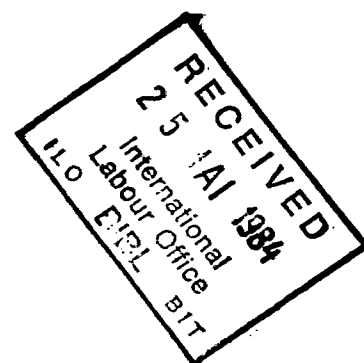


**MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC**



**COUNTRY REPORT NO. 21  
WALLIS AND FUTUNA ISLANDS**

**John Connell**

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**Front cover:**

**We are grateful to James Griffin for permission to reproduce a design of a Bougainville canoe paddle from *Bougainville artifacts: conserved or cookim coffee?*, James and Helga-Maria Griffin, Occasional Paper Number 1. Port-Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1975.**

## Preface

This report is one of a series of country reports covering all the countries in the South Pacific Commission area that have been produced as part of the Migration, Employment and Development in the South Pacific project. This project is administered jointly by the South Pacific Commission and the International Labour Organisation and was established in April 1981 with funds provided by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. The project, which is based in Noumea, covered all the countries and territories in the South Pacific Commission area and also investigated migration from the region into Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States of America. The series of specific country reports is listed on the back cover of this report.

In consultation with the SPC, the ILO appointed Mr John Connell as a resident expert to co-ordinate the implementation of the project. Within the SPC, Drs Ko Groenewegen provided guidance on technical and administrative aspects of the project. Work on the preparation of the reports was undertaken by Mr John Connell with some early research assistance from M. Jean-Marie Delmas and the secretarial assistance of Ms Maeva Betham. Advice, comments and assistance, both technical and administrative, were also provided by the ILO's Labour and Population Team for Asia and the Pacific (LAPTAP). The project is indebted to many individuals within the countries, in SPC and elsewhere, who helped in the compilation, analysis and assessment of the data and related reports, and these are acknowledged in specific country reports.

The ILO's association with the publishing of the report does not imply expression of any opinion whatsoever on the legal status of any country or territory or concerning any delimitation of its frontiers. Responsibility for opinions expressed in signed material such as this report rests with the author and publication does not constitute their endorsement by the ILO.



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50 0 50 100 150 kilometres

Wallis  
○ (Uvea)

Futuna  
○  
Alofi

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 km

UVEA

Hihifo

Hahake

MATA'UTU

Mua

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 km

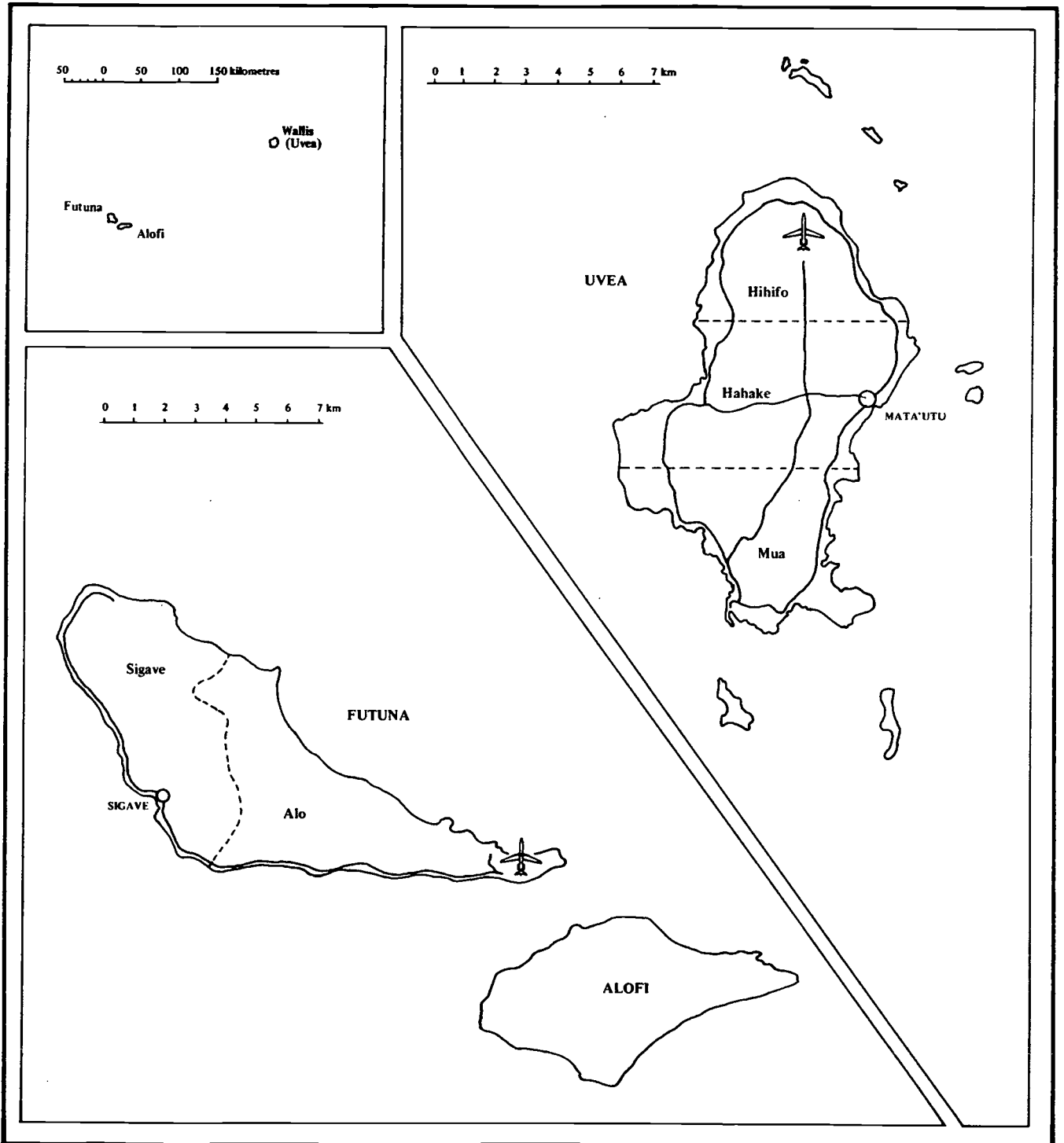
Sigave

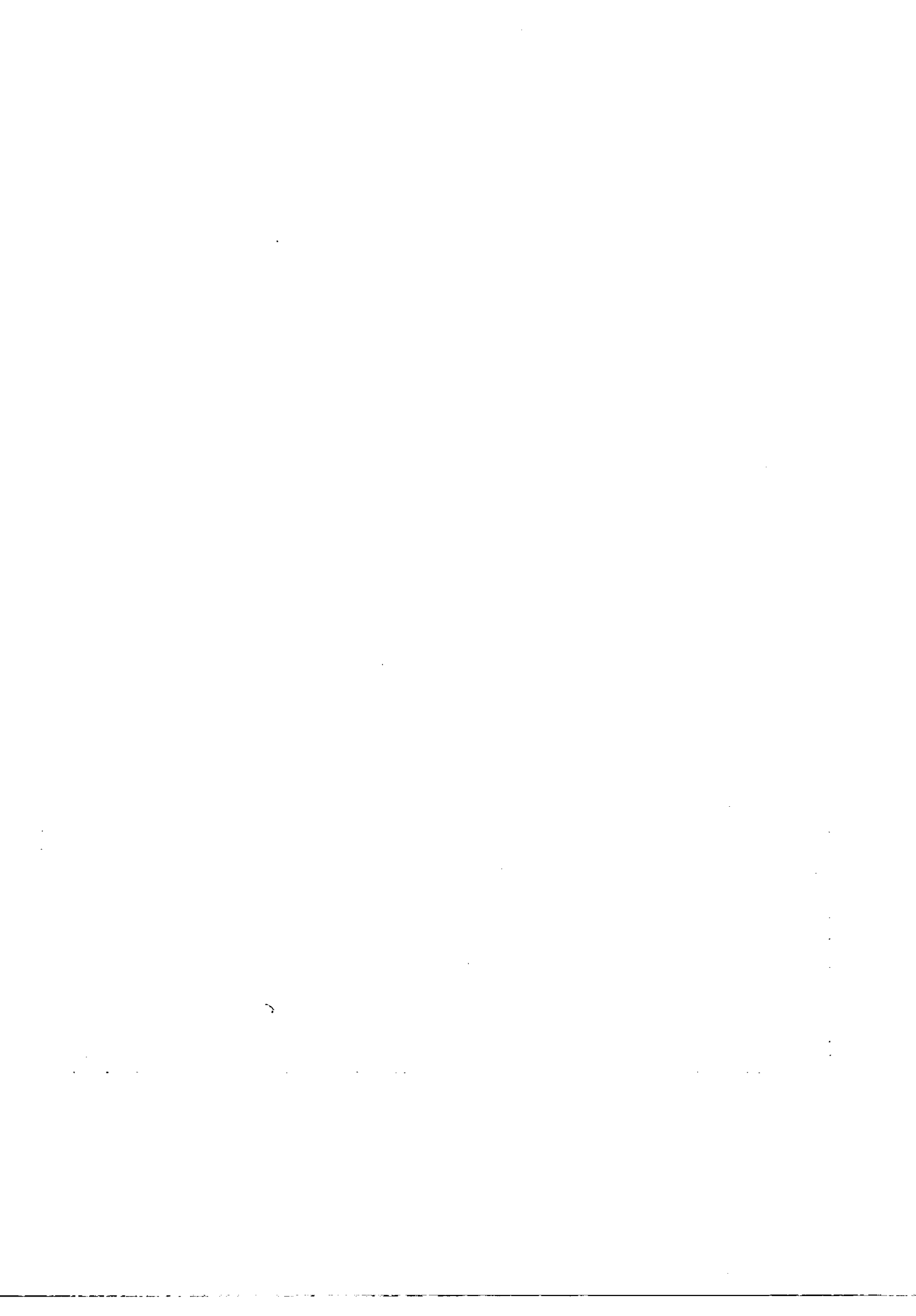
FUTUNA

SIGAVE

Alo

ALOFI





"Futuna, comme Wallis, souffre d'une véritable hémorragie des population, alors même que l'ensemble de ceux qui restent au pays disposent d'un "pourvoir d'achat" potentiel pourtant largement supérieur à celui de la moyenne des habitants des autres territoires du Pacifique. Pour le Futunien, l'attrait de la Nouvelle-Calédonie est extrêmement puissant. Cette grand soeur riche vous accueille non seulement à bras ouverts mais vous réclame même avec insistance, car la main-d'oeuvre lui fait cruellement défaut" (P.Godard, Wallis et Futuna, Nouméa, 1976:54).

Wallis and Futuna is the most remote overseas territory of France, consisting of two principal inhabited islands, Wallis (Uvea) and Futuna, and one large island, Alofi, which has not been permanently inhabited since the late prehistoric period. It is much the smallest of the three French territories in the South Pacific region. Wallisians and Futunans are Polynesian and traditional histories record that Uvea was colonised from Tonga some seven hundred years ago. Futuna, which has had a quite separate history until the 19th Century, may have been colonised from Samoa. The two islands have two separate and distinct languages. Archaeological evidence suggests a sizeable population by the fourth or fifth millennia B.P. which implies that initial colonisation was some centuries earlier and that there was substantial contact between the prehistoric populations of Uvea and Tonga (Kirch, 1976: 58-9) as part of a westwards movement in Polynesia, which ultimately also resulted in the partial colonisation of Ouvea (in the Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia) from Uvea.

Dutch sailors reached Futuna and Alofi in 1626 whilst Captain Samuel Wallis "discovered" Uvea in 1767. French Marist missionaries managed to establish themselves on the island in the 19th Century and eventually converted the population to Catholicism. In 1842 the King petitioned France for protection but Wallis did not become a French protectorate until 1887. The first Marist missionary in Futuna was Father Pierre Chanel, who was murdered there in 1841 (and later became the first South Pacific saint) but many of the people became Christians soon after and the islands have remained Catholic ever since. Futuna also requested French protection in 1842 and thereafter the political history of Wallis and Futuna was the same. Contact with European traders was always limited and neither Futuna nor Uvea shared the depopulation observed in many Oceanic islands during the first generation after the arrival of Europeans (Burrows, 1936:15; 1937:75). In 1913 Wallis and Futuna was declared a colony of France but the declaration was not ratified and British influence remained considerable. During the war Uvea was a major American military base, and there was some movement after the war for Wallis and Futuna to become more closely associated with the United States (Poncet, 1972:182-4). Following a referendum in 1959 Wallis and Futuna voted almost unanimously (4,307 for, 257 against) to become an overseas Territory of France. At least 254 of those who opposed this move were from Futuna (op cit:226). The territory is administered by an Administrateur Supérieur who is based in the small administrative centre of Mata Utu on Uvea. The administrator is assisted by a Territorial Assembly (with 13 members from Uvea and 7 from Futuna), the king of Uvea, the kings of Alo and Sigave (Futuna) and the principal chiefs. Not until

after the Second World War has there been significant contact between Futuna and Uvea and the islands scarcely constituted an administrative unit until after the establishment of regular air services between the islands in 1974. There are now three flights a week between the two islands, all undertaken by a small Britten Norman Islander, although this is insufficient to meet demand. The differences between the islands are such that in November 1983 the kings of Futuna were intending to petition France for separate territorial status for Futuna (Nouvelles Calédoniennes, 18 Novembre 1983).

To a greater extent than in almost all other parts of Polynesia, the traditional social structure has remained relatively unchanged, although Christianity has had a very considerable influence on the territory and the Catholic Church is of some importance. The three kings retain considerable authority and the society is highly stratified. In this context, and also in that of religion, there are very strong similarities between Wallis and Futuna and Tonga (Country Report No.18); to a lesser extent there are also similarities in the agricultural and migration situation. But, to an even greater extent than Tonga, the combination of one church, three monarchies, cultural homogeneity and unusual isolation from the outside world have given Wallis and Futuna an extremely conservative social and economic system.

The presence of the French administration does not prevent some degree of local autonomy despite Rensch's description of Wallis and Futuna as 'total dependency' (1983). The basic unit of social organisation and the primary economic unit is the extended family and rights to land are determined by membership in a broader non-unilineal descent group (kaiga) as well as by choice of residence in a particular extended family (Kirch, 1978:161). Villages, which are agglomerations of extended families, are governed by village chiefs, in conjunction with a council of elder males and, until recently on Uvea, first fruits were presented to the village chiefs. Each of the three districts of Uvea is in the charge of an 'executive officer' (pule) who is responsible, amongst other things, for decisions regarding the use of forest areas in the district (ibid). Thus the form of social and economic organisation is similar to that elsewhere in neighbouring parts of Polynesia, and particularly with Rotuma to the west.

Futuna is rather more "traditional" than Wallis; most non-agricultural employment (primarily with the administration) is in Wallis and there are relatively more Europeans there. Public utilities are rare and the proportion of such consumer durables as refrigerators, modern stoves, radios, etc., is lower in Futuna; most housing is in traditional Polynesian style. French is not widely spoken in the territory, and other than amongst some adolescents is scarcely used outside the administration; this also is particularly true of Futuna.

### Economy

Wallis (Uvea) and Futuna are separated by about 180 kms. The three main islands are "high" volcanic islands but have quite different ecosystems. Futuna and Alofi are mountainous, rising to 760 metres on Futuna, with no barrier reefs, whilst Uvea is relatively low and undulating, rising to no more than 145 metres and, although without permanent streams, has several large lakes. Uvea is covered with a deep oxidised soil of weathered basalt which is however heavily laterised in some areas (Kirch, 1976:31). Futuna and Alofi have a more diverse and complex soil and vegetational structure. The islands are subject to both occasional cyclones, such as that of 1975 which destroyed many food gardens and

necessitated substantial food imports, and also droughts. Various estimates have been made of the area of the islands but there is no indication of which is the most accurate, hence measures of population density are of doubtful accuracy.

The economy is based on subsistence agricultural production and about a quarter of the land area is used for agriculture. Households are grouped into villages, defined less by kinship than by residential propinquity and membership in the wider political structure. One or more hereditary chiefs, along with a council (fono) of male elders, govern villages; the chiefs control or direct economic organisation above the level of domestic production, including communal fishing, maintenance of irrigation networks or drainage channels, preparation of communal gardens and contribution of food for feasts (Kirch, 1976:32). Settlement patterns are radial so that each social group occupies a territory running outwards from the islands' central points to the sea thus cutting across broadly concentric ecological zones, and maximising access to diverse resources. The narrow coastal strips are planted with permanent tree crops (principally coconuts) and shifting cultivation occupies the interior. The principal food crops are numerous varieties of taro, yams, bananas and breadfruit. Kava is also important for ritual and social uses. In some areas, and especially in Sigave district on Futuna, there are major irrigated field systems and the indigenous agricultural systems of Futuna especially, but also Uvea, have been retained to an extent matched nowhere else in Polynesia. The agricultural system has been described in detail elsewhere (Kirch, 1978). In Uvea, where population density is much greater than Futuna, shifting agriculture is more extensive. Pigs are ubiquitous in the agricultural economy and have considerable social and political importance in feast distributions, to the extent that the price of a medium-sized pig in 1981 was reported to be as high as CFP90,000 (Rensch, 1983:14). Agricultural production is almost entirely for domestic consumption and sales are minimal. Agriculture is predominantly a male activity, especially in Futuna, as in other Polynesian societies.

Copra production was until the early 1970's a significant source of cash income on both islands. The 1981 Pacific Islands Yearbook recorded that "out of some 4,000 hectares of coconut trees on the islands, only half have their copra collected. On Wallis, this is used, like tapioca, to feed the pigs. The only exports are from Futuna" (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:498); even in the 1960s this was no more than about 10% of the pre-war production. The collapse of the copra market in the early 1970s virtually ended local production and even on Futuna by 1976, after prices had risen again, only a few token sacks were produced (Godard, 1976:57) and the last sale of copra from Futuna was reported to be in 1974 (Manuau, 1983:48); in the late 1970s there was a slight revival in production as prices increased and in 1980 some 8,000 hybrid coconuts were planted on Uvea (IEOM, 1981:10) but the replanting programme declined in 1981 (IEOM, 1982:10). Coconuts are now primarily pig feed. However as elsewhere in the South Pacific copra production is in any case an extremely limited and uncertain base on which to develop the agricultural economy.

The administration has attempted to stimulate cattle production as a basis for the local economy but there are no more than about 60 cattle in the territory and numbers are declining. Coffee production has been even more unsuccessful and the failure of both this and attempts to develop pepper have been blamed on the traditional land tenure system (IEOM, 1981:9). Apart from the constraints of the land tenure system, which has however enabled subsistence food requirements to be satisfied throughout the

territory, a number of other factors have limited agricultural development including, firstly, the limited surface area of Wallis and Futuna and specifically the fact that only about a quarter of the land has agricultural potential because of laterisation (following deforestation) and, especially on Futuna, the mountainous terrain (IEOM, 1981:9) where there has been considerable erosion. Secondly, soils are generally poor and fertilisation absent hence fallow periods are long. Thirdly, the depredations of the rhinoceros beetle have severely restricted copra production. Fourthly, Wallis and Futuna is distant from major markets, transport links are extremely poor and no specialised agricultural goods are produced that compensate for these disadvantages.

The fisheries of Wallis and Futuna are characterised by intense exploitation of reef and lagoon resources and a large, and often unsatisfied, demand for fish. As early as the 19th Century there was a decline in tuna fishing attributed variously to the restrictive influence of the Catholic church on canoe movements (Fusimalohi and Grandperrin, 1980), the danger involved and the strenuous activity required (Burrows, 1936), fear of sharks and the limited manoeuvrability of the traditional canoes. As early as 1932 any fish larger than six inches was considered a prize in Futuna (op cit) and by the 1930s tuna fishing had almost ceased on both islands. Out-migration to New Caledonia (see below) further reduced interest in fishing and few people ventured beyond the reef. The decline of fishing activity enabled some regeneration of stocks and by the end of the 1970s fishing was again significant for local consumption, especially within the Uvea reef (Kirch, 1978). Little, if any, of current production is marketed (other than lobsters and crabs to the two local restaurants) and the principal potential for a fishing industry lies in the licensing of territorial waters to foreign fishing fleets which was expected to generate CFP 20 million in 1980. Since Wallis and Futuna is close to major canneries (especially in American Samoa) this location, and substantial known tuna resources (R. Gillett, pers.comm, 1983), are likely to enable more extensive development of the industry. Some 43 tonnes of trochus shell were exported, mainly to Vanuatu in 1981. Recent administration activities have assisted in the construction of larger canoes and motor boats that are able to fish outside the Uvea lagoon, where the results are much better than within the lagoon which has, to some extent, remained overfished (IEOM, 1981:10-11; Vavasseur, 1982). There is no forestry production although progress with reafforestation on Uvea, and the possible exploitation of Alofi's timber, offer some limited potential for further development. There are no known mineral or energy resources in the territory.

Handicrafts, especially tapa cloth, which is particularly fine, are sold by local cooperatives and exported from the territory, and were valued at CFP 3 millions, (A\$25,000) in 1980 (IEOM, 1981:11). Of all the territories in the South Pacific region only Tokelau and Pitcairn have experienced less development of tourism; there are two small hotels on Uvea and no tourist facilities on Futuna. The inaccessibility and cost of travel to Wallis and Futuna prevents any contemporary development of tourism, despite the Dijoud Plan's optimism over the possibility of developing a 'religious and cultural tourism' (Dijoud, 1979:41-2).

Despite some administration attempts to stimulate economic development it is apparent that there is virtually no marketed economic production in the territory. Most food consumed is produced locally; little of this is sold, there is no local market and there is a massive imbalance between imports and exports. As in many other small islands the production (outside Wallis and Futuna) and sale of stamps makes a major contribution to the

economy; whilst stamps are the major 'export' from Wallis and Futuna virtually none are marketed directly from the Territory, hence their sale does not generate local employment. In 1979 sales of stamps outside Wallis and Futuna were valued at CFP19 million (Manuau, 1983:46). Since Uvea and Futuna are small islands, under French jurisdiction, their society and economy have become increasingly oriented towards New Caledonia rather than to neighbouring Pacific islands compared with before the war, when, for example, copra was traded to Fiji and Burns Philp owned the main stores (Poncet, 1972: 185). This orientation is nowhere more apparent than for transport; external transport links, by sea and air are primarily with Noumea in New Caledonia. (However air transport links operated for a period of just over a year between Apia, Uvea and Nadi but were uneconomic and ended in 1981. A new weekly service between Noumea, Nadi and Uvea began in 1982). Necessarily transport is expensive so that imports are also expensive and it is also prohibitively expensive to export the kinds of agricultural produce that might be marketed in New Caledonia, hence the only foods exported are transported on an individual basis to households resident in New Caledonia. Imports in 1980 by weight consisted of 10,327 tonnes compared with exports of 43 tonnes (IEOM, 1982:14-15); this is a very high ratio and indicative of a very low level of economic development. Moreover while exports have been static or non-existent, the volume of imports doubled between 1977 and 1981 and the cost of these imports went up by 145%, demonstrating a rapidly deteriorating trade imbalance. The only exports for the past two years have been trochus shells. A modern economy has been extremely belated; the first bank opened in mid-1977 and radio broadcasting in mid-1979. There is no newspaper in the country and it is significant that the only newspaper written in Uvean has been published occasionally in Noumea. There are no doctors outside government service. Only in the last few years have public water supplies reached much of Uvea and only around Mata Utu is there an electricity system, although there are current proposals to provide electricity to Futuna.

Following the nickel crisis, which brought emigration to New Caledonia to a virtual end (see below), the administration drew up a development plan for Wallis and Futuna (Dijoud, 1979) which was adopted by the Territorial Assembly in July 1979, in an attempt to maintain the already limited economic system and draw the whole economy into a wider regional system. The key theme of this plan was somewhat optimistically established in the introduction,

'Au sein de la République française, par le travail de la population, le dynamisme de sa jeunesse, la sagesse des anciens, le Territoire de Wallis et Futuna peut se donner un destin heureux et un développement harmonieux pourvu que soient maîtrisées les tensions qui peuvent naître, et que soit organisée avec efficacité mais raisonnablement l'intervention de la Métropole, en faveur des axes prioritaires qu'aura reconnus le Territoire' (Dijoud, 1979:10-11).

The plan proposed numerous developments in the areas of animal husbandry, fishing and agriculture, and especially public works; there is also some concern with social issues and cultural retention, the attempt to develop a more agriculturally-oriented vocational education (op cit:70) and establish improved sporting facilities. The plan gives no attention to any aspect of population planning. Almost all of these proposed developments, few of which have so far been implemented, demand substantial infusions of French capital assistance and hence continued political and economic ties with France.

The domestic economy therefore remains primarily a subsistence economy that is massively dependent on French government subsidies; cash flows into the islands through administration expenditure (principally on public servants' wages and old age pensions) and from remittances. For Uvea, relatively more modern than Futuna, it has recently been observed that,

"The traditional nature of the society and way of life in Wallis, even today, should be emphasized. Although some European influence is apparent, as reflected by the use of considerable sugar in coffee and the consumption of imported frozen poultry, these changes are recent and have taken place only during the last decade. The vast majority of the food consumed is locally produced and is prepared by traditional methods. The vast majority of the population is engaged in a subsistence economy, and there are few motor vehicles and no mechanisation of agriculture. The social and cultural traditions remain strong" (Taylor et al, 1983:334-335).

A disproportionate amount of the imported food (and very little local food) is consumed by the small French expatriate population, but imported foods are increasingly becoming a part of local meals and dental health, especially of children, is declining, whilst overnutrition is a problem (Rollet, 1981). In 1981 imported foods (principally beverages, flour, rice and tinned meat) represented 26% of all imports by value. These trends are similar to those in other small South Pacific countries.

### Employment

The traditional agricultural economy involves almost all Polynesian households in the territory and there is little employment outside that sector, apart from teachers, bureaucrats and public works employees. The economically active population was calculated at 3,357 in the 1976 census (Table One) and estimated at 4,000 in 1979, of whom about 3,400 (85%) were engaged in agriculture and fishing. In 1981 it was estimated that some 80% of the population were engaged in agriculture and the remaining 20% were in commerce and the administration (IEOM, 1982:9) which suggests further expansion of formal sector employment since 1976. In 1976 there were 21 employers (9 of whom were Europeans) and 614 salaried employees (of whom 373 were Wallisians and 165 Futunans); this represents a significant increase since 1969 when there were only 242 salaried employees and the number of employers has also doubled in that time. The categories 'self-employed' and 'family workers' are essentially indistinguishable, both referring to workers in the non-commercial agricultural economy, and it is not possible to compare these data between 1969 and 1976 because of problems of classification (cf. INSEE, 1976:41). The 1982 population count recorded 13 employers; since this figure excludes Europeans the number of employers was virtually the same as six years earlier. However only 492 salaried employees were recorded, suggesting a substantial decline in that period. Thus, in the past decade, employment in the formal sector has more than doubled and female participation has increased even more rapidly. There are clear indications that this expansion has not been sustained since the mid-1970s, and therefore that the prospects of further expansion in formal sector employment must be regarded as small. The most rapid expansion has been in the educational workforce, which increased from 59 in 1969 to 168 in 1976 and three-quarters of these were women (INSEE, 1976:42); other professions have grown less rapidly.

Table 1. Employment Status. Wallis and Futuna, 1969-1976.

	1969				Total
	Employers	Self-employed	Employees	Family Workers	
Males	8	818	161	844	1,834 (a)
Females	3	181	81	1,795	2,061
TOTAL	11	999	242	2,639	3,895

(a) This includes 3 males and 1 female of undeclared employment status.

	1976				Total
	Employers	Self-employed	Employees	Family Workers	
Males	18	1,116	363	659	2,156
Females	3	281	251	666	1,201
TOTAL	21	1,397	614	1,325	3,357

Source: INSEE, 1969:41; INSEE, 1976:41.

The emergence of a cash economy (in part as a result of remittances from New Caledonia) has resulted in the establishment of new professions within the past decade, such as builders, bakers and a garage owner (INSEE, 1978:42). In 1976 some 698 people were engaged in non-agricultural employment; of these 421 were in administration and services and 127 in public works and building. Only 57 were employed in industry and handicrafts (INSEE, 1976:44-5). Thus, despite significant changes in the employment structure between 1969 and 1976, following the expansion of the public sector (especially schools and hospitals) and monetisation of the economy, the private sector remains extremely poorly developed and this has not changed significantly since 1976, as the New Caledonian economy has contracted, whilst the small size and fragmentation of the domestic market between two widely separated islands, suggests limited future prospects for expansion. As in other small dependent states in the Pacific it is the public service sector, subsidised or supported from outside, that determines much of the employment and economic situation within the state. There are very considerable problems in any attempts to generate development of the formal sector, and hence wage and salary employment, in Wallis and Futuna.

In the same way as in other predominantly traditional agricultural societies there is no real concept or measure of unemployment in Wallis and Futuna; there is no employment office and only seven and twelve people claimed to be seeking work in the 1976 census and 1982 population count respectively. Thus return migration since 1976 has scarcely increased that figure. The census notes that young men seeking work continue to be occupied in agricultural activities (INSEE, 1978:35); it is possible that problems of access to agricultural land may have subsequently made this more difficult and it is certain that "underemployment" has increased since then.

In January 1978 the minimum wage was set at CFP 62 per hour and in January 1982 had been raised to CFP 105; it may well have further increased since then. There is no available information on income levels and distribution in Wallis and Futuna. Since formal sector employment is predominantly on Uvea (with 2,305 Wallisians employed in the formal sector and 950 Futunans, a disproportionate bias towards Uvea) it is probable that cash incomes are higher on Uvea. However wages and salaries represent a very small proportion of total income, compared with both remittances (see below) and subsistence agricultural production so that income differences resulting from wage differentials may not be very significant. However since emigration is also disproportionately from Uvea (see below) cash incomes are likely to be significantly greater on Uvea.

### Population

There has been very limited migration into Wallis and Futuna (see below), and the largest group of migrants (French public servants) are usually resident only for short periods, hence the Polynesian population, especially on Futuna, has retained a very considerable cultural homogeneity. Even intermarriage between Uvea and Futuna is rare and the populations of the two islands are quite distinct. Data on the evolution of the population of both islands is available from the late 19th Century (Table Two) and indicates a very slow growth, with some periods of decline, until the 1920s

Table 2. Wallis and Futuna Population.

	Uvea	Futuna	Wallis and Futuna	New Caledonia
1880	3,824	1,360	5,184	-
1904	4,536	1,550	6,080	-
1917	4,239	1,365	5,604	-
1925	4,369	1,567	5,936	-
C 1935	4,672	1,870	6,542	-
1945	5,633	n.d.	n.d.	-
C 1951	6,274	2,497	8,771	n.d.
C 1961	5,380	2,945	8,325	2,500 approx.
C 1969	5,820	2,725	8,546	6,200
C 1976	6,019	3,173	9,192	9,571
1980 (est.)	7,000	3,600	10,600	10,700
1981 (est.)	7,220	3,710	10,930	...
1982	7,843	4,100	11,943	...
1983	8,072	4,319	12,391 (preliminary total)	12,000 (estimate)

- Notes: (a) Of the 9,571 Wallisians and Futunans enumerated in New Caledonia in 1976 some 46% were born in Wallis and Futuna, 50% were born in New Caledonia and 4% were born in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu).
- (b) This table excludes Wallisians and Futunans in countries other than Wallis and Futuna and New Caledonia; thus there are, for example, about 1,000 Wallisians and Futunans in Vanuatu.

Source: Colliez, 1981:4-6; INSEE, 1976; IEOM, 1981:15; New Caledonia, Service de la Statistique, 1982:9.

and then a more rapid growth which has accelerated in the post-war years and, in the very recent past, with more extensive return migration from New Caledonia. Thus in the inter-censal period 1976-1983 the population grew from 9,113 to 12,311 with an annual increase of 4.4% (marginally greater in Futuna), giving Wallis and Futuna perhaps the most rapid rate of population increase in the South Pacific region.

Within the territory the birth rate has been extremely high throughout the century, falling to its lowest levels in the late 1950s at a time of substantial emigration to New Caledonia. Over the period 1974-78 the birth rate remained around 36 per thousand, a slight decrease from that of the 1960s (and much lower than the birth rate of 45 per thousand of Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia). The birth rate on Futuna has been higher than that of Uvea for the past two decades. This high birth rate can be attributed primarily to the retention of traditional cultural values, the almost complete absence of any knowledge and practice of contraception in a population that is entirely Catholic and the lack of any significant economic development (Colliez, 1981:22). Consequently the population of Wallis and Futuna is extremely youthful; at the 1976 census some 47% of the population were aged less than 15 years but there were also differences between Futuna and Uvea. In Futuna 49% were aged less than 15 years compared with 46% in Uvea, suggesting that in the more traditional Futuna the Polynesian values of large families are more strongly maintained. Larger extended families are also more frequent in Futuna where the average household size in 1976 was 8.7 persons compared with 6.6 in Uvea. In 1983 comparable figures were 6.6 and 6.4 respectively, a change which is surprising in view of increased return migration but is a result of the breaking up of many extended families, especially in Futuna. By contrast for Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia the average household size in 1976 was 7.6 and 51% of the population were aged less than fifteen, reflecting the migratory characteristics of that population (see Country Report No.10). Until the mid-1960s population growth has been more rapid in Futuna than Uvea (Table Three), although there now appears to be a greater equality in growth rates (Table Four) between the two islands. The potential for future population growth is considerable and rapid growth rates show no sign of declining.

In the last sixty years the mortality rate in Wallis and Futuna has fallen steadily, from 29 and 26 per thousand in Uvea and Futuna respectively in 1915 to 7.5 and 10.0 respectively in 1975; for the whole of the post-war period the mortality rate has been higher on Futuna. Only one epidemic has occurred in the post-war years (typhoid in 1948) and the incidence of several of the diseases that were responsible for high infant mortality rates in the immediate post-war years, such as TB, bronchitis and pneumonia, has been substantially reduced although the infant mortality rate of 44.7 per thousand remains high (Colliez, 1981:32). Falling mortality and maintained high rates of fertility places Wallis and Futuna at a point before the demographic transition in which the rate of population growth declines.

Two recent studies of Wallis and Futuna (Dijoud, 1979:10; IEOM, 1981:15) have both stated that following the 'nickel crisis' in New Caledonia (a crisis which shows little sign of ending) emigration to New Caledonia has effectively ended (although presumably not for educational or health reasons), a situation that is reflected in the current migration balance that favours Wallis and Futuna (Table Four; see below). Consequently the very high fertility rate in Wallis and Futuna will result in a rapidly increasing population and one that is projected to double in

Table 3. Wallis and Futuna Population 1969-1976.

Districts and Villages	1969 (a)	1976 (b)	Population Change %
Aka-Aka	205	248	+21
Mata-Utu	566	511	-10
Falaleu	280	295	+5
Haafusia	349	308	-12
Liku	198	276	+39
Ahoa	189	266	+41
TOTAL HAHAKE DISTRICT	1,787	1,904	+7
Vaitupu	554	573	+3
Alele	406	439	+8
Vailala	346	434	+25
TOTAL HIFIFO DISTRICT	1,306	1,446	+11
Malaefao	300	241	-20
Lavegahau	202	206	+2
Tepa	195	194	-
Haatofo	277	267	-4
Gahi	107	118	+10
Utufao	386	420	+9
Teesi	246	263	+7
Kolopopo	197	211	+7
Halalo	467	369	-21
Vaimaulau	203	216	+6
TOTAL MUA DISTRICT	2,580	2,505	-3
TOTAL UVEA	5,673	5,855	+3
Leava	306	374	+22
Nuku	271	289	+7
Vaisei	202	216	+7
Fiua	103	195	+89
Toloke	241	292	+21
TOTAL SIGAVE DISTRICT	1,123	1,366	+22
Kolia	376	431	+15
Ono	508	618	+22
Malae	242	271	+12
Taoa	360	423	+63
Vele	-	31	-
TOTAL ALO DISTRICT	1,486	1,774	+19
TOTAL FUTUNA	2,609	3,140	+20
TOTAL WALLIS AND FUTUNA	8,282	8,995	+8

- (a) This column includes only households where the household head was born in Wallis and Futuna.
- (b) This column includes only those of Wallisian and Futunan ethnic origin.
- (c) Both the 1969 and 1976 census data have some arithmetical errors which, so far as possible, have been corrected here.

Source: INSEE, 1969, 1976.

Table 4. Wallis and Futuna Population, 1976-1983.

Districts and Villages	1976 (a)	1983	Population Change %
Aka-Aka	253	359	+42
Mata-Utu	558	809	+45
Falaleu	299	588	+97
Haafusia	310	414	+34
Liku	319	459	+45
Ahoa	267	300	+12
TOTAL HAHAKE DISTRICT	2,006	2,929	+46
Vaitupu	581	649	+12
Alele	455	677	+49
Vailala	436	553	+27
TOTAL HIHIFO DISTRICT	1,472	1,879	+28
Malaefaoo	253	340	+34
Lavegahau	207	292	+41
Tepa	194	247	+27
Haatofo	267	318	+19
Gahi	120	170	+42
Utufoa	421	544	+29
Teesi	263	219	-17
Kolopopo	211	226	+7
Halalo	371	544	+47
Vaimaulau	234	302	+29
TOTAL MUA DISTRICT	2,541	3,202	+26
TOTAL UVEA	6,019	8,010	+33
Leava	387	500	+29
Nuku	294	355	+21
Vaisei	217	249	+15
Fiua	196	269	+37
Toloke	295	469	+59
TOTAL SIGAVE DISTRICT	1,389	1,842	+33
Kolia	434	372	-14
Ono	624	630	+1
Malae	271	391	+44
Taoa	423	582	+38
Vele	32	487	+14.22
TOTAL ALO DISTRICT	1,784	2,462	+38
TOTAL FUTUNA	3,173	4,304	+36
TOTAL WALLIS AND FUTUNA	9,192	12,314	+34

(a) This column records the total population in Wallis and Futuna hence comparison with Table Three gives the distribution of Europeans (178) and Others (19) by village and district.

(b) The 1982 data provides different totals, in some cases, from the 1976 census. It is not apparent why this is so hence the 1976 census data is used here for comparative purposes.

Source: INSEE, 1976:92; 1983:9.  
Nouvelle-Caledonie Service de la Statistique, 1982:9.

less than a quarter of a century (IEDM, 1981:15). In the continued absence of any form of family planning, a topic that was not even discussed in the Dijoud Plan, and to which there is strong local opposition (Vavasseur, 1982:14) and the decline of emigration, there is no reason to believe that this growth will not occur and result in enormous pressure on local social services that cannot be supported from the limited domestic resource base. Although there is recent evidence of growing concern over rapid population growth (Beccalossi, 1983) there is little to suggest that this will be transformed into practice.

### Migration

Of the territories in the South Pacific region, Wallis and Futuna is one of those most affected by overseas migration. More than half the total number of Wallisians and Futunans live overseas (Table Two). The limitations of the territorial economy, and to a lesser extent the limited social amenities and the constraints of tradition, are important factors influencing migration. The argument that, like all Polynesians, the Wallisians and Futunans are "voyagers" (Colliez, 1981:37) carries no contemporary significance. In the pre-war years when British influence was considerable, to the extent that English was more widely spoken in Futuna than French, Futunans worked on ships and also attended schools in Fiji, Samoa and Tonga. Only a very few Futunans had visited Noumea, and then for something like an accusation of a crime (Burrows, 1936:21). Much the same was almost certainly true of Uvea. Since then the scale and destination of migration has changed considerably. Soon after the war the first group of migrants went to the plantations of the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) and rather later to the mine workings in New Caledonia. The majority of migrants from Wallis and Futuna are in New Caledonia with minorities in other French-speaking areas, notably Vanuatu, and to a much lesser extent France and French Polynesia. A few Wallisians, mainly early migrants, are in Fiji and also in Samoa (Burrows, 1937:49). In 1959 there was one Wallisian village in Fiji with a population of 175 people (Colliez, 1981:37). Increasingly and overwhelming it is the movement to and from New Caledonia that is important for Wallis and Futuna.

By contrast to international migration, internal migration is of limited extent and significance. In the pre-war years the influence of the mission had resulted in the concentration of population near the churches thus depopulating outlying districts of both Uvea (Burrows, 1937:12) Futuna, whilst workers on outlying copra plantations such as those of Alofi and Tua, returned to their home villages at weekends (Burrows, 1936:23). This concentration has tended to increase in the post-war years as outlying plantations have been completely abandoned. By contrast new road construction on Futuna in 1977 had resulted in what Manuau describes as the 'urbanisation' of Tua (1983:24). The 1983 census data reflect the growth of population on the east coast (in the Vele village area) with improved access into that area, as extended households have fragmented. On Uvea the west coast has been partly depopulated because of climatic reasons and the difficulties of mosquito eradication there (Dijoud, 1979:11) thus there has been some of the same kind of population concentration as in other South Pacific states and the 1973 census reveals a growing concentration at Mata Utu and nearby villages. There is some internal migration between Uvea and Futuna, much of which follows traditional social ties between Alo and Hihifo and between Sigave and Mua but this is limited by the availability of formal employment on either island. Thus there are only 106 Futunans in Uvea and 64 Wallisians in Futuna. Despite the concentration of formal sector

employment on Uvea there is no urban development in Wallis and Futuna and hence no specifically urban problems. Since population densities are relatively high and land tenure is complex, whilst the generation of significant formal sector employment around the administrative centre of Mata Utu is unlikely, this situation is not likely to change in the future and emigration will remain of much greater significance.

Out-migration has grown at different time periods in recent history. There was some out-migration of Wallisians during the American occupation in the Second World War, when about 300 workers went to New Caledonia, but the principal influence on out-migration was the growth of the New Caledonian economy, and especially that of the nickel industry. Before the first substantial movements to New Caledonia there had also been a movement to the New Hebrides (Vanuatu). Around the end of 1951 58 Wallisian workers went to the New Hebrides to begin a wave of emigration (O'Reilly, 1963; Doumenge, 1966:174) and in 1952, 160 Wallisians and Futunans left to take up three-year work contracts; like the employers of New Caledonia those of the New Hebrides were seeking a strong and stable work force (Colliez, 1981:41) whose productivity in copra shelling was reported to be three or four times that of local Melanesians (Videau and Cotter, 1963, cited by Roux, 1980:171). Little information exists on subsequent periods of migration, but it must have continued since in 1959 the New Hebrides headcount enumerated 369 Wallisians and 99 Futunans and, in the same year, for the national referendum 234 votes were recorded in the New Hebrides (Poncet, 1972:226) indicating that it was not only plantation workers but also their families who had moved to the New Hebrides. A 1961 administration estimate gave a population of 500 Wallisians and 300 Futunans, and from around this time the Wallis and Futuna population in the New Hebrides expanded as many Vietnamese departed and new job opportunities became available not only in plantations but in towns and the Forari manganese mine on Efate. Consequently in February 1962 there was a total of 765 Wallisians and Futunans in the New Hebrides: 397 in Santo, 269 in Efate and 99 in Malekula, and by 1963 the total number had passed a thousand (Doumenge, 1966:174-175). Although the numbers may have continued to increase slightly, this is the highest recorded Wallis and Futuna population in the New Hebrides since, from around that time and especially in the late 1960s, migration from Wallis and Futuna became almost entirely oriented to New Caledonia and there was also migration of Wallisians and Futunans from the New Hebrides to New Caledonia. However there was limited return migration from the New Hebrides, children were born there and a migrant community of longstanding now remains. The 1976 Wallis and Futuna census estimated 300 (INSEE, 1978:52) and, at the last New Hebrides census in 1979, the Wallis and Futuna population was close to 1,000 (Colliez, 1981:42). There is no data on migration flows between Vanuatu and Wallis and Futuna, but the evidence suggests that the Wallis and Futuna population in Vanuatu has fallen rapidly since independence in 1980, when the manganese mine at Forari also effectively closed, as opportunities for the Wallisians and Futunans to obtain work permits as unskilled workers declined (R. Gillett, pers. comm, 1983).

Although migration to the New Hebrides was the first important migration movement from Wallis and Futuna only for the first few years was it of greater significance than migration to New Caledonia. When the first regular air service between Wallis and New Caledonia began in 1957 the dominance of New Caledonia as a destination was well established. The 1959 New Caledonia census indicated that there were almost 2,000 Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia (Table Two) and there were 927 voters there in the 1959 referendum (Poncet, 1972:226) and in 1961 an administration estimate

gave a figure of 2,500, 2,000 of whom were from Uvea and 500 from Futuna (Colliez, 1981:40); cf. Panoff, 1963:155), and already this expatriate population was a third of the population in Wallis and Futuna. Out-migration from Wallis and Futuna continued in the early 1960s and peaked again in the late 1960s at the time of the 'nickel boom' in New Caledonia so that by the time of the 1969 census there were 6,200 Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia (Table Two; see Country Report No.10). Estimates based on mission figures suggest that there was an average out-migration balance of 200 per year. For the first half of the 1970s there was further emigration to New Caledonia and in 1971 the net balance of migration to New Caledonia reached its highest ever level (Table Five), so that by 1976 there were

Table 5. Migration from Wallis and Futuna to New Caledonia.

Year	Departure	Return	Balance
1947	109	-	-109
1948	14	21	7
1949	131	85	-46
1950	25	74	49
1951	89	67	-22
1952	106	52	-54
1953	171	60	-111
1954	247	62	-185
1955	187	86	-101
1956	600	92	-508
1957	404	194	-210
1958	378	257	-121
1959	168	156	-12
1960	366	213	-153
1961	560	326	-238
1962	519	331	-188
1963 )			
)	no data		
1968 )			
1969	-	-	-294
1970	-	-	77
1971	-	-	-784
1972	-	-	-315
1973	-	-	4
1974	-	-	-228
1975	-	-	58
1976	-	-	219
1977	-	-	196
1978	-	-	7
1979	-	-	122

Source: Colliez, 1981:41.

9,571 Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia a total which had by then passed that in Wallis and Futuna. Thus by the early 1970s the migrant population of Wallis and Futuna exceeded that remaining in the islands, a situation that also occurred at much the same time in the Cook Islands (Country Report No.2) and in the South Pacific region was probably only preceded by the smaller islands of Niue (Country Report No.11) and Pitcairn (Country Report No.15). Although from 1975 onwards problems in the New Caledonian nickel industry have slowed emigration to New Caledonia and through return migration resulted in a migration balance in favour of Wallis

and Futuna, there has always been substantial return migration to Wallis and Futuna but only in recent years has this been in excess of emigration (Table Five). Between 1975 and 1979 there was a net migration to Wallis and Futuna of 602 people and between 1976 and 1980 of about 1,000 (Colliez, 1981:44); this was principally a response to unemployment, following a slump in the New Caledonian economy that followed the falling price of nickel (Country Report No.10). The Wallisian and Futunan population in New Caledonia has continued to grow because of the very high rate of natural increase and remains greater than that in Wallis and Futuna.

The only other significant out-migration of the past two decades has been to France, but this has not been numerically important and has largely occurred for particular reasons, such as training or military service, and hence has usually been circular. Whilst the numbers may have been small the influence of this migration social change has often been substantial. There are also likely to be some Wallisians and Futunans in French Polynesia but numbers are not distinguished in the census from migrants from other French territories.

The only significant in-migration to Wallis and Futuna has been the movement (usually temporary) of French administration personnel and some commercial employees. The 1976 census recorded 178 Europeans, most of whom are concentrated at or near Mata Utu (principally on the small hill of Afala); the strengthening of the administration has resulted in a doubling in the number of Europeans from 97 in 1969. (In Wallis the number has increased from 75 to 151 and in Futuna from 22 to 27 hence the centralisation of the administration is apparent). In 1976 there were only 19 others of non-European and non-local origin in Wallis and Futuna; whilst the census states that these are from neighbouring Polynesian countries (INSEE, 1978: 13-14) the specific origin was not recorded in the census and when the 1969 census recorded only 12 'others', eight were New Caledonian Melanesians and four were French Polynesians. The 1982 count recorded 75 'other' households, with an average size of 3.5 people, which suggests a further increase in the non-indigenous population in the past six years. In terms of both in-migration and internal migration the population of Wallis and Futuna is extremely stable in that only 2% of the total population are from outside the territory by ethnic origin and only 4% were born outside the territory. This second figure has almost certainly increased since 1976, following more extensive return migration.

### The Rationale of Migration

Since there has never been a detailed study of emigration from Wallis and Futuna a number of issues relating to both the rationale for migration and the impact of migration are unknown. Most basic of these are the reasons for migration and the characteristics of the migrants (in terms of age, education, skills, village and island of origin, etc.), and of the non-migrants, and any changes over time.

All these are particularly poorly understood for Wallis and Futuna and there is considerable potential for social surveys that focus on some of these issues. Although tropical cyclones occasionally devastate local agricultural systems the existence of imported stores and relief distribution have removed this threat to food supplies and there is no malnutrition (Rollet, 1981). Within Polynesia, only Niue has a lower overall population density. Direct pressures from the subsistence economy are thus currently unlikely to result in migration. There are however

important differences between emigration from Uvea and from Futuna. Substantial migration from Uvea began around the start of the 1950s and from Futuna around the end of that decade. Thus in 1961 Wallisians in New Caledonia were more than one third of the population of Wallis whereas for Futunans this proportion was only one-sixth.

Even as late as 1977, a sample of Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia indicated that 78% were from Uvea and only 22% from Futuna (Roux, 1978). Whilst Futuna was more remote and less influenced by modern changes than Uvea it was also an island of lower population density; population density also varied considerably in the three districts of Uvea. In 1956 the population density of Hihifo was reported at 70 persons per square km. of the Hahake 48 and of Mua 169 (Roux, 1980:168) and these regional variations have been effectively maintained in subsequent years. Whilst the influences on out-migration from both islands were principally external they functioned differently in the two islands and may well have had different effects within Uvea. There is no data however to test these assumptions and considerable doubt must be cast on all population density measurements for Wallis and Futuna because of variable and inadequate measurements of areas; however, although the overall population density in Wallis and Futuna is low it is very high relative to the availability of agricultural land of reasonable potential. Consequently although it has been argued that, after the demand for wage employment, a second reason for out-migration, at the time of the nickel boom, was "over-population" (Colliez, 1981; IEOM, 1980:9) and certainly Wallis and Futuna were, and are, more densely populated than New Caledonia the evidence to test this theory is inadequate. Moreover there has been some degree of disintensification of agriculture in Wallis and Futuna which suggests that this may not have been so. However, population pressure may have presented problems for some groups within Wallis and Futuna depending on the structure of land tenure and problems of access to land.

The principal rationale for migration however is related to the considerable economic and social inequalities between Wallis and Futuna and New Caledonia and specifically the opportunity to earn wage incomes in New Caledonia. For the 1950s therefore Roux suggests that "overseas migration represented the most attractive alternative for the population of Wallis and Futuna to their limited and uncertain subsistence living" (1980:169). In combination with the emergence of income earning opportunities in New Caledonia pressure on land may have been (and may still be) an important influence on migration. As in many other small South Pacific countries, and islands, the principal initial stimulus to influence on out-migration was essentially external: the emergence of new and accessible economic opportunities elsewhere that contrasted with limited cash-earning opportunities at home. These differences were initially recognised during the period of American occupation when wage labour was common (Poncet, 1972:185) and were emphasized by the "nickel boom" of around 1968-1972 in New Caledonia which resulted in a massive increase in the demand for workers in New Caledonia whilst wage levels rose sharply (see Country Report No.10). Access to opportunities, increased awareness and the new opportunities themselves, combined to make migration to New Caledonia an increasingly attractive proposition. Since then the rate of migration appears to have been almost entirely determined by fluctuations in the New Caledonian economy rather than conditions in Wallis and Futuna, which have been essentially unchanged despite the increase in wage employment. Although it is argued that "l'administration territoriale se préoccupe bien évidemment d'enrayer cette hémorragie de population et s'efforce, pour ce faire, de créer des emplois locaux" (Godard, 1976:55) beyond some public works

activity this has been largely unsuccessful so that there has been no significant growth in local wage employment or income-earning opportunities to provide a developing economic context which might slow migration.

Outside the very restricted service sector, opportunities for earning cash in Wallis and Futuna are almost non-existent; the combination of increased wants and minimal cash-earning opportunities is the main reason for out-migration. Whilst the massive difference in income-earning opportunities between Wallis and Futuna and New Caledonia is considerable there are also social influences on migration. Whilst it is argued that the young continue to leave, 'drawn by the town, its neon lights, its cinemas...' (Godard, 1976:57), the 'bright lights' are probably less important than the constraints of the extremely conservative Polynesian society in Wallis and Futuna. Much of the stimulus to out-migration has come from the establishment of universal national service in 1959; this has offered young men an opportunity to travel extremely widely and even to visit France. Military life has both indicated wider social and economic horizons and fostered boredom with limited domestic opportunities. The conservative nature of society in Wallis and Futuna has also been an influence on emigration; not only were there dissatisfactions with the limitations of subsistence life, but there were social tensions within the fairly rigid hierarchical system and dissatisfaction with the 'quasi-theocracy' (Doumenge, 1961:406). Since there are now more Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia than in Wallis and Futuna, Wallisians especially are, on average, more likely to have relatives in New Caledonia than in Wallis and Futuna. The existence of relatives in New Caledonia, and the possibility of staying with them for lengthy periods of time (either for social reasons or whilst job-hunting) is a powerful attraction to migrants. The only hospital in the territory is on Uvea but its facilities are limited compared with those in New Caledonia. Similarly although there is a junior high school at Lano on Uvea there are no real secondary or tertiary education facilities. Since both education and health facilities are limited, migration to Noumea for both services is common. Welfare services, social and economic opportunities are all greater in New Caledonia. The economic and social situation of Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia is discussed elsewhere (Country Report No.15).

In the 1976 census questions were asked of all migrants who had returned from New Caledonia to Wallis and Futuna on their reasons for the original migration to New Caledonia. This is obviously very far from a random sample of migrants from Wallis and Futuna; moreover, the data recorded on the reasons for migration to New Caledonia is imprecise and general (Table Six). Nevertheless it is the only published data on the reasons for migration from Wallis and Futuna. Predictably, of those who responded to the question (only 69%), out of a total of 1,620 people, some 29% went for employment and 46% went for family reasons (predominantly children and old people but also wives). The remainder went for health reasons (6%) and for study (19%); other reasons were not recorded separately (INSEE, 1978:136). Whilst this is an inadequate survey of the reasons for migration to New Caledonia (and was, of course, never intended to be) it does indicate the strong family nature of migration and also the significance of health and educational reasons, typical of very small countries with limited local facilities. However, given the significance of family migration, and the necessity for at least one family member to be employed, education and health factors may be at least as important as catalysts to emigration rather than as sole factors. This kind of catalytic influence is apparent in other small countries such as Pitcairn (Country Report No.15).

Table 6. Wallis and Futuna Population, 1976. Reason for Migration to New Caledonia.

Age Group	Total	Education	Health	Employment	Family Reasons	Other or Not Sated
Less than 15	245	23	10	1	115	96
15-19	129	60	2	11	21	35
20-24	249	69	6	37	49	88
25-29	191	28	4	56	46	57
30-34	151	12	1	56	42	40
35-39	123	10	-	53	31	29
40-44	98	7	9	33	26	23
45-49	82	3	5	19	32	23
50-54	102	1	5	25	42	29
55-59	101	0	11	18	43	29
60-64	76	3	4	11	33	25
65 and over	73	0	5	10	33	25
TOTAL	1,620	216	62	330	513	499

Source: INSEE, 1976:136.

Economic, and to a lesser extent social, differentials between Wallis and Futuna and both New Caledonia and the New Hebrides have been the main influences on emigration. As economic opportunities in New Caledonia have declined so too has emigration. However in most cases migration was a result of a variety of influences; thus those Wallisians and Futunans who worked in the plantations of New Hebrides were attracted by the opportunity to plant large gardens of their own, the possibility of hunting wild game and by a climate that was warmer than that of New Caledonia and more like that of Wallis and Futuna (Doumenge, 1966:174). Migration is much more complex than the single-explanation results of questionnaire surveys. Underlying all migration from Wallis and Futuna is the fact that migration has been facilitated by two factors firstly, there was and is no legal constraint on movement to or settlement in New Caledonia since both are French territories. Secondly, in December 1956, regular monthly air services were established between Wallis and Noumea. In a rather different way, the completion of the airstrip on Futuna in 1971 and regular internal services in 1974, constituted "un véritable bouleversement dans la vie des Futuniens" (Godard, 1976:55), linked the two islands much more closely together and increased out-migration from Futuna which, in that sense, had lagged behind Uvea. Throughout Polynesia the establishment of airports and regular international air services has been an immediate and dramatic boost to out-migration.

As early as the 1960s, within less than a decade of the first significant migration from Wallis and Futuna, a division had emerged between those who intended to return to Wallis and those who 'estimaient qu'il valait mieux s'établir définitivement dans un pays plus riche et ouvrant des perspectives plus favorable pour la vie d'une famille' (Doumenge, 1966:173), a decision that was emphasized by the start of the nickel boom. In 1977 a sample of Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia revealed that as many as 32% had moved to New Caledonia before 1960 (Roux, 1978) and there was an early transition from individual male migration to household migration (Roux, 1983:29). Thus, at a much earlier date than in almost all other South Pacific states, there were already clear indications that a significant proportion of all emigration was intendedly permanent and indeed was so. This suggests that migrants quickly recognised the much greater potential of residence in New Caledonia rather than in Wallis and Futuna. There are no data to indicate whether the characteristics of these migrants were similar to those of migrants in later years when return migration was more common.

The 1976 census of Wallis and Futuna asked questions of return migrants, such as the duration of residence in New Caledonia, but found that they were poorly answered since most were unable to recall the dates of movement or the duration of stay. However, some 1,327 (nearly 15%) of the population had been in New Caledonia for more than six months. 72% of the population who had returned had been in Noumea (where there were 45% of the Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia); those who lived elsewhere than Noumea are thus less likely to have returned (Table Seven). This may indicate that those outside the formal urban economy were better able to withstand the economic crisis in New Caledonia; for example, those Wallisians and Futunans in Paita and Mont Dore can hunt and fish so may be less affected by wage losses. Equally it may indicate that urban life was relatively less satisfying to Wallisians and Futunans. There are indications that return migrants were relative "failures" in their ability to achieve success in economic and social life in New Caledonia. The evidence that is available suggests that this return migration had little or nothing to do with changing conditions in Wallis and Futuna; indeed it was

Table 7. Wallisian and Futunan Return Migrants from New Caledonia by Place of Residence in New Caledonia.

	Total	Noumea	Bourail	Dumbea	Koumac	Mont Dore	Paita	Thio	Other Commune
Aka Aka	62	56	-	-	-	4	1	1	-
Mata-Utu	75	58	5	1	1	1	8	-	1
Falaleu	73	67	-	-	1	-	4	-	1
Haafusia	49	47	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Liku	83	78	-	-	-	2	2	-	1
Ahoa	30	28	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
HAHAKE DISTRICT	372	334	6	1	2	8	17	1	3
Vaitupu	158	106	3	6	-	32	10	1	-
Alele	70	48	4	-	-	9	8	-	1
Vailala	88	52	3	13	8	7	3	1	1
HIFIFO DISTRICT	316	206	10	19	8	48	21	2	2
Malaefaoo	42	37	2	-	-	-	1	1	1
Lavegahau	32	31	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tepa	39	26	-	-	-	-	5	6	2
Haatafo	82	52	6	2	1	3	17	-	1
Gahi	10	6	1	-	-	1	1	-	1
Utufua	11	10	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Teesi	40	39	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Kolopopo	23	22	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Halalo	86	75	2	-	-	4	5	-	-
Vaimaulau	16	13	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
MUA DISTRICT	381	311	12	4	1	9	32	7	5
WALLIS	1,069	851	28	24	11	65	70	10	10
Leava	26	19	-	-	-	2	1	-	4
Nuku	61	27	1	2	-	18	9	4	-
Vaisei	57	32	-	7	-	11	4	3	-
Fua	31	22	1	-	-	4	2	2	-
Toloke	51	31	1	6	-	7	2	3	1
SIGAVE DISTRICT	226	131	3	15	-	42	18	12	5
Kolia	72	30	1	1	-	4	6	30	-
Ono	111	56	1	14	-	1	3	31	5
Malae	49	30	-	-	-	9	-	9	1
Taoa	93	67	1	-	-	6	4	13	2
Vele	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ALO DISTRICT	325	183	3	15	-	20	13	83	8
FUTUNA	551	314	6	30	-	62	31	95	13
TOTAL WALLIS AND FUTUNA	1,620	1,165	34	54	11	127	101	105	23

Source: INSEE, 1976:133.

observed that those who returned had some difficulties because of a shortage of cultivable land and the lack of jobs (Roger, 1980:17). Return migration was therefore closely correlated with economic changes in New Caledonia as the increase in return migration after 1975 indicates. However because of problems of access to land and jobs in Wallis and Futuna return migration was not as high as unemployment levels in Noumea might have suggested was probable. In part this was also due to the existence of an extended family structure of migrants in New Caledonia and much mutual support. There is little other information on the nature of 'return migrants', who represented only 15% of the total population of Wallis and Futuna, other than that their age structure is similar to that of the overall population structure with the exception of a bulge in the age-group 50-59 for return migrants (Table Five), indicating the significance of retirement as an influence on return migration. Since only 4% of the 1976 population of Wallis and Futuna were born outside Wallis and Futuna this also suggests that those families with children born in New Caledonia are less likely to return (cf. Rallu, 1982:171).

Return migration has been remarkably even from district to district within Wallis and Futuna (Table Eight); although the census does not provide information on the variation in out-migration between districts it implies a correlation between total migration and return migration in arguing that the high proportion of return migration in Hihifo is explained by the fact that the land is poorest there (INSEE, 1978:55). Clearly this is an inadequate explanation of return migration, where the opposite might have been

Table 8. Distribution of Population having Returned from New Caledonia.

	Total	Percentage of District Population
Hahake	372	18.5
Hihifo	316	21.5
Mua	381	15.0
 WALLIS	 1,069	 17.8
Sigave	226	16.3
Alo	325	18.2
 FUTUNA	 551	 17.4
 WALLIS AND FUTUNA	 1,620	 17.6

Source: INSEE, 1976:55.

expected, indicating primarily that out-migration was probably greatest from Hihifo. More data on the extent and significance of return migration would be most useful in a situation where this has become of increased significance since the time of the 1976 census and has considerable impact on Wallis and Futuna.

#### The Impact of Migration

The absence of detailed studies on migration from Wallis and Futuna means that its impact on the economy and society of Wallis and Futuna is unknown; in general terms it is an issue of some concern,

'Cependant les émigrés en Nouvelle-Calédonie et la jeunesse se tournent résolument vers l'avenir qui leur semble être la vie à l'Européenne. Leur bonheur est-il dans cette voie? Il est permis d'en douter' (Tesnière, 1971:3).

Such generalisations are however of little help especially in circumstances where out-migration is so common but are a function of limited analysis of migration and other parallel economic and social changes. The agricultural economy has undergone a degree of disintensification but continues to produce adequate quantities of traditional foods; however disintensification has resulted in the introduction of cassava and some shame is attached to eating and distributing this. (This is clearly not solely a result of migration). The extent to which a loss of labour has otherwise affected the economy is uncertain. Since contemporary migration is essentially household migration, and wives and families have joined or travelled with male migrants, it is unlikely that this migration has had a significant impact on labour inputs or the division of labour in the subsistence agricultural system. Emigration, and the return migration of older people, has however raised dependency rates. The extent that emigration also affects land tenure is also unrecorded. Because of the fact that more than half of all Wallisians and Futunans are overseas emigration has necessarily halved population pressures on local resources and, even in the absence of useful data on population densities by district and according to the availability of good land, it is apparent that this reduction in pressure on resources may be much the most important impact of migration.

The principal direct contribution of international migration to Wallis and Futuna is in the substantial flow of remittances. Around 1961 it was estimated that annual copra and handicraft production was valued at 4 million CFP, local salaries constituted 3 million CFP and postal orders from migrants in New Caledonian mines and New Hebrides plantations were valued at 3 million CFP out of estimated overseas earnings of 200 million CFP (Herry, n.d.:34). Since then copra and handicraft production have become unimportant and both salaries (and also pensions) and remittances are much more important. At the end of the 1970s remittances were estimated at around CFP 20 millions, an estimate which compares with the total 1979 budget for the territory of CFP 183 millions (Dijoud, 1979:14) and indicates the massive contribution that remittances make to the economy of Wallis and Futuna. The size of the flow of remittances was particularly impressive in the early 1970s, even when only 'official' flows through the Mata Utu post office are considered (Table Nine) since this is only a part of the total flow (Rensch, 1983:11) but significantly, the flow has declined in the late 1970s with the economic decline in New Caledonia. Whether this is a long-term trend, that may also reflect the consolidation of Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia and is therefore similar to that in other parts of the South Pacific (Connell, 1980), remains to be seen. The decline in the amounts transferred, alongside return migration, has 'caused some anxiety' (Roux, 1980:174) in Wallis and Futuna. Although Godard (1976:55) suggests that for Futunans in New Caledonia all their savings are used for their families in the island it is more probable that remittances constitute a fraction of those savings; many of these remittances are carried back by migrants returning for social occasions, such as weddings and funerals, and consist of 'modern goods' as much as they consist of cash.

Table 9. Money Transfers from New Caledonia to Wallis and Futuna.

Year	Amount (million CFP francs)
1970	98.84
1971	118.20
1972	114.20
1973	133.70
1974	167.70
1975	150.00
1976	164.00
1977	101.00
1978 (4 months only)	26.36

Source: Roux, 1980:175.

Goods are also carried by migrants travelling or returning to New Caledonia; these include coconut oil, mats, tapa cloth and pig pieces (Godard, 1976:55). In 1976 it was estimated that some 300 tonnes of traditional foods went from Wallis and Futuna to migrants in New Caledonia and New Hebrides (de Deckker, 1979:318), although much of this went through formal channels. There is however not much doubt that the flow of remittances to Wallis and Futuna is massively in excess of the reverse flow.

The principal use of remittances is in house-building; however much of the money that is sent back is expected to be used in the construction of houses to await the migrants' eventual return. A wave of house-building at the end of the 1970s resulted in a decline in the consumption of imported food, as remittances were directed almost entirely to house-building (Rollet, pers. comm. 1981). Since many of the migrants never returned or eventually returned again to New Caledonia a number of houses are empty or incomplete. Thus, as elsewhere in the South Pacific, remittances are principally directed to expenditure on consumer durables rather than investment and, in the case of housing, for the direct welfare of migrants rather than for those who remained in the islands. Remittances thus tend to boost short-term consumption which has had some impact on the expansion and diversification of the service sector.

Social change has necessarily followed out-migration and these changes have been emphasized by return migration; whilst some effects are negative when, as elsewhere, nuclear families replace extended families, there is a decline in customary authority and religious observance, crime rates increase and nutritional and health levels fall, most of the changes are inevitable in the general process of 'modernisation'. Return migrants have higher levels of alcohol consumption and there is an emerging problem of alcoholism which is attributed to boredom and unemployment (Rollet, pers. comm, 1981; Rensch, 1983:16) and inadequate nutrition (Manuau, 1983:239-240). Nevertheless the contrast between the conservative, traditional society of Wallis and Futuna and the new social mores of residents in New Caledonia is considerable and unacceptable to more traditional islanders. Even at the start of the 1960s Panoff recorded how short-term migrants were far from conformist, and noted also that military service had similar effects (1963:155). There has also been local concern when return migrants took back land that had, in the meantime, been

cultivated by relatives (Roux, 1980:174-5) perhaps, again, indicating pressure on resources. Return migration appears not to have resulted in the introduction of new skills into the local economy, and consequently a more diversified development, but rather to increasing the visibility of unemployment and emphasising emergent social problems. At the end of the 1970s a number of these return migrants had again left for New Caledonia in frustration at local opportunities. Inevitably migration is not without costs of some kind. What relative importance can be attached to these changes is unknown since the impact of migration and return migration on economic and social change in Wallis and Futuna has never been studied.

On balance the limitations of economy and society in Wallis and Futuna suggest that most out-migrants have gained from out-migration at least in material well being; the unemployed and the sick in New Caledonia may not have gained and, although there are relatively few of them, degenerative diseases are more common amongst migrants. As in some other Polynesian societies (notably parts of the Cook Islands, American Samoa and Western Samoa) there would be a drastic disruption if there was extensive return migration: 'there is no way that the islands could re-absorb the 11,000 emigrants who are living outside the territory' (Rensch, 1983:16). Perhaps more than in most other parts of the Pacific out-migrants have been able to take advantage of opportunities overseas that were not available on their home islands and, through their remittances, have enabled others to remain and maintain a relatively traditional Polynesian lifestyle.

### Conclusion

Despite the significance of migration in Wallis and Futuna there has never been a detailed study of migration from the islands and, although related work is in progress on Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia (cf. Roux, 1978, 1980, 1983; Country Report No.10), there is less known about emigration from Wallis and Futuna than about emigration from almost all other states in the South Pacific region, with the exception of some of the American territories. Consequently there is no information on a large number of important topics, many of which have been noted above, such as the characteristics of migrants and non-migrants (and changes over time), the distribution and use of remittances, the general impact of migration on economic issues (especially agricultural production, land tenure and changing consumption patterns) and social issues (such as the maintenance of the extended family, the role of women and 'modernisation'), and the impact of return migration. Even records on migratory movements between New Caledonia and Wallis and Futuna have not been maintained in recent years. It has however been clearly recognised that return migration is of considerable significance so that the 1976 census constitutes the most important attempt to assess the extent of return migration within the South Pacific. (With the exception of one limited question in the 1981 Niue census, for which the data has not yet been analysed (see Country Report No.11), this is unique). The questions asked in the 1976 census relating to return migration were 'Avez vous résidé en Nouvelle-Calédonie?'. If the answer to this was 'Yes', follow-up questions on the commune of residence in New Caledonia and the date of arrival in and departure from New Caledonia were also asked. This was then followed by a question on the reason for being in New Caledonia enabling respondents to either tick boxes relating to study, health, work and family reasons or to add their own reason. These questions have limitations since they assume only one period of residence in New Caledonia (and there is no indication of the extent to which this assumption is valid), they allow only one reason for being in New Caledonia

and they exclude possible return migration from Vanuatu. No question was asked on the reason(s) for return. They were also poorly answered. However much more might have been made of these data by re-analysing the basic census information. In the absence of data of this kind, much of which would have to be generated through social surveys rather than census analysis, the possibility of developing adequate policies relating to population and employment issues is much reduced.

The viability of the limited economy of Wallis and Futuna and the future of the whole socio-economy is largely dependent on its remaining a territory of France (or, perhaps, of New Caledonia) because of the limited opportunities for self-reliant development (see below) and the level of French aid. The decision to become a part of the Republic in 1959 was a partial attempt to improve the territory's income levels and resources; more than two decades later the higher standard of living and income of those who have migrated overseas necessitates that Wallis and Futuna remains extremely concerned over access to overseas income opportunities so that, through the continued availability of remittances, the standard of living of islanders does not further fall relative to that of Wallisians and Futunans in New Caledonia. Consequently Wallisians and Futunans, both in Wallis and Futuna and in New Caledonia, generally fear and oppose moves towards independence for New Caledonia on the grounds that this might reduce job opportunities and incomes in (and hence remittances from) New Caledonia, or even the expulsion of Wallisians and Futunans (de Deckker, 1979:319; Roux, 1983). More than any other of the larger Polynesian countries (such as Western Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands and even perhaps American Samoa), and principally because of its modern French cultural orientation and the lack of potential for local employment opportunities, Wallis and Futuna is both extremely dependent on overseas employment and is only able to obtain significant employment opportunities in one other territory although the administration have expressed an interest in developing employment opportunities overseas in such countries as Fiji, Nauru or Australia (Wallis and Futuna, 1976:2). Since many Wallisians and Futunans have limited French-speaking ability before migration access to employment in New Caledonia is necessarily also limited.

Around the start of 1962 it was argued that:

'it will be necessary to encourage the local economy, to restart the export of copra, to launch that of coffee in a few years time and also to raise the people's standard of living in order to curtail the migration towards the New Hebrides and New Caledonia which is draining the islands of their more active inhabitants...leaders must be found and trained to assume responsibility for making Wallis and Futuna into a modern and prosperous country. All these changes will be possible only through the assistance of Metropolitan France' (Herry, n.d.:5).

However, the local economy has not developed and the major impact of two decades of administration has been the expansion of bureaucratic employment and a public works programme that has produced an infrastructure that has enabled a general improvement in the quality of life but which also tends to enable migration to take place more readily. Moreover the relatively high level of emigration from Uvea and the concentration of formal sector employment there has resulted in growing disparities between Uvea and Futuna. The nickel crisis and the present stabilisation of migration resulted in the administration putting a new development plan before the

territorial assembly in July 1979 with various proposals relating to agriculture, fisheries and public works development. In itself this was indicative of the role that emigration played in Wallis and Futuna since it was not until opportunities for emigration declined that there was a comprehensive approach to the formulation of an economic development policy for Wallis and Futuna. Without development out-migration would be likely to continue, provided that differences in living standards between Wallis and Futuna and New Caledonia remain and access to those overseas opportunities is not significantly reduced.

Perhaps only in Tuvalu (Country Report No.17) and Kiribati (Country Report No.7) is there a dependence on remittances equivalent to that in Wallis and Futuna and this dependence has both minimised the necessity for traditional social structures to change, reduced the impact of population pressure on resources (and hence postponed the adoption of any form of family planning) and also reduced the necessity for local participation in wage employment. However, as the New Caledonian economy deteriorates, opportunities for employment in New Caledonia become much more limited and the level of Wallisian and Futunan unemployment there has risen to a high level (Country Report No.10) so the continued decline in the level of remittances seems extremely likely. The effective decline in opportunities for emigration and limited prospects for migration elsewhere thus emphasises the increased necessity for development within Wallis and Futuna which can meet the rising expectations of the local population; emigration can never meet much more than the immediate problems of Wallis and Futuna and cannot contribute significantly to a more long-term and more self-reliant form of development.

Whilst France has been able to establish a comprehensive system of social welfare services the possibilities for economic development are extremely restricted principally by the remoteness of Wallis and Futuna from markets and the small size of the domestic market, the minimal transport links (and shipping links are entirely through Noumea), the constraints of terrain and soils on agricultural development (despite the relatively low overall population density) and a situation where all neighbouring countries (with other advantages) produce essentially the same range of goods (and New Caledonia has rigorous plant protection regulations which prevent Wallis exporting some kinds of agricultural produce). Although there have been proposals to develop tourism, transport (and cost) constraints, intervening opportunities and cultural conservatism preclude the establishment of an activity that has brought some income to other small South Pacific countries. Current financial transfers to Wallis and Futuna as an offshore tax haven (Nouvelles Caledoniennes, 16 February 1982) may have some effect on the local economy. The difficulties of generating non-subsidised employment opportunities in a small, isolated island economy suggest that economic development and therefore population stabilisation will not be easily achieved.

It is improbable that Wallis and Futuna can ever achieve a significant degree of self-reliance unless some source of mineral wealth is discovered or the considerable potential of fishing, that would follow from Wallis and Futuna's strategic location, is realised. However there has never been any real attempt to achieve self-reliance thus the general absence of any comprehensive development policy has followed from a situation where emigration was seen as the most viable form of development. In this context Wallis and Futuna is most like the small predominantly atoll economies of Tuvalu and Kiribati (although development possibilities there are further minimised by the very limited opportunities for emigration), Niue and the

Cook Islands. The choices of development strategy are very few and there are only limited opportunities to move away from a massive dependence on metropolitan finance and remittances. The elements of such a policy are clear: agricultural development policies that stress some diversification (perhaps incorporating a high value, low weight crop like vanilla) alongside maintained food crop production (whilst simultaneously encouraging the extension of new coconut varieties and replanting schemes, to ensure some necessary cash income) along the lines proposed in the Dijoud Plan; the taxation of unused agricultural land; increasing concentration on the exploitation and development of the marine resources that are the only obvious base of both export growth and improved nutrition; transport and energy policies that move away from the use of non-renewable resources; increased emphasis on family planning. Movement towards self-reliance then entails reducing dependence on imported 'necessities' including foods, oil products, capital equipment and also expertise; this involves changing consumption patterns as well as increasing local productive capacity. Progress towards a more self-reliant, and hence Polynesian, development demands a more selective approach to external influence of all kinds and yet the conservative nature of Wallis and Futuna society is such that, beyond dependence on emigration as both a source of some cash and a 'safety-valve' for excess population, the degree of dependence is not great. In some respects the retention of Polynesian cultures and traditional agricultural systems offers a better chance for future self-reliant development than in other states where dependence on commodity production and food imports is extreme. The paradox is that many of even the limited changes that are possible must be associated with capital inputs from outside Wallis and Futuna but it is exactly in this way that Wallis and Futuna has become dependent on France whilst increased self-reliance is likely to run counter both to perceived trends in France and New Caledonia and to the interests of young, educated potential emigrants. Some fifteen years ago Ward commented in the context of small Polynesian islands, 'such prospect seems sad, but it certainly seems that many of the smaller islands will cease to be viable socio-economic units as present trends in culture change continue' (Ward, 1967:96). Whilst the situation in Wallis and Futuna does not yet justify this pessimism the problems of achieving a more self-reliant form of development in Wallis and Futuna, and hence the reduction in emigration and/or the extent of poverty and inequality, are so great that, whilst the demographic data indicate that Roux's conclusion that 'these islands have become holiday islands and havens for the retired' (1980:174) is premature, it is in this direction that the socio-economy of Wallis and Futuna is currently directed as its viability is being slowly eroded.

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