MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

COUNTRY REPORT NO. 11
NIUE

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.

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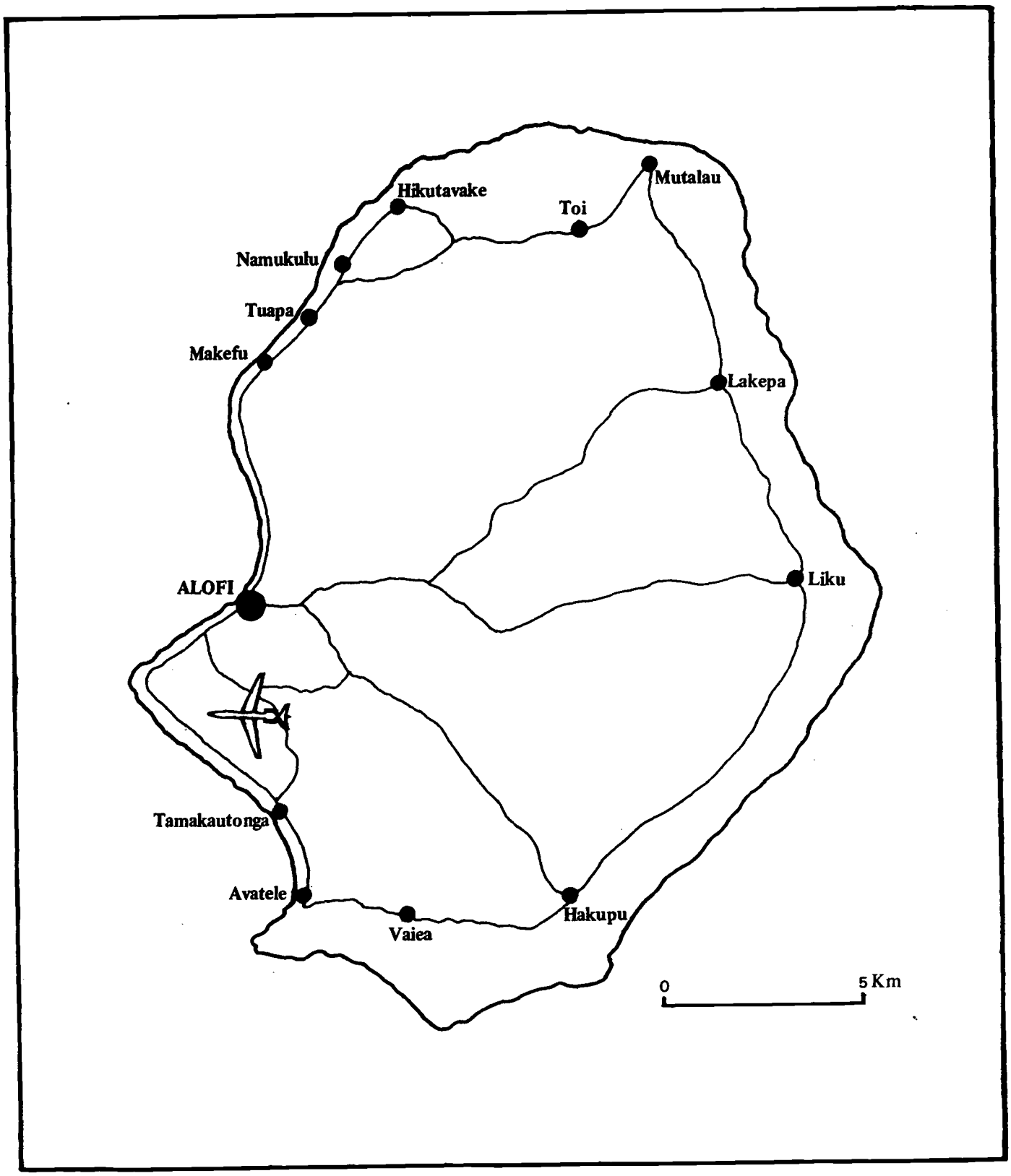
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> 'I have often been asked about job prospects in Niue and so on. One guy in fact came up and said "What do you honestly think? Will Niue still be there in five years time?" He had apparently been given the impression by some of the Niueans here that there will be nothing in Niue .....in five years. Disturbing thought? No? Well, I guess as you want to call yourself a "Niuean" here or on Niue, the place will survive. Personally my stock answer to that question is that as long as there are a few old diehards like you or I, as long as we're prepared to stay and give meaning to our heritage and name as Niueans and carry the rest on our shoulders, Niue shall continue and will continue to survive well beyond the most pessimistic predictions' (Report from Niue Consul in New Zealand, Tohi Tala Niue, 8 April 1982:7).

Niue is a large, isolated and uplifted coral atoll, depressed towards the centre and with an area of 260 sq.kms., consisting mainly of limestone so that there is no surface water. The coastline is largely one of steep rugged 30 metre cliffs, broken by caves and chasms, and there is a prominent coastal terrace. Artesian bores and roof catchments provide water for domestic and agricultural purposes. There is no true reef and no lagoon and, since there are no natural harbours, access is difficult. Niue is on the edge of the hurricane belt and severe destructive hurricanes have occurred repeatedly in the past, the last three being in 1960, 1968 (cf. Brown, 1969) and 1979; there are also occasional severe droughts. Although the soil is fertile, being partly derived from either air-fall volcanic ash or tidal wave volcanic debris, it is shallow so that cultivation is difficult. The original tropical rainforest has been reduced to remnants and most of the island is covered by secondary bush vegetation.

Niueans are Polynesians with a social organisation similar to that of Samoa and Tonga, but without the institution of chieftainship and with very little social stratification. 'Egalitarianism is a mark of Niuean society which differentiates it from other Polynesian systems, particularly the three-rung stratification of Tonga and the matai system of Samoa' (Pollock, 1979:142). The main social divisions are those of villages and at least as late as the start of the 1970s the people of some villages all claimed descent from a common ancestor (Crocombe, 1971:68). Traditional histories suggest that the first migrants to Niue were from Samoa or the eastern Polynesian islands, but there were subsequent frequent (and often hostile) contacts with Tonga and also immigration from there. Recent evidence suggests that settlement of Niue occurred around 1500 B.P. but that it was not until around 400 B.P. that coconuts and some other domestic plants, were introduced to Niue (Trotter, 1979:50). The first European to land on Niue was Captain Cook in 1774 and he named the island Savage Island. Missionaries settled on Niue in 1846 and the first European missionary settled in 1861. British sovereignty over Niue was proclaimed in 1900 and Niue was formally annexed to New Zealand as part of the Cook Islands in 1901; the island had a separate administration from 1904. There were no constitutional changes on Niue until 1960 when the first Niue assembly was elected. During the 1960s there were lengthy discussions of constitutional changes (Chapman, 1976) and, following a referendum in which two-thirds of the population voted in favour, Niue in 1974 became self-governing in free association with New Zealand (which remains responsible for defence and

foreign affairs) and Niueans are New Zealand citizens. Increasingly Niue is undertaking more of its own foreign affairs, at least in dealings with international organisations, and the Niue government opened a consulate in New Zealand in 1981. There is little prospect of any further movement towards independence.

Economy

The basis of the domestic economy of Niue is agriculture and shifting cultivation is practised because of poor returns, the limited potential of the land and the availability of land for cultivation (since 30-40% of the land is unsuitable for agricultural production) which enables a fallow period of around 11 years (van Rugge, 1980:4), although contemporary fertiliser use significantly reduces this time. The principal root crop is taro, grown by virtually every household on the island, but tapioca, yams and sweet potatoes are also grown, often to replace the more labour intensive taro. Despite the significance of wage employment almost all households have some subsistence food gardens. The exploitable land area of Niue is much smaller than the total area and the most productive land is inland. Throughout Niue fishing has also been a major component of the subsistence economy, despite some problems of access down the cliffs to coastal waters.

Cash cropping is primarily based on passionfruit production; although demand for passionfruit has increased growers have been hampered in their attempts to plant larger land areas or mechanise production because of a complex land tenure system with land rights controlled by many absentee landowners (see below) and have, for other reasons including the limited cash returns, lost interest in increasing production. The production (by weight) of both passionfruit and limes passed that of copra in 1980 and, at least since 1975, the value of passionfruit exports has been greater than that of copra. Although copra production has been stable through the 1970s it fell sharply in the 1980s as coconut cream production (see below) became important. Taro has also been exported to New Zealand since 1978 through the Niue Development Board, which is Niue's largest statutory authority and is responsible for promoting and marketing the island's primary produce, including passionfruit, limes and copra. Taro exports have grown rapidly in recent years. Although there is a large overseas market for such food products as lime, pawpaw and passionfruit, at least in 1980 the food processing plant was working at only 12% capacity, since no more than about thirty-eight part-time farmers provided inputs (Knowles, 1980). There is a small weekly produce market in Alofi but, because most families produce all their own staples, this 'consists of ladies selling a few bananas and kumaras [sweet potatoes], tomatoes or drinking coconuts mainly to Europeans and visitors' (Pollock, 1979:138). Agricultural marketing is therefore oriented to the New Zealand market.

The long-term aim of agricultural development policy is for local agricultural production to replace the external New Zealand subsidy as the island's main source of income by import replacement on the surplus agricultural land. This aim is hindered, firstly, by fragmentation of land, secondly, through widespread land ownership by absentees and non-agriculturalists (see below) and, thirdly, by the quality of the farmers. This last is particularly significant for the extension of commercial farming since Niue is in the relatively unusual situation of having a shortage of labour hence farming methods must minimise labour inputs (Crocombe, 1977:53-54). Consequently the scope for labour intensive crops, such as bananas, is extremely limited, although the banana industry

had been the basis of the Niuean economy from the 1920s to the 1950s (Rex and Vivian, 1982:129). There is some possibility of using beef cattle both for ground clearing under coconuts and for substitution of imported meat, but previous attempts to develop an industry have been dismal failures and, in general, agricultural development strategies have increasingly concentrated on relatively successful existing species.

Forestry has potential for development. A government sawmill produces timber for some local building and furniture production and the extent of timber on Niue (around 14,000 hectares) indicates that this has export potential. Commercial fishing also has development potential but is hampered by the lack of suitable landing places, the lack of fresh bait and limited technical expertise. Development possibilities lie principally in the leasing out fishing rights to the waters of the 200 mile Exclusive Economic Zone, although the potential of this zone is not known accurately. Within nearshore waters fishing is concentrated on the west coast, especially between Alofi and Avatele where conditions are less difficult and consequently where aluminium dinghies are most common. In the south-east fishing has almost disappeared (Ryan, 1981:199). Thus around Alofi fishing has become much more intensified and commercialised and more dependent on imported technology (op cit:202). Fish aggregation devices (FADs) were introduced to Niue in 1982 and, since all have been located at Alofi or nearby, have intensified spatial divisions in fish production; use of FADs has doubled the landings of local fish, reduced the time required for fishing, increased earnings from fishing, enabled bad weather fishing (in Alofi bay) and contributed to import substitution (G. Preston, pers. comm., 1983). However the extent to which FADs will continue to enable substantial developments in the fishing industry is not yet clear.

Industrial activity is centred on food processing for export, especially of lime juice, pawpaw, coconut cream, passionfruit and honey. In 1982 the value of coconut cream exports was $269,000, some 35% of all export value, and three times that of passionfruit exports. Food processing is therefore a major activity in Niue. Government policy favours foreign investment for light industrial development, a New Zealand company has established a hand-sewn leather football factory under the Pacific Islands Industrial Development Scheme (PIIDS), and loans are available for the establishment of small businesses. Football exports were valued at $125,000 in 1982. Underlying policies favouring industrial development are attempts to encourage the development of a private sector and reduce the significance of government employment. With a declining population the prospects of business development are extremely restricted and there are some problems with the existing workforce (see below). Handicraft exports were valued at $44,000 in 1982, and although this is now declining, its contribution to the national income is important. Almost all (87%) of exports are to New Zealand which is also the origin of most imports.

The island's first hotel was completed in 1975 and there is also a small private motel on Niue. The development of tourism has been hampered by the limited range of activities on Niue (and the general absence of beaches), its remoteness and an airline timetable which restricts the duration of tourism, so that its impact has been minimal (cf. Skinner, 1980) and, unless Niue can be incorporated into an 'international travel circuit', this is unlikely to change. The establishment of a direct airline service to New Zealand in September 1982 was aimed at increasing tourism, and there is considerable potential for small-scale tourist development. Tourist numbers however have fallen steadily from 1979 to 1982 when there were only 111 tourists.

Niue has a well-developed infrastructure, with around 130 kms. of all-weather roads (which are sealed in Alofi and some villages), an international airport, piped water and electricity available in all villages, one high school and a hospital. Health facilities are better than in many parts of the South Pacific and consequently health levels are high although changes in lifestyle have resulted in higher levels of diabetes, obesity and hypertension as in other Polynesian populations. There is a radio service and a television service is contemplated (see below). There is a high school on Niue but tertiary education must be undertaken outside Niue, usually either in New Zealand but occasionally in Fiji or elsewhere, although there is a USP Centre in Niue. Housing is heavily subsidised and education and health services are virtually free. As in the Cook Islands (Country Report No.2) where services are not available in Niue they are almost always sought in New Zealand.

Almost all trade is with New Zealand and there is free trade between Niue and New Zealand. As in other very small Pacific states the principal 'export' is postage stamps, whose value ($118,840 in 1978-9) significantly exceeds that of any primary product. New Zealand also contributes an extremely high level of aid; in 1980 development aid per capita was NZ$970, one of the highest levels in the South Pacific region, and for the financial year 1980-81 New Zealand contributed $1,947,500 out of a total revenue of $3,188,000. For 1983-84 this had risen to $5.9 million, a per capita contribution from New Zealand alone of $1,970. Thus Niue is exceptionally dependent on New Zealand, a pattern of dependence largely shared with other small territories such as Tokelau and the Cook Islands.

The first National Development Plan was produced in 1980 for the period 1980-1985 and was oriented towards increased self-reliance and the achievement of self-confidence in the country's ability to meet a substantial share in the cost of maintaining a modern Niue, and thus move away from an almost total dependence on New Zealand aid. The first overall aim of the plan was that of 'increasing total population, through a decrease in loss of population and an increase in inward migration' (Government of Niue, 1979:13), a clear indication of the importance attached to migration in Niue. The specific policies oriented to this aim principally involve the establishment of a productive private sector (although this might be subsidised by, and receive a range of incentives from, government) in areas related to agriculture and forestry, tourism and entertainment and agro-based and light manufacturing industries. More generally the plan was aimed at providing more jobs in Niue, and localising jobs held by expatriates, to encourage both a greater degree of return migration and a greater level of retention of the existing population. Whilst the creation of new employment opportunities is common to all development plans it is unusual in Niue, in the sense that unemployment levels are not high (see below) and the jobs are partially intended for those not in Niue.

Employment

Almost all employment in Niue is with the government or statutory authorities; most adult males, and most adult females who are employed, work for the government or a statutory authority. In March 1976 the Niue government employed 718 people out of a total population of about 3,800 which is one of the highest proportions of the labour force in government or semi-government employment anywhere in the world. Because of the small size of the economy several activities that would elsewhere be part of the

Table 1. Niue Labour Employment Survey, March 1983.

Employer	Staff Workers	Wage Workers	Part Time Workers	Total Workers	Percentage Distribution
1. GOVERNMENT					
Central Office	36(5)	7	+3	46(5)	6.0
Agriculture and Fisheries	19	41	1	61	7.2
Education	85	15	-	100	11.7
Health	49	18	2	69	8.1
Justice	9	2	-	11	1.3
Police	15	-	2	17	2.0
Post Office	3	2	1	6	0.7
Public Works	79(27)	111	-	190(27)	25.5
Telecommunications	16(1)	9	1	26(1)	3.2
Treasury	21	4	2	27	3.2
SUB TOTAL	332(33)	209	12	553(33)	68.8
2. NIUE DEVELOPMENT BOARD	9	61	1	71	8.3
3. NZ REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE	3	5	-	8	0.9
4. USP CENTRE	2	1	-	3	0.4
SUB TOTAL	14	67	1	82	9.6
5. PRIVATE SECTOR					
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	-	1(1)	(5)	1(6)	0.8
Manufacturing	5	49	7(2)	61(2)	7.4
Construction	-	5	-	5	0.6
Wholesale & Retail Trade	24	27	19(9)	70(9)	9.3
Transport & Communication	1	6(1)	7(3)	14(4)	2.1
Financial Services	-	-	(1)	(1)	0.1
Community, Social and Personal Services	1(2)	2	3(3)	6(5)	1.3
SUB TOTAL	31(2)	90(2)	36(23)	157(27)	21.6
GRAND TOTAL	412	368	72	852	100.0
Percentage Distribution	48.3	43.2	8.5	100.0	

Government Sector: ( ) denotes 'temporary staff'.
Private Sector: ( ) 'own account workers and unpaid faimily part-time workers.

Source: Niue Quarterly Abstract of Statistics, June 1983:xii-xiii.

private sector, such as honey production, passionfruit and lime processing and the Niue Hotel, are government enterprises of one form or another (Fisk, 1980:445) although the leasing of the Niue Development Board food processing factory to a private company in February 1983 was a significant change. In March 1983 668 people were employed in the public sector (Table One) and, of these, 187 were women; thus the public sector currently employs 78% of the labour force (which also includes unpaid part-time workers). Around 12% of the population are engaged in commerce and other occupations. Thus full-time primary producers constitute a very small and declining proportion of the total population. In March 1982 only three were recorded and a year later there was one. Most of the last full-time agriculturalists were also fishermen and a 1980 survey found that the average age of full-time agriculturalists was sixty (van Rugge, 1980:33). The demise of a full-time agricultural labour force is very unusual in the South Pacific region and only Nauru and the American territories of Guam and the Northern Marianas, where the same kind of government subsidised employment exists, have similar miniscule proportions. Thus the structure of employment in Niue is quite different from that of other non-American dependent territories or independent states in the region and quite different from other parts of Polynesia.

Although the level of employment rose slowly in the 1970s (Table Two) the two most recent employment surveys indicate a significant decline in

Table 2. Employment, 1976 to 1982.

	1976	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
1. Government	737	766	734	743	712	668
2. Private	117	117	203	201	167	184
TOTAL	854	883	937	944	879	852

employment, both in the private and the government sectors, a decline which will be extremely difficult to reverse with a falling population. This is particularly true of the private sector where the greatest decline was in the wholesale and retail trades; between 1981 and 1982 the number of enterprises fell from 25 to 22 and the full-time labour force fell from 85 to 53 (Niue Quarterly Abstract of Statistics, June 1982:xvi). In the following year the number of trade enterprises fell again to 19 but there was no further decline in the labour force.

The level of unemployment in Niue, even of school-leavers, is low although the available data on unemployment, in a situation where part-time paid work and agricultural work is common, is inadequate to assess trends. There was a rise in youth unemployment between 1976 and 1979, from 2% to 13% (Knowles, 1980); some of this must be regarded as voluntary unemployment and tracer studies of school-leavers would be of some value especially to indicate the 'real' level of unemployment and attitudes to particular kinds of employment. This would be useful since for some activities such as agricultural development (see below) and construction activity (Fisk, 1980: 446) there is a shortage of labour at the prevailing likely levels of renumeration and wage rates and it has been argued that school-leavers will prefer unemployment, or migration to New Zealand, rather than take up available job opportunities in Niue. This means that labour supply will be a constraint to commercial agriculture and light manufacturing industry, and the task of achieving a better balance between the private and public

sectors is worsened. Moreover whilst there is potential for the establishment of labour intensive, small-scale low-energy input manufacturing there are doubts over whether rural women will accept factory work if it is too demanding, especially where many villages are long distances from the existing industries. Thus in 1980 the garment shops had no difficulty securing women workers at 90 cents per hour whilst a volleyball factory had recruiting problems at $1.50 per hour and absenteeism was considerable at the fruit-processing plant (Knowles, 1980). The extent to which this kind of situation also represents a situation of 'unemployment' is doubtful.

Whilst data on unemployment is of limited value it is significant to note that in 1981 data was collected on unemployment rates throughout Niue, providing the only regional breakdown of unemployment (Table Three). The data were collected through questionnaire surveys of village council chairmen and secretaries, often following village meetings (B. Feilo, pers. comm., 1983) nevertheless the extent to which those 'unemployed' were actually seeking employment, especially in the 40-59 age group, must be very doubtful so that the overall unemployment rate is wholly unrealistic. However it does indicate the great differences in employment structure within Niue; thus there was virtually no 'unemployment' in Alofi (although the survey there was poor) compared with very high unemployment rates in the eastern villages of Mutalau, Liku and Lakepa and the northern village of Hikutuvake, villages which are all relatively far from Alofi.

Economies of scale also create employment problems; it would appear that a minimum level of health services would require at least three doctors and preferably five, although this number could serve a population of 20,000, whilst the creation and implementation of national policy requires virtually the same high level manpower resources as in a country with a much larger population (Niue, 1978:2). These economies of scale are also apparent for equipment, such as public works machinery and computers, which may be essential but cannot be efficiently utilised.

Since the proportion of full-time producers is extremely small a significant proportion of the labour input into agricultural production is that of the after-hours work of public servants or of their casual employees (Crocombe, 1977:53). The amount of time available for such work is therefore limited and many full-time public servants garden only once a week, on Saturdays, or on one or two afternoons a week (van Rugge, 1980:24). Government offices close relatively early at 2.30 p.m. or 3.00 p.m. (a 35-hour week) according to the season to allow time for agricultural pursuits, including taro cultivation and passionfruit pollination. A survey of taro growers in 1980 found it very difficult to find farmers younger than 35 (van Rugge, 1980:33) and the agricultural sector is increasingly characterised by older workers. It is in this context that attitudes to employment are important. Such attitudes are not as unfavourable as in several other parts of the South Pacific and 'bush work'has some degree of prestige in Niue. Although a survey of youth attitudes to employment in 1970 found that 20% of males were interested in agricultural employment (compared with only 5% of women), this may be a reflection of very limited job opportunities on the island and hence realistic choices (Bazinet, 1970b:11), whilst attitudes towards agricultural employment now appear much less favourable.

By 1976 the government had concluded that the public service could no longer expand to absorb all school-leavers, as had been the case in the past, so that since the private sector was of limited potential agriculture

Table 3. Niue Unemployment Survey, 1 June 1981. (By Village and Age Group).

	15-19		20-29		30-39		40-59		Total	Population Aged 15-59 March 1979	% unemployed
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
Alofi North	1	1	-	1	-	1	2	-	6	160	3.8
Alofi South	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	6	231	2.6
Tamakautoga	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	5	147	3.4
Avatele	4	4	4	-	2	2	-	6	22	132	16.7
Vaiea	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	3	8	38	21.1
Hakupu	10	2	1	11	-	9	2	12	47	163	28.8
Liku	5	4	5	7	4	6	6	8	45	105	42.9
Lakepa	4	1	2	2	-	6	2	15	32	89	34.0
Mutalau	4	10	-	9	2	2	8	26	61	133	45.9
Toi	1	-	-	3	2	3	-	3	12	64	18.8
Hikutavake	6	4	4	4	-	6	8	8	40	75	53.3
Namukulu	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	3	3	4.0
Tuapa	1	2	2	1	1	3	4	7	21	148	14.2
Makefu	-	-	-	2	2	1	4	-	9	76	12.0
TOTAL	42	30	22	45	13	40	37	88	317	1,564	19.8

Source: derived from Paka, 1981.

was regarded as the sector of the economy with the greatest potential for employment creation. In July 1977 an Agricultural Training Programme for school-leavers was started; seven trainees were recruited in the first year and eight in the second year but no recruits were found in 1979 and 1980 and the programme was abandoned. Apart from the small number of those recruited (not all of whom were school-leavers) there were numerous problems; firstly, many recruits complained that agriculture was too hard work, secondly, many trainees joined out of curiosity and the hope of a quick income rather out of any motivation towards agricultural development, thirdly, extension services were not provided to the young farmers and, fourthly, some of the young workers migrated with their families in the course of the programme. In general agriculture had low prestige throughout Niue and education was oriented to wage employment and 'white-collar' jobs. School leavers, although aware that white-collar employment was difficult to obtain, preferred to remain unemployed in the hope that they would remain available for employment (or emigration) rather than work in agriculture, especially since there was no immediate pressure on school-leavers to work for cash. Moreover since there are no self-employed farmers in Niue it is extremely difficult for school-leavers to realistically consider such a possibility (Smulders, 1980). The problems of generating employment in the agricultural sector are thus extremely great. As Walsh and Trlin recorded at a time when full-time agricultural work was more common

> 'The few who devote themselves to full-time agriculture are inhibited by the absence of a local market, by low or unreliable returns for export crops seldom giving an income equivalent to wage work, and by shortage of skills, assistance and manpower. They are an inadequate group upon which to rest the responsibility of economic development' (1973:52).

Thus economic and cultural factors combine to reduce the prestige and probability of agricultural employment.

A significant proportion of the labour force is non-Niuean and government policy is aimed at localising the public service as rapidly as is practicable; in 1979 about half the departments were led by local staff, so that it was intended to localise 15 out of 36 key positions over the 1980-85 plan period (Government of Niue, 1979:130). In 1976 there were 124 non-Niueans in the workforce, principally in professional and managerial occupations (primarily in the government) and in production work (mainly as craftsmen in public works); since then there has been a slow localisation, a process hindered by the emigration of many skilled Niueans and the problem of an inability to forecast labour supply, but by March 1983 there were 78 non-Niueans in the workforce. New Zealanders hold government posts at wages significantly above local salaries, a situation which creates some local frustration; the effectiveness of training and the speed of localisation would be greater with higher local pay scales (Knowles, 1980) a situation that is unlikely, given the existing level of New Zealand aid, and one that would effectively prevent any further growth of a private sector especially in agriculture.

Estimates of actual income levels in Niue are not good, and are certainly complicated by the existence of remittances from New Zealand. The Labour Employment Survey of March 1983 recorded all wages and salaries in Niue, excluding non-Niueans, (Table Four) indicating the wide range of wages within Niue and the significant difference between wages in the public and private sectors; as is usual in the South Pacific region government wages are higher than in the private sector and higher than in most parts of

Polynesia. This differential is likely to have reduced the emigration rate of government workers but is likely to limit the attractions of the private earlier; as has previously been bluntly pointed out, 'on leaving school the young seek a government job or migrate to New Zealand' (New Zealand Coalition for Trade and Development, 1982:72). There is no indication of the regional distribution of these incomes. Analysis of village incomes in

Table 4. Wage and Salary Incomes, March 1983.

	Public Sector	Other Bodies	Private Sector	TOTAL	%
under $2,000	27	2	67	96	11.3
2,000- 2,999	124	52	76	252	29.6
3,000- 3,999	119	16	18	153	18.0
4,000- 4,999	53	0	9	62	7.3
5,000- 5,999	81	0	5	86	10.1
6,000- 6,999	91	6	4	101	11.9
7,000- 7,999	27	1	0	28	3.3
8,000- 9,999	29	1	3	33	3.9
10,000-16,999	15	2	1	18	2.1
over $17,000	20	2	1	23	2.7
All	586	82	184	852	100.0

Source: Niue Quarterly Abstract of Statistics, June 1983:xvii.

1971 (Table Five) indicated that mean incomes in the east ($770) were the lowest in Niue and substantially lower than the west ($1,216), the south (($1,241) and especially Alofi ($2,049). The same regional order was also apparent in 1976 (Walsh, 1981:154); data from 1981 is not yet available.

Table 5. Niue Regional Annual Incomes, 1971 and 1976.
(N.Z. Dollars)

	1971		1976		% Change	
	Mean	Per Capita	Mean	Per Capita	Mean	Per Capita
West	1,216	258	1,466	595	21	131
East	770	188	1,009	481	31	156
South	1,241	254	1,622	656	31	158
Alofi	2,049	608	3,129	1,230	53	102
Niue	1,328	306	1,885	745	42	143

(a) Estimated mean incomes of population aged 15 years and over with some income. Per capita incomes based on the sum of estimated incomes.
(b) An attempt was made to exclude Europeans from the Alofi South and Niue figures by deducting those on annual incomes $5,000 and over in 1971 and $7,000 and over in 1976.

Source: Walsh, 1981:154.

Thus both the lowest incomes and the highest unemployment levels have been recorded in the east of Niue although, of villages elsewhere, Namukulu recorded the lowest average income in 1971 (Walsh and Trlin, 1973:76) and Hikutuvake had the highest 'unemployment' rate in 1981 (Table Three) indicating that the northern villages are similar to those of the east. However there are also major intra-village differences in income levels. In Hakupu, for example, only 24% of households received less than $200 per year per capita compared with 53% in Tamakautoga and 37% in seven villages sampled. These households comprised a high proportion of those who might be considered to be the 'victims of emigration', forty percent being old couples, widows and widowers or old people with dependent grandchildren (Walsh, 1981:154). The relationship between income levels and emigration and the impact of emigration on income levels is discussed further below.

Population

The early history of population change in Niue is relatively well documented and Niue has conducted more censuses than any other country in the Pacific region. In 1875 the population of Niue was estimated to have reached a total of 5,076 from which total it declined until relatively recent times; even then the population density averaged no more than about 20 persons per sq. km. In earlier periods of similar population density settlements were dispersed throughout the island in bush areas and even caves, because of chronic warfare and feuding, a phenomenon that affected Niue to a much greater extent than on coral islands with much higher population densities (Alkire, 1978:80). The marginal nature of agricultural production overtaxed the carrying capacity of the island's poor soil, and both famine and warfare occurred alongside a number of other mechanisms of population control (op cit:82). Thus, despite the large land area of the island, the carrying capacity in traditional times was extremely limited and population growth in excess of around 5,000 appears to have been critical to peace and stability. In the south-central part of Niue is a large area known as 'the desert', where there is a light fern cover generally attributed to prolonged overcropping and subsequent soil impoverishment (Trotter, 1979:6). Early missionary influence, pacification and commercial contacts resulted in movement of population towards coastal villages around the middle of the 19th Century.

By the mid 19th Century the labour trade to Samoa, Tahiti, Hawaii, Fiji and Queensland had become important in Niue and in 1868 it was recorded that as a result of this there were twice as many women on the island as men, with apparently unfortunate effects on morality. The principal missionary on the island in the 1860s, W.G. Lawes, commented that the greatest problem of the mission 'was a mania among the young men for emigration to Samoa to labour on the cotton plantations' that neither he nor local leaders could stop (Talagi, 1982:119). There had also been much, apparently voluntary, labour migration to South America (Maude, 1981:55-59). In 1868 the notorious 'Bully' Hayes took 60 men and 30 women to Tahiti and many others later went voluntarily to work in phosphate mines in eastern Polynesia; in 1899, for example, 561 Niueans were away (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:308) and Niue had been reduced to 'an island of women' (cf. Ryan, 1981:198). Thus in Niue, as elsewhere in Polynesia, there was extensive labour migration in the 19th Century, a phenomenon which has prompted many to remark on the apparent inherent population mobility of Polynesian populations. Labour migration continued into the 20th Century, especially to the guano deposits of Malden Island (now in Kiribati), and 150 Niueans fought in the First World War, some in Europe (Rex and Vivian,

1982:128-129). Before 1915 there was substantial emigration to Tonga, apparently because liquor could be obtained there, hence the colonial administration attempted to discourage emigration by charging a pass fee (Bedford et al, 1980:15). As early as the 1880s around 10% of the estimated de facto population were overseas, either temporarily or apparently permanently, and migration has been a major influence on the population of Niue for the past century.

At the start of the 20th Century there was a substantial population decline (Table Six) a decline which proved difficult to explain (Bedford et al, 1980:7) but from 1921 onwards there was a slow but irregular growth in the population which continued until the late 1960s. In the 1920s the volume of movement to and from Niue was much less than it had been in the first two decades of the century; the rate of emigration increased in the late 1920s but slackened off again during the Great Depression in New Zealand (op cit:9). However there was already concern about the rate of migration from Niue and the colonial administration reported that,

> 'It is therefore clear that migration and not excessive mortality is the real danger in Niue. ... If further proof be wanted, the settlements of Niueans in Rarotonga, Apia, Pago Pago, and the larger island of the Tongan group provide confirmation. Other Niueans are spread through the remaining islands of the Pacific; many are at sea as sailors; and there is also a large colony in Auckland, whence a few of the hardier spirits are beginning to scatter through New Zealand. The majority of the Natives who are away are now permanently domiciled in the islands in which they reside; many have, through marriage, acquired homes and plantations, and some of the younger Natives have even forgotten their own tongue. The prospect of seeing them again in Niue is therefore remote. Formerly practically every young man spent some time at sea or abroad. Also the scope for day labour in Niue is small. Therefore the younger men are clamorous to go; and though they are willing to promise to return, the Resident Commissioner is satisfied that such promises for the most part would not be honoured. It is only a lack of shipping which has kept men here of late years. (AJHR, 1924, p.12; cited by Bedford et al, 1980:16).

The significance of employment overseas, and also the availability of transport, had already become of great importance in Niue, but economic recession slowed emigration and it was not until the early years of the war that departures again began to consistently exceed arrivals, a trend which has continued virtually without interruption to the present day.

Throughout the first half of the 20th Century the birth rate grew reaching a peak of almost 50 per 1,000 in 1956 and subsequently declined rapidly, especially in the past decade, as those of childbearing age have left Niue, so that the current birth rate of around 23 per 1,000 is the lowest recorded in the present century. The decline in fertility is not entirely attributable to migration even though the number of family planning acceptors in Niue is extremely small (Bakker, 1980:96) and many of these had already had large numbers of children. Acceptance of family planning in Niue may increase although there is no national emphasis on it. During much

Table 6. Population of Niue. Censuses 1900 to 1979.

Census Date	Population			Increase Since Previous Census			Inter-Censal Change	Annual Rate of Increase	Population per sq.km.
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total			
1900	1,765	2,250	4,015	-	-	-	-	-	16
1902	1,908	2,166	4,074	143	-84	59	1.5	0.8	16
1906	1,774	2,048	3,822	-134	-118	-252	-6.2	-1.6	15
1911	1,855	2,088	3,943	81	40	121	3.2	0.6	15
1916	1,828	2,052	3,880	-27	-36	-63	-1.6	-0.4	15
1921	1,736	2,014	3,750	-92	-38	-130	-3.4	-0.7	14
1926	1,781	2,014	3,795	45	-	45	1.2	0.2	15
1931	1,794	2,003	3,797	13	-11	2	0.1	-	15
1936	1,991	2,113	4,104	197	110	307	8.1	1.9	16
1945	2,054	2,199	4,253	63	86	149	3.6	0.4	16
1951	2,231	2,322	4,553	177	123	300	7.1	1.2	18
1956	2,279	2,428	4,707	48	106	154	3.4	0.7	18
1961	2,404	2,460	4,864	125	32	157	3.3	0.7	19
1966	2,533	2,661	5,194	129	201	330	6.8	1.3	20
1971	2,507	2,483	4,990	-26	-178	-204	-3.9	-0.8	19
1976	1,928	1,915	3,843	-579	-568	-1,147	-23.0	-4.6	15
1979	1,823	1,755	3,578	-105	-160	-265	-6.9	-2.6	14
1981	1,672	1,624	3,296	-151	-131	-282	-8.6	-4.4	13

Note: (a) Census conducted unofficially.
(b) Mini-census (ad hoc household survey) conducted especially for development planning purposes.

Source: Government of Niue. Statistics Unit, 1981.

Table 7. Overseas Migration - 1969 to 1981.

Period	Arrivals			Departures			Excess of Departures		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Year Ended 31 December:									
1969	166	124	290	222	213	435	56	107	163
1970	143	108	251	320	274	594	177	166	343
1971	258	145	403	397	308	705	129	153	282
1972	322	176	498	543	454	997	221	278	499
1973	313	220	533	564	446	1,010	251	226	477
1974	433	307	740	519	447	966	86	140	226
1975	490	386	876	528	382	910	38	(-)4	34
1976	622	360	982	687	460	1,147	55	100	155
1977	825	520	1,345	870	550	1,420	45	30	75
1978	888	718	1,606	1,218	850	2,068	330	132	462
1979	1,093	843	1,936	1,227	908	2,135	134	65	199
1980	1,095	756	1,851	1,257	933	2,190	162	177	339
1981	-	-	1,438	-	-	1,508	-	-	70
1982	...	...	1,662	...	...	1,776	...	...	114
1983(a)	...	...	330	...	...	612	...	...	282

Notes: Minus sign (-) denotes excess of arrivals.
Data for 1977, 1978 and March quarter of 1980 are not accurate.
Data for 1983 refers only to the first quarter, normally a period of excess departures.

Source: Government of Niue, Statistics Unit, 1983.

of the first half of the century the mortality rate in Niue fell and, although it rose rapidly in the immediate pre-war years, there was a very dramatic decline in the mortality rate after the war and, from around the early 1950s, it has been below 10 per thousand. Current mortality rates are very close to those of metropolitan populations such as that of New Zealand, as are the major causes of death (Taylor, Nemaia and Connell, 1984). With birth rates rising rapidly and death rates falling rapidly Niue should have experienced a classic 'population explosion' during the 1950s and 1960s but because of emigration there was only a moderate increase in population numbers (Bedford et al, 1980:11). Migration is therefore the most important component of population change in Niue.

Migration

Between 1941 and 1943 the attraction of employment opportunities in New Zealand led to considerable movement away from the island and this set the scene for the most important phase of international migration in Niue's contemporary history (Bedford et al, 1980:17). Permanent emigration has been a persistent phenomenon in the post-war years but has been particularly rapid in the 1970s (Table Seven) when Niue was considered to be 'an island gripped with migration fever' (Walsh and Trlin, 1973:48). The 1981 census of Niue recorded a population total of 3,296, much lower than any total ever previously recorded in Niue and by late 1982 there was much evidence that the population was about to fall below 3,000, a figure never recorded in history; there is little evidence that 'migration fever' has yet ebbed.

Although migration to New Zealand has been by far the most important emigration from Niue in every sense, smaller numbers of Niueans by birth or descent live permanently in Western Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Tahiti, Papua New Guinea (Crocombe, 1971:79), Fiji, Vanuatu and even New Caledonia. Since these numbers are no more than a fraction of those in New Zealand and, with the exception of students in Fiji, have limited social and economic ties with Niue the remainder of this chapter considers only the significance of migration to New Zealand.

The rapid increase in emigration in the 1970s meant that between 1971 and 1976 for the first time, losses in population affected every age group and every village (Walsh, 1980:44). Between 1976 and 1981 this pattern was maintained (Table Eight) although Alofi registered a slight increase, which was a result of the non-Niuean population there growing from 239 to 298 (whilst the Niuean population declined from 714 to 688, a situation more like that of other villages), and the population of Makefu remained the same. The thirteen villages of Niue can be divided into front villages close to the sea on the western side of the island and back villages located away from the sea to the east of the island. During the period 1956-1971 the main sources of migrants in proportion to their population size were the larger back villages of Mutalau, Lakepa, Liku and Hakupu and two front villages, Makefu and Tuapa, to the north of Alofi. Alofi, Mutalau and Hakupu, three of the larger villages in Niue, were the first villages to have schools and hence had earliest access to government employment and contacts with the outside world; the 'progressive' nature of these villages thus tends to explain the early existence of migration there (Walsh and Trlin, 1973:56-7). As differences in access to education and hence employment have declined in more recent years the divergence between the number of migrants and the size of village has also declined (op cit:57), although the villages that were the largest in 1956 (with the exception of Alofi) have continued to have a disproportionate number of emigrants. This

Table 8. Village Population Changes, 1956-1976.

Village	1956 a	1961 a	1961 b	1966 a	1966 b	1971 a	1971 b	1976 a	1976 b	% Change 1956-76	1981 a	1981 b	% Change 1956-1981
Makefu	200	216	18.0	255	18.1	214	-16.1	137	-36.5	-32.5	137	0.0	-31.5
Tuapa	360	378	5.0	460	21.7	372	-19.1	289	-22.3	-19.7	251	-13.1	-30.3
Namukulu	99	119	20.2	129	8.4	137	6.2	113	-16.8	15.1	87	-23.0	-12.1
Hikutavake	223	209	-6.3	245	17.2	153	3.3	217	-14.6	-3.1	169	-22.1	-24.2
Toi	152	162	6.6	180	11.1	188	4.4	144	-22.9	-4.6	119	-17.4	-21.7
Mutalau	584	553	-5.3	551	-0.4	524	-4.9	362	-30.5	-37.5	283	-21.8	-51.5
Lakepa	342	409	19.6	420	2.7	370	-11.9	217	-41.1	-36.3	149	-31.3	-56.4
Liku	441	458	3.9	463	1.1	476	2.8	286	-40.5	-35.8	182	-36.4	-58.7
Hakupu	468	475	1.5	503	5.9	461	-8.3	362	-21.5	-22.6	337	- 6.9	-28.0
Vaiea	92	106	15.2	112	5.7	127	13.4	81	-36.2	-12.0	62	-23.5	-32.6
Avatele	413	412	-0.2	461	11.9	476	3.3	364	-23.8	-12.3	274	-24.7	-33.7
Tamakautoga	230	260	13.0	298	14.6	347	16.4	318	-8.4	35.6	260	-18.2	-13.0
Alofi	989	1,107	11.9	1,117	0.9	1,045	-6.4	953	-8.8	-3.2	986	3.5	-0.3
NIUE	4,593	4,864	5.9	5,194	6.8	4,890	-3.9	3,843	-23.0	-16.3	3,296	-14.2	-28.2

NOTES: (a) a= population numbers, and b= intercensal percentage change in population.
(b) Europeans have been added to the 1956 and 1966 Alofi populations; in 1966 they were included; in the 1971, 1976 and 1981 censuses. Europeans were enumerated where they resided.

Source: after Walsh, 1980:47.

is particularly true of the three back villages of Mutalau, Lakepa and Liku, all of which have lost more than half their population since 1956, a rate of decline which accelerated dramatically in the first half of the 1970s and shows little sign of declining significantly.

Whilst Alofi has long been the only administrative centre on Niue, and is the only place where the population has not declined in the past quarter century, it would be unrealistic to speak of urbanisation in a country the size of Niue. In many respects it is little different from other parts of Niue. Alofi is however different from other areas in two important respects, firstly, in the greater significance of bureaucratic employment there and, secondly, in its concentration of the immigrant population (principally Tongans and Europeans). These factors distinguish Alofi from other parts of Niue and explain both its retention of population relative to other parts of Niue and the existence of some degree of internal migration which is otherwise unimportant; indeed there is very little migration between villages in Niue, each village tending to be endogamous.

Emigration is characterised by losses of males aged 20-49 years and females aged 20-39 years, which indicates substantial family movement (Walsh, 1980:45) and hence the birth of most Niuean children outside Niue (see Table Nine). This is substantiated by major losses between 1971 and 1976 of the population aged less than ten, effectively a result of both emigration and births overseas. Data on changes in age and sex structure between 1976 and 1981 is not yet available but if these trends have continued, and there is no reason to believe that they have not, emigration from Niue represents not only a loss of population but a loss of that part of the population that would be most important for subsequent population increase in Niue. As the fertile and potentially fertile population groups emigrate the potential for future population stabilisation or even population increase declines and a further burden is placed on those who remain in Niue.

Table 9. Population of Niue.

	In Niue	In New Zealand	
		Ethnicity	Birthplace
1971	4,990	4,264	2,912
1976	3,843	5,688	4,395
1981	3,296	8,121	4,752
1983	3,002 (estimate)	...	...

The evidence from other small islands in the South Pacific indicates that it is extremely unlikely that Niue will ever become depopulated; very few islands, and only those with tiny populations, have experienced depopulation in the 20th Century and others, like Pitcairn Island (Country Report No.15), have retained their population long after depopulation has been predicted. Commenting on the low net emigration rate in 1975 (Table Seven) Walsh noted that 'it could well be that fewer people have migrated in recent years because fewer people remain who are willing or able to migrate' (1980:56). In other words emigration is partly a function of the demographic structure, since the elderly especially are less likely to emigrate, and partly a function of the ability to finance emigration; as the

number of Niueans in New Zealand increases this second factor becomes less important whilst reductions in the cost of transport further reduces its significance. The increased rate of emigration in the years after 1975 indicates that this was indeed an exceptional year and 1982 may produce a higher emigration rate than that of most years in the 1970s. Eventually the emigration rate will fall again but it is impossible to predict at what population level this will occur. It is certainly possible that if present trends are maintained this will not occur until the end of the present decade by which time the population may have fallen to little more than 2,000, will remain spread over thirteen widely separated villages and have a very high dependency ratio. Thus when the population total again achieves a degree of stability it will be at a level considerably below the present one and will have an even more restricted economic viability.

Since the late 1840s, and the arrival of Samoan missionaries, there has always been an immigrant component in the total population. However until relatively recently there have never been more than around 50 non-Niueans in the country although, as in the Cook Islands (Country Report No.2), it has often been the descendants of these aliens who have subsequently obtained positions of prominence in Niue. There has been significant immigration from Tonga, mainly of those with inadequate land and employment opportunities there, some of whom were descendants of earlier Niuean migrants to Tonga when living standards and opportunities were supposedly better there. In contemporary times 'the tables are reversed, and incomes, job opportunities, land availability and personal freedom are markedly greater in Niue than in Tonga (Kalauni, 1977:10). Many immigrants came as carpenters or for other semi-skilled or unskilled work because of the shortage of labour in Niue resulting from emigration (ibid). Many Tongans also obtained New Zealand citizenship after five years in Niue and used Niue as a 'staging post' for migration to New Zealand although this has now become impossible (ibid). Between 1971 and 1976 the number of Tongans only increased from 81 to 86. Tongan migrants experience some insecurity, firstly, because they are the most likely to lose their jobs (as Niueans are given preference) and, secondly, although they are able to obtain land use rights for food planting, they have no security of tenure and can be deprived of it at any moment (op cit:11). Significantly, they are more easily able to obtain land rights from Niue residents than from absentees, who are often resistant to releasing land (op cit:10). Consequently Tongans are more likely to work harder to accumulate cash and achieve greater security, or move on elsewhere, and are therefore resented by many Niueans who see them as being more successful (op cit:11). The recent decline in job opportunities, problems of access to land, and Niuean priority in obtaining employment limits the potential for further immigration into Niue. Whilst there has been widespread concern at the rate of depopulation in Niue, and occasional consideration of the possibility of encouraging the settlement of aliens (such as Vietnamese, Cambodians or New Zealanders), there is very little likelihood that policies will be formulated to encourage immigration (other than the return migration of Niueans) and there are many practical problems attached to such a settlement, especially concerning land tenure (see below). If resettlement does occur in Niue it is more likely to be of other Polynesians, such as Tuvaluans, or even Wallisians, Futunans or Samoans, who have very restricted development opportunities in their home countries. At the moment there appears little prospect of such a settlement.

The 1976 census recorded some 278 non-Niueans in Niue (excluding 274 half-Niueans) of whom 134 were Europeans, mainly from New Zealand, 86 were Tongans, 37 were Samoans and there were 21 others (including 5 Cook

Islanders and 4 Fijians). Between 1976 and 1981 the number of non-Niueans increased significantly to 359; no data is yet available on the ethnic composition of this group although it is probable that the majority were again New Zealanders working in government-related activities. Thus not only do non-Niueans now represent some 11% of the total population of Niue, a very high proportion of aliens compared with elsewhere in Polynesia, (which has considerable implications for changing life-styles in Niue through social change and the stimulation of local consumption), but the growth of this group partly disguises the rapid decline of the Niuean population in Niue.

The Rationale of Migration

The principal rationale for emigration from Niue rests in the enormous differences in economic and social opportunities between Niue and New Zealand and changes in the rates of emigration can often be directly attributed to parallel changes in the economy of New Zealand and, to a lesser extent, that of Niue. The Niuean environment is relatively harsh and unrewarding, for both agriculture and fishing, in comparison with other parts of Polynesia and the availability of economic development opportunities in a state of less than 4,000 people is necessarily limited. Niue 'has its fair share - perhaps more than its fair share - of problems common to many other islands' (Walsh and Trlin, 1973:49) so that, as Walsh and Trlin observed, 'migration is understandable, given the local environment and the opportunity to migrate which full New Zealand citizenship ensures' (ibid). There are a number of quantitative and qualitative aspects of these economic differences between Niue and New Zealand; firstly, absolute wage levels are very different and New Zealand wages and salaries are at least three times those on Niue. Secondly, it is generally considered in Niue that the rewards for work were attractive in New Zealand because in one job a worker could obtain enough to feed his family and meet all other expenses whereas in Niue wage employment and subsistence agriculture had to be combined (Fisk, 1980:445). Thirdly, all wages in New Zealand came in a lump sum, 'fast money', which was preferable to the small sums obtained at irregular intervals in Niue (Pollock, 1976:21). Fourthly, even if employment cannot be immediately obtained in New Zealand, Niueans are able to take advantage of New Zealand social security provisions; 'most Niueans I knew in New Zealand were there because they felt there was "nothing" for them in Niue and preferred the stable, planned employment, social security and other facilities' (Tuhega, 1977:30-31).

A survey of 150 Niuean youths aged between 15 and 20 in 1970 indicated the high propensity for emigration from Niue; in response to the question 'Do you think that most young people would like to stay in Niue or go to New Zealand?', some 83% felt that they would go to New Zealand, whilst to the question 'Do you think you will spend all your time in Niue?', some 52% said 'No', a proportion that was significantly higher for males than females (Bazinet, 1970b:3). The principal reasons for assuming that migration would occur were principally that Niue life was too hard (or New Zealand life was easier and better), secondly, that there was a lack of jobs and money in Niue and, thirdly, the lack of recreation and social life in Niue (ibid). Follow-up questions enabled Bazinet to conclude that the level and availability of income in Niue was much the most important factor relative to social variables; he therefore observed that 'Niueans are proud of their identity as Niueans but do not associate their cultural pride tightly with the island' (1970a:7). To the question 'If you see that all young people leave Niue to go to New Zealand would you feel very sad, a little sad or

would you not mind?' fully 51% replied that they would not mind. Thus not only was there a high propensity to migrate in 1970 (before construction of the airport) but, on the part of the young, there was minimal concern over potential high emigration. By contrast in 1976 Mitchell found that much less than 10% of all adults in the two villages of Lakepa and Tuapa intended to migrate (1977:81) although 38% of households said that if they were given an airline ticket they would migrate (op cit:83). Whilst those who stated that they would migrate were younger than average the difference in response to the question lies partly in the fact that in the intervening years the most migration-prone had already left and partly in variation between youths and adult, usually married, respondents. The reasons for migration had scarcely changed for either group over that time period; however Mitchell noted that 'occupations which have a low status and possibly also a low monetary return, are most prone to losing members through migration' (1977: 85). These occupations included agriculture, labouring and factory work and contrasted with those such as drivers, teachers and politicians, who appeared less likely to be migration-prone.

The extent of migration to New Zealand, and especially to Auckland where almost all the Niuean population live, has resulted in a Niuean population there that is substantially in excess of that of Niue (Table Nine) to the extent that more of those born in Niue are in New Zealand rather than Niue, a sure indicator of exceptionally rapid emigration, whilst the number of ethnic Niueans in New Zealand is more than twice that in Niue, a situation only comparable with that of Pitcairn Island (Country Report No.15). The existence of this large community provides a strong social basis for emigration; most Niueans have more relatives in New Zealand than in Niue and kinship ties have enabled chain migration and the financing of migration from New Zealand rather than from within Niue. These social ties are enhanced by social reasons for migration; tertiary education is undertaken primarily in New Zealand (Table Ten), and many of those educated in New Zealand do not return to Niue; others trained elsewhere overseas may subsequently migrate to New Zealand rather than return to Niue. The Premier, Robert Rex, has suggested that as many as 80 to 90% of those educated overseas return to Niue (Theroux, 1983:62) a proportion which seems

Table 10. Students Training Overseas March 1981.
(Number)

Country	Secondary Level (a)	Diploma Level (b)	Degree Level	Short Term Training (c)	Total
New Zealand	12	12	2	4	30
Fiji	4	9	3	1	17
Western Samoa	-	4	-	-	4
Other	-	-	-	5	5
TOTAL	16	25	5	10	56

(a) Includes students doing Foundation Year in Fiji at U.S.P.
(b) Includes students studying for Trade Certificates.
(c) Government employees doing up to one year in-service training overseas.

Source: Government of Niue, Statistics Unit, 1981.

unusually high, and one that is contradicted by even more recent reports (Niue News, 1(5), August 1983:4). Similarly, complicated medical cases must be evacuated to New Zealand, and this hospitalisation may prove to be a catalyst for permanent migration. Walsh and Trlin review two studies on the reasons for migration from Niue to New Zealand to conclude 'that whilst the primary reasons are economic, the particular reason for most movement is kinship' (1973:66); indeed 'pressure from kin in New Zealand is without doubt a major factor inducing many to move who might otherwise have stayed' (ibid) and a survey of Niueans in Wellington found that, of all Polynesian groups there, alongside Tokelauans, they were most likely to have been assisted with payment of fares in New Zealand (New Zealand Department of Labour, 1979:34; cf. Pollock, 1976:26).

The acquisition of education, and especially secondary education, is a further factor influencing migration from Niue, although most secondary school-leavers choose initially to remain in Niue (Table Eleven). Dependence on New Zealand is particularly apparent in the education system,

> 'In the primary schools, for instance, most tuition is in English and the New Zealand syllabus has been little modified to meet Niuean conditions. Scant attention is paid to Niuean language, history or geography or even to local employment opportunities and needs' (Walsh and Trlin, 1973: 49).

The education system thus predisposes many Niueans to migrate, both for tertiary education or training overseas or to meet the social and economic expectations engendered within the education system.

There appears to be some correlation between village size, wealth and migration. Between 1956 and 1971 the larger villages experienced a greater extent of migration as did villages with higher per capita incomes from wages and sales of agricultural produce. There was only a slight correlation between migration and the population: agricultural land ratio (Walsh and Trlin, 1973: 57). It is probable that there are also important correlations between migration and unequal access to resources such as land, employment and income at household and extended family level (Walsh, 1980:46) but inadequate data exist to test this assumption. In the past decade migration has become more extensive and these correlations have less importance for a number of reasons; firstly, earlier migrations have resulted in larger kin groupings in New Zealand from the villages of earliest migration and these have tended to become poles of attraction for later migrants from those villages. Secondly, all villages now participate in migration at such a high level that the slight variations in village characteristics are of limited significance compared with the differences between the whole of Niue and New Zealand. The only place that has escaped substantial emigration is Alofi yet even there the Niuean population declined by 3.6% between 1976 and 1981.

There are marked regional differences in participation in the wage and subsistence sectors of the economy; the group of back villages on the east coast has had the highest proportion of its adult workforce in the subsistence economy or 'unemployed' (Table Three) and has also had the highest rate of emigration. By contrast the areas with the highest proportions in wage employment, Alofi and the southern villages, have been the regions with the lowest emigration rate. (However, over the period 1956-79, the western villages, north of Alofi, have had employment structures like those of the east but rates of emigration that are lower than average). There appears therefore to have been some relationship

Table 11. Immediate Destination of Secondary School Leavers.

Category	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Government Employment	5	26	8	21	22	16	15	12	14	3
Private Employment	3	5	2	4	0	0	3	4	2	4
Further Education Overseas	8	8	11	7	9	8	8	6	10	8
Emigrate	26	31	33	12	4	8	8	11	22	9
Stay Home	125	120	43	66	75	41	45	55	45	36
TOTAL	167	190	97	112	110	73	79	88	93	60

Source: Government of Niue. Statistics Unit, 1981.

between participation in wage employment and emigration; 'although there is no direct evidence of the relationship of employment and income to emigration, the indirect evidence is sufficiently strong to indicate that wage employment and, perhaps more important, relative incomes explain much in emigration patterns from Niue' (Walsh, 1981:155) suggesting that the provision of employment and the equalisation of opportunities of access to employment would have some effect on slowing emigration. However if income is a factor causing emigration, it is also evident that increases in income (which rose by 143% between 1971 and 1976) are insufficient to reduce the migration rate; however increased incomes were a result of there being fewer non-income earners in Niue in 1976, most having emigrated. What may be more important therefore are income levels relative to the local earnings of others and the much higher wages that can be obtained in New Zealand.

Problems of access to land are a factor influencing emigration (Tuhega, 1977:25) although the actual relationship between access to land and emigration is unspecified and its particular significance is unknown. However it has been better documented for internal migration which is partly a response to land shortages. For example, between 1966 and 1971 males emigrated from the village of Hikutavake but females remained there whereas in the neighbouring village of Namukulu exactly the opposite happened. Hikutavake is a relatively poor village, with little land, rugged terrain and only breadfruit and taro as main crops whereas Namakulu had much more extensive and much better quality land; consequently many Hikutavake males married Namakulu females which gave them better access to land (M.Bakker, Letter to A.C.Walsh, 9 November 1978). The significance of land tenure in its influence on migration is apparent and strengthens the case for consideration of land tenure reform in Niue (see below).

Underlying the rationale of emigration from Niue is the fact that there have been two major catalysts to emigration from Niue, hurricanes and the construction of the airport. In 1960 a hurricane devastated Niue and it was followed in 1968 by a second even more devastating hurricane; this had the effect of swelling the steady stream of migrants to New Zealand (Rex and Vivian, 1982:131). Soon after that in 1971 the new jet airport was completed and within a few years of these events there were more Niueans in New Zealand than in Niue. As elsewhere in Polynesia improved transportation, often combined with reduced cost, was a real incentive to emigration. A third factor, and the most crucial, enabling ease of migration is that Niueans are New Zealand citizens and hence can migrate freely to New Zealand (and, until 1981, on to Australia) at any time. The situation is therefore the same as that of the Cook Islands and Tokelau.

The significance of transport is particularly apparent for Niue; as early as the 1920s it had been noted that the rate of emigration was constrained by the availability of transport and Walsh and Trlin argue that a major reason for variations in rates of emigration between 1956 and 1968 was the availability of ships and berths whilst 'the commencement of weekly airflights since July 1971 may have revealed what was, in effect, a previously depressed migration rate due to lack of transport' (1973:52). The inauguration of the Air Nauru Niue-Auckland flight in September 1982, which constituted the first direct Niue-New Zealand service, increased the number of seats available, cut the cost of a single flight from Niue to Auckland from around NZ$750 to $280 (although the Auckland-Niue rate is $320), and also resulted in a dramatic increase in the numbers travelling from Niue to New Zealand. Some of this movement may eventually prove to be permanent. The availability of transport and/or a ticket is crucial when, for some, migration is an impromptu or passive act (Walsh and Trlin,

1973:66) which emphasises perhaps the most important feature of migration of Niue. This is that emigration from Niue is not a function of inadequate employment opportunities (although access to the limited number of government jobs is given exceptionally high priority for employment) or social services (although there are certainly limited entertainment opportunities). Migration is a response to relative deprivation, in its early phase in comparison with Niueans in Niue and in its current phase in comparison with Niueans (and New Zealanders) in New Zealand, and not out of any real deprivation. Thus a significant influence 'may be the perception that all is equal in New Zealand regardless of family background or status' (Niue News, 1(3), June 1983:4). This conclusion has considerable importance for policy formation in view of the impossibility of providing the material welfare levels of New Zealand in a small island of less than 4,000 people.

The Impact of Emigration

A population decline of the scale being currently experienced in Niue cannot have failed to have had a considerable impact and this emigration rate has produced an unusually high degree of demoralisation which in its turn sets the scene for further emigration. As has been previously noted a sudden deterioration in conditions in Niue, such as hurricanes or fears about the political status of Niue, often 'seem able to tip the balance of decision' (Walsh and Trlin, 1973:56) and emigration follows. The present atmosphere of demoralisation, and general concern for the future of a Niuean population, appears to have prompted further emigration. To a greater extent than perhaps anywhere else in the world this high emigration rate is visibly apparent in the numbers of empty houses (Table Twelve) most apparent in the east coast villages of Mutalau, Lakepa and Liku where almost half of all houses are empty. Overall more than a third of the houses of Niue are empty and it is this air of abandonment that, as much as anything, creates a

Table 12. Occupied and Unoccupied Dwellings by Village, 1981 Census.

Village	Occupied Dwellings	Unoccupied Dwellings	Other Buildings	Total
Makefu	28	22	4	54
Tuapa	54	22	8	84
Namukulu	16	7	2	25
Hikutavake	35	22	5	62
Toi	26	10	4	40
Mutalau	62	42	12	116
Lakepa	38	38	4	80
Liku	40	39	12	91
Hakupu	63	37	13	113
Vaiea	12	12	2	26
Avatele	62	36	7	105
Tamakautoga	49	21	8	78
Alofi South	137	31	48	216
Alofi North	76	23	18	117
TOTAL	698	362	147	1,207

(a) Includes non-private dwellings.
(b) Includes Government buildings, churches, shops, halls, etc.

Source: Niue Quarterly Abstract of Statistics, March 1982.

sense of despondency and disillusionment; a decade ago it was noted that 'it is increasingly difficult to maintain community spirit and develop social - or any other - life in an island dismembered by migration' (Walsh and Trlin, 1973:66). The atmosphere of ghost-towns, with the constant reminders of relatives and friends who have emigrated to New Zealand, is a powerful element in further emigration.

As has been previously indicated (see above) emigration has disproportionately affected children, young women and young men, thus increasing the dependency ratio, reducing the available workforce and resulting in Niuean births being predominantly in New Zealand. However as Walsh noted with reference to the 1976 census data,

> 'While the long-term effect of these changes may be to limit the capacity of the population to reproduce itself and to produce an ageing population, in the short term the losses have not been so unbalanced as to seriously misshape Niue's population structure....Recent loss of population in Niue has not resulted in increased or excessive age and sex imbalance in most villages or in the island as a whole' (1980:64).

After the opening of the airport in 1971 a pattern of family migration became more common (Mitchell, 1977:60) and, in the past five years, migration has extended throughout Niuean society and the dependency ratio has declined (Walsh, 1981:151-2) so that the basic migration problem now constitutes a loss of individuals throughout society rather than a loss in any particular group. Nevertheless imbalances remain.

The 1976 census provided some information on return migration to Niue, in indicating the birthplaces of Niueans born overseas. Niueans born outside Niue increased from 38 in 1971 to 186 in 1976 and an increased proportion were aged less than twenty, indicating that they were children returning with their parents. Of this group 78 were born in New Zealand, 59 in Western Samoa and 24 in Tonga (Walsh, 1980:54). Some 23% of all Niueans born in Niue had spent some time overseas, but for over half of them the period overseas was less than a year; however some seventy-two Niueans (8%) of those Niueans who had lived overseas returned to Niue after a period of more than ten years away. The small proportion who have returned, especially after a substantial period away from Niue, compared with the large number of Niueans in New Zealand, indicate that 'there appears to have been very little return movement of people who had left Niue with the intention of residing permanently overseas' (ibid). In general there are few employment opportunities for such return migrants, outside some particular categories of the public service, and there is a strongly held belief in Niue that locally trained and resident Niueans should receive priority in job opportunities. If they do not receive such priority emigration is likely to 'be a sequel to their disenchantment' (ibid). In this context then the greatest opportunities for returning migrants may paradoxically lie in the extremely small private sector; in the circumstances return migration is unlikely to increase.

The absolute size of the workforce (considered as males aged between 20 and 59) has declined in the past decade but at least in the period 1971-76 the overall loss of the workforce was less than that of the population as a whole (Walsh, 1980:65). This however reflects a situation in which a greater proportion of the workforce had left before 1971. There were however marked differences between villages and these variations, alongside

the dispersion of the population and the small proportion of the total population not already employed for wages and salaries (who might therefore be available for full-time employment, in agriculture or elsewhere), place constraints on the type of manpower and employment policy that is possible in Niue (Walsh, 1980:65).

In terms of the occupations of migrants Walsh and Trlin found that in the period up to 1971 migration tended to be of those who were relatively unskilled and as they suggested then, 'where Niue is capable of providing employment with a reasonable income at least some of the people are prepared to stay' (1973:64) so that in the late 1960s it was 'the poorer, least advantaged people (or more precisely males) who have become most significant' (ibid). That is as those with low incomes eventually became able to afford migration, then they migrated. They therefore concluded that there was then no 'brain-drain' from Niue and even the migration of those with trade skills was offset by the increased production of individuals with trade skills in Niue (ibid). Whilst detailed data on the past decade is unavailable it is apparent that the scale of migration is such that it has incorporated all kinds of workers and while there does not appear to have been a disproportionate migration of those with skills, there is a more rapid loss of skills than is currently generated by Niue. However the migration of those with skills is particularly significant for a very small economy such as that of Niue; since most highly skilled and professional local manpower are working alone their migration tends to leave gaps which cannot easily be filled. This is especially so when that migration has not been anticipated, as is often the case when migration follows a period of leave, so that no replacement is available. The Development Plan records that 'a disturbing feature is the number of local staff who resign without having fulfilled the conditions of the bond they sign prior to receiving overseas training at the Government's expense and greater efforts are now being made to enforce the legal obligations of such staff' (Government of Niue, 1979:129). Thus whilst migrants are not particularly drawn from the ranks of those with skills it is their emigration that causes the greatest problems in Niue.

A changing agricultural system has not followed extensive emigration, as has occurred in other parts of the South Pacific region. The Niuean economy is characterised by a combination of wage employment and subsistence agriculture, with most wage workers also working in agriculture. Practically every Niuean household is self-sufficient in some basic food staples, including taro and vegetables (but not fresh fish), a situation almost as true for cabinet ministers and senior government officials as for less well-paid workers (Fisk, 1980:444); 'there can be few countries in the world today where virtually the whole indigenous population, using family labour on their own subsistence gardens, produce so large a part of their total family requirements' (ibid). However the quantities of imported food are increasing, especially of flour (ibid), tinned meat and tinned fish, biscuits and other items to the extent that in 1974 some 46% of total imports were of food, drink or tobacco (Pollock, 1976:23) and the expense of imported goods is very high in Niue. By 1981, although the value of food, drinks and tobacco imports had more than doubled, it represented only 33% of the total value of imports. Whilst remittances enable consumption of imported foods the low level of remittances (see below) ensures that most imports must be purchased from local wages. Some 60% of all imports by value are beverages and alcohol sale has become the government's best revenue earner (netting $420,000 in 1981) and it has been estimated that nearly half the average wage of all Niueans (estimated at $60-80 a fortnight) is spent on alcohol, a situation even more true of the public

service (Tohi Tala Niue, 29 July 1983, 9-10). Such extensive food and alcohol imports have had some impact on nutrition and social organisation.

Whilst the traditional agricultural economy has largely survived, the commercial components of the agricultural economy have suffered from emigration, not only from the absolute decline of the workforce which has limited the availability of manpower for government agricultural enterprises and possible private sector developments. In this respect Niue is the converse of most other parts of the South Pacific region where it has been the food crop, subsistence component of the agricultural system that has tended to decline following emigration. New land development is discouraged, especially for cash crops such as coconuts, if cultivators believe they may be in New Zealand when the crop matures. There are other diseconomies: many abandoned plantations of migrants are breeding grounds for serious infestations of pests and diseases and cultivators are less likely to plant possible emergency supplies of root crops if they can depend on relatives in New Zealand (Pollard, 1978:81-82). Although the agricultural economy has changed little in character following emigration it has declined in extent and significance and there have been no innovations; for agricultural development large scale emigration has been 'economically disastrous' (Mitchell, 1977:93).

Most agricultural land is under-used or unused; however it has not been possible for this land to be leased to either the government or resident Niueans because of 'the caution of some resident Niueans and the generally restrictive attitude of absent Niueans' (Kalauni, 1977:11). Consequently problems of multiple ownership, fragmentation and attitudes of landowners result in declining output from the land (op cit:12) and the overstocking of limited areas of government land (op cit:13). Although migration has not, of course, reduced the availability of land available for agricultural development (Mitchell, 1977:53). Even with financial assistance to agriculture mechanisation has only limited potential on the reasonably level but stony land of Niue, but would enable movement towards self-sufficiency in agricultural production. For these kinds of reasons land tenure reform is necessary and there has been concern that absentee owners accept proposals for reform (cf. Kalauni, 1977:12). However as early as 1923 a land tenure situation was already in existence in Niue that has since become increasingly common to most of the eastern Pacific; this is the fact that whereas place of residence (i.e. 'being there') was formerly a vital criterion in determining membership of the landholding group, it has since become predominantly a matter of genealogical connection as a result of many men marrying away from their home village. Being absent no longer has the adverse effect on landholding that it may have had in pre-contact times (Loeb, 1926:60, cited by Crocombe, 1971:78) hence absentees have always had considerable influence on land ownership and use in Niue.

The principal attempt to introduce land reform legislation was in 1964 when the Niue Assembly decided to introduce legislation whereby persons who had been absent for 20 years or more automatically lost their former land rights in Niue, on the grounds that absentee land ownership retarded economic development although provision was made that the magafaoa (descent group) could restore or replace land rights for such an absentee if he returned to live in Niue (Crocombe, 1971:79). Niueans in New Zealand were vigorously and unanimously opposed and considerable animosity developed between them and resident Niueans; not only did the migrants fear the loss of the psychological security that land tenure gave them and hence their economic security, but they saw the loss of land rights as a break in social relations (ibid) and consequently a loss of their identity as Niueans

(Tuhega, 1977:26-27). Migrant Niueans in Samoa, who had been there longer than the Niueans in New Zealand and who had inadequate incomes either to send remittances to Niue or to finance emigration from Niue, did not object to the proposals (Crocombe, 1977:79). Niueans in New Zealand sent a delegation and a petition to Niue and, despite their lack of political rights in Niue, the land reform proposals were discontinued. Thus as in the Cook Islands (Country Report No.2) and Pitcairn Island (Country Report No.15) used land cannot be consolidated in Niue, because emigrants who include many traditional leaders, insist on retaining control of that land which remains their insurance and security in Niue in case they ever return to settle there. As elsewhere in Polynesia the inability to achieve land reform limits the opportunities of those who have chosen to remain, even where the migrants are citizens of New Zealand and cannot be forced to return 'home'.

In the mid-1970s Walsh examined income levels in seven Niuean villages and found that amongst the characteristics of households with annual per capita incomes less than $200, which was assumed to be a crude measure of economic deprivation, two-thirds of those households had been depleted or left without sufficient support as a result of migration; 40% of those households were of old couples, widows and widowers (Walsh, 1980:66). Whilst migration may have been a response to economic deprivation it is significant that, if Walsh's findings are accurate, migration (and implicitly remittances) do not alleviate this deprivation. Data on the extent and significance of remittances to Niue is poor. For 1971 Walsh and Trlin recorded an average per capita income for Niue of $117.50, of which $12 came from remittances; there was no indication of how remittances were distributed (1973:76). For 1973-4 Pollard recorded an average per capita income of $207.70, of which $30 came from remittances; again there is no data on how this was distributed (1978:81). At these two separate time periods therefore remittances constituted between 10-14% of total incomes in Niue compared with wages and salaries which constituted more than 80% of all cash incomes on both occasions. In the two villages of Tuapa and Lakepa one-third of households did not receive remittances but 6 of 76 households received more than $300 in 1976 although most received less than $100 (Mitchell, 1977:250-251). Thus the distribution of remittances was extremely unequal although there is no indication of the relative significance of remittances for different households or the degree of dependence on remittances. A survey undertaken in the Wellington area in 1977 found that Niueans were the least likely of all Polynesian groups to send remittances both because they were most likely to be permanent residents in New Zealand and because they had fewer dependents in Niue (New Zealand Department of Labour, 1979:25). Thus the extent of remittances in Niue appears unusually small in view of the considerable extent of emigration, but may be explained both by the increasing number of extended families in New Zealand and limited return migration. The benefits of remittances in terms of superior levels of material consumption, and especially the purchase of luxury items (Mitchell, 1977:249), are perhaps less likely to be experienced in Niue than in some other parts of the South Pacific. This both explains Walsh's findings on levels of economic deprivation and is likely to contribute to further emigration.

Whilst the impact of migration in Niue is considerable, in terms of income levels, skills and agricultural stability (and also on such issues as social change and the monetisation of the economy, which are not discussed here) the principal significance of emigration is the rapid decline in absolute numbers in Niue, beyond which all qualitative changes are of minor importance.

Conclusion

The economic structure of Niue is relatively unusual in the South Pacific region in that it has retained an 'affluent subsistence economy', which provides basic food resources for the whole population, but with very little surplus available either for domestic marketing or external trade, and very limited prospects for the development of export-oriented activities. Despite limitations to domestic economic development Niueans experience an 'extraordinarily high standard of income and living' (Fisk, 1980:442), in large part a result of a very high per capita aid allocation, which is one of the highest in the South Pacific. Material standards of living are very high; all-weather roads reach every village, and after the 1959 and 1960 hurricanes there was much reconstruction of permanent, modern housing with water and electricity available in every village. There were parallel developments in education and health services; the improvement in the welfare situation was important yet there was one other important effect: 'people had finally become aware that a subsistence way of life was no longer appropriate. Unfortunately they did not have much of an economic base upon which to achieve their material aspirations' (Chapman, 1982:135). Moreover even by the late 1950's, 'the local Niuean population began to take for granted the services supplied and the continuation of New Zealand services at their present levels' (Mitchell, 1977:268). Thus even with an economy of traditional subsistence affluence (even though demanding considerable labour inputs), reasonable wages in a modern sector characterised by full employment and with a high level of welfare provision the most distinctive contemporary phenomenon in Niue is emigration.

The particular problems that are constraints to economic development in Niue are nowhere better explained than in the current development plan,

> 'A number of unusual features of a very small island economy have affected the development of Niue and some represent particular difficulties to be overcome for economic growth to occur. Having vigorously developed the social services and government wage employment, it is now difficult to turn back to the agricultural base which once existed. In looking to finance the existing Government structure and activities, Niue has found the financial and manpower resources required to run a moderately developed micro-state do not relate precisely to the population size....None of the advantages of scale can be obtained in most areas and Government must face what economists call the diseconomies of small scale' (Government of Niue, 1979:12).

For these reasons, alongside high wage rates and a dispersed, low density population, development strategies have been oriented to land-intensive activities such as forestry and skill-intensive activities such as service industries and skilled manufacturing for export. None have been conspicuously successful and in an isolated island with a small population and limited natural resources development opportunities are necessarily extremely limited.

Niue, because of its small size and the paternalistic nature of New Zealand policy, has become very closely integrated into New Zealand economy and society, despite the distance from New Zealand; the extent of both

development and migration are largely determined by the relationship with New Zealand.

> 'Niueans have responded without resistance to the permeation into their life-style of New Zealand's own ways and values. In fact they have come to accept and desire as an integral part of their modern life-style, practically everything with which New Zealand life is associated. No bigger than a New Zealand rural township, Niue, during a relatively short period of just over seventy years has evolved from the position of having a life-style dictated wholly by its immediate environment to one where modern expectations and aspirations can no longer be settled from within. In short, Niue as a modern society has today arrived at a point between and betwixt. Ethnically, the people still belong to the small Niuean branch of the Polynesian race. Culturally, they are neither wholly Niuean nor wholly New Zealanders but both, with no way of determining which side is stronger. Materially, because their environment does not have the necessary resources for a modern way of life. The point of reference is the standards obtaining in New Zealand itself. The evolution of Niuean society, as a consequence of New Zealand's imperial aspirations, has reached the point of no return. Most of the Niuean people have become alienated from their indigenous environment for most of them now live in New Zealand and will eventually become assimilated' (Chapman, 1982:138).

Thus Niue presents all the typical characteristics of a downward spiral in its population, economy and social organisation, a spiral that is paralleled nowhere else in the South Pacific region (although there are similarities with both the Cook Islands and Pitcairn Island). As the population falls the potential for economic development declines and as the domestic market contracts the potential profitability of the private sector falls, and employment opportunities also decline. Employment therefore becomes increasingly concentrated in the public sector and is sustained at an artificially high level only by increasing levels of aid from New Zealand. As education remains oriented to a New Zealand curriculum and the growing majority of Niueans live in New Zealand the incentives to migrate to New Zealand increase and the traditional aspects of Niuean social organisation become eroded and replaced by 'modernisation'. As Walsh and Trlin observed a decade ago, 'Niuean society at village level seems increasingly incapable of maintaining old standards or providing new ones conducive to social harmony and development precisely at the time when it is most needed if people are to be induced to stay' (1973:67). To intervene in such a spiral, where migration rates are exceptionally high, consequently becomes increasingly difficult. Again, a decade ago, 'in all age groups there is a sense of fatalism towards migration, a feeling that it is impossible to resist the inevitable' (ibid). A few years later, the same 'air of fatalism' (Pollard, 1978:82) was no less present and apparent to other observers. Similarly Mitchell noted that emigration had become 'the path of least resistance and part of the way of life for many Niueans' (1977:91).

And yet there are paradoxes in the context of migration which make policy formation extremely difficult. Once again, Walsh and Trlin note,

> 'One wonders whether it is coincidental that an island which offers some of the best housing, education and medical facilities in the Pacific, and where proportionately more men are employed at higher wages than most adjacent islands, should be an island so affected by depopulation. The migrant is clearly not driven or expelled from Niue by sheer necessity. He is propelled by his New Zealand citizenship, his rising expectations, his kin in New Zealand and by the rather disturbing belief that he is participating in the inevitable' (1973:67-68).

In general 'it appears that Niueans are being attracted into going to New Zealand rather than leaving Niue because of its failings' (Pollock, 1976: 26) and moreover, despite many improvements in Niue in the past two decades (such as reticulated water and electricity in each village, high levels of car ownership, a wide range of available imported commodities) Niuean visitors to Niue have stated that 'it would be nice but difficult to convince their close relatives in New Zealand that Niue was no longer the backward place they imagined' (ibid) whilst residents felt 'that those now living on Niue had been "left behind" in terms of their relatives in New Zealand and thus had settled for slightly less' (op cit:27). It is necessary to note again that emigration is a function of relative deprivation. Whilst prominent Niueans have spoken of being 'imprisoned in a small room with a fireplace in a cold country' (Y.Vivian, pers. comm, 1982) the reality is that a warm climate, good health and education levels and virtually full employment are not enough to slow emigration. Within the past decade this situation has been unchanged; the catalytic impact of a new air service has already been noted yet there has been no decline in the social services and wage levels of Niue. The potential impact on emigration of another hurricane is enormous. As Walsh has recently observed, 'recent plans to attract some such [skilled] people back to Niue appear unlikely to succeed. Emigration has reached too advanced a stage' (1981:155). Transfer of pension rights from New Zealand to Niue would enable increased return migration but would contribute nothing to economic productivity and a worsening dependency rate.

Throughout this report, as elsewhere in the country reports, especially on Polynesia, the general perspective has been one which approaches the impact of international migration in terms of both its long-term and short-term effects on the economy and society of the country from which the migrants are leaving, and to a lesser extent the effect on those households and individuals who have not migrated. The significance of economic and social changes for the migrants themselves, who are mainly outside the region, has not been considered in detail even in the reports on New Zealand, Australia and North America; nor has any attention been given to the economic and social contributions made by migrants to the countries of destination. In the context of Niue particularly where few if any migrants are moving away from real deprivation it is apparent that many Niueans are 'voting with their feet' in favour of what they perceive as a better life-style elsewhere. While this migration may not benefit Niue the general consensus of the available evidence suggests that, whilst New Zealand aid levels remain high, emigration does relatively little to harm the living standards of Niueans (although it does limit the opportunities for economic development) and may contribute significantly to the living standards of Niuean migrants. Attitudes to migration therefore tend to be formulated in a context where emigration is not an obvious social and economic problem, is viewed as a right and in which many Niueans, and especially the politicians

and public servants, have participated at some point and may well expect to participate again. The task of formulating a cohesive policy opposed to migration has not therefore been easy.

Within Niue attitudes to emigration have varied in the past but are now more strongly oriented to maintaining the present population in Niue and encouraging return migration. At the start of the present decade the Pacific Islands Monthly recorded,

> 'The cold reality of the situation is that Niue could almost depopulate in ten years. The biggest political decision is whether to deliberately accelerate the departure rate, or improve conditions so that those who choose to stay can maintain a high standard of living' (cited by Trumbull, 1977:172).

Whilst the first choice is always available, it is not politically viable yet always becomes a little more likely as time passes and attempts to retain population and encourage return migration fail. Moreover some of those who have recognised the orientation towards New Zealand have concluded, like Bazinet, that although there are potential changes within Niue (such as sporting and recreational activities and the integration of young people into the village community) much more could be done to prepare young people for life in New Zealand in terms of better information on society and economy there alongside a career information service (1970a:9-10). Thus there has always been some degree of ambivalence; although within the past decade policy has been officially oriented towards increased retention of the present population and a greater degree of return migration the most recent statements of the Premier (cf. Theroux, 1983:63) reflect minimal concern over migration and related problems.

Inevitably Niue has attached greater importance to policies influencing return migration than any other country in the South Pacific, although Pitcairn Island (Country Report No.15) has also attached great importance to increased return migration. The general assumption set out in the Development Plan is that if new employment opportunities can be generated on Niue, especially in the private sector, this will be a major stimulus to return migration; new employment opportunities would go alongside 'an atmosphere of activity and productivity' and 'social and economic development at village and national level' (Government of Niue, 1979:15). This would be emphasized by the two factors of 'worsening New Zealand economic conditions [and] social and cultural problems facing Niueans living in New Zealand' (op cit:15). In fact at least as much significance is attached to the 'push' factors of changing conditions in New Zealand rather than possible developments on Niue itself. The earliest formal attempt to slow emigration was in 1967 and 1968 when there was a slight economic recession in New Zealand; restrictions were not imposed upon emigration but local media services and inter-personal contact was used to encourage people to realise that migration to New Zealand would not then be in their best interests. A pilot scheme to encourage Niuean migrants to return from Auckland to Niue was set up in July 1974; little is known about the basis of this scheme (which included the provision of return travel costs for those Niueans with skills to offer in Niue) but it had little success. It was then concluded that 'it is obvious islanders living in New Zealand are not prepared to work for local wages here or live in village settings without power and commodities readily available in New Zealand' (Guest, 1975:37).

The failure of this scheme was noted in the Development Plan and it was stated that 'the previously ineffective returnees scheme will be upgraded and promoted among Niueans in New Zealand' (Government of Niue, 1979:15) although the major incentives would lie in new opportunities with the private sector. The Development Plan consequently set a target of the immigration of 200 people (a quarter of whom would be in the workforce) between 1979 and 1984, which was expected to partially counteract a decline which, based on previous rates, was expected to be of 326 people. Whilst the extent of return migration is nowhere near to achieving this target it is apparent that the search for economic development opportunities in Niue, especially those that enable some degree of import substitution (such as beef cattle production), must be continually sought out and emphasized by the government, not only becase they are valuable in themselves, but because 'it reassures those who have opted for life on Niue (rather than in New Zealand) that their government is backing them in this option and endeavouring to ensure that they can continue to find their personal satisfactions in their own island community' (Pollock, 1976:28-9). In June 1981 a Niue government consular office was opened in Auckland, New Zealand. The two main objectives of this office are, firstly, to promote Niue as a place in which to invest and as a tourist destination and, secondly, to keep Niueans in New Zealand informed of developments in Niue with the object of encouraging them to resettle in Niue and to recruit Niueans in New Zealand to positions in the Niue public service. Going beyond immediate policy objectives the Government of Niue has proposed to UN agencies that a major study of the 'Patterns and Determinants of Niuean Migration' be undertaken to provide more information on migration, and especially collect data on Niueans in New Zealand, to enable the refinement of policies that would both stabilise the population and encourage a greater degree of return migration.

Whilst the Development Plan set targets for return migration the policies that were intended to generate increased return migration were principally those associated with economic development and specifically the provision of more jobs, especially in the private sector. The worrying decline in jobs in the past two years demonstrates how difficult that task is and how any attempt to generate return migration must focus not only on issues of employment (and wage and salary levels) but also on social issues such as education policy and more complex issues such as land reform. Whilst education has long been seen as one area where a re-orientation towards Niuean needs would be likely to slow emigration (cf. Y.Vivian, cited by Walsh and Trlin, 1973:68; Fisk, 1980:456) there is no evidence that there has been any significant changes in the content of education that would assist in this aim. In practice it would now be extremely difficult to make the educational system more vocational and/or Niuean in view of the very high proportion of employment in the government sector and consequently the necessity of some substantial technical training (including overseas training) for much of this group. The issue of limited social amenities is currently being investigated in terms of the introduction of video television to Niue, which would necessarily depend almost entirely on imported programmes. The extent to which this would slow migration rather than increase it (by creating a greater awareness of New Zealand and the world beyond) whilst also increasing social change and changing consumption patterns, is difficult to ascertain. Video has become established in Niue in the past year but its impact is not yet known. Early social-oriented policies have enabled Niueans to receive New Zealand pensions in Niue, a policy again aimed at return migration but one that is not known to have achieved real success.

The absence of land tenure reforms has contributed to migration (although the extent to which it has done so is not known); a history of disputes over land in Niue (cf. Crocombe, 1971:68) and factionalism (Chapman, 1976) limit the realistic opportunities for change although proposals for changes in land tenure have been made on a number of occasions (e.g. Crocombe, 1977; Tongatule, 1981; Niue, 1982). Proposals for land reform must be consistent with social reality; whilst migrants argue that a loss of land rights would be regarded as a disruption of their social relations (see above) it is apparent that emigration constitutes one form of voluntary disruption of some social relations and especially social and economic ties to Niue. Emphasis on these issues alongside the possibility of giving Niueans in New Zealand representation in the Niuean Assembly (cf. Chapman, 1982:139) might jointly produce some impact on land tenure. But land reform everywhere is difficult, as much in Niue as elsewhere, emphasizing the comments of a French visitor to Niue: 'deux absolus, entre lesquels, sans cesse, nous errons: le besoin d'une patrie et le courage de la quitter' (Guillebaud, 1980:101). In the presence of absolutes marginal changes are extremely difficult.

The constraints to radical decision-making are essentially those that are also found in the Cook Islands (Country Report No.2) and the experience of the Cook Islands with emigration is of much relevance for Niue. Firstly, it is rarely immediately obvious exactly what economic development policies are most likely to both simultaneously encourage economic development and return migration, in a context where almost all the revenue for development is provided by New Zealand, and where a population of no more than 3,000 severely limits development opportunities. Policies that elsewhere stress the provision of employment opportunities, at higher wage levels, are of little relevance to Niue. Secondly, whilst government policy is aimed at encouraging return migration there is much evidence that not all Niueans in Niue welcome return migration, on the grounds that better opportunities may be available to those remaining in Niue (in the absence of competition from overseas) and they should receive the benefits of any development in Niue rather than returning migrants. A study of business development noted the problems of generating new business development in Niue, that might encourage return migration, when government intervention would have to be undertaken by a government in part composed of existing Niuean businessmen (Burrowes, 1981). Related to this is the question of what is the appropriate population for Niue; if all ethnic Niueans returned to Niue there would be a population there of around 10,000, almost twice the highest ever recorded population. Whilst this is extremely improbable it does indicate that, in some way, return migration must probably be selective. A third factor complicating policy formation and decision-making in Niue is the fragmented nature of traditional Niuean society: 'For centuries Niue existed as several hostile moieties so they [the people] had no traditional bonds of nationalism, and as such modern Niueans loathe the idea of some of their own people presiding over them' (R.Rex, cited by T.M. Chapman, 1982:138; cf. Challis, 1953). This phenomenon, which slowed the movement towards self-government in a basically democratic system, restricts the likelihood of radical policy formation. This is further complicated, as in the Cook Islands, both by the position of Niueans as New Zealand citizens and hence their constitutional freedom of movement and by considerable unwillingness to restrict this freedom of movement. All the evidence indicates therefore that there will be no radical approach to migration but that policies will continue to seek out more productive development and employment opportunities in Niue, but, because of existing constraints, the degree of inequality between Niue and New Zealand is unlikely to decrease.

One senior Niuean government official, after reviewing the problems of development in Niue, recently concluded,

> 'Niue is optimistic about its future. Already there is a decline in Niueans going abroad and significant numbers return from New Zealand, to ensure that they have a stake in Niue's future. The problems outlined above together with many others face the Niuean people, but do not daunt them. At the time of writing, another drought has hit the Island ruining half the taro and passionfruit crops. Niue's character has been formed by surviving. She will survive in this very different world of self-government, independence and economically improved living with those very same virtues of independence, devotion to family and flexibility that have enabled her to survive for at least a thousand years', (Chapman, 1982:139).

Yet numbers migrating overseas now appear to be again increasing rapidly; in this context Chapman is unfortunately already wrong so that the other problems are already magnified. Undoubtedly Niue will survive but there are few grounds for optimism that there is a real basis for economic development in Niue and hence that, even with draconian policies, this will occur at a population level much like that of the present day.

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