneabas' in the villages, the people are still happy to maintain their own traditions in the 'mwaneaba', including their roles and responsibilities to both the village and their church.

4.3 POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND GOVERNANCE

4.3.1 Traditional political system

Marakei falls under the laws and jurisdiction of the Kiribati legislation and are represented in the House of Parliament by two nominated members, Mr. Patrick Tatireta and Mr. Temate Ereateiti (2008).

4.3.2 Local government system - Marakei Island Council

The government system in Kiribati is made up of the central government, based in South Tarawa, and Island Councils based on each island. Marakei Island Council was established 29th November 1967 under a warrant that outlined the purpose, responsibilities, authority, powers and laws that govern the existence of Councils. The functions of the Island Council are spelled out in the Local Government Ordinance 1966 which has been revised a few times, the most recent being in 2006. The ordinance is now better known as the Local Government Act. The review of 2006 also included translation of the Act into the local language. The amendments and translation were approved in 2007 with copies already disseminated to island councils on the outer islands including Marakei.

The revised Local Government Act 2006 is aimed at transferring to Island Councils more autonomy and responsibility, to enable them to shoulder the burden of running their islands with increased confidence and sense of ownership. The revision of the Local Government Act is, but part of a wider plan to improve services to people on the outer islands. In addition, central government is committed to undertake, among others, the following:

improve key development infrastructures (transport, communication, health, education, etc.) through sustained development financing,
promote participatory planning and decision-making especially in relation to matters pertaining to the island as a whole,
streamline operation and output of Island Councils through human resource development and stricter management where appropriate,
development of new income generation initiatives, and
search for and secure new employment opportunities nationally and overseas, etc.

The Island Council is made up of representatives from each village/ward who are elected every 4 years. There are also nominated and ex-officio members who, together with elected members meet every month to discuss matters pertaining to the operation of the Island Council and issues affecting the various wards and the island as a whole. As already mentioned, a seat on these Council meetings is reserved for a representative from the “Unimwane”, the women and the youth. The parliamentarians or members of parliament from the island are ex-officio members of these council meetings at which time the Chief Councilor presides/chairs while the ‘Clerk’ seconded from the Ministry of Internal & Social Affairs acts as ‘Secretariat’ and Chief Advisor. Marakei Island Council has elected members from each of its two villages as well as representatives from the ‘unimwane’ and women.

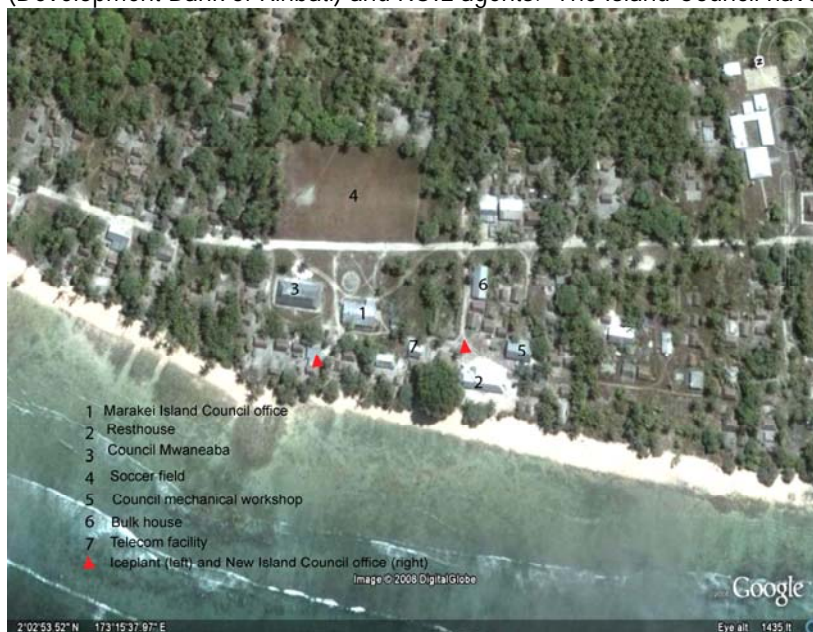


Among its core functions as stipulated in the Local Government Act 2006, the Island Council is also responsible for managing the following general areas:-

- Agriculture/Forestry, livestock and fisheries,

- Land use, Buildings and village planning,
- Education,
- Relief of famine and drought (Disaster management)
- Markets,
- Public health,
- Public order, peace and safety,
- Communications and public utilities,
- Trade and industry

All Island Councils have management support staff that are seconded from central government to assist the Island Council in administration of island development. These support staff include the Council Clerk, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Island project Officer, Assistant Social Welfare Officer and Court Clerk. In addition to this administrative and support team who work directly with Councils, there are also other government personnel who are placed on the islands to assist in other important services, such as police officers, agricultural assistants, fisheries assistants, medical assistants, teachers, DBK (Development Bank of Kiribati) and KOIL agents. The Island Council have/employ their own typist,



drivers, radio operator, mechanic, constables (village wardens), nursing aides etc (See Council Structure 2007 illustration).

Generally, while Island Councils may welcome new initiatives of central government to assist them and their people, it may take a long time to build the financial capability of Councils for them to be able to operate with minimum support from central government. However, they do collect revenues from taxes and strive to

develop their own income generating activities such as with rest-house and boat services, an aluminum factory as on Arorae, registration fees, business licenses, canteens and truck hires amongst others.

Central Government still provides support to the Island Councils through what is known as the Government's "Support Grant" which outer island councils depend on heavily for their running. According to sources from the Local Government Division of the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs, central government provided a total of \$1.24 million to Island Councils in 2007. From this grant Arorae was allocated \$65,015.00 (5.2% of total nationally distributed grant) to assist its recurrent budget and its daily operations.

Apart from the support grant that the Government gives to the outer island councils, Island Council projects are also funded by the government and donors most notably the Taiwan embassy in South Tarawa who gives out AU\$10 million every year to fund these island council priority projects from all over Kiribati. The **Table 10** below shows Marakei Island Council priority projects since 2004 that have been approved and funded:

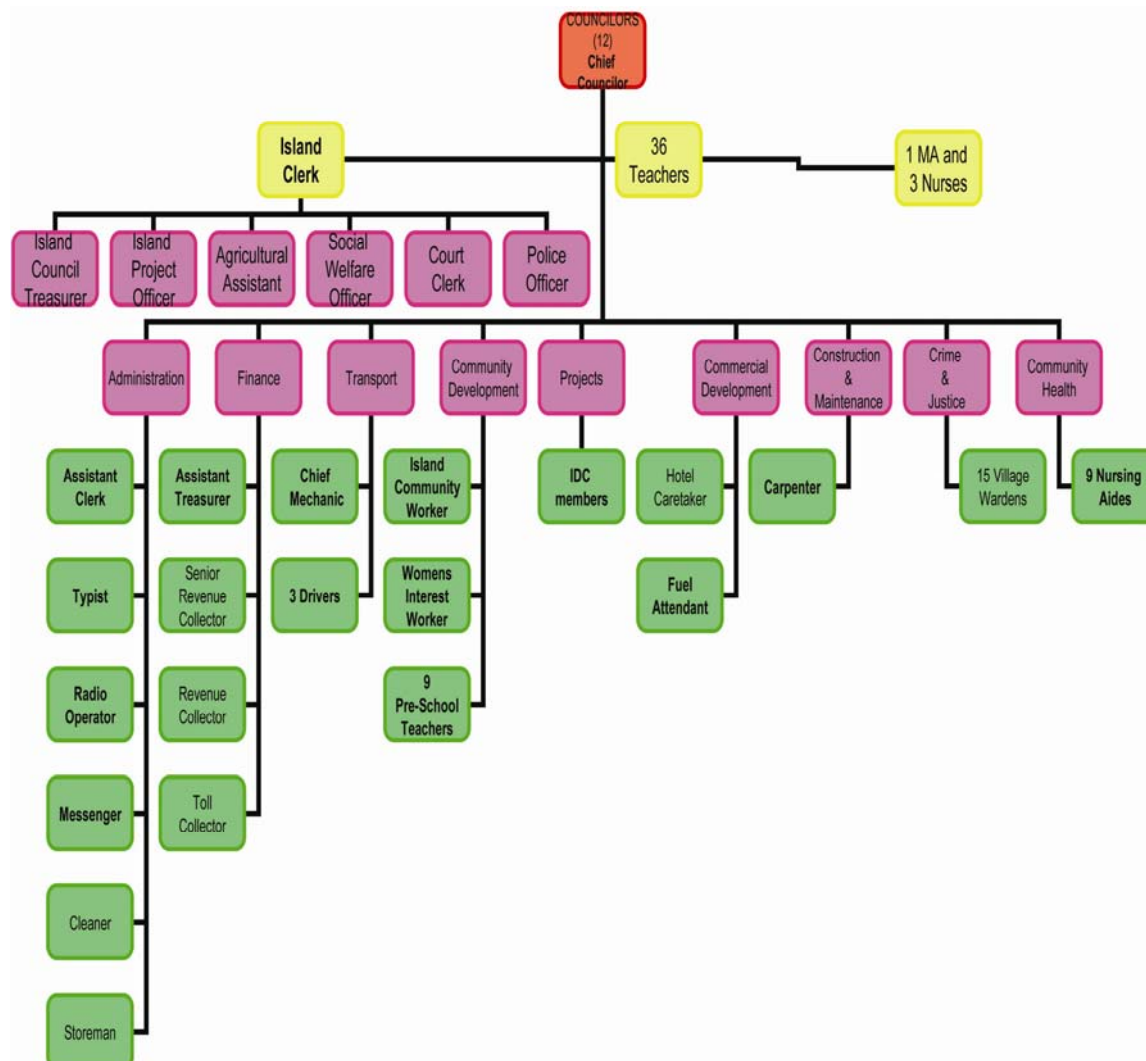
Project Title	Approved funds
Upgrading of Guesthouse	\$ 94,120.00
Mechanical Tools	\$ 22,740.00
New Council Office	\$ 147,715.00
	\$264,575.00

Source: RPD MISA 2007

The following **Table 11** shows some of the charges and taxes that can be expected when one visits the island and requires such a service etc:

	Service	Charge
1	Council house rents: Local materials Combined materials Permanent materials	 \$10.00/month \$11.00/month \$12.00/month
2	Airport taxes: Government Officials Locals Students Children	 \$10.00 \$5.00 \$3.00 \$2.00
3	Seaport tax	\$1.00/6yrs+
4	Bridge fares: Cars/Trucks Motorbikes Pushbikes	 \$1.00 \$0.20 \$0.10
5	Truck fares: One way trip – Adults One way trip - children Light luggage – bags, pushbike etc Heavy luggage – motorbike	 \$1.00/hd \$0.40/hd \$1.00/item \$2.00/item
6	Backhoe hire: Individual locals Local groups	 \$50.00/day + fuel and oil \$30.00/day + fuel and oil
7	Truck hire: Government/Companies Local groups Individual locals	 \$20.00/hire + \$1.00/km \$10.00/hire + \$0.50/km \$5.00/hire + \$0.30/km
8	Mwaneaba/Venue hire	\$20.00/day
9	Sound system hire	\$30.00/day

Fig 17: Marakei Island Council Staff Structure 2008



Source: GoK Island Council Estimates 2007 & ICOP 2006

4.3.4 Interface between Local Government and Traditional Political System

The leadership role of the 'Unimwane' by the people on Marakei continues to be respected by society, and central government. The modern legal system is however crucial to the maintenance of peace and order in Kiribati, but there are many instances where modern law fails to provide a solution to certain situations, and this is where the community under the leadership of the 'unimwane' intervenes to provide the solution. To avoid confrontation between central government and the traditional leaders ('unimwane'), who had administered the islands long before the white men came to Kiribati, it was resolved that the 'Unimwane' association would be represented in local government, not as an elected councillor but as a nominated member who assists, advises and in many instances instructs Council to make decisions that will not contradict local traditions of individual islands.

In Marakei, a male is entitled to be called a 'unimwane' once his father has died and he is head of a household which contrasts to the Southern islands where the 'unimwane' role is taken seriously with men only called 'unimwane' on reaching the mature age of 50-60 onwards. Membership of the 'unimwane' association vary from island to island but they have been the decision making body for the

islands especially the Southern islands before they were proclaimed as a British protectorate in 1892 by Captain Davies of the '*Royalist*' and are still respected as such. In Marakei, governance used to be by kings and chiefs and this traditional governance on the island was abolished in colonial times when island councils were then established and 'unimwane' associations supported. Where the Island Councils role is understood as administration of all island development as central government wants and sees fit, the 'unimwane' oversee that the island is administered as dictated by their traditions. The 'unimwane' role on the island is however not as strong when compared to the 'unimwane' roles in the southern islands especially, Tabiteuea North, Tabiteuea South, Nikunau, Beru and Onotoa.

Councils and other institutions cannot disengage themselves from the 'Unimwane' who basically hold the power to community support and/or resources. The Councils on the other hand hold the power to Government funds and support in island development.

4.3.5 Crime and Justice System

A Court Clerk from the Judiciary in Tarawa is also stationed on the island to administer the court system on the island. Duties of the Court Clerk include recording minutes of the magistrate court proceedings, executing the order of the court, collecting court fees, and processing claims and appeals to the High Court located in South Tarawa.



There is a Police Officer on the island is responsible for keeping the peace and order on the island and is supported by 15 village wardens located in the eight villages of the island, who take shifts working at the Police office at the island council. These village wardens are responsible for keeping the peace in their respective villages but can seek assistance from the other villages and the residing police officer when necessary. The jails are found within the Police office (pictured above) on the island. Offenses on the island are generally those of riding a pushbike without a light at night or driving a motorbike without a driving license and drunk & disorderly. These offenses are common throughout the country particularly the outer islands as they do not have electricity, better roads and use of other vehicles such as cars, trucks and motorbikes like the urban islands (Tarawa and Kiritimati). Drunk and disorderly is a common issue for youth on all islands and some islands and villages have tried to solve this by prohibiting sale of fermented toddy and drinking from public places such as the 'mwaneaba'. In Marakei, even though drinking in public places has been prohibited mostly in church facilities and grounds, sale of fermented toddy is still carried out.

There is only one single Island Magistrate who presides over two courts, namely, the Island Lands Court and the Magistrate Court which deals with criminal and civil cases. Appealed court cases on the island are accumulated and reported to central court headquarters in Betio. The High Court Judge then visits the island to further judge appealed cases.

CHAPTER 5: TE TABOMOA – ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, INFRASTRUCTURE AND UTILITIES

5.1 ISLAND ECONOMY

5.1.1 Subsistence Economy

A subsistence economy is one where people perform traditional activities to meet their individual and group needs for security, and have no reason to accumulate wealth except to ensure their future survival. The concept of wealth does not exist hence there is a high degree of sharing and reliance on existing natural resources, development and maintenance of the natural environment and skills to harvest and maintain these resources. The nature of the subsistence economy is reflected in the social organization of families, who join together to form clans (*kaainga*) that function, according to a set of rules and roles. Each member of a *kaainga* performs a different set of activities that are assigned based on sex and age. It is important for the survival of the group that each member fulfils the roles and responsibilities assigned to him/her.



Typical subsistent activities include fishing, toddy cutting, cultivation and harvesting of food crops mainly coconut, pandanus, breadfruit and bwabwai, weaving mats, making thatches, rolling string, fetching water, collecting firewood, making fish traps and hooks, cleaning and washing, cooking and house construction amongst others. Most of these activities are performed by the adult members of the family, while it falls upon the younger members to collect firewood and fetch water, clean the dishes, the compound, and assist the adult members to do the easy part of their chores. Unfortunately, subsistence living is slowly disappearing and being replaced by a cash economy where most subsistence activities are now not only catered towards subsistence living but also to generate income to pay for the basic necessities of rice, sugar, flour and tinned food.

Where most of the fishing was done for subsistence, it is now sold where there is a surplus, given freely to relatives, preserved for later consumption or sold to the general public most of the time to council staff. Due to the increasing dependence on imported goods that are sold to the public by small stores, the importance of cash as a medium of exchange, has now dominated bartering and sharing that were once strong traditions of Kiribati.

Monetary institutions such as the Bank of Kiribati is not available on the island and thus the availability of money can be affected, setting the way for the existing customs of borrowing (*tangobwai*), asking (*bubutii*) and or bartering important equipment for cash (*raibwai*). Special skills are kept in the families and can only be given to sons and daughters, adopted sons or daughters and at times are given as gifts or payment especially when the parent is being looked after by another family. They can also be gifted to others when the specialist feels it appropriate otherwise; these skills are kept in the families.

Consequently the Village banks were introduced to the outer islands to provide a means of micro-

financing to the village communities. These village banks are routinely monitored and reported by the Island Project Officer (IPO). The Island Treasurer on the other hand also acts as the Bank of Kiribati (note: not the village bank) outer island focal point for passbook transactions that have been invested in the Bank of Kiribati.

5.1.2 Copra cutting

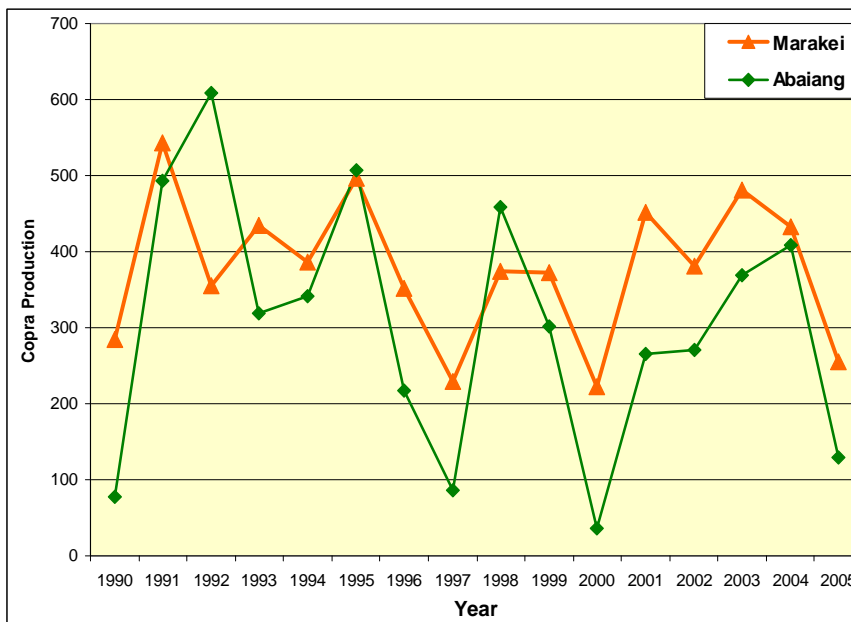
Like the other outer islands of Kiribati, other than fishing, copra cutting is the mainstay of the people on Marakei. Seasons of drought and rain are greatly reflected in the copra production for the islands that has been fluctuating over the years.

Statistics showed that 374 coconut trees are accessed by the 437 households including 369 toddy trees that are cut for subsistence living as well as for fermented toddy, a local brew. This figure however only counts the number of coconuts that are nearby or ones that are surrounding the households and does not count the ones plots of land in the bush.



Portrayed in the following chart is the copra production of Marakei as against the neighboring island of Abaiang since 1990.

Fig 18: Copra production



The best year of copra production for Arorae was in 1991 when their production reached a tonnage of 543 bringing in an income of \$179,190.00. On the other hand, its worst year of copra production was in the year 2000 when its annual production was 222 tonnes that brought an income of \$99,900.00. Copra prices by the year 2000 had all risen to \$0.60/lb, however from overall

Source: NSO 2005

figures on copra production for the year 2000, it seemed that the year proved to be the year that nearly all islands had their least production of copra which could indicate a year of drought when coconuts were not fruiting or producing small fruit thus a fall in copra production. Butaritari, Abaiang, North Tarawa, Maiana, Kuria, Aranuka, Nonouti, Beru and Nikunau all had the year 2000 as the year when they had the least copra production.

If droughts were the only reason for the decline in copra production, the copra charts would provide good indicators for times of drought. Copra prices have also been slowly increasing from \$0.30/lb in 1990 to \$0.60/lb in 2005. The most recent copra production for Marakei on record was 256 tonnes in 2005 that brought in an income of \$153,600.00 which would roughly give the 437 households an income per day of \$0.96. Even though this is slightly below the international poverty line, it should be remembered that people on the outer islands of Kiribati do not rely 100% on money to live but actually rely mostly on plots of land owned, skills to fish, cut toddy and utilize existing food resources. This daily income of \$0.96 is more than enough to buy a kilogram of rice and flour for their young ones, who have taken to imported rice and flour faster than the adults. On the other hand, copra is not the only means of income for the people on the island as there are other means of income such as remittances, stevedoring, council contracts, fishing and handicrafts. Nonetheless, with the increasing prices of products from the shops, the people on Marakei and the rest of the outer islands for that matter will need to increase their means of income or go back to subsistence living if they are not to rely on foreign products for their livelihood.



5.1.3 Employment

The Island Council serve as the biggest employer for the people of Marakei, employing about 48 islanders as village wardens, village nurses, drivers, hotel keeper, and office (typing, treasurer, clerk) assistants etc (See Council staff structure Fig.....). Depending on the need, Council may from time to time engage contractors and laborers to undertake short carpentry or auto-mechanical jobs. Seasonal employment is usually available when Government or large Council projects are undertaken, especially those which require the service of casual laborers.

Manual labor is also regularly needed in the stevedoring of visiting supply ships, which make frequent (when compared to the southern islands) and regular runs to Marakei carrying food, fuel, timber, and other general goods. These are offloaded on reaching the island by casual laborers. On the return trip, these ships are loaded with copra, empty fuel drums and some local produce like salted fish, mats, 'bwabwai' and 'kamwaimwai' for relatives in South Tarawa or by the ship officers themselves. Stevedoring provides an alternative way to earn income and the sea dock located in the central village of Rawannawi where the Marakei Island Council is also located, has made such manual loading and offloading easy enough. Stevedoring, unlike some outer islands is not taken in turns by villages but by those present and willing to offload or load cargo to a visiting ship. Most of the time, it is the male youth who engage in stevedoring as they find it a fun way of earning money and are more capable of carrying bags of copra weighing around 30kg.

Apart from a handful number of jobs offered by the Island Council in its limited service, the opportunity for paid employment for the islanders is otherwise non-existent. There Government positions for other

services on Marakei such as teachers, medical nurses, clerks, Island Project Officers, police officer etc are not available to the islanders due to most islanders not meeting the minimum qualification requirements that these jobs entail. There are other paid jobs such as the Air Kiribati agent, KOIL agent and TSKL technician that are offered to those on the island who are able to meet the requirements most of the time with handling of money transactions and ability to read and write in English. The Island Council can only recruit a typist, assistant treasurer, assistant clerk, village aides, drivers, mechanics, and carpenters, to name a few.

To solve the high unemployment problem in the country Government is now increasing its effort to look for and exploit overseas employment markets especially the Pacific-rim countries of Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the United States. Casual work such as fruit picking, elderly homecare attendants, peacekeeping and sailors are some of the employment markets being explored. To this end, Marakei, like the rest of the islands in the country can only await the outcomes and decisions of the Government as they come and go. Sailors/seamen are annually recruited from all over the country including Arorae requiring that young men pass the required test to undergo further training at the Marine Training Centre (MTC) in Tarawa for their preparation to board German ships. The lack of opportunities to generate income in order to be self-reliant is a far off goal as all Island Councils including Marakei Island Council rely heavily on central Government to support their administration, which is provided annually in support grants.

5.1.4 Trade and Commerce

Commercial/cash trading is an introduced concept in Kiribati society and has become an important part in the lives of the people of Marakei and the rest of the islands in the country.

To carry out any business activity involving trade on Marakei, requires that one purchase a business license from the Marakei Island Council of which the cost varies depending on the type of business to be carried out. The most common business licenses on record are those of wholesaling, retailing, hawkers and fishing. The following **Table 12** describes the kinds of revenue that the Marakei Island Council gets each year for the different types of taxes and business activities on the island:

	Revenue Description	Tariffs Per Annum
1	Body taxes	\$5.00 (18-59 years)
2	Other taxes	\$2.00 (Bicycle) \$90.00 (Car/truck) \$18.00 (Motorcycle 90-110cc) \$12.00 (Motorcycle 50-70cc)
3	Store licensing	\$150.00 (Retailing) \$1,200.00 (Wholesaler)
4	Hawkers	\$50.00 Food-stands/Restaurant \$5.00 Local cigarettes and candy \$20.00 (Foodstalls during independence) \$50.00 (Yaqona)
5	Film shows	\$50.00/annum
6	Fuel depot	\$75.00
7	Driving license	\$2.00 (Provisional) \$3.00 (New license) \$10.00 (License replacement)
8	Bakery	\$50.00
9	Vehicle rental	\$250.00 (Car/truck) \$50.00 (Motorbikes)

10	DJ entertainment	\$10.00
11	Fermented toddy	\$2.00
12	Agency	\$1,000.00 (Sea cucumber) \$1,000.00 (Shark fin) \$200.00 (Banana)
13	Floats	\$50.00/Island visit (one off calls) \$100.00/day (1-2 weeks)

Source: Island Council Estimates, MISA 2007 and Marakei Island Council

The island council is engaged in commercial activities and generates a big portion of its annual revenue from the above tabled sources.

As a small island with undeveloped infrastructure and a dualistic economy characterized by a growing dependency on imported consumables, trade and commerce on Marakei, are a very important activity, less prone to transport and communication problems when compared to islands in the southern Gilberts. The bulk of supplies that are normally shipped to Marakei by scheduled or chartered island trips consist of rice, sugar, flour, tinned food, tobacco and fuel. Most of the times, these are transported as ordered from the island and also come in the form of floats otherwise, all of these are transported whenever there is a scheduled trip to the island by the Kiribati Shipping Company Ltd or any other vessel from Tarawa. Only in times when there is lack of cargoes on the island are foodstuff and other commodities that they are freighted by air. Located near to urban Tarawa, Marakei does not endure a lot of transportation problems when it comes down to imported foodstuff.

Cargo ships from overseas bring imported products only to Betio in South Tarawa that are then distributed to the rest of the islands all over Kiribati. Product prices in Marakei are the same as those in the Gilbert group, which contrast to product prices in the Line group that generally tend to be higher due to the cost of having to re-transport them from Tarawa to Kiritimati Island over a greater distance compared to the outer islands in the Gilbert group. There are certain commodities whose prices are controlled by the Government.

These products include rice, sugar, flour, tobacco and fuel whose prices are subsidized and set by the Government and which all businesses are required to follow if they are to operate legally.



5.1.5 Local Finance

In 1995, the Village Bank project was initiated by Government to serve as a micro credit facility for village communities in the outer islands. The objective of the project is to enable families to have easy access to a credit facility from which they could borrow enough money to start a small business and other income generating activities. Funding for this project was provided by Government and the fund is shared among the islands and its village communities on a population basis. In the villages, a

committee, consisting of a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer, is established to manage and administer the Village Banks funds. The Island Project Officer (IPO) based at each Island Council provides fund distribution, auditing and monitoring services to this project to ensure proper use of funds and sustainability. The operations of the Village Banks are governed under the Village Bank Act.

The following **Table 13** sums up the distributed grant to the village banks on Marakei:

	KIRIBATI GOV'T FUND OF 1\$MILLION						UNDP GRANT OF \$90,00		
	1ST 75% SHARE			2ND 25% SHARE			3RD SHARE		
BANK NAME	PAID	DATE	DW NO:	PAID	DATE	DW NO:	PAID	DATE	DW NO:
Tabontoora	\$3,300.93	26/05/99	75/99	\$1,100.31	10/11/99	144/99	\$435.25	22/10/01	369/01
Marata	\$1,650.47	26/05/99	75/99	\$550.16	10/11/99	144/99	\$217.60	22/10/01	369/01
Tinaniko	\$2,200.62	26/05/99	75/99	\$733.54	10/11/99	144/99	\$290.15	22/10/01	369/01
Te Maunga ni M'ane	\$1,375.39	26/05/99	75/99	\$458.46	10/11/99	144/99	\$181.35	22/10/01	369/01
Te Niko ni Bino	\$962.77	26/05/99	75/99	\$320.92	10/11/99	144/99	\$126.95	22/10/01	369/01
Mwakoroboou	\$2,750.78	26/05/99	75/99	\$916.93	10/11/99	144/99	\$362.70	22/10/01	369/01
M'aitoron te Ribwa	\$2,107.45	26/05/99	75/99	\$702.48	10/11/99	144/99	\$277.85	22/10/01	369/01
Nei Tenanoraoi	\$1,512.93	26/05/99	75/99	\$504.31	10/11/99	144/99	\$199.45	22/10/01	369/01
Rian Aantaai				\$891.97	18/11/04	112/04			
Kee ni Buota	\$4,117.85	26/05/99	75/99				\$542.95	22/10/01	369/01
Nei Reei	\$6,641.25	26/05/99	75/99	\$2,213.75	10/11/99	144/99	\$875.70	22/10/01	369/01
Wae ni Mwakauro	\$4,020.80	26/05/99	75/99					22/10/01	369/01
Atingore	\$1,220.10	26/05/99	75/99	\$406.70	10/11/99	144/99	\$160.85	22/10/01	369/01
Nei Temwanai	\$3,230.50	26/05/99	75/99	\$1,076.83	10/11/99	144/99	\$425.95	22/10/01	369/01
	\$35,091.84			\$9,876.36			\$4,096.75		

Source: RPD MISA 2007

At times when there are village bank problems, these are sorted and resolved first before shares are distributed thus share distributions to the outer island village banks are dependent on the individual performances of the banks. The IPO reports the performances of the individual village banks to the Rural Planning Division within the Ministry of Internal and Social Affairs.

5.1.6 Remittances

The general flow of seafarer's remittances into the country is continuous and has increased over the years with more engaged in seafaring employment. There are now two major employers of seafarers from Kiribati;

1. South Pacific Marine Services (SPMS)
2. The Kiribati Fishing Services (KFS)

Seafarers are employed as general deck workers on German ships through SPMS while Japanese employees are employed to be fishermen on the Japanese fishing vessels through KFS. The seafarer's salaries are paid straight into the individual accounts in Kiribati or family accounts. Money is also sent back to churches depending on individual seafarer obligations. Families are dependent on decisions made by their seafarer husband or son on how much remittance they will receive (M. Borovnik 2006).

Whitley (1980) reported that the amount of remittance sent back to Kiribati in 1974 was AU\$800,000 with an additional AU\$200,000 brought back in the form of leave pay at the end of contracts. Remittances grew to \$1.3 million in 1979, \$9.7 million in 1998 and \$12.29 million in 2003 (MFED 1987). Of this

\$12.29 million, 86% came from those employed by SPMS while 14% came from those employed by KFS.

Remittances sent to parents and wives differ. Parents usually receive more money from their son when he is not married yet but once married, the son generally sends more money to his wife and family than his parents. There is also a tendency for smaller amounts being sent to the outer islands as most families tend to move to South Tarawa especially the wife and children while the parents are more happy to stay back home.

Remittances can be sent directly to families or they can be given after a special request (bubuti) to other extended family members for sudden needs such as 'botaki's (feasts) or for school fees. These kinds of requests usually vary and directed to straight to the members of the family employed by SPMS or KFS. A lot of these remittances have also been invested in homes (permanent buildings), cars, motorbikes businesses, home equipment (TV, media players, instruments) and to a big extent, school fees.