

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

**COUNTRY REPORT NO. 20
VANUATU**

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 Dr 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 Dr 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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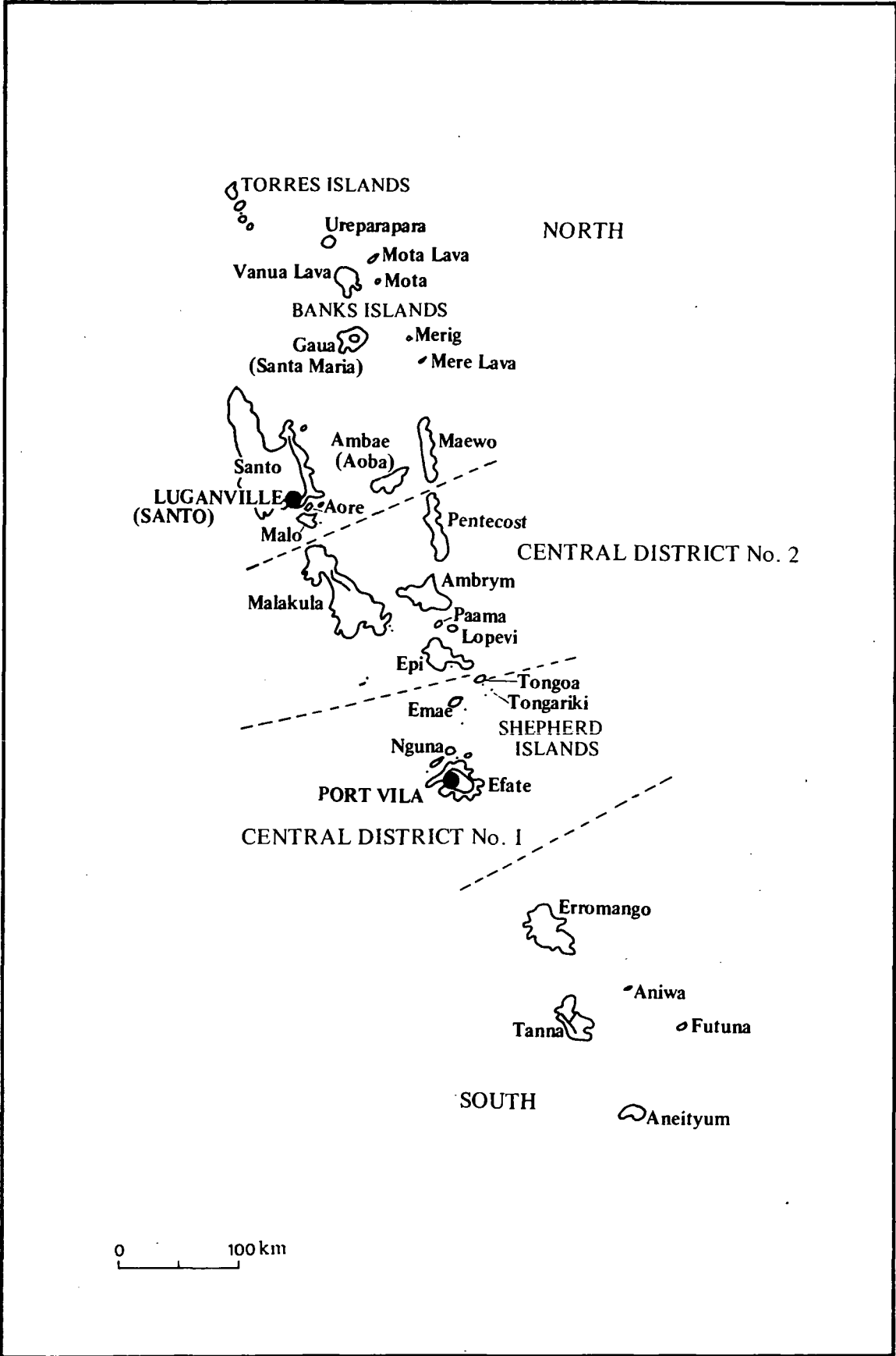
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TELL ME

John Laan

Tell me about the town
The streets and the cars
The wharves and the buildings
And why are they there

Tell me about the town people
How they dress
The way they speak, their behaviour
And why they never return

Tell me about the tourists
Where they come from
Who they are
And why they carry cameras

Tell me about the shops
Who the shopkeepers are
The goods they sell
And why they are so expensive

Tell me about the cinemas
Who shows the pictures
How much you pay
And why are some not suitable for children

Finally tell me
If you will marry me
And take me to town with you.

Pacific Islands Monthly, July 1975, p.49.

Vanuatu, known until independence in July 1980 as the New Hebrides, is a chain of about eighty islands stretching between the Solomon Islands and the Loyalty Islands of New Caledonia over a distance of about 800 kms. Efate, which has the capital city Port Vila, is at a central point in the group but there are two larger islands, Malakula and Espiritu Santo. Although few of the islands rise to a great height, the highest point being 1,877 m. on Santo, many are mountainous and there are a number of active volcanoes, the most notable of which is Yasur (Tanna). In recent decades eruptions on both Lopevi and Ambrym have resulted in population migration from those islands. The northern islands are more tropical than the southern islands, where a greater range of crops are grown. Both droughts and hurricanes (Wilson, 1966:59-64) are occasional hazards, especially for agricultural development, whilst earthquakes and volcanic ashfalls have rarer, more localised but more dramatic effects. In the southern islands especially, seasonality is quite marked and the end of the dry season is often celebrated.

Vanuatu is part of Melanesia, although the small southern island of Futuna is to some extent a Polynesian outlier, and has a greater linguistic diversity than any other country in the world. It has been estimated that there are as many as 105 to 110 languages in Vanuatu, thus most language groups are extremely small; the constitution declares the national language to be Bislama (Pidgin English) with the official languages also including

English and French. Moreover there are some seventy populated islands, a greater number than in most other countries in the South Pacific region. These island groups and linguistic diversity have resulted in considerable cultural diversity and this is also emphasized in significant religious differences. Traditional societies in Vanuatu were competitive, with the accumulation of wealth (usually through pigs) and the achievement of status being essential to the acquisition of leadership, of which there were often many grades. There are however many variations including differences between the matrilineal societies of the north and the patrilineal societies south of Pentecost. Whilst almost all the population are Melanesian, known as ni-Vanuatu, the diversity of cultures and languages and the fragmentation of the country between many islands pose many problems for development, similar in several ways to the neighbouring Solomon Islands.

The islands of Vanuatu have been settled for several thousand years and were almost certainly first settled by Melanesians moving southwards from the Solomon Islands; the earliest radiocarbon date established in the northern islands is 1500 B.C. in Aore (Ward, 1978:84) and in the southern group 420 B.C. on Tanna (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:487). More recently there has been westwards migration of Polynesians who settled in several parts of Vanuatu in small numbers, but particularly in Futuna and Aniwa in the southern group. The first European to see Vanuatu was Quiros who sighted several of the Banks Islands and Maewo in 1606; Quiros spent about six weeks on Santo, which he believed to be the long-sought Terra Australis and hence named it Australia del Espiritu Santo. He planned to establish a settlement, 'New Jerusalem', on Big Bay and remains of what may be this are still visible. There was no further contact with the islands until 1768 when Bougainville recorded the positions of Pentecost, Ambae (Aoba) and Malakula. Six years later Cook was the first European to visit almost all the remaining islands and he named the group the New Hebrides. The last group of islands to be located were the Torres Islands, possibly seen by Europeans in 1835 but not definitely located until 1850, making them among the last islands in the Pacific to be sighted by Europeans.

Sandalwood was discovered by Dillon on Tanna and Erromango in 1825 and a rapacious sandalwood trade developed. A few years later the London Missionary Society placed Samoan catechists on the five southern islands and the first European missionaries, including John Williams, landed at Erromango in 1839 where they were killed. The southernmost island of Aneityum eventually became the first island where missionisation was successfully established in the mid-1850s and, in subsequent decades, missionaries became established on most of the islands in the group. In 1847 the first recruits of Melanesian labour for work in Australia were made and this marked the start of a long period of 'blackbirding' and labour migration (see below) which, to some extent, was associated with a declining population (see below). By 1885 missions had reached most islands, labour migration and some depopulation was common and the number of European traders and planters was increasing, especially on Efate although European trade and settlement in the northern islands followed that in the south. In 1886 the islands north of Efate were still a 'primary frontier area' (Thompson, 1981:8) and it was not until later in the century that islands like Ambrym and Ambae (Aoba) had any European settlement. Most of the settlers were English or French, who bought large areas of land from the islanders.

Somewhat earlier, John Higginson, a British-born naturalised Frenchman of New Caledonia, requested France to annex Vanuatu; although the request was refused the French put forward proposals to settle liberated convicts

there. Australian opposition to this stimulated a series of proposals on the future of Vanuatu which in 1886 resulted in Britain and France setting up a Joint Naval Commission for safeguarding order in Vanuatu (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:488-9). In 1906, when German interests were trying to gain a foothold in Vanuatu, the British and French Governments agreed to establish a Condominium, and so began a unique experience of colonialism in the South Pacific region. French commercial interests developed more rapidly and there were more French than British settlers. It was an uneasy alliance, with French and British colonies on either side, and one which Britain generally had little interest in to the extent that in 1950 it attempted to devolve authority to Australia which was also uninterested in accepting the responsibility. In the circumstances development was both limited and chaotic. For example, before Independence there were three separate administrations in the country, English, French and New Hebridean, hence the occasional references to 'pandemonium' (Lini, 1980) rather than 'condominium', so that employment in the government sector was, and is, higher than might have been expected for a country of this size.

There was always some degree of opposition to the Condominium system, and indeed to administration in general. Often this took effectively traditional forms, such as the establishment and development of the John Frum cult of Tanna from the 1940s and, to a lesser extent, in the Nagriamel movement of Santo and in other custom groups. Such movements tended to represent a return to tradition rather than a direct confrontation with administration. Opposition to American attempts to develop land in Santo and Efate resulted in the foundation of the New Hebrides National Party in 1971, which was oriented to majority rule and self-government, and which eventually became the Vanuaaku Party. The Santo Nagriamel leader, Jimmy Stephens, had previously demanded independence in 1971 at the United Nations but there was no programme for Independence until well into the 1970s as, in general, Britain wished to leave Vanuatu and France wished to remain (Forster, 1980; Leder, 1981; Jupp and Sawer, 1979b). Francophone political parties were also formed and in the first general election in 1975 the Vanuaaku Party won a majority. It did not take its place in the house and it was not after much political discussion and dispute that a Government of National Unity was established in 1978. In the third general election of 1979 the Vanuaaku Party won a large majority and Father Walter Lini became Chief Minister; the other parties, collectively the 'Moderates', disputed the election results and did not take their seats. Meanwhile Jimmy Stephens, in association with American business interests (The Phoenix Foundation) attempted to draw up a separate constitution for a confederation of island states in Vanuatu. In May 1980 Stephens declared a Provisional Government of the Republic of Vemarana in Santo and his supporters in other islands in the northern group (Malekula, Ambrym, Paama, Ambae (Aoba), Malo, Epi and Maewo) declared their own governments; the 'Moderates' of Tanna also set up their own Provisional Government although, on all of these islands, the supporters of Stephens were in a minority. The New Hebrides government referred to the supporters of Stephens as 'secessionist rebels'; negotiations were unsuccessful until, in mid-1980, immediately after the independence of Vanuatu, troops from Papua New Guinea were brought in to occupy Santo and the rebellion ended (Shears, 1980; McClancy, 1981; Molisa et al, 1982). Thus independence coincided with an extremely difficult time in the evolution of Vanuatu and this has been the only country in the region that has not achieved independence peacefully. This has resulted in some friction between different regions in the country and although there has been no resurgence of secessionist movements since Independence there has been a continuation of some regional religious and political differences.

The Vanuaaku Party, which has governed Vanuatu since Independence, essentially emerged out of opposition to colonial administration; 'it is therefore not surprising that they at first presented an extreme left wing and almost Marxist stance' (Forster, 1980:872) and more recently were regarded as espousing 'a combination of socialism and nationalism commonly found in the Third World and what has been termed "populism"' (Sawer and Jupp, 1980:24). Government policy, especially in relation to foreign affairs, has tended initially to be more radical than in other South Pacific states but increasingly the similarities in national policies between Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea are apparent. As elsewhere in Melanesia traditional values ('kastom') play a strong part in both local and national life (cf. Tonkinson, 1982).

Economy

As in the other Melanesian countries to the north the economy of Vanuatu is primarily dependent on agricultural production, and there are significant variations between village agriculture, with its combination of subsistence production and some cash cropping, and the plantation sector (principally involved in copra and cattle production) and oriented towards overseas markets. There are currently no official estimates of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) although in 1976, when it was valued at Vatu 6,200 million, the major contributions were Government services which made up to 35%, agriculture which made up over 20% and distribution, hotels and restaurants which accounted for about 15%. Since then estimates suggest that the GDP has risen especially because of an expansion in agricultural production (Vanuatu, 1982:6) to around Vatu 6,900 million (ADB, 1982:16). Thus agriculture is much the most important sector of the national economy, is the principal source of employment and economic activity for the bulk of the population (see below) and, alongside fisheries, constitutes the main area of potential future economic development.

The most important component of the agricultural system in terms of food production (and economic activity) is the basically subsistence sector, involving the bush-fallowing of a variety of root crops, including yams, taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, cassava (manioc) and with a number of green vegetables, notably pumpkin and aibika ('island cabbage' - Abelmoschus manihot). A wide variety of supplementary crops exist; Santo, for example, is the southernmost area of Melanesia where sago is still occasionally eaten at least until recently (Guiart, 1958:35-36) and coconuts are of widespread importance. Kava (Piper mysticum) is grown throughout Vanuatu, but especially in Tanna, and has become of some significance as a cash crop. In the late 1950s of all the traditional crops kava was perhaps the most important source of cash (Wilson, 1966:169-170). Long-fallowing is still possible in the less densely populated islands but increasingly, especially in the coastal villages where cash crops are important, there is virtually fixed cultivation with minimal fallow periods. The traditional agricultural economy has been described in detail elsewhere (Barrau, 1956). Everywhere local cultivated food supplies are supplemented by some degree of hunting, gathering and fishing and it is not unusual for flying foxes to be sold in urban markets. Pigs and poultry are raised throughout the country but the production and consumption of pigs is of primarily ceremonial importance. However only Port Vila, Santo and also on Tanna, are food crops planted specifically for sale (Ward et al, 1980:208), and on Tanna specialised crops such as potatoes have been produced but not marketed until recently because of difficulties in transport, storage and the inelasticity of the market (op cit:209).

Within the South Pacific, Vanuatu is the second largest copra-producing country after Papua New Guinea, and around sixth or seventh in the world. It was once the second largest producer in the world after the Philippines (Oyowe, 1982:13). The plantations of Vanuatu have always suffered from a shortage of labour (see below), especially as contract labour gave way to free labour (as elsewhere in Melanesia). About three-quarters of copra production now comes from ni-Vanuatu smallholdings and the remainder from European (mainly French) plantations (Adam, 1982:86); total production slumped dramatically in 1980 (from 49,000 tonnes in 1979 to 27,000 tonnes) but generally production levels have changed little in post-war years and production has not increased because of labour shortages, fluctuating copra prices and uncertain political conditions. Almost all the copra is produced on the large islands between Santo and Efate. On some of the larger plantations, especially on Santo, Malekula and Efate, cattle are combined with coconuts. The potential for copra production is limited by the age of the trees (and limited replanting) and the poor quality of copra (because of inadequate drying facilities and poor transport). Almost all the copra is smoke dried and until 1982 no effort was made to provide price incentives that would persuade farmers to produce better quality copra whilst, in a shrinking world market, quality requirements became more stringent (Vanuatu, 1982:129). A price incentive scheme was introduced in 1982 through the newly established Vanuatu Commodities Marketing Board, which varied the prices according to the quality of the copra (thus hot air and sundried copra was VT 15,000 per ton and smoke dried copra VT 13,000) and in November 1982 the Board introduced four regional zones and separate zone allowances to cover transport costs in the more distant islands. The allowances per ton and the zones are Zone 1 (VT 6,500) Banks, Torres, Erromango, Tanna, Futuna, Aneityum and Aniwa, Zone 3 (Vatu 3,500) adjacent islands to Efate and Santo; Zone 4 (VT 3,000) Luganville, Santo Road area and Efate whilst Zone 2 (VT 4,500) included all the other islands in the group between Maewo and the Shepherd Islands (Anon, 1982:4). This redistribution of both prices and allowances is likely to stimulate production and development especially in the outer islands. Attempts to increase the value of copra production in Vanuatu were also sought through the establishment of a copra mill in Santo in 1977 but this was destroyed in the 1980 rebellion and has not yet been rebuilt. Improved copra quality enabled Vanuatu to obtain world copra prices for the first time at the start of 1983 (Tam Tam, 19 March 1983).

Livestock production is of some significance. In 1978 there were about 130,000 head of cattle in the country, of which about 25,000 were owned by ni-Vanuatu, and half of which were on Santo. Meat is exported, principally to New Caledonia, but exports declined in 1977. However in 1978 a new cannery was opened at Port Vila and started exporting to Fiji, French Polynesia and New Caledonia. Exports have increased only slightly in value between 1978 and 1982, from Vatu 150 million to Vatu 183 million, and although Vanuatu is already one of the biggest beef exporters in the Pacific the potential for expansion is considerable.

Efforts to diversify into other cash crops have met with limited success so that the two other characteristic cash crops of Melanesia, coffee and cocoa, are relatively unimportant in Vanuatu. Coffee has mainly been grown by European planters in Santo, Tanna and Pentecost; although production reached a peak of 100 tonnes in 1979 it has since declined to a point where it is no longer significant in Vanuatu's external trade (Oyowe, 1982:13) but the potential for expansion, especially on Tanna, is considerable. Greater but still limited success has been achieved with cocoa production; cocoa exports rose at the end of the 1970s to 1,096 tonnes in 1978, before falling, although in 1981 exports again rose to 944 tonnes,

the second highest ever (Oyowe, 1982:13) but in 1982 slumped to 542 tonnes, the lowest for some years. The decline appears to have been a result of falling production on European plantations since in the mid-1970s European planters produced about half the output whereas by 1978 village smallholders, especially in Malakula, Malo and Ambae (Aoba), were producing 70% of the total output (Adam, 1982:86). After copra, fish and beef, cocoa was the main export by value in 1981 and a major development scheme for cocoa production on Malakula (1,600 hectares) is likely to considerably boost production in the future. There is interest in further diversification, especially into pepper production, whose high value/low weight ratio makes it appropriate for more remote, hilly or relatively densely-populated islands. The climatic variations from north to south provide opportunities for a range of innovations but constraints on marketing from scattered islands demand some constraints on diversity.

In general the decline in labour supplies to plantations and the lack of investment in plantations meant that Vanuatu inherited a large but largely run-down and inefficient plantation industry. Some plantations have been resumed by ni-Vanuatu owners but lack of organisation and management, land ownership disputes and limited labour inputs have resulted in very little new development in the plantation sector especially in Santo. Thus in general, production and productivity in the plantation sector is declining in a similar manner to that in Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea where the problems have been considered in greater detail (Country Report No.14) but solutions have not yet emerged (cf. ADB, 1982:46).

As in other parts of Melanesia land tenure is an issue of critical importance and the ownership of land, especially that held by foreign interests, has been a subject of much debate both before and after independence. Prior to independence over 12%, and perhaps as much as 20%, of the land area of Vanuatu had been alienated, 10% registered to French interests and companies and 2% mainly to Australians and an increasing number of Americans (Molisa *et al*, 1982:86). Most of the alienated land was on Santo and Efate. Much foreign-owned land has now reverted to ni-Vanuatu ownership as the constitution has ruled that 'all land in the Republic belongs to the indigenous custom owners and their descendants' (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:480) and, by the end of 1982, only 5% was foreign-owned (Ward, 1982:9). The actual means of transfer, the compensation for this transfer and the eventual ownership of previously alienated land have been a source of some contention (Ward, 1982); consequently the future of investment in the large estate sector is doubtful so that the assistance that large plantations and estates will give to the smallholdings sector in the future may be quite limited. This is a particular problem in view of the senility of many coconuts and cocoa trees (Adam, 1982:84) and the necessity for replanting.

As in some other parts of Melanesia there are some doubts about the future expansion of the smallholder sector; thus the Senior Agricultural Extension Officer for the Northern Region has recently commented,

'People in the villages have little urgent or personal need for increased income, and are content with a quiet, underemployed existence. Often extension workers are regarded as agents of handouts, rather than agents of change involving participation of recipients of advice' (Adam, 1982:84).

Whilst this is a conservative view of agricultural development it does reflect perceived problems where the incentives to increased output are

sometimes small and there are severe problems in developing beyond the stage of a 'terminal peasantry' (cf. Howlett, 1973). It is partly because of this that agricultural policy in Melanesia is increasingly tending to favour more large-scale, extensive development projects, whilst the economy remains 'characterized by an underdeveloped peasant sector which is highly dependent for its monetary income upon the prices of the monocrop cultivation of coconuts' (McGee et al, 1980:37). Recent policies have thus favoured large-scale developments, such as the Malakula cocoa project, and relatively little attention has been given to the mixed subsistence-cash sector.

The maintained strength of the subsistence agricultural sector, the establishment of a strong cooperative movement and government action to control fresh food imports have enabled Vanuatu to reduce its dependency on imported foods (Ward et al, 1979:208). Even so locally produced food, other than meat and fish, probably accounts for less than 7% (by retail value) of all food sold whilst over 90% is imported and food imports are a greater proportion of all imports than in Papua New Guinea or Solomon Islands. In the small stores of Vanuatu imported rice, tinned fish and tinned meat account for more than half of all sales (hence the significance of a meat cannery in Vanuatu). The cost of imported food has however risen and its nutritional value is limited; since over 50% of the expenditure of the average ni-Vanuatu household in Port Vila is on food, drink and tobacco (op cit:210) movement towards greater self-reliance in food production and distribution is crucial. The necessity for increasing rural food production and improving marketing systems is apparent. Since rice alone constitutes 4% of the value of imports there has been some interest in establishing a large rice project at Big Bay, Santo, similar to that on the Guadalcanal Plains (Solomon Islands) which, although in some respects successful, still has a doubtful future (see Country Report No.16) because of the rising cost of inputs and falling world rice prices (which limit exports). Whilst a rice project could cut imports into Vanuatu it might have to be substantially subsidised although, with some generation of income and employment in a relatively remote rural area, this cost might be acceptable.

Whilst the subsistence sector has generally retained its importance many urban households do not have gardens. However a large proportion (perhaps two-thirds) of Paamese migrants to Port Vila make food gardens on land belonging to local landowners, and many also receive food from the islands (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983). The Paamese may well be typical of other migrant groups. In some suburban villages, like Mele where many individuals work in town, gardens no longer play such a dominant role in food supply. In Erakor for example, on the fringes of Port Vila, where only three households out of 13 were entirely without gardens in 1973, villagers commented,

'Les jeunes gens ne veulent plus faire des jardins. Ils préfèrent tenir un crayon à la main. Ils aiment mieux la nourriture des Blancs. Ils seront bientôt comme les Fidjiens; ils s'occupent de mécanique plutôt que les jardins....Nous sommes la dernière génération de villageois à cultiver des jardins. Le village va bientôt devenir comme celui de l'ilôt Fila où les gens achètent des ignames et des taros' (Philibert, 1976:29).

Villages like Erakor and Mele tend to be something of models for other parts of Efate as changing patterns of food consumption diffuse from the urban areas with their resulting impact on declining food production. So far this trend has been limited.

A general policy issue of importance is the necessity to maintain urban food prices at relatively low levels for the benefit of the low income urban population (and hence not precipitate inflationary and unbalancing demands for urban wage rises) whilst maintaining adequate market prices to encourage rural dwellers to produce for the urban market (McGee *et al*, 1980:189). The introduction of import duties on foods (such as rice) for which local substitutes might be produced (or even rice itself produced) might stimulate local production and benefit the rural population (*ibid*). Whilst the benefits would not be felt in urban areas until rural production levels increased, and prices would rise in the short-term, this might stimulate more extensive urban gardening. These issues have not been examined in detail.

The second major export from Vanuatu is fish; a large-scale Japanese tuna fishing company, the South Pacific Fishing Company, was established in 1957 at Palekula in south-east Santo. Whilst the fleet is manned by Asians the freezing plant employs nearly one hundred ni-Vanuatu. The government has a 10% share in this operation. The fisheries industry is underdeveloped yet has potential for development, despite the massive lack of skilled manpower. Village fisheries projects were established in Paama and Epi in 1981, and if marketing problems can be overcome, these may provide the momentum for further development. By 1982 deep bottom line fishing was providing some of the highest catch rates in the South Pacific, plans were in hand to set up 25 more fisheries projects like those in Paama and Epi (the cost of establishment of which was likely to fall when boat building operations began in Santo) and there were also proposals to link the village projects both to national markets and to the SPFC at Palekula. Thus fisheries development appears to be finally becoming effectively established in Vanuatu.

There is some potential for forestry in Vanuatu but until 1978 there was nothing more than local sawmills on the islands of Efate and Santo. In that year however the Chief Minister agreed to permit the Japanese firm, Mitsubishi Sumitomo, to set up a wood-chip mill at Santo, thus joining the majority of South Pacific nations whose forestry assets were principally being exploited by overseas interests. However, following the Santo rebellion, the proposals were not proceeded with and the project has not been reinstated. Twenty-seven small plantations were established between 1976 and 1980, which will eventually meet domestic requirements; the most likely centres for future development will be Pentecost and especially Erromango where the population density is very low.

The only mining industry in Vanuatu has been a manganese mine at Forari (Efate) but reserves there are partly depleted so that with low world manganese prices the mine has been operated only on a care and maintenance basis since 1978. Production appears unlikely to become significant again. No other commercial mineral resources are known in Vanuatu but it is possible that some mineral deposits, when evaluated in detail, will prove economic. Other than firewood there are no known domestic sources of energy in Vanuatu so that, like most other countries in the South Pacific region, Vanuatu has been badly hit by the high cost of imported oil. This has affected the fishing industry where production has fallen dramatically (Oyowe, 1982:16). Until recently the Government employed no-one on energy problems; this has since changed and there are now several alternative energy projects, including proposals for solar energy plants on Ambrym and Epi, two windpower plants on Efate and Tanna and an ethanol plant on Tanna using a cassava input (*ibid*; Vanuatu, 1982:234). Timber however may ultimately prove the most useful fuel and it has been estimated that the

timber reserves, if used wholly for fuel, would be adequate for hundreds of years (Oyowe, 1982:16). However at the moment Vanuatu remains dependent on imported fuels and this has hindered the development of an adequate transportation system.

Industrial development is very restricted in Vanuatu and is essentially confined to a fish-freezing plant (at Palekula, Santo), a meat cannery, and a soft-drink factory and, most recently, a biscuit factory (employing 22) in Tebakor, Port Vila. There are also about forty small construction firms, which also include furniture-making and boatbuilding. The First National Development Plan aims at the promotion of basic industries using local materials, including boatbuilding, and recent proposals indicate that five projects will be established in the near future: a brewery (Port Vila, providing 70 jobs), a coconut timber mill (Mele, near Port Vila, with 30 jobs), a tannery (Santo, with 15 jobs), a cement and concrete factory (Mele) and a sportswear manufacturing plant (Port Vila, with 200 jobs) whilst it is later anticipated that a sandal (thong) factory, soap factory, a packaging manufacturing plant and a small industrial estate will be set up. There has been some opposition to the construction of a brewery on social, religious and cultural grounds, and the small size of the domestic market suggests that there may also be economic problems. The National Plan lists a number of other possible areas of industrial development and there is potential for further development; most proposals are oriented towards import-substitution and it is improbable that more than a small proportion of employment in the manufacturing sector will ever be outside the two main urban areas.

Service industries include wholesaling and retailing, motor car repair firms, restaurants and other supply and maintenance activities. These service industries continue to be dominated by two large companies, Burns Philp and Comptoirs Francais des Nouvelles-Hebrides (CFNH), which are essentially foreign-owned and have a wide range of business and commercial interests (cf. Bishop and Wigglesworth, 1982). Few businesses are owned by ni-Vanuatu, although the Vanuatu Cooperative Federation (VCF) has an important trading role.

Tourism is the third largest source of revenue after copra and fishing. Since 1971 it has been the fastest growing industry in Vanuatu and in 1980, when copra exports slumped, it earned a higher income than copra. Visitors either enter by air or stop over on cruise ships (and it has been estimated that cruise ship tourists, most of whom come from Australia, spend about \$43 during their 8-24 hour stopover although much of this expenditure is on imported electrical goods). The majority of tourists (more than 62%) are from Australia, with rapidly increasing numbers from Japan compensating for a fall in numbers from New Caledonia. Currently a major emphasis is being placed on tourism promotion (especially in Australia and Japan) both through the development in 1981 (in conjunction with Ansett) of a new national airline, Air Vanuatu, with a direct link to Australia, and through the construction of new hotels. However a shortage of skilled labour (both for construction and hotel work) and strict immigration laws restricting the hiring of overseas labour have slowed development; the relative remoteness of Vanuatu from major tourist exporting countries, foreign ownership of significant parts of the industry (including Air Vanuatu and the two major hotels), the almost total concentration of the industry in Port Vila (although there are current plans for a bungalow resort on Tanna) and its dependence on imported commodities may limit its contribution to national development, beyond the provision of employment. However in the mid-1970s a remarkably high proportion of tourist expenditure, between 43% and 65%, remained in Vanuatu (Cazals and Potten, 1977:31). In 1982 the tourist

industry was still growing extremely quickly, after a lull over the independence period, and the main constraint on further development in 1983 is a lack of hotel accommodation. In 1982 the number of tourists visiting Vanuatu increased by 83% from 1981 and a 30% increase in 1983 would take hotels to an 85% occupancy rate, regarded as their limit (Inder, 1983). Thus, compared with most other countries in the South Pacific, Vanuatu's experience with tourism has so far been largely beneficial, at least in terms of employment (and income) generated.

Handicrafts are of growing importance in the economy, especially following the expansion of tourism, and concerted efforts are being made to improve their production and marketing, both formally through stores and at the Port Vila market. Wooden carvings, principally from Ambrym, and baskets from Futuna predominate.

British legislation in 1971 resulted in Vanuatu becoming a 'tax haven' modelled on the pattern of the Cayman Islands,

'The result was electrifying. Between 1972 and 1974 Port Vila became a boom town. Thirteen overseas banks opened their doors, the expatriate population tripled, subdivisions sprouted in what had been previously virgin bush and, as a side effect, tourism took off. Two large new hotels were built to international standards, air services increased rapidly and cruise ships tied up at regular intervals alongside a newly built wharf capable of berthing vessels up to 40,000 tons. Suddenly Port Vila was on the map. A visit became 'de rigueur' for the lawyers, accountants and merchant bankers of Sydney. With seven new restaurants the town was unchallenged as the gastronomic capital of Oceania. But all this had little effect on the country's budget because the British Government simply reduced its aid by the exact amount of annual revenue which the tax haven operation attracted' (Forster, 1980:371).

Thus apart from new employment in banks, tourism and domestic service the overall economic impact was limited. Nevertheless the employment effect, and greater control over the operations of off-shore finance operations, has resulted in the government continuing to promote Vanuatu as an international finance centre. A substantial number of overseas banks and financial companies have offices in Vanuatu. This has resulted in significant 'invisible' exports to the extent that these are the largest source of gross foreign exchange earnings for the country after copra, fish, and tourism. The finance centre now directly employs over 200 ni-Vanuatu and provides tax revenue and foreign exchange; the parallel Shipping Registry has been less successful.

Vanuatu's trade has been heavily dominated by France and Australia; in 1979 two-thirds of copra was exported to France and 39% of all exports were to France; by 1981 however only 27% of all exports were to France (and 34% were to Belgium). Australia is the principal source of imports with 34% of all imports in 1981. At one time 90% of all exports went to France (Wilson, 1966:9) hence there has been considerable diversification in both sources of imports and destinations of exports. The economy is heavily dependent on aid, principally from the two former colonial powers, France and the United Kingdom, but increasingly from Australia. For a large part of its history the French colonial interests that predominated in the Vanuatu economy were

largely based in Noumea, New Caledonia; to a substantial extent Vanuatu, until the 1970s, could be regarded as a satellite of New Caledonia (Brookfield, 1972:144) with the hierarchy of towns joining Noumea to Port Vila and then to Santo (Luganville) (Brookfield with Hart, 1971: 406).

In a country as fragmented as Vanuatu services tend to be centralised; the principal hospitals are in Port Vila, Santo, Tanna and Ambae (Aoba) but in 1981 of the 22 doctors employed in the health service, 18 were in the urban centres of Port Vila and Santo. Of the 221 registered nurses, 123 were in the two urban centres, however nurse aids were dominantly in rural areas and most islands have dispensaries or clinics, although many have inadequate services and limited staffing (Vanuatu, 1982:204). There are relatively few ni-Vanuatu doctors (five in 1981, of whom two were past retirement age) and there is a shortage of administrative personnel (op cit:205). Dental services have not been able to meet national requirements, principally because of the limited number of staff since there are only two government dentists and two qualified therapists (op cit:204); even in the urban areas the needs of the population cannot be adequately met. The two major diseases are tuberculosis, which has a very high incidence and is a major cause of death in some areas (especially on islands away from Efate and Santo), and malaria. The 1982-83 National Nutrition Survey recorded that many children under five years of age were lacking protein and energy foods in their diet and there was a very high percentage of malnutrition among children from one to two years; in some areas 48% of children were underweight. The incidence of malnutrition was highest both in the inland areas and some of the more densely populated areas of the larger islands, including Walarano (Malakula) and inland Santo, and also in some of those densely populated small islands, that are more remote and less developed, such as Mota Lava (Hung, 1983). The National Plan proposes increased staff training, the provision of more funds for medicine (drug distribution, buildings and vehicles) and a greater emphasis on the needs of rural areas, which include the upgrading of traditional medicine (Vanuatu, 1982:211). It is apparent both that health needs are considerable (so that even in a village like Mele, close to Port Vila and relatively affluent, there is a high incidence of child sickness) and the main constraint to better health is the great shortage of health workers, especially in the rural areas.

The education system is unusually complex because of the maintained dual anglophone and francophone systems. Almost all education in Vanuatu was provided by the missions until as recently as 1959 when the British administration coordinated most of these schools into a national education system; a French system followed and was expanded considerably in the years immediately before independence. There are more than 250 primary schools in Vanuatu and, outside Port Vila and Santo, there are high schools at Onesua (north Efate), Pentecost, Ambae (Aoba), Epi and also Aore (an SDA mission school). Sixth form courses, in the French or English system, are only available in Port Vila and the only tertiary education institutions (the Vanuatu Technical Institute and the Vanuatu Teachers College) are in Port Vila. Other tertiary and training institutions such as the Tagabe National Agricultural School and the USP Centre are also in Port Vila. The degree of urban bias in the education system is almost inevitable in a country like Vanuatu, but there is evidence that this has been a significant cause of rural-urban migration (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983). Tertiary education is mainly overseas, at USP, UPNG or in France (or New Caledonia), and tends to preserve the distinction between the language systems. The future of the dual education system has not yet been resolved.

Because of the fragmentation of Vanuatu inter-island transport is obviously crucial to development and national integration; land transport, by contrast, is of limited extent and there are roads only on some of the larger islands apart from Efate and Santo. The costs of road provision in difficult terrain, the sparse population in some areas and the short lives of vehicles in difficult conditions limit the potential for the expansion of land transport. The most important section of the transport infrastructure is shipping; only Santo and Port Vila have deep sea wharves, and there are wharves for inter-island shipping only on Aore, Malakula, Pentecost and Ambrym. Consequently elsewhere ships must anchor off-shore and be serviced by lighters; this means that long periods of time must often be spent at anchorages and there are sometimes cargo losses, damage and extended delays in heavy seas. This is uneconomic for shipping lines, most of whose boats are already old and expensive to maintain. Studies of the economic feasibility of new wharf sites are currently being undertaken. Rising fuel costs have contributed to the problems of shipping services, freight costs have become very high, which is both a disincentive to cash crop production especially in the smaller, outer islands and raises the cost of welfare services and commodity purchases on those islands, thus reducing their ability to participate in the national socio-economy. 'The net result is likely to be a downward spiral of falling production and consumption, further marginalization and higher out-migration' (Ward *et al*, 1980:210; cf. Bonnemaison, 1980:178). In some outer islands, and including Epi and Maewo, villagers have increasingly returned from outboard motor to sail power as an economy measure (Tam Tam, 11 December 1982) and there is scope for further developments at national level in this direction. Air transport is primarily of importance only for passenger movements; almost all international air traffic is from Port Vila but the international flight to Solomon Islands also stops in Santo. In 1981 there were 22 airfields in Vanuatu, served by the internal airline Air Melanesiae, and during the plan period (1982-86) there are proposals to construct six new airfields (Vanuatu, 1982:263). Whilst air services will improve the delivery of government services to outer islands, the recurrent and capital costs of air transport in the plan period are 50% greater than those of marine transport, a distribution which is difficult to reconcile with other development objectives, and specifically the aim of achieving more decentralised development.

To a large extent the operations of the national economy are determined and stimulated by the government which spends nearly 50% of the GDP; the government intends to stabilise its expenditure through wage restraints, maintenance of the current size of the civil service (as the largest employer in Vanuatu) and through efficient purchasing, in the assumption that aid levels will decline from a present situation where Vanuatu's recurrent budget is financed to the extent of about 40% by Britain and France (Oyowe, 1982:15) whilst Australian aid is also important. Thus the 1983 budget increased only 1.5% over the 1982 budget. In this context it is hoped that the private sector will expand significantly, especially in the agricultural and fisheries sector and in tourism (*ibid*); although constraints of both land and labour are likely to limit the expansion of the private sector. Emphasis has overall been placed on export promotion (rather than import substitution) because of the small size of the domestic market (Oyowe, 1982:16) although existing industries and recent proposals to establish a brewery and a cement and concrete factory are directed towards import substitution. Nevertheless Vanuatu has an essentially open and export-oriented economy, dependent on foreign markets, world commodity prices and overseas aid. Orientation towards a more self-sufficient economy (which would emphasize a rural development strategy stressing food

production) has been hitherto less apparent. In the context of an export-oriented development strategy the present attempts to achieve a greater diversification in commodity production are critical, as is the ability to market production efficiently and cheaply.

The condominium years were characterised by a period of non-development, in the sense that neither the French nor the British administrations developed appropriate infrastructure for either economic or social development and few ni-Vanuatu were educated or achieved positions of responsibility. In general both administrations 'practised a policy of benign neglect' (McGee et al, 1980:26) which left Vanuatu with 'one of the least developed economies in the Pacific' (op cit:28). More radical critiques have been more scathing:

'The inadequacies of the now dead Condominium continue to be a major determining factor in the Republic. Some of its more pernicious legacies are a numerically inflated civil service, inflated wage scales, duplication of services, lack of preparation of ni-Vanuatu administrators, lack of training of indigenous people in necessary job skills, misplaced emphasis in education, extravagant and unbalanced health care systems, lack of infrastructure, neglect of the rural sector and maintenance for over seventy years of a system assuming cultural, racial and class superiority' (Bishop and Wigglesworth, 1982:2).

In the circumstances it is unsurprising that there was no coordinated development planning of any kind until well into the 1970s when a resource survey (Cazals and Potten, 1977) was undertaken as a prelude to an anticipated Development Plan for 1978-80. Before that there had however been a joint 'plan' prepared in 1970 by the British and French Resident Commissioners which came to be known as the 'New Hebrides Joint Development Plan, 1971-75' and set out 126 projects, most of which were in urban areas. The transitional plan for 1978-80 was never produced hence it was not until the end of 1982, more than two years after independence, that the first National Plan was produced (Vanuatu, 1982) and even this is to some extent a list of projects and an agenda for more detailed surveys, plans and proposals. Thus integrated development planning is in its infancy in Vanuatu. The resource survey of Cazals and Potten (1977) emphasized export oriented development and McGee et al's review of food distribution concluded, 'we see little alternative to a dominance of this outward strategy' (1980:194); neither were fundamentally different in their observations and conclusions from Wilson's study, almost two decades earlier, that there were very basic limitations to what might be achieved in a small, dependent economy (1966:227). This export orientation, especially in relation to agricultural production, has been retained in the 1982 Plan.

The First National Development Plan is intended to be the first stage 'Transition and Reconstruction', of a 15-year programme to achieve economic self-sufficiency where import requirements are met from foreign exchange earnings and fiscal requirements from domestic revenues (Vanuatu, 1982:3). Six basic objectives were set out in the plan to:

1. promote balanced regional and rural growth by assisting in the realisation of the economic potential of all constituent areas of the Republic
2. direct the development programme towards realising the nation's human resources development potential

3. enhance the private sector's contribution to the national development effort in the interests of all the people
4. preserve the cultural and environmental heritage of the nation through balanced programmes of development
5. increase the utilisation of the Republic's natural resources to raise the standards of living of all the population
6. ensure the progressive achievement of the long-term goal of national self-reliance (Vanuatu, 1982:9).

Thus the Plan shares many of the characteristics of other plans in the region although the specific mention of the private sector reflects its historic dominance in the Vanuatu economy, especially in the agricultural and commercial sectors. Progress towards the long-term aim of economic self-reliance was expected to be first met in the areas where imports were considerable (food and fuel) although the most obvious evidence of current development planning is in the area of industrial development and the expansion of tourism.

The government has identified three principal problems relating to economic development, firstly, a heavy reliance on external sources (especially the former colonial powers) for financing the public sector, secondly, the domination and control of the monetarised sector of the economy by foreign business interests and, thirdly, a disproportionate distribution of government expenditure - an 'urban bias' - in favour of the towns rather than the rural areas. It is significant that policies directed to the reduction of these problems, and hence towards a more egalitarian development, were also considered priorities in the immediate post-Independence planning of the other Melanesian countries, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea but, especially in the case of the latter (see Country Report No.14), have become less relevant over time. Although these development issues are typical not only of Vanuatu in the Pacific there are other problems more particular to Vanuatu; these include considerable linguistic and cultural diversity, substantial regional differences in attitudes to the present government, a large number of small islands (at a time of rapidly increasing transport costs) and a dualistic (French and English) educational system, all of which factors have tended to hinder national integration. An important theme of the Plan is therefore that of regional development and a separate Regional Development Plan was completed towards the end of 1983; a key element in this is the encouragement of regional specialisation, for example of cocoa in the north, coffee in the south, forestry in Erromango and Pentecost, and cattle in Santo and Efate (Vanuatu, Ofis Bilong Plan, 1983). Yet hitherto there have been relatively few attempts to achieve decentralisation, especially in comparison with elsewhere in Melanesia (de Beer, 1981; Vanuatu National Planning and Statistics Office, 1982a). However the national constitution itself makes provision for the greater decentralisation of the administration to encourage both greater local level participation and regional autonomy. In November 1979 polling was held for two regional assemblies for Tanna and Santo but these never met; present proposals are for the establishment of eleven local Government Councils throughout the country by the end of 1983 (Vanuatu, 1982:14) and by February 1983 eight had already been established. Thus there is now an administrative structure that should enable a greater decentralisation or, more particularly, a greater definition of and concentration upon regional issues.

The Vanuatu Development Bank was established in September 1979 and in July 1981 a scheme entitled 'Micro Loans' was introduced by which groups, in rural areas only, can borrow up to VT 50,000 for a maximum of two years, for

copra driers, outboard motors and other fisheries or agricultural activities. By December 1981 the Bank had funded 353 projects; 29% of the funds went on sea transport projects, 12% on housing projects and about 11% each on land transport, stock farming and cottage industries projects; however the agricultural sector comprised only 24% and fisheries 3% of the total loans committed (Vanuatu, 1982:75-76). Although the regional distribution of loans was unrecorded there, the Bank has three branches in Tanna, Malakula and Santo and three more are planned for Pentecost, Ambrym and Ambae (Aoba) (op cit:82) and may well have achieved a greater rural distribution of activities than most other Development Banks in the region. Nevertheless its funds have principally supported service activities, even if in crucial areas of transport provision, rather than productive activities.

Employment

The structure of employment is characterised by the predominance of work in the agricultural sector; the majority of the population live and work outside the two towns and few of those are employed outside agriculture. The first attempt to evaluate the structure of employment and economic activity in Vanuatu was conducted within the 1967 census at which time a significant proportion, about 5%, of ni-Vanuatu could 'still be reasonably described as subsistence gardeners' (McArthur and Yaxley, 1967: 57) essentially outside the monetary sector. The most significant concentration of almost purely subsistence agriculturalists were then considered to be those of inland Santo, Malakula, south Pentecost and Tanna (ibid) although it was considered that some of these may, at some time, have produced cash crops (i.e. copra). Thus the overwhelming bulk of the population were engaged in mixed subsistence-cash (primarily copra) cropping and males and females both made a significant contribution to labour inputs and production. A total of 19,418 males aged 15 and over (87% of the male population), were recorded as economically active and some 82% of females were recorded as economically active; this high female participation rate is indicative of a situation where all female ni-Vanuatu of working age in the rural areas were classified as engaged in agricultural production (op cit:60) and, almost certainly, this assumption was largely justified. Nearly 63% of adult males and 88% of adult females were in the 'subsistence and village agriculture sector of the economy, and a further 11% of the men were in the plantation agriculture sector (Table One). For the ni-Vanuatu population alone 69% of adult males and 91% of adult females were in the 'subsistence and village' sector and a further 10% of the men and 2% of the women were in the plantation sector (op cit:60-61). The dominance of the agricultural sector in terms of employment and economic activity, especially for the ni-Vanuatu population, was almost absolute some sixteen years ago. However examination of the age structure of the economically active ni-Vanuatu population indicates that between the ages of 15-24 there were fewer ni-Vanuatu in village agriculture than outside it, indicating that this age group were predominant in both plantation agriculture and in service, transport and communication activities. It was also an indication of the incipient change in the employment structure that followed structural changes in the national economy in the 1970s.

Outside the agricultural sector the numbers in formal sector employment have always been very small. The 1967 census recorded 6,484 people (over the age of 15) employed outside agriculture of whom only 4,363 (67%) were ni-Vanuatu. Only 25% of the total workforce were therefore in the monetary sector. The ni-Vanuatu population were heavily concentrated in the lower

status sectors of the three main industry groups, namely transport and utilities, personal services and government and related industries. These three sectors accounted for 68% of ni-Vanuatu employment. By contrast Europeans were highly concentrated in the single sector, government and related industries, with 50% of their employed population in this sector. The small Asian population were concentrated in wholesaling and retailing.

Table 1. Economically Active Population, 1967.

	Total	ni-Vanuatu
Subsistence Agriculture	1,658	1,657
Village (Mixed) Agriculture	24,341	24,278
Plantation Agriculture	2,421	2,046
Other primary industry (inc. market gardening)	659	366
Secondary industry - manufacturing	316	167
" " - construction	740	498
" " - commerce	772	454
" " - transport and communications	838	649
" " - other services	1,073	852
Administration and government	344	211
Professional and Allied Services	1,763	1,302
Other Economic Activities	36	10
Unemployed	172	109
TOTAL	35,133	32,599
Outside Workforce	6,533	5,730
TOTAL	41,666	38,329

Source: McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:353-382.

The employment data available in the 1972 census of the two urban areas (New Hebrides, 1973) indicate that there were substantial increases in the number of ni-Vanuatu employed between 1967 and 1972 but that there were no real changes in occupational concentration. Thus, until well into the 1970s the employment structure of Vanuatu revealed

'the classic pattern of occupational concentration by ethnic groups that has characterised the plural societies of colonial countries in which much of the non-agricultural activity was controlled and administered by expatriates' (Ward *et al*, 1980:35).

More detailed examination of the 1973 employment structure in retailing and wholesaling reveals that there were 266 retail stores of which 162 had only one employee; outside Efate and Santo there were no establishments with more than four employees (McGee *et al*, 1980:46), a clear indication of the centralisation of commercial activity and hence of employment in that part of the service sector.

Table 2. Non-Agricultural Employment by Industry, 1967 and 1973. (a)

Industry	May 1967	September 1973	Change		% of Total Change
			No.	%	
Forestry, fishing (b), mining and quarrying	587	295	-292	-50	-10
Manufacturing (c), electricity and water	462	620	+158	+34	+5
Construction: Building	437	1,150	+713	+163	+23
Other	303	503	+200	+66	+6
Total	740	1,653	+913	+123	+30
Wholesale, retail (d), storage, restaurants and hotels -					
Wholesale, retail, storage (d)	772	1,434	+662	+86	+22
Restaurants, hotels, etc.	85	353	+268	+315	+9
Total	857	1,787	+930	+109	+30
Transport and communication -					
Road (e), shipping and air transport and allied services	749	785	+36	+5	+1
Communication	89	99	+10	+11	-
Total	838	884	+46	+5	+2
Community, social and personal (f) services -					
Public order and safety	138	245	+107	+78	+4
Education (g)	832	1,337	+505	+61	+16
Health (g)	472	626	+154	+33	+5
Other public administration	377	411	+34	+9	+1
Other	342	516	+174	+51	+6
Total	2,161	3,135	+974	+45	+32
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	47	375	+328	+698	+11
Total, above industries	5,692	8,749	+3,057	+54	100

(a) Persons engaged in subsistence production, plantation agriculture and stockraising, fruit and vegetable market gardening and vending and private domestic service, are excluded.

(b) Excludes crews of high-seas fishing vessels operating out of Palekula.

(c) Includes motor-vehicle repairs by non-retailers.

(d) The 1973 figure includes an estimated 100 persons employed in small retail stores which were not enumerated.

(e) The 1973 figure includes an estimated 100 taxi-drivers who were not enumerated.

(f) Excludes housegirls, etc.

(g) Private and government.

Source: New Hebrides Condominium, Bureau of Statistics, 1975:12.

In 1973 a national manpower and employment survey was conducted; constraints over time resulted in the exclusion of all agricultural activities and also private domestic service but it enables comparisons to be made between the 1967 and 1973 situations. Most apparent is the expansion of the non-agricultural monetary sector of the economy and workforce, whose numbers had grown from 5,692 to 8,749 (Table Two) and, with the inclusion of the plantation and domestic service labour force, would have been much higher. One area of expansion was in the government services (French, British and Condominium) which accounted for 35% of all employment; both the construction and service sectors had also grown significantly whereas primary industry (essentially the Forari manganese mine) had experienced a decline. The ni-Vanuatu population in the formal sector had increased to 5,700 (67% of the labour force); since in 1967 the ni-Vanuatu population in comparable occupations was 3,726, this represents a massive increase in the employment of ni-Vanuatu. (There is no indication if ni-Vanuatu employment in the plantation or domestic service sector was expanding or declining at this time). Unlike 1967 there was a minimal regional breakdown of the employment structure which indicated that 58% of all formal sector employment was on Efate, 18% on Santo and 24% elsewhere (New Hebrides Condominium Bureau of Statistics, 1975:14). Thus within a six year period there had been a substantial expansion in the formal sector, and especially an increase in ni-Vanuatu participation in that sector, alongside strong indications of a growing concentration of the formal sector in Port Vila. In the post-independence years there has been a substantial decline in formal sector employment in Santo (cf. National Times, 8 April 1983).

Table 3. Wage Employment by Sector, 1976 (estimates only).

Sector	Per Cent
Public Services	29
Agriculture	19
Wholesale & Retail Trade	11
Household Services	15
Construction	5
Transport	4
Banking	3
Manufacturing	3
Others	11
TOTAL	100

Source: Vanuatu, 1982:105.

No further national survey of employment and economic activity was undertaken until the 1979 census. However Bureau of Statistics estimates suggest that in 1976 the number of wage-earners was about 10,500, of whom 19% were in agriculture (Table Three). Early in 1982 a further national manpower and employment survey was undertaken but again the results of this are not yet available. Two basic sets of data on employment structure (Tables Four and Five) have been produced from the 1979 census data but they are not mutually comparable. The economically active population has grown from 39,123 in 1967 to 44,756 in 1979 (Table Four), an increase of 21.5% which is rather less than that of the growth of the population as a whole (47%) in the same period. Alternatively the economically active population has increased to 51,130 (Table Five) an increase of 31% which is also less

Table 4. Non-European Labour Force (Age Group 15-55) Including ni-VanuatU in New Caledonia by Economic Sector and Occupational, January 1979.

Occupation	Agric.	Mining	Const.	Water/ Elec- tricity	Manufac- turing	Trans- port	Trade	Services	Misc	TOTAL	Percent	
											M	F
Professional	6	-	6	2	5	18	33	1,872	8	1,950	66	34
Managerial	4	-	13	-	5	7	226	28	3	286	97	3
Clerical	16	2	13	6	42	76	462	433	29	1,079	64	36
Sales Workers	4	2	9	-	16	8	657	13	3	712	72	28
Farmers	34,135	-	4	1	7	7	32	132	6	34,324	51	49
Miners	1	47	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	51	100	-
Transport	23	11	64	1	17	943	108	161	25	1,353	97	3
Production	43	8	908	35	936	171	196	292	73	2,662	87	13
Services	19	1	10	7	17	36	364	1,683	41	2,178	39	61
Miscellaneous	1	-	-	-	2	1	14	26	117	161	81	19
TOTAL IN VANUATU	34,252	71	1,027	52	1,048	1,267	2,092	4,641	306	44,756	56	44
WORKERS IN NEW CALEDONIA	70	52	211	38	47	67	37	32	169	723	92	8
TOTAL LABOUR FORCE	34,322	123	1,238	90	1,095	1,334	2,129	4,673	475	45,479	56	44

Source: Vanuatu, 1982:115.

Table 5. Economically Active Population, January 1979.

Category	Total		Ni-Vanuatu		European	
	No.	% in each category	No.	% in each category	No.	% in each category
Industry						
Agriculture	39,276	77	38,746	80	101	8
Mining	76	-	41	-	5	-
Construction	1,103	2	841	2	83	6
Manufacturing, Public Utilities	1,051	2	840	2	74	6
Transport and Communication	1,323	3	1,160	2	71	6
Trade and Banking	2,502	5	1,798	4	313	23
Services	5,492	11	4,482	9	649	49
Not Stated	307	1	236	1	37	3
TOTAL	51,130		48,144		1,333	
Occupation						
Professional and Technical	2,470	5	1,883	4	414	31
Managerial	251	-	59	-	160	12
Clerical	1,558	3	983	2	327	25
Sales Workers	1,015	2	719	2	95	7
Agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry	39,145	77	38,728	80	90	7
Transport and Production Workers	4,320	8	3,632	8	158	12
Service Workers	2,234	4	2,035	4	71	5
Others	137	-	105	-	18	1
TOTAL	51,130		48,144		1,333	

Source: Vanuatu, 1983.

than that of the population as a whole. In addition to the adult labour force a substantial number of older children work, mainly in agriculture, since education is not compulsory and less than one-sixth of children go on to secondary education. In 1981 there were stated to be about 9,000 children between the ages of 12 and 14 who were no longer in full-time education and who were assumed to be assisting in agricultural activities (Vanuatu, 1982: 103-104). The formal sector has also grown, although there are problems in comparison since data on the plantation labour force is not yet disaggregated from that of the total agricultural labour force. Nevertheless there was an employed population of 10,432 outside agriculture (Table Four) indicating a growth rate of the order of 20% since 1973; again using the alternative data (Table Five) there was an employed population of 11,864 outside agriculture, indicating a growth rate of 36% since 1973. Until the data is standardised and the analysis of the 1982 survey data complete it is therefore impossible to make useful conclusions about the structure of employment, and current trends in that structure, in Vanuatu. What is, however, significant is that both sets of data (Tables Four and Five) agree that 77% of the economically active population are within the agricultural sector, which represents only a very slight decline from the 81% recorded in 1967. Thus the available evidence does suggest that, despite the steady growth of formal sector employment and of ni-Vanuatu participation in the formal sector, there has not been a substantial structural transformation in the economic and employment structure. Vanuatu remains a country characterised by a rural population and an agricultural economy. Moreover expectations that the labour force will increase at an annual rate of 2,640 in the 1982-86 period (Vanuatu, 1982: 104), of whom 230 are expected to be secondary school leavers (op cit: 111), indicate that few of those can be absorbed within the formal sector, except within the plantation labour force. However there are strong preferences against plantation employment (see below), thus the increase in size of the labour force must be absorbed within the village agricultural sector.

One significant change in the 1970s was in the urban economy where there was an expansion and diversification of bureaucratic and service employment and, with that and changing attitudes, there was an unusually rapid expansion in female employment in the formal sector, beyond the traditional tasks of domestic service (cf. Tonkinson, 1983:9). Between 1967 and 1979 the number of all females employed in the formal sector, outside agriculture, increased from 1,516 to 3,023 (a total which excluded Europeans but included ni-Vanuatu employed in New Caledonia). In 1967 some 955 ni-Vanuatu females were employed (including 556 in personal service, 177 in medical services and 114 in education services) but there is no indication of the specific structure of ni-Vanuatu employment since 1973 when 922 ni-Vanuatu women were recorded as employed outside agriculture and domestic service (New Hebrides Condominium Bureau, of Statistics, 1975: 29). The 1972 urban census recorded 996 female ni-Vanuatu in employment outside agriculture in Greater Port Vila and 215 in Greater Santo (New Hebrides, Condominium Bureau of Statistics, 1973) but the further breakdown of occupations indicates that the majority (575 in Port Vila and 145 in Santo) were almost certainly engaged in domestic service. Census data on employment in Port Vila and Luganville in 1979 (Table Six) indicates that 1,994 female ni-Vanuatu were employed, of whom 1,059 were in services and 480 in agriculture. Because of the unavailability of other data on female employment, trends in national employment cannot be assessed. The changing structure of female employment has however essentially occurred in the early 1970s; since then there are few indications of the structure of further changes at the national level, especially in the post-independence years.

Table 6. Economically Active Population. Port Vila and Luganville, 1979.

	PORT VILA					
	ni-Vanuatu			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Agriculture	760	396	1,156	819	408	1,227
Mining	3	-	3	5	1	6
Construction	364	8	372	520	21	541
Water/Electricity/Gas	28	-	28	45	3	48
Industry/ Manufacturing	160	46	206	218	78	296
Transport/ Communications	318	28	346	404	63	467
Commerce/Banking	551	265	816	827	470	1,297
Services	955	862	1,817	1,321	1,135	2,456
Not specified	58	15	73	83	27	110
TOTAL	3,197	1,620	4,817	4,242	2,206	6,448

	LUGANVILLE					
	ni-Vanuatu			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Agriculture	179	84	263	198	85	283
Mining	1	-	1	1	-	1
Construction	130	5	135	181	10	191
Water/Electricity/Gas	6	-	6	6	-	6
Industry/ Manufacturing	90	12	102	129	25	154
Transport/ Communications	243	4	247	262	11	273
Commerce/Banking	234	44	278	334	100	434
Services	267	197	464	377	262	639
Not specified	51	8	59	65	16	81
TOTAL	1,201	354	1,555	1,553	509	2,062

Source: Vanuatu, 1983:279-280.

As elsewhere in the region the definition and measurement of unemployment is difficult in a country where mixed subsistence-cash agriculture dominates the structure of economic activity and it is theoretically possible for most residents in the country, and especially the ni-Vanuatu population, to take up agricultural activities. Nevertheless unemployment was first recorded in the 1967 census (but left undefined although respondents had to specifically state that they were unemployed). Of the 172 recorded as unemployed (108 males and 64 females) some 109 were ni-Vanuatu (80 males and 29 females); 69 and 16 respectively of the unemployed were in the urban areas of Port Vila and Santo. Whilst these numbers are extremely small, the distribution of the unemployed by island of birth indicated that in Port Vila only Efate (14), Tongoa (10) Tanna (9) and Ambrym (9) had a perceptible number of unemployed, a distribution that was

broadly related to the structure of internal migration to Port Vila (see below). The 1972 urban census recorded a total of 187 unemployed in the two urban areas, of whom 153 (69 in Port Vila and 48 in Santo) were ni-Vanuatu; of these 83 were between the ages of 15 and 24. The unemployed were considered to be those who were actively seeking work or who had been laid off without pay (New Hebrides Condominium, Bureau of Statistics, 1973:88-89). A further survey of employment in Port Vila in 1972 recorded that, out of a population of 664 of working age, some 536 had employment whilst the other 128 (19%) were actually seeking employment (Vienne and Vienne, 1972:61) a situation comparable to that of the census. Although 1972 could be regarded as a period of relative economic prosperity, when the level of unemployment might be expected to be low, preliminary data from the 1979 census also gave a figure of 200 unemployed, including 76 in Port Vila (of whom 65 were ni-Vanuatu), (Chenais, 1982). In the circumstances this is an improbably low figure, even allowing for the ability of the rural sector to absorb the 'unemployed'. However it is not everywhere apparent that the rural sector can easily absorb the local workforce; in areas of Paama and Pentecost, where population densities are relatively high, young men are often unable to obtain satisfactory self-employment because of a shortage of land or inadequate access to land (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983). Preferences for urban work also indicate that because of the widespread ability of the rural sector to absorb the 'unemployed', structural unemployment is minimised in the official data; so that even in 1969,

'All evidence suggests that there is presently a surplus of unskilled labour at least in the area round Port Vila. Employers interviewed in Port Vila all reported that they could obtain any number of labourers required on very short notice with no difficulty; and in all native villages visited in the area it was alleged that some workers desired to work in Port Vila but could not find employment (Metcalf, 1969:14).

All the available casual evidence points to a growth in urban unemployment in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

At the time of independence (July 1980) there was a marked downturn in the national economy, associated with a drop in employment opportunities and the closure of many European (mainly French) owned businesses, which was also marked by substantial inflation. Moreover in 1981 the cost of the public service resulted in a 'freeze' on further recruitment and expansion (Vanuatu, 1982:105). Thus in areas peripheral to Port Vila, such as Maat village, many people previously employed in town returned to their gardens and cash crops, and especially market gardening rather than copra (Tonkinson, 1973: 2). This minimises official estimates of unemployment. A second influence on the growth of urban unemployment is the willingness or otherwise of family and kin to maintain an unemployed worker in town until he is able to find a job and contribute to his keep. Much depends on the relations between new migrants and more long-term urban residents; men who are not close kin are likely to receive limited support and it has been recorded that, for Weasisi (Tanna) migrants in town, if a young man is unable to find a job after a short period of time (four to six weeks) then he is given his boat fare and sent home (Bastin, 1980:197). However this is unlikely to be typical; in Tagabe, for example, there are 'quite a number of young men who are unemployed and who prefer to wait in the hope of getting a job rather than go back to their villages' (Jabre *et al*, 1976:19). The Tagabe situation appears more common than the Weasisi situation. At a National Council of Chiefs meeting in 1982 it was proposed that all unemployed migrants be sent back to their home island if they had not found

work within three months, a measure aimed at getting 'trouble-makers' back (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983; see below). Overall then both the employment and especially the unemployment situation recorded in the 1979 census were of limited validity within two years. In Maat village there were 'more "unemployed" in the village, but this term is relative, since all adults...can, if they wish, earn cash by selling produce in the Port Vila market' (Tonkinson, 1973:9). In urban areas the growth in genuine unemployment has been more apparent but there is virtually no information on national or urban unemployment levels, and there is evidence of a parallel decline in employment in the plantation sector (especially in Santo).

Despite some evidence of the growth of unemployment in Vanuatu critical employment problems also relate to labour shortages, both of skilled manpower and of labour for the plantation sector. There is a severe shortage of skilled manpower in Vanuatu; at the end of 1981 there were between 220 and 233 vacancies in the public service, amounting to 11% of all budgeted posts (Vanuatu, 1982:105, 108), and localisation has been confined primarily to the highest and lowest positions in the public service. There are consequently substantial numbers of expatriates in both the public and private sectors (see below). The scope for rapid localisation is limited and because of the absence of data on the specific manpower requirements of the economy, the organisation of formal education and training institutions to supply the national demand is more difficult (op cit:110). About thirty students a year finish post-secondary education and can be readily absorbed into the workforce (op cit:111) but the resultant localisation is obviously very limited.

The problem of obtaining an adequate supply of skilled manpower in Vanuatu in the next decade will be enormous. Not only is Vanuatu a small socio-economy, where the training of a small number of specialists creates difficulties in economies of scale, and thus demands much overseas training outside the Vanuatu cultural context, but within Vanuatu the dichotomy in the educational system presents particular problems. At the time of independence there were only eight ni-Vanuatu university graduates, three of whom were in medicine. On the other hand, the virtual absence of emigration (see below) does enable Vanuatu to retain almost all of its skilled manpower. There will be a large expansion in the number of children of school going-age in the next decade; not only will it be necessary to provide universal and compulsory education, to avoid widening existing socio-economic inequalities, but the existence of the dichotomous structure will call for much ingenuity and innovation in this crucial area.

The second labour constraint to development is that of attracting labour, and retaining it, in the plantation sector. The problem of labour shortage in the plantation sector is not new. Even at the end of the Nineteenth Century there were labour shortages for local plantations, as much because of the poor conditions and low wages as any general unavailability of labour, especially on Efate (Thompson, 1981:9-10), and this situation remained virtually the same throughout the Twentieth Century, hence the unusually substantial recruitment of women as plantation labourers (cf. Bedford, 1971:98-100). In the early 1960s plantation labour supply was highly variable, often as 'feast or famine' conditions prevailed in the villages, a supply of labour that was disconcerting and made successful plantation management extremely difficult (Wilson, 1966:23). These variations resulted principally from, firstly, the 'traditional necessity' of migrants to return to their home villages to take some part in semi-subsistence agricultural activities, hence plantation labourers were often recruited from more distant islands to limit their ability to return

(op cit:23-24) and rarely remained for longer than three months of continuous employment (op cit:123). Secondly, the opportunity to establish cash cropping on village land resulted in earnings that were often higher than those on plantations and could be combined with substantial leisure (op cit:126). Wilson concluded that only by raising the level of wages and conditions on plantations, would shortages of labour be minimised; however wages and conditions did not improve substantially (the differentials between urban and plantation wages increased rather than decreased), cash cropping and urban employment opportunities increased and diversified, commodity prices stagnated at the end of the 1970s so that the problems of obtaining plantation labour increased and the plantation sector itself became rundown. Increasingly attitudes towards plantation employment (and general manual labour) have hardened as migrants prefer to remain unemployed and wait for urban opportunities rather than take up rural vacancies; only in contexts, such as Paama, where rural population densities are high, is there a real supply of plantation workers and, to a significant extent, those ni-Vanuatu plantation workers who do remain for the whole year are those without any significant opportunities of obtaining a livelihood elsewhere and hence have no choice but to work on plantations. In some respects some can be regarded as 'desperadoes' and no-hopers' (G. Habercorn, pers. comm. 1983). These attitudes to agricultural employment have been emphasized by an educational system that puts a low value on vocational education. Significantly the Bislama expression 'Hemi prapa leba' can be translated as either 'he is truly a labourer', 'he is reduced to doing hard physical work' or 'he is "flat broke"' (Camden, 1977:55). Consequently it is now widely recognised that there are considerable problems involved in attracting labour into the plantation sector, a problem found also in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea but apparent also in much poorer economies like that of Western Samoa (see Country Report No.22) where the returns to mixed cash-subsistence production are probably less than in Vanuatu. The Development Plan specifically notes that it is intended to reinstate coffee in the plantation sector 'but the difficulty of obtaining labour will remain a major constraint' (Vanuatu, 1982:137) since in the agricultural sector 'labour is neither plentiful nor cheap' (op cit:133) hence the previous situation where large numbers of labourers were previously imported from overseas to work on the plantations. The same situation is almost certainly likely to be true for new cocoa developments (such as that at Malakula) and especially for any attempts to redevelop copra plantations where the returns are likely to be significantly lower. Although it has been argued that Malakula itself will supply adequate numbers of labourers for the cocoa scheme, since conditions will be better than on plantations (B. Weightman, pers. comm. 1983) but this must be open to considerable doubt.

The availability of information on the Vanuatu employment structure (including the distribution of jobs, the age and sex structure of employment, wages and incomes, etc.) is very poor and has so far prevented adequate manpower planning. The last completed survey was in 1973, at a time of a minor economic boom, and the absence of data, especially on the regional structure of employment and hence of manpower planning, acts as a constraint on overall development planning (Vanuatu, 1982:111-112), a situation which is discussed further in the Conclusion.

There is no official minimum wage in Vanuatu; wages in the plantation sector have probably been generally the lowest in the formal sector but were usually dependent on the amount of copra produced hence varied substantially. Average hourly wage rates increased from NH francs 31 in 1970 to NH francs 39 in 1972 and NH francs 51 in 1974. In 1977 the minimum

monthly wage for an unskilled worker was about A\$50 (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:479). In subsequent years wages increased substantially (as did prices) and in 1982 unskilled daily wages in Mele village had reached VT 450 per day (C. Boveington, pers. comm. 1983); in 1981 a wage of VT 60 per hour was recommended as a minimum for government labourers and a minimum wage of not less than VT 200 per day was proposed for plantation and hotel workers (C.K. Aramui, pers. comm. 1981). By contrast within the public sector wages in mid-1982 ranged from VT 22,400 to VT 132,800 per month; thus within the public sector there was a substantial difference between the highest and the lowest wages, although it was argued that high wages were necessary at the top of the public sector both because of the serious shortage of qualified manpower and because of similar wages in the private sector (Vanuatu, 1982:107). Whilst plantation wages are particularly low there is little information on rural-urban income and wage disparities to consider the extent to which these variations may influence population distribution. In so far as the available data permits analysis there appear therefore to be substantial income differentials in Vanuatu, which can also be partly seen as spatial differentials and, in particular, wages within the agricultural sector are low.

The difficulties in measuring income levels in a semi-subsistence socio-economy such as that of Vanuatu are considerable and variations about the mean are likely to be great; consequently the per capita income of \$468 given by Sevele (1982:7), the lowest average income in Melanesia, is likely to be no more than a crude estimate and measures only cash incomes. A sample survey of village incomes in Weasisi village (Tanna) in 1977 gave an average of only \$175 per capita per year, of which wages contributed 48%, remittances or gifts from outside the village contributed 19% and copra sales 14% (Bastin, 1980:215-218). Since Weasisi is a village with a substantial commitment to cash crop production, incomes there are likely to be higher than in many other rural areas.

There are substantial, and growing differences, in economic status between different parts of Vanuatu. In some islands a few villages, and many households throughout the country, especially in Santo, Malakula and Tanna, remain virtually outside the cash sector, with a basically subsistence-oriented economy. In 1979 it was estimated that 32% of those in the agricultural sector (outside plantations) were entirely dependent on subsistence farming for their livelihood (Vanuatu, 1982:106), an estimate which is extraordinarily high and must be regarded as of doubtful validity. By contrast in some semi-rural areas there have been substantial changes in the socio-economic structure. Thus, in villages like Erakor and Maat, on the urban fringe of Port Vila, there is a labour market within the village, as some villagers are employed by others as agricultural workers or in domestic service (Tonkinson, 1973:9). By the early 1970s villages like Erakor on the fringes of Port Vila were hiring labourers from outside Efate; in 1973, 13 out of 73 households were hiring between one and four workers, mainly migrants from islands like Tanna or Malakula who had been unable to find work in Port Vila and were receiving in the village between \$20 and \$30 per month, plus food and lodging (Philibert, 1976:34). In these villages, in nearby Mele and in other urban fringe villages there are also formal sector employment opportunities in the village alongside the hiring of wage labour. These differences in employment structure indicate substantial differences in income levels, not only between villages like Mele and inland villages in remote islands, but between individuals and households in the same village. In suburban villages like Erakor there is considerable socio-economic differentiation; village incomes in 1973 varied from \$23 to \$596 per month (with an average of \$195), land was in the process of

becoming a commodity and several households hired wage labour. Yet, despite these differentials, Philibert provides little indication of conflict and notes that all villagers believe they have achieved "la bonne vie" (1976:147). In the case of Maat too, 'socio-economically while there are certainly some major differences in wealth, this is not reflected significantly in status and class differences have not emerged' (op cit:9) and in Weasisi (Tanna) there was no 'great degree of social differentiation' (Bastin, 1980:234). By contrast in Longana (Ambae [Aoba]) there was considerable inequality as a result of unequal access to land, so that 'big peasants' could be differentiated from others (Rodman, 1981). Yet many of these distinctions are functions of differences in the form of analysis and the individual orientation of the particular researchers; thus elsewhere Bastin (1983) has commented that Weasisi villagers may be regarded as 'peasants', that they are a 'committed proletariat' and that there is an emergent system of stratification. Between villages there are also differences; in the early years of Maat migration from Ambrym to Efate, the Maat villagers were contemptuously referred to as 'man bus' (bush people) by their more sophisticated Mele neighbours (op cit:7). Whilst in Maat these distinctions may no longer be apparent these attitudes and distinctions recur throughout the socio-economic structure of Vanuatu.

Population

Information on the early population history of Vanuatu is thin, although it is more detailed than in the other Melanesian countries to the north. More recently, there have been two national censuses in Vanuatu (in 1967 and 1979) but these contemporary data on the structure of the population are also inadequate. The 1979 census was incomplete since, in Tanna especially, about 500 households (about 2,700 people) refused to co-operate (Vanuatu, Bureau of Statistics, 1980:38-43). In the first half of the Nineteenth Century, and despite the imposition of colonial rule (which elsewhere often resulted in headcounts and censuses), there were no accurate population counts. The first official counts were conducted in 1936 and further estimates were made at intervals through the 1950s and 1960s (Table Seven). However, most counts were no more than estimates and the total recorded in the first census in 1967 suggests that most of these estimates were undercounts.

Table 7. Vanuatu Population Estimates, 1936-1982.

1936	40,931/47,283
1947	44,896
1948	45,000
1951	48,000/41,872
1952	48,500
1954	48,800/45,000/46,714
1955	46,535
1958	56,739
1960	55,528/60,474
1966	63,448
1967 C	77,988
1979 C	111,251
December 1982	128,000 (est.)

Source: McArthur, 1981:27; Wilson, 1966:10-11.

The first island to have its population counted was Aneityum and in the 1850's it had a population of around 3,500 (McArthur, 1981:6), a total greatly in excess of its present population. It is in Aneityum too that the impact of an epidemic (measles introduced by contact with Europeans) is first recorded in detail, an epidemic which in 1861 killed more than a thousand people there (op cit:6-7). However, the experience of Aneityum may have been quite atypical (op cit:18) and the population declines that followed introduced diseases were unlikely to have been so severe elsewhere. Labour migration had a further impact on population change. Whilst most recruits returned to Vanuatu, McArthur comments that 'the demographic effects of recruiting are wholly and inescapably unknown' (op cit:31) those who died overseas or who failed to return may have been no more numerous than those dying of disease on their home islands. The evidence generally suggests that population decline in the Nineteenth Century was far from as excessive or dramatic as has often been believed (ibid; Thompson, 1981:13) and many cultures retained much of their pre-contact vigour and identity. However in some areas, such as Malakula, contemporary accounts of population change in the 1920s do suggest a considerable decline (e.g. Deacon, 1934:19-22) and, whilst visual evidence may have exaggerated its extent, depopulation appears to have continued until the Second World War (Rallu, 1981). Fragmentary literary evidence also suggests a possible decline, especially on the smaller islands with long-standing or heavy European settlement (Thompson, 1981:11). In other areas, declines were probably less significant and arrested sooner. Thus the population of Vanuatu may well have been increasing slowly, or at least remaining constant in the 1920s, when 'the Domsday men', such as Rivers and Baker, were predicting its extinction (McArthur, 1981:27). However, by 1967 the population was undoubtedly increasing; from the 1967 census the death rate was estimated to be as low as 20 per thousand, despite the significance of TB, and McArthur concluded that 'there might yet be a further acceleration of population growth' (op cit:29). The 1979 census reveals that population growth during the intercensal period was indeed greater than prior to 1967.

Table 8. Population by Ethnic Group.

	1967		1979	
Ni-Vanuatu	70,837	(92.5%)	104,371	(93.8%)
European	1,773	(2.3%)	2,409	(2.2%)
Part-European	1,151	(1.5%)	1,000	(0.9%)
Polynesian and Micronesian	1,270	(1.7%)	1,023	(0.9%)
Asian	649	(0.8%)	722	(0.6%)
Other Melanesian	426	(0.6%)	408	(0.4%)
Others	476	(0.6%)	1,318	(1.2%)

Source: McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:23; Vanuatu, 1983:138.

Vanuatu has a relatively homogeneous Melanesian population, much like Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea to the north rather than New Caledonia or Fiji to the south and east. At the 1967 census, 92.5% of the population were ni-Vanuatu; the remainder were Europeans, part-Europeans, Asians and other Pacific Islanders (Table Eight). Between 1967 and 1979 the ni-Vanuatu population grew, increasing its share of the total population to 94%. Of

the remaining population groups only the European population grew significantly, whilst the number of other Pacific Islanders declined. There is no information on variations in natural increase between ethnic groups.

Data on the natural increase of the Vanuatu population are very poor, although data on population growth (see Table Seven) do indicate a very rapid rate of population increase, which at 3.2% per year, is one of the highest in the South Pacific region. Even at the time of the 1967 census the growth rate was estimated at 2.5% per annum (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:vii). The components of this population change and any regional variations are almost unknown; as a recent UNFPA project outline notes, 'current data on mortality, morbidity, life expectancy and other similar types of information on women and children in Vanuatu are little more than "guesstimates"' (UNFPA, 1981:1). The project therefore was designed to provide data on child spacing, family planning, nutrition and the health status of women throughout Vanuatu, in part to fill this gap in data availability. Whilst data on population increase may be poor there is no doubt that increase is rapid. The population is young: the 1979 census shows that 45% of the population were aged 14 or under (New Hebrides, Bureau of Statistics, 1980:5), a proportion which was exactly the same as that in 1967. Thus despite the rapid increase in population between 1967 and 1979 there has been no increase in youthfulness.

Family planning has never been emphasized in Vanuatu and there is no apparent real interest in the establishment of family planning activities. There is a Family Health Project giving information on both Maternal and Child Health. Family planning services are available for individuals 'should they wish to adopt family planning and the health services will provide advice to parents about family planning on request' (Vanuatu, 1982: 205). In 1983 dépo-provera was banned by the Vanuatu government, although about 80% of those using family planning used this method. The Prime Minister, Father Lini, has commented,

'While there is still a lot of space and there seem to be opportunities to develop the land, a lot of people would not really see the need for population or birth control. It is very difficult to talk about it at the moment when there is no clear reason' (cited by Steele, 1980:31).

Visiting Erromango in mid-1983, the Prime Minister argued that there was a need to increase the population of that island in order to work on the land (Tam Tam, 17 September 1983). In the circumstances, it is probable that the degree of family planning knowledge and practice in Vanuatu is one of the lowest in the South Pacific region and is unlikely to increase in the near future.

One of the most striking characteristics of population distribution in Vanuatu, a characteristic again shared with the other Melanesian countries to the north, is the considerable variation in population density within the country. Most obviously, the interiors of several of the larger islands are virtually uninhabited; and over large areas it would be possible to support a larger population (Wilson, 1966:9). By contrast on some of the smaller islands, especially Paama, Tongoa and other islands in the Shepherd group, north Pentecost and particularly the small islands off the coasts of Malakula and Efate, the populations are relatively dense. Even in the early 1960s residents on some islands were cultivating land on less populated

Table 9. Population Change by Island, 1967-1979.

		1967	1979	% change 1967-1979	Population Density, 1979 (persons sq. km) (a)
Torres Islands	Hiu	48	84	83.0	2.0
	Tegua (inc. Metoma)	11	9	-10.2	0.4
	Loh	64	84	31.3	6.7
	Toga	77	140	81.8	8.8
Banks Islands	Ureparapara	149	239	47.0	6.6
	Motalava	816	1,175	44.0	49.0
	Vanua Lava	695	946	36.1	3.1
	Kwakea (Pakea)	52	62	19.2	0.4
	Mota	269	422	56.9	44.6
	Santa Maria (Gaua)	432	780	80.6	2.3
	Merig	56	44	-21.4	110.0
	Mere Lava	812	973	22.4	243.3
Santo	Espiritu Santo	8,909	15,737	76.0	4.3
	Lataro (Pilot Island)	50	34	-32.0	11.5
	Mavea (Mafia)	50	98	96.0	20.9
	Aese (Ais)	100	78	-22.0	12.2
	Tutuba	158	238	50.6	18.1
	Aore	610	332	-45.6	5.8
	Malo	1,578	2,299	45.7	12.8
	Malokilikili	16	7	-56.3	3.1
	Tangoa	326	475	45.7	1,158.5
	Araki	70	84	20.0	33.6
	Urelapa	12	0	-	-
Ambae (Aoba)	5,971	7,754	29.9	19.4	
Maewo	1,196	1,822	52.3	6.8	
Pentecost	6,801	9,361	37.6	21.3	
Malakula	Malakula	7,866	11,019	40.1	5.4
	Vao	816	986	20.8	758.5
	Atchin	731	922	26.1	1,229.3
	Wala	265	207	-21.9	295.7
	Rano	232	183	-21.1	140.8
	Norsup	50	62	24.0	248.0
	Uripiv	279	333	19.4	387.2
	Uri	34	43	20.6	32.1
	Sakao	11	2	-818.0	-
	Uliveo (Koulivou)	543	729	34.3	391.7
	Avok	63	137	117.5	195.7
	Akhamb	168	386	129.8	559.4
	Tomman	134	135	0.7	58.7
	Araeo	0	19	-	-
Ambrym	4,246	6,176	45.5	9.3	
Paama	1,947	2,228	14.4	67.5	
Lamen	314	348	10.8	580.0	
Epi	1,718	2,249	30.9	5.1	
Lopevi	22	0	-	-	
Shepherd Islands	Tongoa	2,251	2,856	26.9	68.0
	Tongariki	355	347	-2.3	57.8
	Buninga	141	145	2.8	82.9
	Emae	547	723	32.2	22.6
	Makura	164	259	57.9	199.2
	Mataso	136	114	-16.2	114.0
Efate	Efate	9,452	16,743	72.9	18.3
	Nguna	789	970	22.9	39.6
	Pele	204	208	2.0	46.2
	Emao	655	842	28.5	112.3
	Moso	135	143	5.9	5.7
	Lelepa	217	333	53.5	41.6
	Iririki (b)	152	...	...	...
	Fila	403	577	43.2	115.4
	Eretoka	0	3	-	-
Erromango	602	932	54.8	1.0	
Tanna	10,476	15,397	47.0	28.0	
Aniwa	227	320	41.0	16.4	
Futuna	311	345	10.9	27.6	
Aneityum	320	512	60.0	3.5	
Boats	278	41	-	-	
TOTAL	76,582	111,251	45.3	9.4	

(a) The areas used in the calculations of population density are those given in the 1967 census; in many cases other area calculations are given in subsequent publications. For example in the 1967 census Santo is recorded as having an area of 3,677 sq. kms., Cazals and Potten (1977:42) record an area of 3,947 sq. kms., whilst the current Development Plan (Vanuatu, 1982:102) records an area of 4,010 sq. kms. This obviously makes a difference to calculations of density.

(b) Iririki is included in Efate in 1979. Provisional estimates however gave a 1979 population of 24.

adjacent islands (ibid) and were more prominent in out-migration moves. The highest population densities are recorded on some of the islands off the east coast of Malakula (Table Nine) and especially Atchin which has a resident population density of 1,229 persons per sq. km., an exceptionally high density for a non-urban area in Melanesia. Some coastal areas of high islands approach these densities and urban population densities are higher. But between the large islands there are also striking contrasts: nearby Tanna and Erromango have densities of 28.0 and 1.0 persons per sq. km. respectively. The fragmentation of the population between islands and variations in population density have a considerable impact on lifestyles throughout Vanuatu.

International Migration

In the relatively early post-contact years Vanuatu was one of the main source areas of 'blackbirding' and labour migration, but in the current century international migration has been of very slight significance. In 1847, some 65 men from Tanna and Erromango were recruited to work in Monaro, New South Wales, but the cold climate prevented this being successful. Throughout the southern islands, Melanesians were hired as ships crew and shore-based labourers (Shineberg, 1967:15) and, in 1863, sandalwood traders began to recruit Melanesians for the cotton plantations in Fiji and the cotton and sugar plantations of Queensland. Although the first recruitment was orderly and humane, abuses followed and the British Parliament was forced to pass the Pacific Islanders Protection Bill in 1872 to ban 'blackbirding', the forcible removal of labour (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:488). In the 1860s there was an organised and government-controlled recruitment of ni-Vanuatu, especially from Efate, Erromango and Tanna, to work for the planters of New Caledonia (Howe, 1978:32) and recruitment increased when mineral exploitation began in the 1880s and effectively continued almost ever since (op cit:33; see Country Report No.10). It was not until the 1870s that labour recruitment became significant in the northern islands and the evidence indicates that most migrants were not only willing recruits but perhaps as many as half (Corris, 1970) signed on for second and third times. By 1876 Vanuatu had provided over 7,200 labourers for Queensland, about 4,500 went to Fiji between 1868 and 1878 and about 2,000 went to New Caledonia round the same time (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:488). About 550 labour migrants, probably from the northern islands, were also recruited for Hawaii between 1877 and 1887 (Bennett, 1976:17). Approximately three-quarters of those who went to Queensland eventually returned (McArthur, 1981:24) but there is no indication of the rate of return from other places. Between 1863 and 1904 Vanuatu provided some 39,931 labour migrants to Queensland, approximately 64% of all Queensland's Pacific Island labourers; the main islands that supplied labour were Epi (5,084), Ambae (Aoba) (3,658), Ambrym (3,464), Malakula (2,934), Santo (2,806), Gaua (25,37) and Efate (1,762) (Price and Baker, 1976) as the pattern of recruiting gradually shifted to the larger islands of the north. No data exists on the source of labour recruits to other areas within the Pacific, although in the earlier periods of labour migration many of the recruits in Fiji were from Tanna, Santo and Malakula (Corris, 1973:24, 72). Towards the end of the century there was economic pressure for repatriation of Pacific Island labour from Queensland and by 1906 virtually all islanders had returned home, although recruiting of labour for New Caledonia went on for several more years (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:488). Some islanders chose to remain in Australia and they and their descendants remain in Queensland.

After the extensive labour migrations of the second half of the Nineteenth Century overseas migration from Vanuatu rapidly dwindled and in the Twentieth Century there have only been two out-migrations of importance, firstly, a continued slow migration to New Caledonia which became a flood during the 'nickel boom' and died away afterwards and, secondly, a more recent and growing migration for secondary and tertiary education and training overseas (see below). In 1980 there was some slight interest in Vanuatu in possible participation in labour migration to New Zealand (in a similar manner to that of Polynesian countries like Western Samoa and Tonga) but the idea was never taken up. Thus during the past decade international labour migration from Vanuatu has become of almost no importance but migration for training is of considerable significance.

Although there were reported to be about 3,000 ni-Vanuatu in New Caledonia in the early 1890s, numbers fell in the Twentieth Century, and planters and missionaries discouraged French recruitment (cf. Bedford, 1981:126). In the 1950 New Caledonia census only 128 ni-Vanuatu were enumerated and approximately half were permanent residents. During the 1950s and early 1960s there were probably no more than a hundred ni-Vanuatu employed on plantations at any one time (*ibid*). Migration from Vanuatu to New Caledonia increased rapidly in the 1960s, as a result of the 'nickel boom'; many ni-Vanuatu went on three or six-month contracts attracted by wages of \$150-250 per month. In 1968 it was estimated that 500 ni-Vanuatu were working there and '400 or more' in 1969 (Metcalf, 1969:14) although Fowler estimated 1,500 in December 1969 (1970:63). By 1971 over 3,000 were believed to be in New Caledonia (Bedford, 1971:111-112) whilst Brookfield suggested a figure of 3,500 (1972:121). The average length of stay in New Caledonia was five to six months (Bedford, 1971:129) but the income transferred directly through the banks to Vanuatu was calculated at about \$100,000, alongside money directly carried to Vanuatu, hence remittances may have been worth as much as A\$2.5 million per year. International migration was the second most important income-earning activity in Vanuatu and, in comparison with other income sources, remained entirely in ni-Vanuatu hands (Brookfield, 1975:70). However, even at that time, the exodus of labour was regarded within Vanuatu as a severe drain on the limited resources available for development there (Brookfield, 1972:121). During the period of the nickel boom more than 10,000 ni-Vanuatu worked at some time in New Caledonia, a very high proportion of the Vanuatu population. However after 1972 the number of migrants fell and the number of ni-Vanuatu in New Caledonia now consists of little more than about 500 workers of whom about a hundred had some technical qualification. In 1976 there were 1,050 ni-Vanuatu there, of whom 476 were employed, 51 were looking for work and 64 were students (Iaswel and Macdonald-Milne, 1979:3). The 1979 Vanuatu census recorded 723 ni-Vanuatu workers in New Caledonia, the highest proportion of whom were in the construction industry (Vanuatu, 1982:115), and a total ni-Vanuatu population in New Caledonia of 1,132, of whom 864 were in Noumea (Vanuatu, 1982:44). Of these, 781 were men. For the 1983 election 606 ni-Vanuatu were registered in New Caledonia compared with 718 for the 1979 election. In 1982 there was the greatest net-migration of ni-Vanuatu from New Caledonia to Vanuatu since 1973, in the immediate aftermath of the nickel boom. In the late 1970s the ni-Vanuatu in New Caledonia were recorded as being principally from the more densely populated islands of Vanuatu - Tongoa, Paama and the Shepherd Islands - and the proportion of migrants from those islands is almost exactly the same as it was in Port Vila in 1974 (Bonnemaison *et al*, 1981). Unlike most other migrant groups in New Caledonia more than 50% of the ni-Vanuatu are single men, and there are relatively few families, which has given the ni-Vanuatu population the most imbalanced age and sex structure of any migrant group in New Caledonia

(Doumenge, 1981). The achievement of independence in Vanuatu in 1980 has not affected migration between Vanuatu and New Caledonia but it seems that the ni-Vanuatu population is likely to both decline and become assimilated in New Caledonia, especially in a situation of growing unemployment in New Caledonia (see Country Report No.10). An important era in international migration from Vanuatu has almost come to an end.

Curiously however the last significant migration out of Vanuatu and into New Caledonia was that in the aftermath of the Santo rebellion. About 800 'refugees' had migrated from Vanuatu to New Caledonia by mid-1981 and there was a continuous movement in the months thereafter. Although almost all the migrants were French citizens (see Country Report No.10) many were of ni-Vanuatu, Wallisian, Samoan, Tongan or other Pacific Island origin. (Overall the estimated 3,500 French residents of Vanuatu fell to an estimated 2,200 in January 1981, and was still falling early in 1982). Most of the migrants were largely integrated into the New Caledonian economy, or moved on to France or elsewhere. In July 1982 it was reported that those who had left Vanuatu numbered 1,198 people, of whom 979 were in New Caledonia, 162 were in France, 46 in French Polynesia and 11 in Guyana (Nouvelles Caledoniennes, 9 Juillet 1982). Those who were not French citizens and not necessarily French speakers found this partly involuntary migration a source of considerable difficulty, and legal problems of the migration had not been entirely resolved by 1983.

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region training and education overseas is one of the more important aspects of contemporary international migration; in 1980 some 200 students were being trained outside Vanuatu, about 120 of whom were on courses of more than a year. Whilst priority is given to courses within the South Pacific (Vanuatu, 1982:219), and therefore especially in Fiji, there were around 10 students in France (op cit:222) and others in countries such as Australia. In 1982 there were 176 students overseas in tertiary education alone, of whom 63 were at USP (Suva, Fiji), 61 at the Honiara Technical Institute and 29 at University in Papua New Guinea (Tam Tam, 13 Febreware, 1982). In 1983 there were 230 students overseas, of whom 17 were in Australia, 99 in Fiji, 1 in France, 8 in New Caledonia, 13 in New Zealand, 25 in Papua New Guinea, 43 in Solomon Islands, 12 in French Polynesia, 7 in the United Kingdom and 5 in Western Samoa (Tam Tam, 17 Septemba 1983). This continues an historic tradition of migration from Vanuatu where, just as in Solomon Islands to the north, many young men were chosen by missionaries and others to go overseas for education and training; many of these returned home and eventually became distinguished local leaders. A recent set of profiles of ni-Vanuatu leaders (Macdonald-Milne and Thomas, 1981) demonstrates how virtually all contemporary political and religious leaders received a significant part of their education and training overseas.

Of all migrations into Vanuatu much the most important has always been that of Europeans, not only because of their greater numerical presence than any other group of migrants but because of their role as administrators, missionaries, planters, businessmen and teachers and these roles, although much diluted, remain of great significance. The available data on the employment structure of Vanuatu indicates that in many areas demanding higher education and/or technical training there are few ni-Vanuatu able to take up those positions (see above) hence in 1981 there were some 566 expatriate work permit holders in Vanuatu (Table Ten) and in 1982 there were about 267 expatriates in the public service alone (Vanuatu, 1982:105). The main countries of origin of the expatriates were France (150), Great Britain (63) and New Zealand (41) with 107 from elsewhere in the Pacific region, 58

from Asia and 29 others (Knowles, 1981). In terms of their employment 24% were in professional and technical jobs, 21% were in professional and managerial jobs, 17% in clerical jobs, 16% in production and 10% each in the sales and service sectors (*ibid*). Missionaries were not regarded as requiring work permits. The relatively large number of work permit holders from elsewhere in the South Pacific region includes many who have married and effectively settled locally but, because they were then not citizens, have had to apply for work permits (*op cit*:2). Thus Europeans continue to make an important contribution to the economy, and there is likely to be significant European migration to and from Vanuatu for the foreseeable future, although the numbers will continue to decline slowly as the process of localisation goes on or as they are replaced by Asians, as has occurred elsewhere in the region.

Table 10. Expatriate* Work Permit Holders by Major Occupational Group and by Sex, September 1981.

	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent of Total
Professional/Technical	102	34	136	24
Administrative/Managerial	109	7	116	21
Clerical	24	73	97	17
Sales	36	20	56	10
Services	43	11	54	10
Agriculture	10	0	10	2
Production	93	4	97	16
TOTAL	417	149	566	100

* Not born in Vanuatu.

Source: Knowles, 1981.

After the First World War the expansion of colonial interests (alongside apparently continuing depopulation) created a labour shortage and the French met this by introducing labourers from Tonkin (Vietnam) on five-year indentures. By contrast, although there had been some consideration given to introducing Indians, the British planters were not allowed to import or employ Asian labour; many either became French citizens or lost their copra trade (*Pacific Islands Yearbook*, 1981:488). In 1927 there were some 5,000 Vietnamese workers in Vanuatu but during the depression numbers fell dramatically and in 1936 there were only 374 although numbers subsequently grew again (Doumenge, 1966:196). Most were on French plantations in Efate, Malakula and Santo. In 1963 some 1963 (85%) of the Vietnamese population were repatriated (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:24) and by 1967 there were only 397 in Vanuatu. This emigration had a significant impact on the economy since they constituted a high proportion of plantation workers; for example labour-intensive crops of cocoa and coffee were largely abandoned in favour of beef production (Vanuatu, 1982:127). The small group of Vietnamese who remained were those who had no wish to be repatriated; many have since become citizens and all must be regarded as permanent settlers. In January 1979 Jimmy Stephens made an 'offer' to resettle Vietnamese refugees in Maewo, with the intention that they would constitute not only cheap agricultural labour but also expertise, that would enable Nagriamel land to provide Australia's total requirements

of cocoa (Jupp and Sawyer, 1979a:216-217). Since Stephens had neither the power nor the authority to offer Maewo (or any other land area) this did not occur but it was an indication that even in areas where there was pressure to resume land it was still considered that there was a labour shortage and some possibility of resettlement (even if, in this case, for fundamentally political reasons).

The Chinese population of Vanuatu has always been quite small but, as elsewhere in the South Pacific region, their significance in the commercial and business world has been quite out of proportion to their numbers. In the 1967 census there were only 252 Chinese in Vanuatu (of whom only 76 were females); only 13 were enumerated outside Efate and Santo, and 8 of these were on Malakula (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:26). Even in 1967 a high proportion of the Chinese were born in Vanuatu and, apart from Formosan and Japanese fishermen in Palekula, whose numbers are small, the Asian population of Vanuatu can no longer be regarded as a migrant population. Most are ni-Vanuatu citizens.

The repatriation of Vietnamese led to an increase in the number of migrants from other than British Pacific Islands, primarily Fiji and the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati), whose numbers increased from virtually nothing at the start of the decade to around 450 at the time of the 1967 census. Similarly there was an increase in migration from the French territories of French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, whose numbers fluctuated between 500 and 1,000 in the post-war decades. In 1967 there were 1,270 Polynesians and Micronesians in Vanuatu and 426 Melanesians from outside Vanuatu, 40% of whom were from Fiji or Solomon Islands, although the majority were New Caledonians with French citizenship (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:24).

The first Polynesian group to migrate to Vanuatu were French Polynesians to take advantage of labour shortages on the plantations, and relatively high wage rates. Yet few French Polynesians actually migrated because of constraints both in French Polynesia and in Vanuatu (see Country Report No.5). Those who moved to Vanuatu often progressed rapidly through the employment market, because of their French speaking ability, to become plantation or small-business managers (Benoist, 1972:141). However almost all French Polynesians have since migrated onwards to New Caledonia or have returned to French Polynesia.

Around the start of 1952 some 58 Wallisian workers went to Vanuatu to establish a wave of emigration from Wallis and Futuna (O'Reilly, 1963; Doumenge, 1966:174) and, in 1952, a total of 160 Wallisians and Futunans left to take up three-year work contracts on plantations in Vanuatu. Their productivity was reputed to be three or four times that of local workers. The Wallisians themselves, who worked in the plantations of Vanuatu, were attracted by the opportunity to plant large gardens of their own, the possibility of hunting wild game and by a climate that was warmer than that of New Caledonia and more like that of Wallis (Doumenge, 1966:174). Little information exists on subsequent periods of migration but it must have continued since in 1959 Vanuatu head counts enumerated 369 Wallisians and 99 Futunans. It was not only plantation workers but also their families who had moved to Vanuatu. A 1961 administration estimate gave a population of 500 Wallisians and 300 Futunans and from around this time, the Wallis and Futuna population in Vanuatu expanded as the Vietnamese departed and new job opportunities became available not only in plantations but in towns and the Forari mine. Consequently in February 1962 there was a total of 765 Wallisians and Futunans in Vanuatu: 397 in Santo, 269 in Efate and 99 in Malakula, and by 1963 the total number had passed a thousand (Doumenge,

1966:174-175). Although the numbers may have continued to increase slightly this is the highest recorded Wallis and Futuna population in Vanuatu since, from around that time and especially in the late 1960s, migration from Wallis and Futuna became almost entirely oriented to New Caledonia and there was also migration of Wallisians and Futunans from Vanuatu to New Caledonia. However there was limited return migration from Vanuatu, children were born there and a migrant community of long-standing now remains. The 1976 Wallis and Futuna census estimated that 300 Wallisians and Futunans were in Vanuatu (INSEE, 1978:52) and, at the last Vanuatu census in 1979, the Wallis and Futuna population was close to 1,000 (Colliez, 1981:42). There is no data on current migration flows between Vanuatu and Wallis and Futuna, but the evidence suggests that the Wallis and Futuna population in Vanuatu has declined rapidly since independence, because of difficulties in obtaining work permits (R. Gillet, pers. comm. 1983), although many are effectively settlers.

From the early 1960s there have been migrants from Kiribati (Gilbert Islands) to Vanuatu; initially workers were recruited for the South Pacific Fishing Company at Palekula (Santo) and later with the Syndicat Agricole on copra plantations. In mid-1963 there were 26 I-Kiribati (Gilbertese) employed at Palekula (Wilson, 1966:144). In 1967 there were 94 I-Kiribati in Vanuatu (68 of whom were employed on plantations) and the numbers appear to have increased little in recent years. Since 1970 there has been no further recruitment to work in Vanuatu (see Country Report No.7) and in 1972 there were 282 I-Kiribati in Vanuatu (Fox, 1976:75). By 1981 it was estimated that there were perhaps as few as 30 to 40 I-Kiribati remaining on plantations in Malakula and Santo (B. Weightman, pers. comm. 1981) although other I-Kiribati have employment elsewhere in the formal sector, principally in the urban areas. A head count conducted by a visiting ministerial delegation from Kiribati in 1983 recorded an I-Kiribati population in Vanuatu of 322 (59 in Port Vila, 88 in Malakula and 175 in Santo), 49% of whom were children, although this included some ni-Vanuatu women married to I-Kiribati. By contrast to migrants from elsewhere in the South Pacific region, and especially Polynesia, I-Kiribati have tended to work as groups rather than seek individual employment outside the plantation sector (Benoist, 1972:141). Most have been in Vanuatu for many years and some ethnic I-Kiribati have been born in Vanuatu and have never seen Kiribati; consequently the population is to a large extent essentially a resident rather than a migrant population, increasing through natural increase and given free choice unlikely to return to Kiribati where employment prospects are extremely few. The government of Kiribati is anxious to seek out new overseas employment opportunities for I-Kiribati (see Country Report No.7) and Vanuatu is unable to obtain adequate supplies of labour to enable a regeneration of the plantation sector, which suggests that there is some future for international labour migration from Kiribati to Vanuatu. However this has not been considered in Vanuatu and there would almost certainly be political objections to it on the grounds that ni-Vanuatu unemployment is increasing (even though the labour market is quite different) a situation which occurred in the 1960s in response to immigration from elsewhere in the South Pacific region (Bedford, 1971:103-104). Although I-Kiribati have a reputation as hard workers they also have a reputation for violence; nevertheless, 'hard working, cheerful, immensely strong, they have made a considerable difference to the survival of plantation in the Condominium' (Fowler, 1970:67). In the circumstances it seems improbable that there will be further migration from Kiribati, even under short-term rotating contracts (as are currently in operation between Nauru and Kiribati), and the visit of the Kiribati ministerial delegation in 1983 was a result of concern in Kiribati that I-Kiribati in Vanuatu, despite

renouncing their Kiribati citizenship, were being denied Vanuatu citizenship and could not obtain renewed work permits. It is possible that if the labour supply situation in the plantations, or on the new cocoa estate at Malakula, worsens then this possibility can be considered.

Finally, as almost everywhere else in the South Pacific region, there have been small numbers of Fijians in Vanuatu, most initially working for the British administration or on island shipping (Benoist, 1972:1141). Perhaps two hundred Fijians remain in Vanuatu, some of whom have taken out citizenship, most being Melanesians rather than Indians (Indo-Fijians). A number of Fijians, both Melanesian and Indian, arrived in the 1960s to take up construction work, and in 1972 there were 104 Indians employed in Vanuatu, almost all of whom were skilled workers (Reddy, 1981:35); this number increased in the 1970's following a boom in the construction industry (op cit:36) but declined rapidly from the mid-1970s. Few remain. A small number of Tuvaluans migrated from the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) and have settled in Vanuatu as have Solomon Islanders, of whom there were 64 in employment in Vanuatu in 1972 (Reddy, 1981:45). Many have married in Vanuatu, especially in the Banks Islands, and they too are a settler population. In 1972 a figure of 176 was given for the number of Tongans in Vanuatu (Fox, 1976:75); again many Tongans, although fewer than the 1972 figure, remain as a settler population and, like other settler populations, tend to be concentrated in urban areas.

Unless the problems of labour supply in the plantation agriculture sector worsen, and ni-Vanuatu cannot be induced into plantation employment, thus necessitating the importation of plantation labour from elsewhere (most probably Kiribati) then the number of immigrants in Vanuatu is likely to decline. Apart from a floating European population, increasingly consisting of short-term technical experts rather than intending residents, most of the early migrant communities are essentially stable, growing through natural increase rather than migration, or declining, a situation which seems unlikely to change. Thus international migration in Vanuatu is increasingly likely to be characterised by the immigration of short-term, mainly European technical experts and the out-migration of short-term ni-Vanuatu students and trainees who are in the process of replacing the European technical experts. International migration, which has had an extremely important role in the changing economic, and social structure of Vanuatu, is thus likely to decline in extent and significance especially in comparison to internal migration.

Data on contemporary international migration to and from Vanuatu is good and available in more detail than perhaps anywhere else in the South Pacific region, a situation that is ironic since international migration is currently of very limited importance compared with many countries elsewhere in the region that have very poor data. In the last decade international migration has been marked by emigration, immediately before and after independence in 1980, (Table Eleven), especially of Europeans; the net migration deficit in 1980 included 1,189 French citizens, 244 Australians and 85 British citizens. However in 1982 there was a deficit of only 83 French citizens, and an increase in Australians (156) and British (39). A more detailed examination of international migration within the South Pacific region (Table Twelve) reveals a positive migration balance in the past six years only with Solomon Islands (and smaller countries) and a declining Tongan population. A post-independence decline in the Fiji population appears to have been arrested. This supports more casual evidence that the number of non-Vanuatu Pacific Islanders is declining or, at best, remaining stationary. The French population has declined, at least

since 1977, by 3,222 persons; many of these were from Santo whereby 1981 only six or seven planters remained out of around 50 before independence (de Beer, 1981). Significantly the British population has also declined but only by 335 whereas the Australian population has increased by 1,459 people. In a sense a French and British colonialism has been replaced by an Australian neo-colonialism. In general however international population migration is only of minor significance in Vanuatu, and especially so for the ni-Vanuatu population.

Table 11. International Migration.

	TOTAL			NI-VANUATU		
	Arrivals	Departures	Net Migration	Arrivals	Departures	Net Migration
1971	17,783	17,556	+227	...	...	...
1972	19,381	18,383	+998	...	...	...
1973	22,479	22,524	-45	...	...	...
1974	23,227	22,589	+638	...	...	...
1975	22,077	22,028	+49	...	...	...
1976	24,179	24,567	-388	...	...	...
1977	31,112	31,708	-596	1,369	1,311	+58
1978	35,080	34,918	+162	1,357	1,360	-3
1979	38,463	38,559	-96	1,884	1,943	-59
1980	29,034	30,837	-1,803	1,561	1,675	-114
1981	29,078	28,628	+450	1,505	1,275	+230
1982	38,077	38,731	-654 (a)	1,743	1,723	+20

Note: (a) The Statistical Bulletin records a figure of 346.

Source: Vanuatu Statistical Bulletin, 3(3) 1982; 1983.

Table 12. International Migration Balance. South Pacific Region, 1977-1982.

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Fiji	-6	-	12	-55	-2	48
Kiribati	9	-10	16	-10	-8	3
Nauru	4	2	-	4	-8	5
New Caledonia	49	60	1	68	66	162
Niue	-	...	...	-2	-3	...
Papua New Guinea	-3	19	10	-3	2	-4
Solomon Islands	-10	19	6	27	14	-3
Tonga	-15	-29	17	-37	-1	2
Tuvalu	...	...	...	...	2	...
Western Samoa	1	1	-	3	1	3

Notes: (a) The New Caledonia data refers to ni-Vanuatu only.
 (b) French Polynesians, Wallisian and Futunans are not distinguished separately.

Source: Vanuatu Statistical Bulletin, 3.3, 1977-1983.

Internal Migration

As elsewhere in Melanesia there is a strong sense in which mobility is a central facet of ni-Vanuatu lives, a mobility always present in historic times, but transformed in the colonial and post-independence years to a different form with a different status. This centrality has been well-documented over wide areas of Vanuatu (Bedford, 1971, 1973a; Bonnemaïson, 1974, 1976) and confirmed in studies of much smaller areas, such as Maat, Efate (Tonkinson, 1979, 1983)) and Weasisi, Tanna (Bastin, 1980). As Bonnemaïson argues, not only are ni-Vanuatu mobile, but the abiding anchor for ni-Vanuatu identity is the profound sense of land and space (Bonnemaïson, 1983a, 1983b; cf. Tonkinson, 1982). The history of migration in Vanuatu, from pre-contact mobility, through sandalwood cutting parties, early plantation migration (when the central islands between Maewo and Paama were the main sources of labour) to employment on small ni-Vanuatu owned plantations before the Second World War has been traced in some detail by Bedford (1971:47-89) a period when group contract labour increasingly gave way to casual or 'free' labour migration. Similarly migration patterns became more complex as employment opportunities increased and diversified and reasons for migration multiplied and became more complex.

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region missionaries attempted to encourage nuclear settlement patterns. In the Nineteenth Century progress was sometimes slow; on Erromango, in 1892, the missionary H.A. Robertson, like his predecessors, lamented the 'very scattered shifting population... Though we have urged time and again their duty and interest in the matter of forming themselves into compact colonies....they will not colonise' (cited by McArthur, 1981:23). But in time ni-Vanuatu did move down from the hills to the coasts, often forming large nucleated villages near mission and trading stations, so much so that Vanuatu perhaps demonstrates more often and more comprehensively than anywhere else in the South Pacific the phenomenon of movement from the mountains to the coasts; only in a few islands like Malakula are there significant inland populations but there too the process is continuing as access to modern institutions becomes more important. There are numerous examples of this movement, for example both in Ambae (Aoba) and Central Pentecost where migration is not only to take advantage of access to services but is also on to previously malarial plains (Allen, 1968; Gilding, 1982:67; Bonnemaïson, 1980:161). Much the same has occurred in north Ambrym (Patterson, 1976:18). There has also been movement of some villages, such as Nimbil and Fanafo in Santo, closer to towns (Bedford, 1971:121). The 1967 census recorded that in several areas, notably areas of high population density, like northern Maewo, north Pentecost and south-west Ambae (Aoba), previously uninhabited areas were being occupied by short-distance migrants seeking land for new gardens or cash crops (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:31) and this kind of continuous movement has occurred in many places in subsequent years. In general these kinds of spontaneous population movements (even if encouraged by administrators and missionaries in earlier years) have resulted in high coastal population densities and considerable disparities between coastal and inland areas.

The only available information on internal migration for Vanuatu as a whole is the data on lifetime migration from the 1967 and 1979 censuses. Although the 1967 census is now sixteen years old it is necessary to pay some attention to the situation then because of the limited amount of subsequent data. Lifetime migration into or out of the major islands and island groups (Table Thirteen) did not then indicate any clear geographical pattern, although the extent of migration was considerable for both males

Table 13. Lifetime Migration, 1967.

	Numbers enumerated on island of birth (per 1,000 born there)			Numbers born on each island (per 1,000 enumerated there)		
	M	F	Persons	M	F	Persons
Torres	404	456	430	466	710	588
Ureparapara	845	913	879	876	926	901
Mota Lava	716	850	783	934	965	950
Vanua Lava	818	787	803	597	735	666
Gaua	905	915	910	638	752	695
Mota	579	711	654	924	886	905
Merig	352	490	421	692	900	796
Mere Lava	609	794	702	906	916	911
Santo	850	872	861	669	759	714
Pilot (Lataro)	777	1,000	889	291	384	338
Mafia (Mavea)	625	680	653	769	708	739
Tutuba	972	957	965	843	893	868
Aore	10	11	11	3	5	4
Malo	891	941	916	717	764	741
Tangoa	326	305	316	174	198	186
Araki	369	411	390	459	424	442
Ambae (Aoba)	857	875	866	894	918	906
Maewo	908	907	908	699	707	703
Pentecost	817	906	862	961	962	962
Malakula	835	866	851	806	824	815
Vao	902	911	907	980	904	942
Atchin	763	725	744	913	870	884
Wala	368	374	371	897	855	876
Rano	531	439	485	527	456	494
Norsup	1,000	944	972	966	850	908
Uripiv	838	907	873	541	437	489
Uri	666	600	633	210	400	405
Koulivou	974	970	972	970	970	970
Avok	880	888	884	1,000	923	964
Akhamb	925	963	944	977	1,000	989
Tomman	986	1,000	993	948	929	939
Ambrym	713	821	767	911	902	907
Paama	517	668	593	976	984	980
Lamen	792	773	783	782	721	752
Epi	846	836	841	706	709	708
Tongoa	736	784	760	937	935	936
Tongariki	670	783	704	949	885	917
Buninga	847	827	837	757	648	703
Emae	663	650	657	572	596	584
Makura	310	511	411	816	861	839
Mataso	563	793	678	859	924	892
Efate	787	785	786	459	575	517
Nguna	674	712	693	630	655	643
Pele	613	607	610	259	310	285
Emao	791	817	804	825	832	829
Moso	663	743	703	902	968	935
Lelepa	715	904	810	990	1,000	995
Iririki	73	70	72	131	128	130
Fila	917	903	910	931	883	907
Erromango	848	907	875	750	713	732
Tanna	911	949	930	969	976	973
Aniwa	753	981	867	913	878	896
Futuna	536	635	586	897	929	913
Aneityum	725	818	772	640	675	658
VANUATU	703	753	728	737	752	745

Source: McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:51-52.

Table 14. Lifetime In-migration (de facto population) 1979.

Residence	Same Island	Birthplace					TOTAL	Immi- grant %
		Northern District	Central District 2	Central District 1	South	Outside Vanuatu		
NORTHERN DISTRICT								
Ambae (Aoba)	7,219	253	141	100	7	34	7,754	7
Aore	53	82	150	6	3	38	332	84
Santo	12,031	1,031	2,012	472	85	1,154	16,785	28
Luganville	2,020	674	1,311	323	60	795	5,183	61
Maevo	1,238	456	91	28	6	3	1,822	32
Malo	1,225	810	217	33	3	18	2,306	47
Mere Lava	846	115	3	7	1	1	973	13
Mota	363	49	7	1	2	0	422	14
Mota Lava	964	149	20	20	3	19	1,175	18
Santa Maria	465	348	4	2	0	5	824	44
Torres	234	65	2	12	0	4	317	26
Ureparapara	167	62	2	2	5	1	239	30
Vanua Lava	686	288	10	10	1	13	1,008	32
CENTRAL DISTRICT NO.2								
Ambrym	5,155	306	504	172	12	27	6,176	17
Malakula	13,667	467	480	327	52	170	15,163	10
Paama	1,680	199	70	264	5	10	2,228	25
Pentecost	8,809	355	70	92	13	22	9,361	6
CENTRAL DISTRICT NO.1								
Efate	9,504	824	2,051	1,868	1,194	2,358	17,799	47
Port Vila	3,780	673	1,616	1,220	710	1,972	9,971	62
Port Vila Outskirts	3,510	101	309	260	314	133	4,627	24
Emae and Makura	607	9	9	340	3	14	982	38
Emao	609	3	1	207	1	21	842	28
Epi	2,015	64	212	248	11	47	2,597	22
Nguna and Pele	650	13	10	478	4	23	1,178	45
Tongariki	205	1	4	137	0	0	347	41
Tongoa	2,511	24	27	256	6	32	2,856	12
Buniga	75	0	5	64	0	1	145	48
Mataso	76	1	1	35	0	1	114	33
SOUTHERN DISTRICT								
Aneityum	251	3	6	47	188	17	512	51
Aniwa	251	1	0	11	57	0	320	22
Erromango	545	1	0	169	214	3	932	42
Futuna	321	0	0	8	15	1	345	7
Tanna	14,731	89	88	210	186	93	15,397	4

Source: Vanuatu, 1983:155-162.

and females. Most islands did not appear as clearly islands of immigration or emigration. Extremes of both immigration and emigration were exhibited by the hospital islands of Aore and Iririki; there was virtually no emigration from the small islands of Tomman, Norsup and Koulivou, and very little from other of the islands off Malakula. Emigration was particularly high for both sexes on the Torres Islands, Merig (Banks Islands), Aore, Tangoa and Araki (Santo), Wala and Rano (Malakula) and Makura (Shepherd Islands) and for males on Mota, Paama, Mataso and Futuna (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:52). In terms of immigration Tangoa (Santo) had very high immigration, whilst Lelepa (Efate), Ahamb and Koulivou (Malakula) and Paama experienced very little immigration (*ibid*). Santo, Efate and Malakula each occur as islands of immigration, and as employment centres (Bedford, 1971:137). Some lifetime migration movements were relatively simple, for example migration from islands such as Paama, Tongariki, Makura, Mataso, Nguna and Pele which all exhibit above-average emigration, to Efate, an island of above-average immigration, is straightforward. Similarly there is usually much migration between offshore islands and adjacent mainlands, especially those like Wala and Rano (Malakula), where villages are effectively split between offshore island and mainland. Migration tended to be localised with most migrants to the principal areas of employment opportunity coming from nearby islands without such opportunities.

The available data on lifetime migration from the 1979 census (Table Fourteen) is of only limited value but has been converted (Table Fifteen) to provide comparable data on lifetime migration with that collected in 1967. Nevertheless the analytical utility of this data is slight. It does however indicate that in comparison with 1967 most islands have experienced higher levels of in-migration and, therefore, almost certainly of emigration also. Those few islands where the level of lifetime immigration has fallen include the relatively remote islands of Torres and Futuna and the exceptional case of Vao where some 97% of the resident population of 1,108 were born there. On most other islands lifetime immigration has increased, but it is not possible to differentiate the extent to which this is a result of children born elsewhere and returning to the islands of their parents or other patterns of migration. The extent of lifetime migration has not surprisingly increased only slightly on islands with large populations. However there was a particularly large increase in the amount of lifetime immigration in Paama (980 to 754), Tongariki (917 to 591) Buninga (703 to 517) and Mataso (892 to 667) all of which islands have been characterised by very high levels of out-migration. The data therefore suggest substantial "return migration" of children born outside those islands although this may be attributable to children being born in hospital. The maintained regional structure of migration moves is apparent (Table Fourteen) especially in the distinctiveness of the northern and southern districts. Less than two hundred lifetime migrants from the southern district have travelled further north than Efate and sixty of these are in Luganville town (Santo); migrants from the northern district are more widely distributed throughout the country, in part reflecting their longer and more established participation in contemporary structures of migration. Further census data (Table 20 of the 1979 Census) provides an almost complete island-by-island analysis of lifetime migration, which further emphasises the regional element in lifetime migration. Because of the problems in relating lifetime migration data to time periods the value of this data in development planning is negligible.

The 1979 census differentiated between the de jure (legal) population and the de facto (actually resident) population, and hence, for each census division, records the number of people actually present, including visitors

Table 15. Proportion of Population born on each Island (per thousand resident there), 1979.

	M	F	Persons
Torres	695	787	738
Ureparapara	733	667	699
Mota Lava	805	837	820
Vanua Lava	680	681	680
Gaua (Santa Maria) (a)	543	585	564
Mota	895	825	860
Mere Lava	889	851	869
Santo (b)	697	740	717
Aore	158	162	160
Malo	517	548	531
Ambae (Aoba)	928	935	931
Maewo	694	661	679
Pentecost	937	945	941
Malakula (c)	903	908	901
Vao	981	953	967
Atchin	875	865	875
Ambrym	847	821	835
Paama	771	737	754
Epi (d)	771	781	776
Tongoa	893	864	879
Tongariki	564	615	591
Buninga	582	462	517
Emae (e)	597	640	618
Mataso	654	677	667
Efate (f)	513	558	534
Nguna (g)	545	559	552
Erromango	600	568	585
Tanna	956	958	957
Aniwa	788	781	784
Futuna	925	936	930
Aneityum	471	513	490

- Notes: (a) includes Merig.
 (b) includes Lataro, Mavea, Tutuba, Tangoa and Araki.
 (c) includes Vao, Atchin, Wala, Rano, Norsup, Uripiv, Uri, Koulivou, Avok, Akhamb and Tomman.
 (d) includes Lamén.
 (e) includes Makura.
 (f) includes Emae, Moso, Lelepa, Iririki and Fila.
 (g) includes Pele.

Source: Vanuatu, 1983.

(de facto population) and the number of 'absentees', that is those who were regarded as normally (or legally) resident in that division but absent at the time of the census. The usual residence was regarded as the place where the person lived for much of 1978 (since the census was conducted in mid-January 1979) and members of a household who were absent on the census day were enumerated in the household 'as an exceptional measure' if they had not been away for more than four years, they sent letters or money to the household, and thus kept up a regular relationship, and they were expected to return, (Vanuatu, Bureau of Statistics, 1980:35). This form of classification, which provides a particular view of what in Vanuatu may be

regarded as 'permanent' migration (see below), may not however have been followed in the same way throughout the country. Whilst this information might have been expected to provide useful data on regional variations in the proportion of absentees it is of limited value (see Table Sixteen); comparison of Santo (where out-migration is relatively low) and areas of high emigration (such as Emae, Tongariki and Tongoa) indicates that in Santo 580 (3.6%) of the de jure population were absent, whilst for Emae, Tongariki and Tongoa, the relative percentages were 7.9%, 5.0% and 3.2%. This suggests therefore that, if the data has been collected in the same way throughout Vanuatu, which is highly improbable (op cit:45), then there is very little relationship between the structure of migration in the past four years and the overall structure of lifetime migration. Further analysis of migration in Vanuatu from the 1979 census data will be possible using survival ratio methods.

Table 16. Short-term migration, 1975-79.

	De Jure Population		
	Absent	Total	% Absent
Ambae (Aoba)	287	7,814	3.7
Aore	10	315	3.2
Santo	580	16,220	3.6
Maewo	51	1,771	2.9
Malo	60	2,319	2.6
Mota Lava	51	1,142	4.5
Santao Maria (Gaua)	57	811	7.0
Torres	21	325	6.5
Ureparapara	15	236	6.4
Vanua Lava	55	969	5.7
Ambrym	209	6,324	3.3
Malakula	1,150	15,931	7.2
Paama	192	2,354	8.2
Pentecost	479	9,544	5.0
Efate	937	18,038	5.2
Emae - Makura	72	916	7.9
Emao	46	884	5.2
Epi	110	2,672	4.1
Nguna	30	1,179	2.5
Tongariki	18	362	5.0
Tongoa	93	2,892	3.2
Buninga	4	149	2.7
Mataso	1	102	1.0
Aneityum	67	464	14.4
Aniwa	27	349	7.7
Erromango	73	945	7.7
Futuna	20	357	5.6
Tanna	745	15,715	4.7
TOTAL	5,460	111,099	49.1

Source: Vanuatu Bureau of Statistics, 1980:59-71.

Partly because of some uncertainties over the definition of 'residence' a separate analysis was made of the 'visitors', that is those who were normally resident outside the census division but were recorded there at the

time of the census. Since the census took place in the long school holiday period many of the movements recorded were temporary, rather than long-term, but the resultant matrix of movements (Table Seventeen), suggests a number of characteristics of short-term migration. Firstly, the majority of movements are relatively short-distance, being mainly within the district of usual residence, a situation especially true in the south and least true in Central No.1, where Port Vila is situated. Moreover most moves were to adjoining districts. Thus this migration was characterised by its relatively short-distance nature, a situation not substantially different from the analysis of lifetime migration for the 1967 census, which suggests that labour markets may still be substantially localised. Secondly, visitors from overseas were found primarily in the Central No.1 division which includes Port Vila, a situation which is unsurprising. It is impossible to generalise further in the context of this kind of migration, because of its unknown duration.

Table 17. Matrix of Visitor Migration, 1979 (percentages).

Usual Residence	District Visited			
	Northern	Central 2	Central 1	Southern
North	56.7	9.8	5.0	0.6
Central 2	23.5	72.2	15.1	2.9
Central 1	7.9	12.4	41.6	9.2
South	1.9	1.4	13.7	83.5
Vanuatu				
unspecified	5.7	3.6	0.2	1.7
Abroad	4.3	0.6	24.4	2.1

Notes: Central 1 includes all the islands between Epi and Efate; Central 2 includes the islands of Pentecost, Malakula, Ambrym and Paama.

Source: Vanuatu, 1982:49.

The only further data on the contemporary structure of migration in Vanuatu comes from the direct comparison of 1967 and 1979 population data (Table Nine). With the assumption that rates of natural increase are similar throughout Vanuatu (an assumption that cannot be tested) then variations in rates of population increase can be attributed to variations in migration. A number of groups of islands can be distinguished. Firstly, there are those islands where the population increase has been substantially above the national average (45%); significantly these include Santo (76%) and Efate (73%), where the two towns Port Vila (Efate) and Luganville (Santo) are situated. The only other islands where the population has increased particularly rapidly are on the two larger Torres Islands, Hiu (83%) and Toga (82%), two of the Banks Islands, Santa Maria (81%) and Mota (57%), one of the offshore islands of Santo, Mafia (96%), two of the offshore islands of Malakula, Avok (118%) and Akhamb (130%) and, surprisingly, one of the Shepherd Islands, Makura (58%). The reason for the unusually rapid growth on these particular islands is unclear. Secondly, there are those islands that either actually lost population or had an essentially stationary population total over the twelve-year period. The most significant group are Mataso (-16%), Tongariki (-2%) and Buninga (3%), which are some of the smallest islands in the Shepherd group; two of the

other islands in the group, Emae and Tonga, both grew at rates below the national average. (Since the provisional 1979 census data recorded a figure of 162 for Makura some doubt must be cast on the anomalous final figure). Most of the other islands that lost population were the small offshore islands of Santo (Lataro, Aese, Aore and Tangoa), Malakula (Wala, Rano) and other small islands such as Merig (Banks Islands) and Tegua (Torres). Overall therefore, with rare exceptions, there has been a tendency for migration from smaller islands to bigger islands and especially to the two islands that have towns. This urbanisation is overwhelmingly the most striking impact of population change between 1967 and 1979. There is no data on migration since 1979; the most obvious movement has been out-migration from Santo town and nearby areas both around the time of the 1980 Santo rebellion and in the aftermath of the subsequent decline of businesses in the area. During the events leading up to the rebellion there was a considerable amount of opposition to 'foreigners' on Santo and Tanna resulting in an estimated movement away from those islands of about 300 to 500 ni-Vanuatu from other islands (Salmon, 1980:14). This emigration does not appear to have yet been reversed (cf. National Times, 8 April 1983).

The Rationale of Migration

In the earliest days of labour migration in Nineteenth Century Vanuatu 'the major stimuli encouraging New Hebrideans to migrate to other territories were the great desirability of European goods, especially muskets, tobacco and axes; the novelty of travel; an ambition to enjoy similar experiences to those recounted by repatriated labourers; and pressures within their own society' (Bedford, 1971:66). For Ambaeans (Aobans), it involved 'a sense of excitement, curiosity and an eagerness to acquire both the knowledge and the material possessions of Europeans' (Allen, 1968:31-2). Whilst the virtual ubiquity of goods has resulted in cash becoming more important than kind, and the novelty of travel has generally paled, in many respects the rationale for migration has been largely unchanged over the past century although economic motivations, in diverse forms, have become more apparent. Whilst economic motivations may have become dominant they tend to disguise the whole systemic and structural context of migration; single incidents and single decisions may often blur a wide range of influences that encourage a sometimes seemingly inevitable migration decision. Thus in a recent paper on urbanisation in Vanuatu the National Planning and Statistics Office argue that not only is migration a function of a broad process of capitalist modernisation but that within Vanuatu important regional variations are cause and effect of migration:

'The process of capitalist modernisation has had significant effects on the spatial economy of Vanuatu. It is arguable that the impact of capital has produced three broad types of regions. The first are those organised for large-scale export-oriented production, using wage labour and privately alienated land. Included here are south-western and northern Efate, small parts of western Epi, eastern Malakula, south-west, south and south-east Espiritu Santo. Second are those regions supplying labour. These include not only the "uncapitalised" parts of the larger islands (Efate, Santo, Malakula), but also parts of Pentecost, Ambrym, Tanna, Ambae (Aoba) and Maewo. Because of the small physical size of the country it is not possible to delineate physically

discontinuous regions in this category, or indeed the third. The difference is in the degree of relative isolation/integration. The third region are those areas which have become marginalised, not yet being part of the system. The smaller islands (Banks, Torres, Aniwa, Futuna) fall into this category' (Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, 1982b:3).

Whilst the smaller, more remote islands are marginal they are certainly incorporated into the national economy, primarily as copra producers and sources of labour; nevertheless these broad divisions indicate important regional variations in economic development.

The overall economic context of migration is apparent from studies of migration in particular places. Thus in Emae, Makura and Tongoa wage employment absolutely dominated the reasons for migration; 91% of all males had moved at least once to earn a wage income, and this reason accounted for 75% of all moves away from the villages (Bedford, 1971:237). Earning income outside the village economy has significantly influenced most migration moves in Vanuatu, whilst the theme of preferring to obtain 'fast money' through weekly pay packets rather than 'slow money' from periodic cash cropping was widespread (op cit:239). However reasons varied for males and females and for people in different age groups, a situation that can be depicted graphically (Bedford, 1973b:216-7, 220-221) and is indicative of the general complexity of migration. In some contexts migration has been regarded as 'target migration' where the purpose of migration 'is confined to the acquisition of wealth for a single purpose, most frequently the payment of school fees' (Leaney, 1966:11; cf. Bastin, 1980:188). Similarly in parts of Tanna increased pressures on men to provide large amounts of cloth for important village ceremonies has necessitated labour migration (Bastin, 1980:186) whilst the necessity to earn bride price has often played a role in influencing migration in Vanuatu. However the evidence from Vanuatu, and elsewhere in the South Pacific, suggests that the phenomenon of target migration has been overstressed in the contemporary context and largely dates from an earlier era of plantation migration when the potential 'target' was well defined. Short-term seasonal migration has tended to give way to more long-term migration for goals that are less easily identifiable. However there is virtually no information available on contemporary labour migration to plantations in Vanuatu and short-term target migration probably remains of significance there, especially for obtaining money for school fees and taxes (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983).

That migration is not a simple function of a limited number of economic (let alone social or political) variables is apparent from migration to towns in the 1970s, which was the period of most rapid urban growth in Vanuatu, much of this resulting from migration,

'At the rural end the movement was precipitated by a disastrous fall in copra prices in 1971 which coincided with some devastating cyclones in the smaller, more densely populated islands (for example, Tongoa) of the central and northern part of the country. At the same time Port Vila, and to a lesser extent Luganville, experienced an economic boom with considerable construction activity which created a substantial demand for labour. Other broader processes, such as education and increased participation in the monetary sector, were also

creating attitudes among rural people who saw the towns as the location which allowed them to increase their earnings opportunities' (McGee *et al*, 1980:33).

In similar vein Bonnemaïson concluded categorically that 'the degree of integration into a market economy and the external cultural world' (1977: 132) is what ultimately results in relative overpopulation and then migration; migration therefore is a function of the complex interaction of semi-subsistence village-based economies and the modern capitalist sector.

In the 1960s, based on a small sample of plantations, it seemed that Pentecost was the most popular island from which labour was sought, followed by Ambrÿm, the Shepherd Islands, Malakula and Paama (Wilson, 1966:24), an indication that most plantation labourers came from islands of very high population pressure on resources. All the available evidence continues to indicate that migration from the more densely-populated island, and especially the Shepherds has continued. Both on the smaller islands and on the coastal strips of several large islands migration is increasingly becoming both permanent and explicable almost entirely by economic factors; the 'invasion by the coconut' of agricultural land has resulted in a decline in self-sufficiency that is not offset by the returns from copra making. Moreover coconut plantations have reduced the flexibility of land tenure and land rights have become more restrictive and tending towards permanent subdivisions (Bonnemaïson, 1983a); for some the opportunities to earn cash incomes in rural areas are therefore diminished. In some areas, such as Weasisi (Tanna), the combination of an increasing population (which has resulted in difficulties in expanding cash crop areas and the more intensive use of limited land areas) and consequently declining agricultural fertility, alongside a growing preference for European foods, has lessened the importance of both agricultural production (of food or cash crops) relative to wage labour (cf. Bastin, 1980: 175). More detailed analysis of the relationship between population density and migration can be made through revising the population densities in accordance with the areas of agriculturally useable land, as defined by the Vanuatu Island Resource Survey (which was unavailable at the time of writing). Available data from this survey (Table Eighteen) indicates, for example, that Ambrÿm and Tongoa, with identical lifetime out-migration rates have quite different agricultural land population densities (Haberhorn, 1982:11). Without further analysis of this data, in particular with relation to the concept of 'functional landlessness' (Howlett, 1980), that is the extent to which people may have access to land but may be disadvantaged by environmental, locational or social constraints from earning an income or producing food on that land, it is possible only to conclude that there is a general relationship between migration and population density, but especially in terms of agricultural land availability, which operates at all levels from large islands to within a simple village.

However Bonnemaïson has raised an important issue in commenting,

'Contrary to what one might think at first, it is not so much the "proletarianisation" of the rural world and lack of resources in the village which are the main cause of the rural exodus. In Vanuatu a large number of current urban migrants come, for example, from areas where the availability of monetary resources is locally among the highest. It is not even at all certain that it is among the "poorest", in the strictly economic sense, who migrate in the greatest numbers to the towns. It is rather those who have been subjected to the

Table 18. Population densities and migration rates, 1967.

	Total Land Area (km ²)	Arable Land	Population Density		Born on island	living there	Total Population	
			Total land	Arable land			urban areas	other rural
Paama	33	33	58	58	3,208	1,901 (59%)	719 (22%)	588 (18%)
Ambrym	665	218	6	18	5,039	3,837 (76%)	654 (13%)	548 (11%)
Pentecost	439	191	15	34	7,559	6,502 (86%)	507 (6.7%)	550 (7.3%)
Tanna	550	313	18	32	10,851	10,086 (93%)	476 (4.4%)	289 (2.7%)
Malekula	2,024	810	3	8	7,231	6,143 (85%)	417 (5.8%)	671 (9.3%)
Tongoa	42	36	50	59	2,741	2,086 (76%)	413 (15%)	248 (9%)
Ambae (Aoba)	400	215	13	25	6,140	5,318 (87%)	338 (5.5%)	484 (7.9%)
Mere Lava	4	N.A.	185	N.A.	1,068	740 (69%)	147 (14%)	181 (17%)
Nguna	25	N.A.	21	N.A.	730	506 (69%)	120 (16.4%)	104 (14.2%)

Source: Haberkorn, 1981:19.

strongest western cultural pressures, particularly through the bias of the education system. On the other hand while they were not necessarily proletarians to start with, there is good chance of their becoming so later on, if they break all their links with their islands of origin' (Bonnemaïson, 1983b:27).

It is not unusual to discover that migrants are not the poorest (cf. Connell *et al*, 1976) but may include many who are better able to take advantages of opportunities (for example, in initial financial resources or educational levels). However it is apparent that the present availability of data on migration in Vanuatu ensures that it is impossible to test this hypothesis. Other factors, beyond the crudely economic, have played an important role in influencing migration.

Education is increasingly important as a reason for migration for a number of reasons; firstly, as urban jobs become scarce, educational qualifications are increasingly necessary to obtain them whilst jobs that demand higher education provide higher wages. Secondly, education can be regarded as a dual strategy towards development; thus in the case of the relatively land-short village of Weasisi (Tanna) education is seen as a means of combatting land shortages, through enhancing a boy's chances of gaining secure employment in town but also allows for the possibility that the boy will eventually earn enough money to purchase land in the Weasisi area (Bastin, 1980:201). Thirdly, educational achievement is increasingly a source of prestige, not least because of its economic benefits in the modern economy. On many small islands there are no secondary education facilities (e.g. Bedford, 1971:237) and the concentration of secondary and tertiary education opportunities in Vanuatu is considerable. For women especially, access to medical services (especially when childbearing) was important and women, to a much greater extent than men, moved to accompany relatives, especially husbands (*op cit*:243), rather than because of any economic rationale. For many young unmarried men the single most common explanation of movement, at least in Tongoa, Makura and Emae in 1959-60, was to experience some of the excitement of living outside the social domain of the village and thence to achieve a measure of economic independence from their parents (Bedford, 1971:237) before social, economic responsibilities, often associated with marriage, reduced their freedom to migrate.

Natural hazards have promoted migration, and nowhere more dramatically than on the island of Lopevi, an almost classic volcanic cone, whose total population of about 230 were evacuated following the eruption of the volcano in July 1960 and resettled on Epi and Paama (Wilson, 1966:140-141). Similarly a volcanic eruption on Ambrym in 1951 destroyed Maat villagers' land; they were initially resettled on Epi but, following a hurricane they were resettled at a new Maat village, close to Mele on the fringes of Port Vila (Tonkinson, 1968). There is a history of migration from Ambrym as a result of volcanic activity (cf. Bedford, 1981:88). Thus as in other instances of natural hazards affecting population distribution, for example in Solomon Islands (Country Report No.16) and the Northern Marianas (Country Report No.12), there has been a centralisation of the population that has rarely been reversed at the end of the hazard period.

In some areas of Vanuatu, and especially Ambrym, both north Ambrym (Patterson, 1960:18) and south-east Ambrym (Tonkinson, 1977, 1979), sorcery was one of the most important reasons explaining migration from the island. Moreover when sorcery fears disappeared from south-east Ambrym, and increased in the resettlement village of Maat, there was significant return

migration (Tonkinson, 1983). When the scale of analysis is changed so that migration involves every movement of more than a day's duration, an analytical technique first employed in the South Pacific by Chapman in the Solomon Islands (Country Report No.16), then the rationale for movement changes substantially. For Weasisi villagers the most important movements were then, firstly, hospital visiting and secondly, church visiting (Bastin, 1980:260-262); thus short-duration, short-distance and primarily circular migration has a strong social component less apparent in long-duration long-distance moves.

The Rural Impact of Migration

The impact of migration in the rural areas of Vanuatu has received relatively little attention in the literature on migration in Vanuatu, suggesting perhaps that in many ways migration may have effectively maintained rather than changed many aspects of the rural socio-economy. The effects of migration are generally difficult to differentiate from those of other long-term social and economic changes such as population increase, the expansion of cash cropping and education, and only exceptionally does migration have a particular and obvious impact on rural areas. The impact of migration depends, in part, on the structure and duration of migration. Analysis of the 1967 census data showed that for Vanuatu as a whole migrants tended to be concentrated in the fifteen to thirty-nine year age group. The bias in age structure indicated that movement also tended to be of single or married adults rather than family units. However there were only small differences between the extent of female and male migration; considering adults only, 26% of males and 18% of females were absent from their islands of birth (Bedford, 1981:145). Data on sex ratios from the 1979 census (Table Nineteen) shows that one of the characteristics of those islands that have experienced extensive migration is a sex ratio biased in favour of females; this is particularly apparent for Mere Lava, Ureparapara and Mota (Banks Islands), Paama and Tongariki, Buninga and Mataso (Shepherd Islands). Moreover on all those islands, except Tongariki, the sex ratio of immigration is biased towards females; the explanation for this is not clear but may reflect the marriage of male migrants off the island, and their subsequent return with wives from other islands. The only islands with sex ratios significantly above average are some of the 'plantation islands' of the north and both towns. Again, because this data refers to lifetime migration, it gives little good information on the sex structure of migration. Casual evidence suggests that there is a maintained male bias in migration, especially for migration to plantations, but the subsequent migration of females has reduced the male bias in urban sex ratios (Table Nineteen) and also reduced the female bias on many islands of emigration, such as Paama and the Shepherd Islands. In Paama a significant number of women are now joining their husbands on plantations to assist in making copra; in a number of cases they are involved in the heavier work (G. Haberkron, pers. comm. 1983). Women are increasingly migrating both to join husbands in town and as independent migrants (see below), leaving higher rural dependency ratios, although in more traditional areas, such as parts of Pentecost, there is strong male opposition to female migration (cf. Jolly, 1982; G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983). In a sense this is not a new phenomenon since in the early phases of plantation development, and at least until 1930, women were a significant part of the labour force. Until 1930 over 20% of ni-Vanuatu recruited for employment on French plantations were females (Bedford, 1981:82), an unusual situation in the plantations of Melanesia. However overall the pattern of migration by sex has followed that elsewhere in Melanesia as women have increasingly become migrants.

High dependency rates occur in a number of places. For example, on Tongoa there has been concern over the movement of young adults in town to the extent that, although Tongoa is very densely populated, there is a local demand to reduce 'urban drift' so that local manpower requirements will not be unduly depleted (Tam Tam, 142, 27 Okis 1983).

Table 19. Sex Ratios 1967 and 1979 (Males per 100 Females).

	Total		Island	Lifetime
	Population	Population	born and	Immigrants
	1967	1979	resident	to island
			population	
Ambae (Aoba)	109	114	113	126
Aore	135	155	152	156
Santo	132	123	116	143
Luganville	135	123	111	132
Maewo	123	120	126	109
Malo	126	120	113	129
Mere Lava	94	93	97	75
Mota	79	99	107	59
Mota Lava	89	108	104	129
Santa Maria (Gaua) and Merig	110	101	94	111
Torres	113	111	98	159
Ureparapara	119	94	104	76
Vanua Lava	124	111	111	112
Ambrym	107	110	114	95
Malakula	116	112	113	108
Paama	79	96	101	84
Pentecost	99	108	107	123
Efate	128	106	109	131
Port Vila	119	117	102	127
Emae and Makura	98	102	95	114
Emao	99	111	102	138
Epi	103	109	108	114
Nguna and Pele	104	106	104	110
Tongariki	98	91	83	102
Tongoa	100	107	110	84
Buninga	...	86	108	67
Mataso (a)	72	84	81	90
Aneityum	101	115	106	125
Aniwa	85	100	101	97
Erromango	106	110	116	102
Futuna	94	100	100	118
Tanna	109	110	110	114
VANUATU	113	113	111	123

Note: (a) includes Buninga in 1967

Source: Vanuatu, 1983.

That migrants move for education, and the more highly educated are more likely to obtain well-paid employment outside the village, results in educational selectivity in migration, even in the 1960s and even from

villages like Maat that are very close to Port Vila. Thus in Maat there was an internal 'brain drain' with some of those who remained in the village being competent but less sophisticated or aware of government and the external power structure than those who have left (Tonkinson, 1968:274-5). Important skills are therefore lost to the village. In Maat at least superior education facilities and the establishment of commuting have enabled this trend to be reversed yet in more remote villages the trend continues. The exercise of power is increasingly concentrated in Port Vila and, as the self-reliance of village economies declines, the major decisions affecting rural development are being made in Port Vila by politicians and bureaucrats who may have a declining commitment to those outer areas.

The size of remittances and other earnings is generally difficult to assess and, in the context of some islands, has proved almost impossible (cf. Bedford, 1971:240) although data currently being collected in Paama and Pentecost suggests that contemporary evaluation may be possible (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983). Differentiating the use of wage income from cash crop income is difficult, and relatively few migrants had a particular aim in mind at the time of migration (Bedford, 1971:241); where they had, this was usually for purchasing building materials (*ibid*) but the difficulty in identifying a single or particular reason for migration is indicative of the structural nature of migration. The evidence on urban incomes and expenditures in the mid-1960s in Port Vila suggests that the amount available for savings and remittances must have been exceptionally small, although urban migrants did usually manage to remit something (Leaney, 1966:19-20), even though sometimes this was regarded as inadequate in the rural areas (Fox, 1976:74). There is always some conflict between potential remittances and the migrants' own savings and expenditure; Bastin records how Tannese men visited their sons in town to 'extract wealth from migrants which would otherwise be saved for personal use' (1980:188). Savings are thus inevitably inadequate for both the migrants' and his/her kin's wants. However a brief survey of four Tannese households in Port Vila revealed that the value of the remittances sent by them varied from just over a quarter to just under a half of total income, but this is likely to have been quite exceptional (Bastin, 1980:211-212). In this case too remittances made a substantial contribution to some household incomes; in Weasisi village (Tanna) remittances contributed about 19% of all incomes but 49% of the incomes of those without wage incomes (Bastin, 1980:219) thus playing a significant part in the equalisation of village incomes, even though the incomes of wage-earners were twice those of non-wage earners. Elsewhere remittances may be too small to make a substantial impact on village economies but Weasisi is exceptional because of the very strong commitment to rural return. In some cases, as in Paama, remittances are almost entirely in kind; few migrants send anything other than cartons of trade store goods, a situation which makes the survival of rural stores extremely difficult (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983).

Much income earned from wage employment in urban areas and plantations is brought back as capital and invested with a 'kompani' (a group of kin in the village who pooled labour, cash and perhaps land to achieve a goal such as the establishment of a store, or the purchase of a boat or truck) with the intention of becoming a small-scale businessman. Whilst this is potentially a productive investment in many areas, in fact 'the "businessman" is caught in an ambivalent position between the traditional cultural world built on personal relations and generosity, and the cold, dry impersonal world of mechanistic commercialism' (Bonnemaison, 1980:167). In the circumstances such investments are often short-lived and dissipated through social ties (op cit:175); whilst that 'dissipation' does

re-distribute migrant earnings equitably it does not stimulate economic growth. Other 'targets' for migration have included school fees, ceremonial expenditures and house construction (Fowler, 1970:63), all activities that benefit the migrant and his/her kin rather than have a more widespread benefit.

In the case of Weasisi village (where rural income-earning opportunities are limited) a particular form of remittances, 'contract payments', are made by long-term migrants to protect their rural interests. Because of disputes with close kin over access to land, contract payments are sent outside the usual kinship system (through which remittances are distributed) to someone who is not an immediate relative (who would have a claim on the land) but will look after the migrant's rural interests and act as his spokesman if necessary (Bastin, 1980:207-208). Thus not only do long-term migrants retain rural interests but, at least in this case where land is scarce, must not only send remittances but also make contract payments to retain that interest intact. In the circumstances their own savings are likely to be limited and economic pressures to return to the village are not only considerable, but likely to grow alongside duration of urban residence as investments are made in and on the rural land.

A detailed study of migration from the islands of Tongoa, Emae and Makura in 1969-70 revealed that migration was characteristically 'circular migration' in which the majority of migrants returned to their home villages after long or short periods away, and out-migration was never intended to be permanent. Moreover, of 1,883 moves to destinations outside those home islands, only 14% had lasted as long as three years (Bedford, 1971:229). Migrants returned to their village both to take part in seasonal subsistence agricultural activities and to maintain or plant copra plantations to ensure their retention of land rights, especially where pressure on land was considerable (Bedford, 1971:231-254). Their return was therefore necessitated by village-level economic necessities, rather than social ties (except as a means of access to land), in an attempt to minimise risk as much as maximise cash incomes, by retaining a wide range of choices of economic strategy. In such circumstances the impact of migration on the rural area was slight since migration was often no more than an attempt to consolidate, or slightly improve, rural prospects. Broadly in the 1970s there appears to have been a slow transition from the older pattern of circular migration (cf. Bedford, 1971, 1973), where ni-Vanuatu moved backwards and forwards between plantation, urban centre and village, always regarding the village as their true home, and a new pattern of 'uncontrolled' migration, or 'migrations sauvages' (Bonnemaison, 1974, 1976) in which migrants left their villages as individuals (rather than in the small groups that often typified circular migration, especially to plantations), often to go to one of the two towns, and remaining there for much longer periods of time. Because of this change in the characteristics of migration, a change typical of large parts of Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, towns appeared to be growing more rapidly in that period as an urban proletariat emerged (see below). The greater duration of absence was thus more likely to affect rural areas. However whilst plantation employment declined in significance there is no reason to believe that the circularity of that form of migration had declined.

Return migration after relatively short intervals away, often coinciding with periods of peak demand for labour, has tended to result in a situation where the effect of the loss of migrants' labour is minimised. Nevertheless, in some circumstances, women, who tend to remain in the villages, are taking over some previously primarily male agricultural tasks.

In Weasisi (Tanna), for example, women have become increasingly involved in copra production, although this increase in economic activities may have had only a limited impact on their social position (Bastin, 1980:175). At the same time, in villages like Weasisi, where pressures on agricultural land are considerable, even though migrants do not return at the times of peak demand for labour, there remain adequate workers in the village (op cit:177; cf. Jolly, 1982). More generally migration has affected the division of labour, initially as women took a greater part in previously male activities and subsequently as the economically active village work force included older people and children, a situation true also of other parts of Melanesia. In south Pentecost the extra demands on female labour were such that women often opposed male labour migration (Jolly, 1982). In some places 'land hunger was appeased' as gardens became smaller, a situation characteristic of the period of extensive emigration to New Caledonia (Fowler, 1970), but more often agricultural land was kept in operation by other kin. Migration is thus likely to have reduced both the levels of production and productivity in the rural sector and hence to have contributed to higher levels of food imports.

Return migration is common throughout Vanuatu and the available data on lifetime migration (Tables Thirteen and Fourteen), though hard to interpret, does demonstrate that even in islands of high out-migration, like Paama, Tongariki, Nguna, Pele, Buninga and Mataso, there is also substantial immigration, which must be interpreted partly as inter-marriage but also as the 'return migration' of children born off those islands, a similar situation to that in Solomon Islands (Country Report No.16). The overall impact of return migration has rarely been commented on in detail, the implication being that return migrants are usually able to re-establish themselves in their home communities, reacquire a life-style based on semi-subsistence agriculture and neither significantly disrupt community life nor themselves be disturbed by the return. Whether this general characterisation is true throughout Vanuatu is unknown and it is certainly apparent that not all migrants do return. In the aftermath of the rebellion on Santo in 1980 about 300 Paamese descended on Paama in one day, and many found it extremely difficult to re-establish themselves. Many slept for lengthy periods in the men's houses (nakamals) or on the beach, found that their land was being occupied and used by well-meaning relatives and re-established old arguments. The majority of these migrants moved on again by the end of 1980 or in 1981. While population densities on Paama are very high, so that this situation is somewhat exceptional, not only because of the numbers involved, it does indicate that there are often considerable difficulties in the way of migrants returning to their 'home areas' (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983). A related element of return migration is repeated visits to rural areas, both for personal and social reasons and to ensure that the migrants' economic stake in the rural area is not lost through their continued absence. Whilst the current national emphasis on traditional land ownership (cf. Tonkinson, 1983:14) is likely to strengthen migrants' claims to land, frequent revisiting is likely to defer pressures on migrants to do something about their unused land in situations of low population pressure, like south east Ambrym (ibid), although in areas like eastern Tanna, much stronger links may be necessary to ensure the retention of land use rights (cf. Bastin, 1980). All migrants thus have some social and economic ties with their home areas even if, for some, these are never ultimately converted into return migration. In the circumstances migration is one of many influences on rural economic development and social change and is not the most important.

Urbanisation

No mo Stap Long Taon

Long bifo brata
Yumi no stap tingting
Be naoia, luk aot brata
Yumi tu mas tingting

Bifo yu stap long vilij
Naoia yu stap long taon
Vilij i kut long you
Taon i no kut long you

Olsem wonem yu laikim taon
Taon i blong waitman
Vilij i blong yu brata
Sorry long yu

Yu kam bak brata
Kam bak long vilij
Kam long mifala
Papa mo Mama tufala stap wet

(Kali Vatoko and Albert Leomala, in A. Wendt, ed.,
Lali: a Pacific anthology, Auckland, 1980:122-3).

There has been a legally defined town in Vanuatu since 1911 following an official regulation 'To Define the Limits of the Municipalities of Port Vila and Mele' but no real urban development occurred until after the war; indeed it was not until 1955 that Santo (Luganville) officially became a town (Bedford, 1971:111) and even in 1965 'it may appear ambitious to speak of a "town"' (Gauger, 1965:34). Nevertheless, whilst Port Vila remained the administrative and commercial centre of Vanuatu, boom conditions in the copra industry enabled Santo to become an established commercial centre (Bennett, 1957:120). Port Vila's population more than doubled between 1955 and 1967 whilst that of Santo increased by some 80% (Table Twenty), and even more so in terms of the urban ni-Vanuatu population. Whilst, at that time, the 'majority of New Hebrideans in the towns had been, and remained, migrants' (Bedford, 1971:111), it was an indication that urban living was now a possibility for the local population. Moreover in the 1960s ni-Vanuatu began to purchase land in both Port Vila and Santo (see below). In part this was a function of economic development in the urban area: in the late 1960s 'the most striking feature of the [national] economy is the vigour of the two towns, Port Vila and Santo, well capitalised by large infusions of funds from the two metropolitan governments; (Brookfield *et al*, 1971:139). In the early 1970s there was a 'boom' in urban development (Bonnemaison, 1978:139), characterised by the expansion of the construction industry and the diversification of the urban economy, although, unlike other areas of the South Pacific region, the prelude to independence did not coincide with further rapid urbanisation. This urban development boom accompanied a shift in government expenditure from rural to urban areas (Fox, 1976:77).

Table 20. Urban Growth.

	Port Vila	Greater Port Vila	Santo	Greater Santo (a)
1942	about 1,000	-	about 400	-
1955	1,340	-	1,384	-
1965	2,616	-	1,564	-
1967	3,072	7,738	2,564	4,631
1972	9,242	12,541	3,915	4,265
1979	10,158	14,801	4,944	7,350

Notes: (a) excludes Aore which, in the censuses, was included in Greater Santo in 1967 and omitted in 1979.

Source: Bedford, 1971:112; Haberkorn, 1982:17.

Between 1967 and 1979 the urban population grew from 5,636 to 15,102, as the urban population effectively tripled in size. Thus the proportion of the population that was urban grew from 7.2% to 13.4%, proportions similar to those in Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. The annual growth rates of the two towns between 1967 and 1979 were 10.8% for Port Vila and 5.8% for Santo, as the dual urban system tended to move towards greater primacy. (Unlike most other urban census boundaries in the South Pacific the boundaries of the 'Greater' urban areas have been drawn to include what elsewhere would be considered semi-rural areas; although these areas are not discussed further here they are nevertheless a part of the urban area since there is extensive commuting from villages like Maat and Mele). The population of the urban areas is thus growing more rapidly than that of the country as a whole which grew at an annual rate of 3.2%, indicating that migration to the urban areas, and especially to Port Vila, is important.

As elsewhere in Melanesian towns particular areas are to some extent characterised by residents from particular areas of Vanuatu. In Port Vila this is nowhere more true than at Seaside which is principally occupied by migrants from Tongoa and Paama and in Santo by Mango, which is almost entirely occupied by migrants from the Banks Islands. Other areas such as Tagabe have a much more mixed population; in 1972 43% of its population were from Tongoa and Tongariki, 22% from Pentecost and some 35% from elsewhere (Vienne and Vienne, 1972:18). Some other parts of the urban area were characterised, particularly in earlier years, by migrants from outside Vanuatu; the urban centre of Port Vila in 1972 was dominated by Asians whilst Ecole Publique was dominated by Europeans. Only in these two areas and the British Paddock were Melanesians in an absolute minority (Vienne and Vienne, 1972:15); Nambatri (Number Three) had an unusually large proportion of Tongans and Wallisians (*op cit*:17). Urban areas appear to be of more mixed population composition than similar areas within Port Moresby or Honiara. Evidence of significant inter-marriage across islands and language groups (see below) does suggest a more socially mixed residential population than in most Melanesian towns.

Examination of the migration of the ni-Vanuatu urban population was carried out by Bedford (1971) using a slightly different definition of the Port Vila urban area from that in the census, but including the 'suburban villages' of Maat, Mele, Fila, Pango and Erakor. Because of this inclusion 80% of the ni-Vanuatu urban population (5,398) were born in Efate (or Fila

or Iririki); otherwise migrants primarily came from Tanna, Tongoa, Paama and Ambrym and were primarily employed in non-agricultural activities (Bedford, 1971:117-8). In Santo, migrants had come almost entirely from the northern islands, only 10% being born on islands south of Paama; 70% of urban migrants came from Ambrym, Paama, Malakula, Ambae (Aoba) and Pentecost and a further 12% came from the Banks Islands. The Ambaeans (Aobans) and the Banks islanders were particularly concentrated in the urban area, and in urban employment (Bedford, 1971:124). A survey of migrants in Santo carried out five years after the 1967 census, (Table Twenty-One), recorded a very similar geographical distribution (Vienne and Vienne, 1972). Thus the migration fields' of Port Vila and Santo were slightly different but, for both towns, Ambrym and Paama, midway between Efate and Santo, were major sources of migrants. However, by 1972, it was apparent that the migration fields of Port Vila and Santo were becoming different, in the sense that Port Vila, as the capital city, was attracting migrants from throughout the country whereas Santo had a more localised migration field (Bonnemaison, 1977a:11). The data on lifetime migration (Table Fourteen) indicates that although, for Santo some 72% of all migrants came from outside the Northern District and 71% of migrants to Port Vila came from outside Central District Number One, some 77% of all other migrants to Santo came from Central District Number Two (and hence very few from District Number One and especially the South) whereas there was a much more even distribution of the other migrants to Port Vila (some 22% being from the Northern District and 24% from the South). Thus Port Vila does have a much more national distribution of migrants than Santo, a situation which is likely to have been further emphasized in the past three years.

Table 21. Origin of Household Heads by Island.
Santo (Luganville), 1972.

Island	Number	Percentage
Paama	66	27
Pentecost	24	10
Banks Islands	39	16
Ambrym	33	14
Ambae (Aoba)	17	7
Malakula	15	6
Santo	13	5
Tongoa	7	3
Tanna	1	0.4
Wallis and Futuna	9	4
Other Pacific	7	3
Others and undeclared	11	5
TOTAL	242	100

Source: Vienne and Vienne, 1972 :156.

Although the 1967 census analysis recorded that the average proportion of males in the urban migrant population was 54%, a figure so close to the national sex ratio that it was concluded that 'females migrate to almost the same extent as males' (McArthur and Yaxley, 1968:55), this is a largely false conclusion resulting from the inclusion of the almost entirely Melanesian suburban villages within the urban area. Thus, as the census

analysis further noted, 'the masculinity of migrants tends to increase in direct proportion to the distance from Port Vila' so that 74% and 72% of the migrants from Santo and Tanna respectively were males whilst corresponding proportions were for Ambae (Aoba) and Pentecost (67%), Ambrym and Paama (63%) and Tongoa (56%). Some islands close to Port Vila, but significantly including Emae and Epi, contributed more than a proportionate number of females (*ibid*). In Santo the migrant population had a much greater male bias (on average 63%) a reflection of the more limited development of ni-Vanuatu settlement there and the limited opportunities for female employment (*op cit*:56). The evidence indicates that in many respects Port Vila was, or was becoming, a more established town than Santo with a more balanced population (although, not surprisingly, in both towns the proportions of the population less than 15 and over 45 were smaller than the national population). The pattern of changing masculinity rates suggests both an increasing number of single women moving to town and also more family migration (Haberkorn, 1982:2-3) which therefore demonstrates a change in the character of migration, which may be attributed to a decline in circular migration as families became established in town. The evidence on further changes in urban and rural sex ratios between 1967 and 1979 (see above) amplifies the conclusion that the sex structure of the towns is becoming more like the national average.

On the basis of data collected in Port Vila in 1970 Bedford concluded that 'evidence on the complex question of commitment to urban residence among Tongoans, Emaeans and Makurans is both tenuous and conflicting' (1971:281), few urban residents having spent long continuous periods in town, including many of those with skilled jobs and most being ambivalent about returning to their 'home' villages. Similarly Leaney recorded how some urban migrants stated that they were, for example, 'from the Banks; only on further investigation was it clear that they never set foot there, being born in Port Vila, that their mother was not from the father's natal island, and the father had in any case spent sometimes as much as 80% of his lifetime in Port Vila, even to the exclusion of any return to the natal home at all' (1966:12). However whilst rural areas remained sources of income (real and potential) and social security, the duration of urban residences especially for skilled workers, was increasing and occasionally retired workers remained in town. Many urban residents could no longer be regarded as temporary yet 'to talk of a "committed urban proletariat" is as yet misleading' (Bedford, 1973a:117). By contrast less than two years later Bonnemaïson noted not only the creation of an embryo Melanesian middle class, but also the 'uncontrolled' migration of young men to the extent that,

'cut off from the backing of their community structures, they show an increasing tendency to form a predominantly young and male urban proletariat, going through a rapid process of acculturation' (Bonnemaïson, 1976:11).

In general, Bedford distinguished two groups who were most likely to be committed to urban residence, firstly, those from rural areas where economic opportunities were extremely restricted, such as remote islands (e.g. Torres), areas subject to volcanic activity (e.g. Ambrym) and areas of land shortage (e.g. Paama, Makura and Mataso) and, secondly, the small proportion of ni-Vanuatu with skilled employment in professional and administrative occupations (*op cit*:118). Both groups have grown since 1970 because of rapid population growth and structural changes in urban employment but also because of increasing expectations and a greater extent of relative deprivation.

Table 22. Origin of Ni-Vanuatu Labour Force, Port Vila, 1973.

Origin	Construction Industry		Commerce		Other private enterprises and Administration	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Banks, Santo Ambae (Aoba), Pentecost	14	3	5	3	49	7
Malakula, Maewo	136	29	24	15	187	27
Ambrym	30	6	14	8	26	4
Paama	27	6				
		)	89	51	182	26
Central Islands	186	39				
Southern Islands	48	10	7	4	50	7
Port Vila, Efate	29	6	36	20	194	28
TOTAL	470	100	175	100	688	100

Source: Bonnemaïson, 1977a:19-29.

Examination of employment histories of the urban population in the early 1970s generally demonstrated that most migrants had relatively short periods of continuous employment. In 1972 some 74% of the Melanesian population of Port Vila had been in employment for less than one year and only 12% for more than three years (Vienne and Vienne, 1972:62). However a survey of the ni-Vanuatu labour force in various industries in Port Vila in 1973 (Tables Twenty Two and Twenty Three) revealed that in some sectors of the labour force there was considerable stability of employment. Even within the construction industry there was a nucleus of extremely stable qualified and semi-qualified workers (Bonnemaïson, 1977a:21) but there was a much greater stability in the commercial sector (op cit:25) and an even greater stability of employment in the primarily administrative sector, where 29% of the labour force had been employed for more than five years. Moreover examining only that proportion (244 out of 606) of the administrative labour force who were qualified and in relatively senior positions some 115 (47%) had been employed for more than five years and 124 (51%) for between one and five years (op cit:30). Thus more skilled workers in better paid employment were likely to have been in continuous urban employment for relatively long time periods, a situation which was already producing a hierarchical social structure amongst Melanesians and the 'emergence d'une bourgeoisie Melanesienne' (op cit:31). Moreover, although the correlations cannot be made directly, the evidence from Table Twenty-Two, alongside more casual information, suggests that those who were in the upper echelons of the Melanesian employment system were most likely to be from Efate (and the Port Vila area itself) and least likely to be from southern islands, such as Tanna. Indeed Bonnemaïson records that 80% of migrants from Tanna were unskilled workers (op cit:32), a very high proportion compared with other islands, and that, of the emerging 'middle class' (mainly public servants and skilled workers), 38% were from Port Vila and nearby villages, 20% from the small islands north of Efate and 20% from the islands of Malakula, Ambae (Aoba) and Pentecost (op cit:34). Furthermore of this group 20% lived in their own homes in the suburban villages and 20% had purchased land in the suburbs of Port Vila (ibid); not only was stability of employment increasing but migrants were making a more extensive commitment to urban residence through the purchase of urban land and housing.

Table 23. Ni-Vanuatu Labour Force, Port Vila, 1973. Duration of Employment.

	Construction		Commerce		Other private enterprise and Administration	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Less than 6 months	217	55	46	26	110	18
6 months - One Year	85	22	16	9		
One Year - Five Years	72	18	165	37	321	53
More than Five Years	19	5	49	28	175	29
TOTAL	393		176	100	606	100

Notes: The variations in total from Table 22 are unexplained.

Source: Bonnemaïson, 1977a:21-30.

A major element of commitment to urban residence, indicated by increasing family formation in urban areas, is duration of residence. The 1965 urban census of Port Vila recorded the duration of residence of ni-Vanuatu migrants in Port Vila and found the median duration of residence (excluding brief absences) to be 5.6 years, whilst more than a quarter of the migrants had been living in the urban and peri-urban areas for more than eight years (Brookfield and Brown Glick, 1969:44). Surveys in 1966 revealed that 130 out of 227 ni-Vanuatu households in Port Vila could be regarded as 'permanent residents' in the sense that they 'either had an anticipated further residence period of 1 year to 18 months or were unable to predict their departure' (Leaney, 1966:5) but this is a generous definition of 'permanent'. In four ni-Vanuatu settlements in Port Vila in 1970 26 of the 172 adults interviewed considered themselves permanent, having no stated intention of returning to their villages, other than for brief holidays (Bedford, 1970:266); again intentions are not future realities. A 1972 survey found that 52% of all Melanesian household heads had been resident in Port Vila less than a year (Table Twenty-Four) some 27% had been there more than five years, and 18% more than ten years (Vienne and Vienne, 1972:55) thus, even a decade ago, there was substantial long-term resident population. Since then there has been no data to confirm or deny the existence of a more established urban population.

Table 24. Duration of Residence of Household Heads, Port Vila, 1972.

	Number	%
Less than one year	309	52
One to three years	69	12
Three to five years	52	9
Five to ten years	53	9
More than ten years	107	18
TOTAL	590	

Source: Vienne and Vienne, 1972:55.

Information on the duration of residence in Santo (Luganville) in 1973 indicates not only that a high proportion of the ni-Vanuatu population of Santo were relatively long-term residents compared with those of Port Vila but that the absolute number who had been permanently resident in the town for more than three years was higher than in Port Vila (Table Twenty-Five) perhaps a result of the more rapid growth of Port Vila. Moreover a much higher proportion of men in Santo (46%) compared with Port Vila (29%) were in town with their wives and families (Bonnemaison, 1977a:64). Thus, although migration to Santo was not as great as to Port Vila, the long-term resident population was as great as that in Port Vila. For various historic reasons land purchase was relatively easy in Santo, a factor which may have encouraged relatively permanent migration, and Bonnemaison was able to trace the ownership of 343 tracts of land in the urban area; of these owners, 103 came from Paama, 64 from Pentecost, 51 from Ambae (Aoba), 37 from Ambrym, 36 from Malakula, 21 from Santo island itself, 15 from the Banks islands and 16 from elsewhere (including 8 from Efate and the Shepherds) (op cit:74). Not only does this indicate a considerable commitment to urban residence but the origins of those who have purchased land demonstrates the strong regional migration ties with Santo.

Table 25. Ni-Vanuatu duration of Residence in Port Vila and Santo, 1973.

	Port Vila		Santo	
	Number	%	Number	%
Less than one year	455	58	133	27
Between 1 and 3 years	68	9	93	19
Between 3 and 6 years	47	6	93	19
More than 6 years	214	27	177	36
TOTAL	784		496	

Source: Bonnemaison, 1977a:64.

The purchase of urban land is clearly a strong measure of commitment to urban residence both because it involves significant expenditure but also because of the considerable importance of land tenure in Vanuatu. For example, Vienne and Vienne found that intentions to remain urban residents were almost entirely dependent on whether the migrants owned urban land (1972:81). By the mid-1960s, in some areas of Port Vila, especially Seaside, Tebakor and Tagabe, migrants had purchased land or housing (Leaney, 1966: 12) and were intending to build houses or upgrade existing housing. By January 1970 Tongoans and Paamese had constructed about 100 dwellings at Seaside, the largest nucleated migrant community in Port Vila, and in 1970 there were 271 people there 'in temporary or permanent residence' (Bedford, 1971: 116-117). At much the same time ni-Vanuatu were purchasing land in Santo, especially Ambrymese and, to a lesser extent, Paamese (op cit:119-124), and a more permanent urban population was slowly emerging.

The more usual housing situation in urban areas was for migrants to be resident in accommodation tied to their employment (and rented from the employer) or for migrants to enter into private rental agreements with landlords. Thus, in areas like Tebakor, migrants were renting accommodation, sometimes from Vietnamese or Chinese entrepreneurs (Bedford, 1971:266), at rents of between \$10 and \$15 a month for a room or a crudely

constructed tin shack (op cit:272). A few years earlier rents ranged from around \$2 to \$8 per month (Leaney, 1966:10). Vienne and Vienne recorded monthly room rents in Tagabe and Melcofe of between \$8 and \$15 per month (1972:23). In 1975 some Tagabe rents, paid to ni-Vanuatu and Vietnamese merchants, were reported to be as high as \$20 to \$80 per month (Jabre et al, 1976:15) but current rents in Tagabe appear to be around \$30 per month, and are principally paid to ni-Vanuatu landowners, and at Seaside, Paamese rented from other Paamese at between \$30-50 per month (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1982). It is those who rent their housing who are least likely to be long-term or permanent urban residents.

Available data from the early and mid-1970s overall suggests that substantial numbers of Melanesians had remained in the urban areas for long time periods, had achieved a considerable stability of employment (especially in jobs demanding skills) and had purchased land and houses in the towns; these groups may not, of course, have overlapped. There was also some evidence that these trends were becoming more established. More recent data, from the 1979 census, suggests the greater extent of female migration to urban areas (and the increase in female employment) with the increased probability of children being born in town and marriages being contracted between people from different islands and language groups. The little available evidence on marriage patterns demonstrates that most people marry within their own island (and hence often within the same language group); some 76% of Melanesians in Port Vila in 1972 had married partners from their own island (Vienne and Vienne, 1972:60). The proportion of 24% who had married off-island is however higher than might have been expected from comparable data from similar time periods in Honiara or Port Moresby, hence this suggests that social mixing is widespread in Vanuatu. All these trends point towards a greater permanence of a greater proportion of the urban population. Consequently the extent and relative significance of circular migration remains an issue of doubt. Thus in the mid-1970s Bonnemaïson argued that it was declining as the economic boom in the towns continued so that uncontrolled or 'wild' migration was taking on the appearance of a rural exodus. Easy jobs and good wages suggested that not all migrants would return to their villages (Bonnemaïson, 1974, 1976, 1977a) and this element of permanency represented a change from a few years earlier when migration was more obviously circular (Bedford, 1971, 1973). In the late 1970s following the slowing down of urban economic growth,

'the world economic crisis has dissipated the mirage of easy money to be made in the towns, and this has further strengthened the reflexes of territorial solidarity. In difficult times the village and the community values that are connected with group structures neatly re-appear as security. Current migration then, despite appearances, is neither a rural exodus nor a loss of identity. To a large extent it takes place within the cultural framework of circular mobility' (Bonnemaïson, 1983b:29).

There is no doubt that Bonnemaïson is describing a new transition in circular migration, although perhaps partly influenced by his own shift of focus from the urban areas and also from Ambae (Aoba) and Pentecost to Tanna, where migration has been more recent and less 'modern' (Bonnemaïson, 1979:317, 1983a; see also Bastin 1980). There is equally no doubt that the population pressure on resources that resulted in migration from islands like Paama and the Shepherds, but also Lelepa, Nguna and Pele, north of Efate, have not diminished and, consequently, either former emigrants increasingly find it difficult to become established in their 'home areas'

(as the evidence from less densely populated Ambrym suggests) or weather the urban economic storm by remaining as a permanent urban proletariat. That is, not all migrants can escape the problems of 'functional landlessness'. In either case it is clear that there is inadequate information on the contemporary structure of migration, especially in the post-independence period, and the implications that these changes in structure have for both the urban and rural poor.

By the second half of the 1970s increased competition for urban employment in Port Vila had been well documented (Bastin, 1980:193; Bonnemaison, 1983a). Where access to a particular source of employment was dominated by social ties, strong rural pressures were maintained to ensure that these social links were maintained and that urban migrants retained their existing employment. As elsewhere in Melanesia many urban job opportunities were effectively allocated according to ties of kinship and language, as in the 'wantok' ties of Solomon Islands (Country Report No.16) and Papua New Guinea (Country Report No.14); thus in Port Vila, Weasisi villagers dominated employment in the New Hebrides Abattoir and employment at the abattoir dominated Weasisi employment (Bastin, 1980:195-6), and Paamese migrants were well-known as waiters at the Hotel Rossi. Forty per cent of construction workers in Port Vila are from the Shepherds and the Port Vila Electric Company is mainly manned by Tannese (ADB, 1982:8-9). Thus at the same time as migrants are increasingly activating their kinship ties to gain access to urban employment, and hence tending to remain within an urban kin-based social and economic network they are also increasingly likely to remain in the urban economy and forego return visits, long or short, to the rural area, thus simultaneously becoming effectively a more committed urban proletariat.

The extent to which there is an urban or other labour force that is 'trapped' or 'dispossessed' in the sense that migration, perhaps return migration, to rural areas is impossible because either agricultural land is simply no longer available in their home areas or claims to land have lapsed, is obviously unknown. The Development Plan simply records that the problems of 'fragmentation of holdings and landless youth are beginning to emerge in only a few areas' (Vanuatu, 1982:133); it is suggested that these areas include Mere Lava, Mota Lava, Paama, North Pentecost, west Ambrym and Tongoa (op cit:133) but no detailed studies of population pressure on resources appear to have been made in any of those areas. In 1970 only one apparently permanent urban resident of Port Vila stated that he had left his village (on Makura, Shepherd Islands) because of a shortage of agricultural land (Bedford, 1970:266). The relationship between migrants and their home area has been discussed in detail, for the rather special case of Maat, where there has been resettlement of south-east Ambrym islanders for just over thirty years. In Ambrym itself attitudes to absentees have shown signs of hardening; there were long-held resentments that Ambrymese in town failed to honour their rural obligations and rules were made to prevent absentees starting small businesses in Ambrym whilst remaining in town (Tonkinson, 1983:6). In Maat the migrants continue to regard themselves as 'man Ambrym' (and never 'man Efate') but for the young, who were born and raised in Efate, their ties are linguistic and cultural and not to a particular place. If, for some reason, all 360 Maat people went to Ambrym there would be considerable pressure on local resources: 'strong challenges to the absentees Ambrymese identity may occur, and they could find they have stayed away too long' (op cit:16). In this case at least, where south-east Ambrym is not now an area of high population pressure on resources and because Maat villagers, living as an Ambrym unit, have retained strong ties with Ambrym, return migration, whilst not without difficulties, would generally be

possible. Elsewhere, especially where population densities are greater than in south-east Ambrym, and migrants have retained their identity less well, return migration may be more difficult as the Paama case (see above) suggested. These trends too imply a growing permanence of urbanisation.

Whilst urban growth has not been uncontrolled, in the sense that few urban households are squatting on land to which they have no rights of tenure; either through purchase or rent, many shantytowns were constructed at very high densities and amenities (especially toilets and water supplies) were extremely inadequate (cf. Leaney, 1966:13-14) although in the 1960s, there was no apparent correlation of housing and health status (op cit:14). There are therefore no real squatter settlements in Port Vila or Santo, in the sense that almost all urban residents have some legal status and hence security of tenure in their homes. Nevertheless by the 1970s a wide range of problems were apparent in the urban areas including marital breakdown, higher crime rates and excessive alcohol consumption (Fox, 1976:74-5); an increase in gang fights was recorded at the end of 1981 (Tam Tam, 21 Novemba 1981) but the social dislocations and problems of urban residence appear to be much fewer and less important than in other Melanesian areas, and especially Papua New Guinea. Urban residence results in a number of inevitable social and cultural changes, including dietary changes which often result in a mix of imported foods and an unsatisfactory nutritional status (Jabre et al, 1976:4) even though ni-Vanuatu in both Port Vila and Luganville in 1975 spent more than 40% of their income on food (McGee et al, 1980:183). Thus whilst individual migrants and their families may benefit from migration in an economic sense, there are some costs in social change, both for individuals and the state, and some social and economic problems in rural areas as agricultural production stagnates and dependency ratios increase.

As in the other Melanesian nations to the north there were early attempts to control some aspects of migration; for example, in 1918, ni-Vanuatu were not allowed to be in Port Vila if they were unemployed for more than fifteen days but were returned to their home villages (Bedford, 1971:81) and had to be out of town by nine in the evening (MacClancy, 1980:95). In the 1930s new regulations were aimed at restricting labour recruitment from particular islands, such as the Torres Islands where the recruitment of women was banned because of excessive earlier recruitment for plantation work (op cit:81). However these were the policies of colonial administration and not of ni-Vanuatu themselves. Within some rural areas traditional leaders have opposed migration; thus in Ambae (Aoba), a decade ago, leaders wished to prevent the long-term migration of men, because of its impact on weakening the community, although they did not oppose the movement of young men to work in more lucrative positions such as in the administrative service (Bonnemaison, 1974:274). In areas like south Pentecost the migration of women has long been opposed (cf. Jolly, 1982). At the end of the 1960s there were a number of cases of village chiefs exerting control over migration. Some chiefs refused to allow women to travel to Noumea; in Tongariki all men were ordered to return for a period in June (a peak agricultural month) whilst, in a rather different sense, an Ambrym chief reinforced his traditional authority by lending migrants their fare at very high interest rates. The reasons behind these attempts to control and restrict migration are far from apparent; thus Fowler commented that the chiefs who opposed migration included 'anyone who has reached the age of authority and who is horrified to discover that there is no-one left but a few women and children on whom to exercise it' (1970:67). Similarly the efficacy of this control and the sanctions that chiefs could use are both unrecorded; it is probable that some such attempts to control migration

were little more than symbolic gestures directed against modernisation, and hence changing authority structures that eroded the power of traditional leaders, and that such gestures had little impact on the duration and structure of migration. It is however apparent that both in Paama and north Pentecost, and probably elsewhere, the chiefs were extremely effective at influencing migration. Women were often not allowed to go near ships for several years at a time, in case they intended to leave. In North Pentecost there have been recent attempts to revive such controls; young people should theoretically not be able to leave without a letter from their chief to a chief in Port Vila or Santo (G. Haberkorn, pers. comm. 1983). The Tongoa-Shepherds Local Government Council decided in June 1973 to request their chiefly representatives in Port Vila to repatriate those unemployed in Port Vila back to their islands (Tam Tam, 135, 9 Julae 1983).

Traditionally within urban migrant groups older men were expected to bear the responsibility for maintaining acceptable behaviour within the migrant community. In the case of Weasisi migrants from Tanna the ultimate sanction of urban residents was to repatriate a migrant who could not find employment or failed to maintain expected social norms (drunkenness and promiscuousness being unacceptable) thus Bastin records how in 1977 a group of urban migrants decided that a promiscuous girl should be carefully chaperoned until she could be put on the next boat for Tanna (1980:199, 206). Migrants from Tanna are more conservative than from many other parts of Vanuatu yet, even so, there is no indication of the extent to which they were able to return migrants (either ill-behaved or unemployed) to their home areas. Other communities in urban areas have also extended the same policies. The kinds of social constraints that both rural and urban leaders have attempted to exert on population migration may well have had quite limited effectiveness but they do represent quite comprehensive attempts to control migration and social behaviour to a much greater extent than has been recorded elsewhere in the South Pacific region.

More formal attempts to control migration have largely been discussed within the National Council of Chiefs, which is an advisory body to Government, and is composed of custom chiefs elected from District Councils of Chiefs; the Council generally advises on custom and traditional issues but often takes a broader (and usually conservative) approach to development trends. Thus in 1981 the Council opposed the migration of single girls to town:

'We the chiefs have already made our stand clear that parents must not under any circumstances allow their daughters to go to Port Vila and Santo alone. This is to make sure they do not fall into the same traps that others have fallen into...However sometimes parents themselves are to blame for this behaviour. A girl may wish to cut a bit of copra to sell for herself and is refused this privilege. Her frustrations may urge her to leave home' (Chief Willie Bongmatur, cited in Pacific Islands Monthly, July 1981:40).

A year later the Council were again concerned over the social problems resulting from urban migration and unemployment:

'The National Council of Chiefs meeting at Epau on North Efate has agreed to impose a three-month term during which people in the islands could go and live in the towns with friends or relatives. The chiefs are discussing this subject following increases in problems related to urban drift. The

chiefs have agreed that people who come to towns and can't find work in three months have to return to their islands' (Radio Vanuatu News Bulletin Report, cited in Pacific Islands Monthly, August 1982:19).

Although these kinds of discussion are indicative of the widespread concern over the social and economic problems of urbanisation there have been no attempts to devise legislation that might enable a greater degree of control over migration. As in most other parts of the South Pacific region the greatest controls over migration are thus directed or undirected changes in the national economy.

Increased concern over the impact of migration, as indicated in the deliberations of the National Council of Chiefs, has gone alongside indications of an increase in both the permanency of the urban population and unemployment. This suggests that, for some, the problems of urbanisation are increasing, yet there appear to have been few recent attempts to understand economic and social problems in the urban areas. No detailed studies appear to have been made in recent years of shantytown settlements in Vanuatu, hence there is little information on the origin and age-sex structure of migrants, their occupational structure, length of residence and pattern of incomes and expenditure. The most recent study was conducted in Tagabe in 1975, which revealed that, from a sample of 58 (out of 73) households, the islands of origin of the majority of residents were Efate, Pentecost, Paama, Tanna, Ambrym and Tongoa (Jabre et al, 1976:16). Thus most migrants actually came from Efate itself, particularly the north coast, and from a limited but nonetheless varied range of islands. Most adult men were employed, although many young men were unemployed, and although most households had gardens, usually rented from local owners, much food was also purchased and 50% of the one-to-five year age group were suffering from undernutrition, whilst dental health was very poor. These health and nutrition problems were attributed both to an inadequate environment (including limited garden land) and a low income level consequently resulting in the 'emergence of an urban sub-proletariat' (Jabre et al, 1976:77). In subsequent years there has been no recorded data on changes in Tagabe; whilst Tagabe has obviously grown as more migrants have arrived and children have been born there the extent to which unemployment has increased and social welfare worsened is unknown. It would be useful to conduct a re-survey of population change and employment structure in what may be one of the poorest parts of Port Vila and which could be compared relatively simply with data from eight years ago to indicate the direction of social and economic change. This might then constitute a guideline for social and economic policy formation.

Conclusion

The range of development opportunities available to Vanuatu is limited and the country generally experiences similar problems to other small Pacific economies, and especially Solomon Islands to the north, in its fragmentation of land areas, cultural diversity and some degree of regionalism, but compounded with elements of a dual socio-economic structure inherited from Condominium days. This dual colonialism has resulted in a significant proportion of the economy being foreign-owned although much alienated land has now been resumed, although not yet profitably. The capital, Port Vila, is growing and development trends suggest that future economic growth will be concentrated there and thus emphasize steadily emerging rural-urban disparities in income and welfare levels. Vanuatu

nevertheless has one advantage that must be taken advantage of: a reasonable area of unused or underused land that can be developed for agricultural and forestry enterprises. Only about a third of potential agricultural land is currently in use. Providing a reliable and cheap transport infrastructure and resolving critical land and labour supply problems remain the keys to this development.

Commenting on the evolution of the Vanuatu economy in the early 1970s Brookfield suggested that the particular form of diversification within the economy was inappropriate to the real needs of the country:

'Diversification which permits loss of control over the growth points of the economy, which evolves in isolation from the general economy so that it has few direct linkage effects, and which benefits mainly the central revenue tends to have its 'spread' effects channelled into the central places where local control is already most eroded, and to generate sharp rural-urban differentials which create problems of a new order' (Brookfield, 1975:71).

At that time the two urban centres were growing rapidly and the prospects of substantial urban-rural socio-economic differences were considerable. Since then, although the two towns have continued to grow but not as fast as has been feared so that urban problems are fewer than elsewhere in Melanesia, the most recent development strategies have tended to emphasize urban employment generation. Rural-urban income and welfare differentials may worsen resulting in unacceptable levels of rural-urban migration. However, in a relatively small (by global standards) economy like that of Vanuatu, it is improbable that urban formal sector employment can be generated at a rate equivalent to that of population increase.

The current economic situation in Vanuatu suggests the following development objectives, firstly, ensuring that basic needs are adequately satisfied throughout the country and that inequalities are minimised. This conclusion follows recent evidence of widespread inadequate nutrition levels; these problems are also characterised by a rural sector dominated by semi-subsistence farmers with low and perhaps falling incomes, where marketing problems are considerable. This has contributed to rapid urban growth, especially through migration from areas of high population density, but in conditions where urban job creation has slowed in the post-independence years; this suggests the value of emphasizing rural development through price support to ensure a growth in agricultural and fisheries exports, a decline in food imports and a steady growth in real rural incomes. Secondly, a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development between Port Vila, Efate and the outer islands is increasingly necessary; not only are inequalities increasing (although they are certainly not as great as in other South Pacific countries) but the inequalities are a disincentive to rural development efforts and an incentive to migration. Thus regional development must be directed at creating new poles of development especially in areas of agricultural (or fishing) potential; the present aim of establishing a regional development plan is a welcome step in this direction as is the more practical interest in cocoa development and the establishment of differential copra prices. Regional development policy may therefore be also seen as a means of reducing rural-urban migration, and particular attention may well be directed towards the most densely populated, migration-prone islands to ensure the development of high value cash crops there. A key element in the regional development strategy will be the necessity to provide an appropriate, low-cost transport

infrastructure that will neither disadvantage distant producers nor be a massive drain on the national economy. There is need here for much ingenuity and innovation and an orientation away from the further costly expansion of air transport. Thirdly, greater priority must be given to the establishment of some form of family planning programme in Vanuatu; already the population is growing extremely rapidly, and putting pressure on urban services, and with the anticipated slow growth of the urban and formal sector workforce the expansion in joblessness is likely to be particularly marked in the next ten years. Even the establishment of a programme now will not solve that issue and the problems increasingly being faced in Solomon Islands (see Country Report No.16), which include close child-spacing and thus poor health, will be likely to occur in Vanuatu too. Fourthly, and perhaps most difficult, it will be necessary to consider ways and means by which an integrated education system can assist in creating one nation, from an exceptionally diverse range of cultures and languages, and thus provide the skilled and trained manpower necessary to promote development in Vanuatu. Whilst these problems are large they are not insurmountable; Vanuatu has retained the ability to make the necessary choices for change.

Whilst in many respects the pattern of migration in Vanuatu remains characterised by some degree of circular migration, and popular assessments of migration emphasize this circularity, two issues are of some importance. Firstly, it is necessary to move away from assumptions that 'because the patterns of mobility before, during and after colonial periods have been continuous then the underlying causes of mobility have been similarly continuous' (Forbes, 1981:71, cited by Haberkorn, 1982:8). Thus whilst patterns have remained similar the apparent economic necessity for migration has increased and in a range of areas the alternative of locally-generated copra income is widely and increasingly regarded as inadequate. Secondly, there is growing evidence that some urban migrants are to some extent 'trapped' or 'dispossessed' in the sense that they would be unable or would find it extremely difficult to establish themselves in a rural area; an apparently permanent, if small, urban ni-Vanuatu population is becoming established, with its own particular demands on the distribution of social welfare provision. It would be extremely useful to examine this trend, especially in Port Vila and especially through the re-examination of social and economic conditions in relatively poor areas like Tagabe (see below). However although permanent urban residence of ni-Vanuatu is increasing, a trend apparent elsewhere in Melanesia, most migrants do not regard the towns, especially Santo, as their permanent homes but as places of employment for limited, but conceivably lengthy, time periods. This situation has important policy implications, not only because the prospects of further productive urban employment generation are limited and the improvement of urban services would increase rural-urban disparities (and encourage further migration) but also because the commitment to rural areas enables emphasis to be placed on rural development policies that may meet the needs of the bulk of the population whilst also encouraging increased production in the agricultural sector, the sector of greatest potential in Vanuatu. Access and title to land, adequate commodity prices and improved infrastructure are the keys to rural development.

Out-migration is relatively limited from islands like Ambae (Aoba), where cash crop development has been well-established and therefore income-earning opportunities in rural areas are considerable, and in general migration is more limited where there are substantial rural development opportunities, although the availability of data limits the certainty of this conclusion. Nevertheless there is some doubt over the ability to

achieve rural development; one view of agricultural development in Vanuatu concludes,

'Vanuatu's own people need to be more aware and responsive to their obligations and role in a changing world. Most still living in rural areas or having families there are fortunate in being able to fall back on a limited but satisfying subsistence lifestyle in times of economic crisis' (Adam, 1982:85).

However there have been few concerted attempts to achieve integrated rural development in Vanuatu, albeit a policy made difficult by island fragmentation, and decentralisation has been limited relative to other Melanesian countries (de Beer, 1981). This situation is now changing as regional councils have been established, a policy of 'concentrated decentralisation' is emerging and copra is receiving additional support, although problems of adequate planning and limited availability of finance, extension and implementation skills may slow progress (Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, 1982a:4). Similarly there has been little attention to a more appropriate education system (op cit:5-6). There is therefore a question of the availability of labour for rural development, both within the village-based agricultural sector and within the plantation sector; in the latter context very little is known about labour conditions in the plantation sector (see below) and the evidence suggests that the labour supply situation is worsening. Moreover whilst immigrant labourers, from countries like Kiribati, could provide a valuable and cheap supply of labour, it appears that opposition to I-Kiribati in Vanuatu is currently growing. A critical situation for future development in Vanuatu will therefore be labour supply, for all parts of the agricultural (and perhaps fisheries and forestry) sectors, and also for skilled manpower. Whilst rural development may be the key not only to increased agricultural production in rural areas, but may also 'reduce the rate of urban drift' (Vanuatu, 1982:9), 'nothing short of a major re-orientation in national development strategy would achieve such aims' (Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, 1982b:5).

The evidence that migration constitutes a skill drain of the most talented and educated to the centre and that the return migration of this group is relatively limited, indicates, firstly, that decentralisation or rather the development of regional growth centres (for there is little to decentralise from Port Vila or Santo) is an appropriate policy for a country which, for its population size, has limited current urbanisation and, secondly, that as an established urban population, notably of politicians and bureaucrats, becomes stabilised in the capital city at a time when the national economy is experiencing substantial setbacks, it will be extremely difficult to maintain the political will to pursue a policy of decentralisation and rural development rather than lapse into the more obvious urban bias of Papua New Guinea. It may be that already the shortage of plantation labour at the same time as the apparent increase in urban unemployment are indicative of trends in this direction; continued rapid population growth may amplify this trend. Yet the opportunities to influence the direction of change are considerable; seizing those opportunities may be a difficult political task especially where land tenure plays such an important role and where the uneven nature of development is gradually favouring centre over periphery.

One constraint to effective development planning is the limited availability of data on a range of issues, a situation which is certainly not unique to Vanuatu but which is unusually apparent in the minimal

availability of basic census data. No other country in the South Pacific region has had as few as two formal censuses, hence information on key demographic variables is limited (although the results of the MCH survey will improve the situation). The same situation is basically true of data on manpower and employment; only one survey of manpower and employment (in 1973) has so far been completed. It is therefore important that the 1982 data become available before long, especially in view of the changes in the employment structure since independence. There is very little data on contemporary migration, other than ongoing work by Haberkorn in Paama and Pentecost (which is not likely to be available until 1984), and this is especially true in the urban areas, where shantytowns, especially in Port Vila, are of growing socio-economic significance. Similarly there is surprisingly little data on the economic status of rural communities, although an agricultural census is currently underway, and much relatively recent social science research in Vanuatu, that might have assisted in contributing to such data shortages, has involved more esoteric anthropological issues. Consequently recent proposals to establish a rural household survey unit (which might appropriately be modelled on that already existing in Solomon Islands) and a village directory (which, again, might usefully follow the model of the Papua New Guinea Provincial Data System) are welcome. A study that might be considered of value, is a detailed assessment of the social and economic situation of at least one of the Port Vila settlement areas that would indicate the employment and migration situation in areas that are possibly some of the poorest in the country. This might provide valuable information relating to the potential for population distribution policies and hence regional development. A second area on which relatively little appears to be known is the characteristics of contemporary migration to plantations in Vanuatu, in terms of duration of employment, origin of migrants, utilisation of wages, etc. Given the role that large scale agricultural development is expected to play in the future of the national economy it would be useful, and straightforward, to examine the contemporary labour supply situation on selected plantations. This would be likely to provide some indication of the potential migration situation for future growth centres and other large-scale agricultural development projects. The recent amalgamation of the Statistics Office into the combined National Planning and Statistics Office may assist in the generation of such applied data.

Overall little is known about the rationale for migration (beyond a very small number of increasingly dated and specific academic studies) so that although the general structural characteristics of migration are believed to be understood, this 'knowledge' is not derived from survey analysis. These structural characteristics are unsurprising, principally that migration is a response to differential social and economic opportunities, and especially wage levels (but also according to access to wage employment), and that migration remains principally of young men, although it is increasingly of women and families and hence is tending to become more permanent. Consequently migrants tend to come from relatively disadvantaged areas, such as those of high population pressure, but also from other remote areas, which include many small islands. Whilst migration is considered to be a function of inequality, the extent to which changing patterns of inequality are influenced by urban conditions (such as housing and wage rates) or rural conditions (such as access to land, land tenure and cash crop prices) is not well understood, and there has been no attempt to examine wages policy in the context of such inequalities. Just as conclusions over the implications of migration studies are hedged with caution so too are conclusions over the necessary action from development planners; 'clearly a plurality of policies is needed even within one country

to accommodate the special situation of all societies in their various "ecological niches" in the overall change process' (Watters, 1981:192) yet without greater understanding of the needs of those societies where basic needs appear least well satisfied, in the more isolated rural areas and in the urban settlements, policies are likely to be limited in their ability to comprehend and cope with diversity.

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