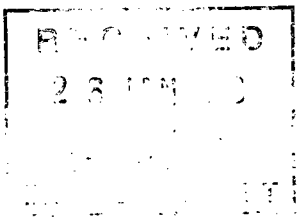
MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

COUNTRY REPORT NO. 22
WESTERN SAMOA

John Connell



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

Preface

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

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

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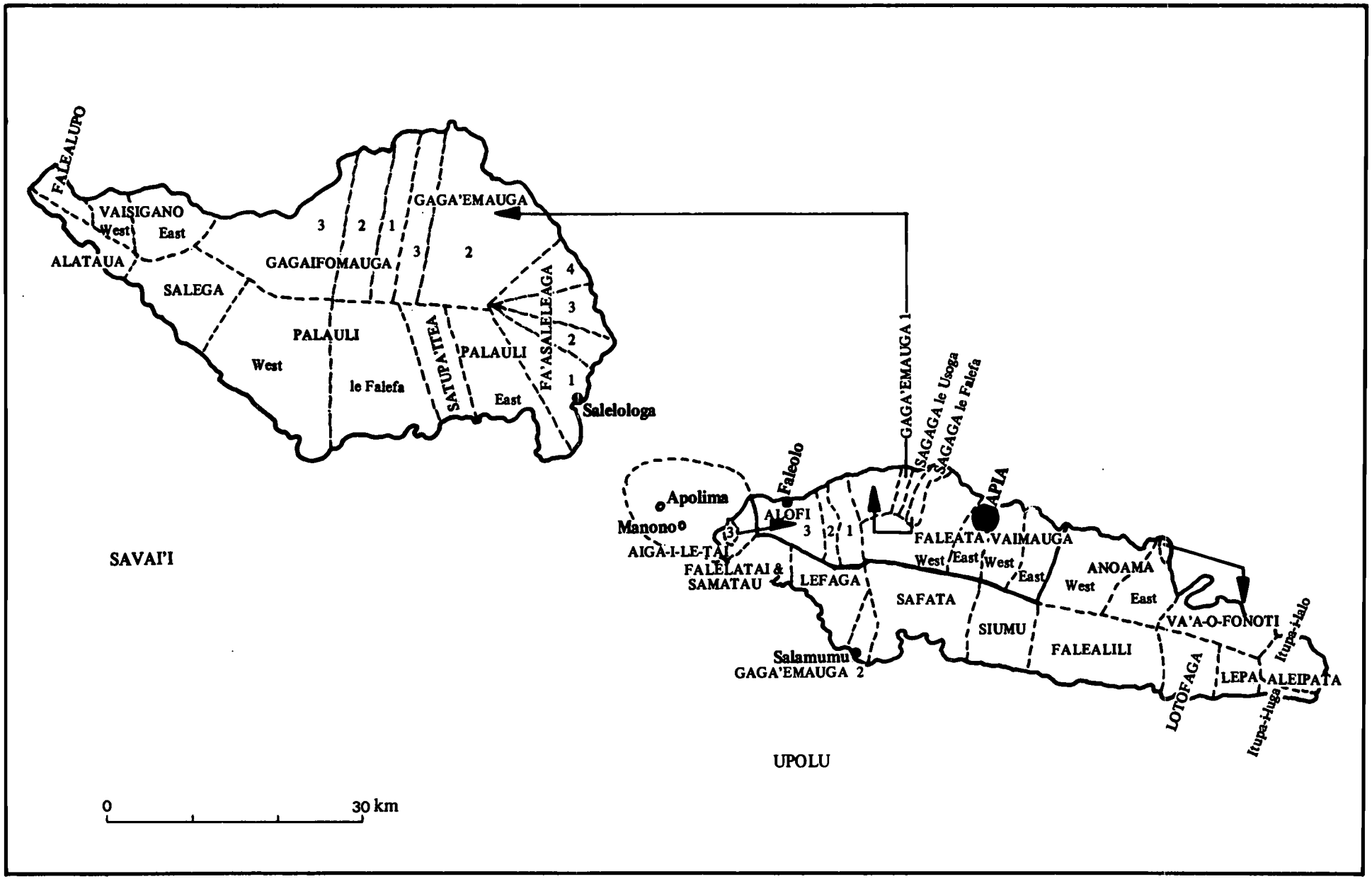
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Western Samoa essentially consists of two large islands of recent volcanic origin - Upolu and Savai'i - and four very small islands, three of which (Apolima, Manono and Nu'utele) are populated. Its area of 2,935 sq. kms. gives it the largest land area in Polynesia after French Polynesia and, unlike most other countries in the region, the land area is not fragmented throughout a vast expanse of sea. Both islands are mountainous, especially the larger island of Savai'i which rises to 1,858 metres and has some active volcanic domes, and support dense tropical rainforest. The island chain extends eastwards to American Samoa where the mountains are more precipitous than in Western Samoa. All the islands have narrow fringing coral reefs. Natural hazards are not unusual, especially hurricanes (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:517) but also volcanic activity and even drought (cf. Ralston, 1977:163), all of which have influenced population growth and distribution in different places at different times.

There has been no detailed investigation of the archaeology of Samoa but it is probable that the islands have been settled for at least 3,000 years and were probably amongst the earliest Polynesian Islands to be settled. In pre-contact times the island of Tutuila (American Samoa) was subordinate to the Atua district of Upolu. The first European explorer to visit Samoa was the Dutch navigator Roggeveen in 1722 but there were few subsequent visits until John Williams, the pioneer London Missionary Society missionary, landed on Savai'i where there were already a handful of European beachcombers. Trade, especially with whalers, followed the missions and there was further European (especially German) settlement. A British consul was established in Apia in 1845 when the foreign population was no more than thirty (Ralston, 1977:70), but little land in Samoa was available to foreigners until the civil wars of 1869-1873 (op cit:91). During the 1870s a handful of Chinese traders and restaurant owners also settled in Apia, so that there was already a small cosmopolitan population.

Meanwhile the U.S.A., England and Germany had become the three major European powers vying for influence in the archipelago; this was complicated by warfare within Samoa as Samoan chiefs competed for control over the islands. Great power rivalry intensified towards the end of the century and in 1899 a tripartite commission of those three countries recommended that what is now Western Samoa become a German colony and what is now American Samoa be an American colony. Under German administration large colonial plantations were developed, and there was substantial labour migration to Samoa from as far away as New Guinea (see below). German colonial rule extended until 1914 when there was a military occupation by New Zealand and after the war the New Zealand mandate continued.

The early years of New Zealand administration were characterised by strong opposition to colonial government and the emergence of strong nationalist sentiments organised into the Mau (testimony) movement. This early nationalist movement was met with violence in 1929, when eleven people died (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:518), but coordinated strong sentiment in opposition to colonialism and was a factor in the achievement of an earlier independence in Western Samoa than anywhere else in the South Pacific region. During the Second World War U.S. marines were stationed on Upolu where they constructed roads and an airport; their influence was 'felt to have been considerable and a watershed between an old Samoa and a developing Samoa' (ibid). After the war Western Samoa became a trustee of the United Nations, administered by New Zealand, and moved steadily towards independence at the start of 1962.

The only time that the two Samoas have been officially united was under Tongan rule (between approximately 950 and 1250) although the division of the Samoas only became official in 1899 when the Germans took possession of the western islands and the Americans the eastern islands. There appears to be no real prospect of future unification. Since then development trends have tended to diverge, especially in government systems, and hence in the economy. Western Samoa in every way retains the traditional fa'a Samoa (the Samoan way) more strongly than American Samoa. American aid to American Samoa (with a population of 34,000) is about equivalent to the budget of Western Samoa (with a population of 158,000). Both Western Samoa and American Samoa have a Polynesian social structure, based on the 'aiga (extended family) and the matai (chiefs) are responsible for the control of the 'aiga land and property; this social structure is much more apparent in Western Samoa and plays an important role in contemporary life. For example in parliamentary elections only matai may be candidates and vote; most Samoan males aspire to becoming matai and the appointment of matai is an arena of political patronage. Christianity is an integral part of contemporary Samoan culture and life; church attendance is almost universal and the churches play a strong role in local and national life.

Economy

The basis of the Western Samoan economy and employment structure is agricultural production, with exports principally of copra and cocoa and more extensive production of bananas and taro for the domestic and exports market. There have been some attempts to diversify agricultural production into areas such as timber and cattle. Almost all agricultural production takes place on customary owned land. Some 13% of land in Western Samoa is public land, including 5% held by the Western Samoan Trust Estates Corporation (WSTEC), the Government-owned corporation formed to run the 'reparation estates' of the former German plantations. In December 1977 the Asian Development Bank approved a $3 million loan to finance a WSTEC development project including an agricultural research station and a general upgrading of copra, cocoa and cattle production. The Alafua School of Agriculture (USP), outside Apia, is also engaged in research on agricultural development. Relatively static production levels and market prices of cash crops in recent years and over-dependence on two commodities (copra and cocoa) have weakened the contribution of agricultural production to economic development and contributed to a severe contemporary crisis in the national economy. Export expansion and diversification are absolutely crucial to future economic development.

The traditional agricultural system is fairly typical of other parts of Polynesia being based on the cultivation of taro, coconuts and bananas, alongside some other root crops and vegetables, and supplemented by small-scale fishing activities. Subsistence production accounts for most of the food needs of Samoan villagers. In post-war years there was a diversification and expansion of the agricultural economy as bananas and cocoa became cash crops but in a number of areas there has been a more recent disintensification and a reversion to more traditional coconut and taro-growing systems (Pirie, 1976:81). At the same time however what was virtually a shifting cultivation system has become a system of almost permanent agriculture with short or non-existent fallow periods.

Copra production has been long-established in Western Samoa. The WSTEC coconut plantation at Mulifanua (40 kms. west of Apia) is claimed to be the largest copra plantation in the southern hemisphere, and a major element of development in the coconut industry is in the replanting and re-development

of coconut plantations using hybrid coconuts. Production of copra was extremely high in 1979 (19,400 tonnes) and may still increase further as the effects of re-development schemes are felt. However production has subsequently fallen and in 1982 only 11,490 tonnes were exported (compared with 15,873 tonnes in 1981), in part a response to falling world prices. Copra remains the most important export crop being valued at $2.76 million in 1982. Most copra production takes place in areas distant from Apia, especially on the south coast of Upolu and in most parts of Savai'i. The second major tree crop is cocoa; originally grown on private plantations a large proportion is now grown by private smallholders and Samoan cocoa is in demand as a high-grade product. A record 5,000 tonnes was exported in 1962 but production has subsequently declined and only 695 tonnes were exported in 1982. A new cocoa development project was opened at Nuu in 1979 and there are further plans for the expansion of WSTEC cocoa plantations, especially on Savai'i, although increases in production may be offset by falling prices. Dry bean cocoa is marketed widely, but on a small-scale, in Apia itself. In the current Development Plan period (1980-1984) efforts are also being made to revive coffee as a major export crop. Despite considerable direct or indirect investment in agriculture, 'there has..been no resultant production response from the agricultural sector' (Ward and Proctor, 1980:398) and, both in the small-holder and estate sectors, results have been poor.

Bananas were once the country's main export but are no longer of major significance in the export industry (being valued at $496,000 in 1982 although this being a substantial increase from $61,300 in 1977). Disease, hurricane damage, intense competition from South American exporters and poor shipping have virtually killed off the banana trade with New Zealand (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:508). Current exports are mainly to American Samoa, there are substantial sales in the Apia market and development plans envisage the rehabilitation of the industry (especially through WSTEC) and increased exports. The 1982 results suggest that this is possible.

After copra the second most important export crop is taro; the value of taro exports, most of which are to New Zealand, went up five times (from $336,500 to $1,512,200) between 1977 and 1979 and in 1982 had reached $2,136,000. Much of the export crop is produced on WSTEC plantations, or purchased by WSTEC from small growers especially in Savai'i and, although WSTEC is planning for a short-term increase in production, there is concern that higher exports may 'be frustrated by market saturation at some point' (Western Samoa, 1980:119) and consequently that taro will be replaced by other export crops. This belief was vindicated when taro exports fell by 42% in 1980 thus contributing to a worsening economic situation but subsequent improvements demonstrate that the export of taro has much potential.

Considerable effort is currently being placed on the expansion of the existing cattle industry (with the assistance of loans from ADB) about half of which is owned by WSTEC and much of which has been developed under coconuts, but progress is not expected to be rapid. Development schemes are aimed at import substitution but even the most optimistic forecasts suggest little improvement in the import situation before the 1990s. Thus throughout the agricultural sector there are development plans and programmes, and expectations of improved production and marketing (made visible in a 'barometer' of exports outside the Apia market), but global commodity prices remain low and the resolutions and optimism of the development plan are currently a long way from reality.

Whilst the agricultural sector objectives in the third development planning period were 'to move towards self-sufficiency in meat and milk production' (Western Samoa, 1980:113), and otherwise increase self-sufficiency, imports of meat and milk products continued to rise (op cit:111) and, over the last decade, the value of food imports has been expanding at almost 20% annually (Ward and Proctor, 1980:398), primarily because of declining labour inputs into food crop production (see below). In Samoan villages in January 1981 the most commonly sold items in village stores were sugar, cigarettes and tinned fish (Thomas, 1981b:32); much of the imported food is of poor quality, contributes to inadequate nutrition in some population groups and is a substantial drain on the balance of payments.

Emphasis on agricultural development in the last few years has shifted towards the estates sector as the key sector, with the village smallholder sector considered as 'less profit-motivated and perhaps slower to respond to market forces, but...nevertheless vital to the Western Samoan economy' (Western Samoa, 1980:107). The case for supporting the estate sector had been argued even more strongly by Ward and Proctor, in an Asian Development Bank study, who suggest that 'there is increasing evidence that plantation mode management is the key to agricultural growth in Western Samoa' (1980:401) and that the 'subsistence based mixed subsistence-cash cropping mode of production...is an unsuitable vehicle for sustained growth in production and incomes' (op cit:402). However this is substantially an ideological argument; in a situation where the returns from banana cultivation have significantly fallen and other cash crop prices have been static the mixed system is most unlikely to achieve increased levels of production and income. This need not necessarily be the case; other mixed systems in the South Pacific (for example in Papua New Guinea) exhibit considerable potential for growth in both production and incomes and have often grown faster than the plantation sector.

There are valuable timber resources in Western Samoa, especially on Savai'i, and the exploitation of forests assumed considerable importance after 1968 when the U.S. company, Potlatch Forests Inc., obtained extensive timber leases there. Re-negotiation of the agreement resulted in the Potlatch company leaving Samoa at the end of the 1970s. A new agreement was negotiated and timber exports are again rising (and were valued at $1,112,000 in 1982) after a decline from peak exports of $403,000 in 1974. Replanting is being maintained so that export sales are likely to continue to increase; there are no definite proposals for the production of a more refined product but veneers may be exported in the near future. There has been substantial recent plannings on lava fields in Savai'i that have no alternative agricultural value.

A number of developments have been aimed at increased fisheries production in Western Samoa; these include a fisheries training centre in Apia and a fisheries training boat, yet efforts to prove the feasibility of large-scale commercial fishing around Western Samoa have so far been unsuccessful (Western Samoa, 1980:133). Small-scale village schemes have been more successful, in part as a result of the production and cheap distribution of small boats, subsidised motor repairs (ibid) and blasting of reefs although there are continued technical problems in the maintenance of engines and other equipment. Fish is marketed in Apia and increased production of fish has resulted in the stabilisation of fish imports, if not yet a decline. Further development possibilities are related to the leasing of territorial waters (and also the obtaining of a quota in New Zealand waters) to Japanese or other overseas vessels (Western Samoa, 1980: 135) but

the potential revenue from this has not been investigated in detail. Although the country has the smallest exclusive economic zone in the central and western Pacific, the artisanal catch of skipjack tuna in 1982 was the second greatest of any of the twenty-two countries and territories in the South Pacific Commission area; the proximity of Western Samoa to the cannery facilities of Pago Pago and the growing number and success of purse-seiners in the central and Western Pacific could provide Western Samoa with the opportunity to become involved in the industrial fishery of skipjack at the same time that considerable pressure on reef and near shore resources indicates a greater need to concentrate fisheries development on more distant waters (Anon, 1983:1).

Manufacturing is essentially small-scale and oriented to import substitution, essentially the processing of agricultural products and the production of some consumer goods, such as building materials of different kinds. Goods manufactured for export include clothing, soap, coconut cream, handicrafts and beer; the Vailima brewery has become the country's biggest industry and cigarettes are also manufactured in Apia. A number of factories, thirteen by 1980, have been set up under the New Zealand Pacific Islands Industrial Development Scheme (PIIDS). Whilst Western Samoa has no known mineral resources or other non-agricultural raw materials, the relatively large domestic market and low labour costs suggest further potential for industrial development especially where there is export potential for certain import substitution industries (such as timber, fruit juices, cigarettes and matches) but also where further import substitution (such as for confectionery, biscuits and snack foods) is possible. Subsequent industrial developments may therefore generate increased employment.

A small tourist industry developed from the mid-1960s, but was not actively promoted until the 1970s following increasing recognition of its role in providing employment and generating foreign exchange. From 15,584 tourists in 1969 the number had risen to 50,000 in 1979 (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:509) where direct employment in the tourist industry provided 655 jobs and indirect employment (in government agencies and banks) supported a further 125 jobs (Western Samoa, 1980:155). After agriculture tourism has been reported to be the main source of foreign exchange (Meleisea and Meleisea, 1980:42) but remittances are likely to be more important. Development is still aimed at promoting tourism on a limited basis to minimise the potential disruptive effect on Samoan culture. However, as the Development Plan notes, further expansion of tourism would demand upgrading of infrastructure (including roads, buses and the airport) and establishing restaurants, all of which would be likely to result in an urban bias in expenditure and limit the benefits of that expansion (Western Samoa, 1980:156-158). Only one large hotel, on the south coast of Upolu, is outside Apia (and this is the only foreign-owned hotel); since admission fees are charged for access to many beaches and other rural amenities not all tourism revenue is concentrated in the capital. About 80% of the food used on the hotels is imported (Meleisea and Meleisea, 1980:43) although the Samoan airline, Polynesian Airlines, is the only Pacific airline to incorporate local food into its menus. Tourism has enabled some expansion in handicraft production. Increasing air fares and the relative remoteness of Western Samoa from most sources of tourists suggest that tourism can only grow slowly and its effect will continue to be relatively small.

Compared with some other parts of the region there is a high level of social service provision in Western Samoa, especially in Upolu, assisted by the relatively concentrated population distribution; a very strong element

of self-help is involved in the provision of facilities. Almost all the population is served by all weather roads, a high percentage have piped water, literacy is above average and medical services are also above average for a poor country (Ward and Proctor, 1980:400; Walsh, 1982:90). Services are not unusually centralised; for example, whilst Apia has the main hospital, there are ten district hospitals on Upolu and six on Savai'i (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:506), and access to medical services is almost available everywhere. Similarly education is available throughout Western Samoa, both at primary and junior secondary school level; the Teachers Training College, the Secondary Teachers College, the Technical College, the Alafua Campus of the USP (which is the University's Department of Agriculture) and the USP Centre are all in Apia but primary and secondary education is otherwise decentralised so that within Western Samoa there is little migration to take advantage of superior educational facilities elsewhere.

The main causes of death in Western Samoa are influenza and respiratory diseases; gastro-intestinal diseases are also relatively common, especially amongst infants. Malnutrition, which was not a serious problem in the past, has increased considerably during the past decade (Harrison, 1978), especially amongst pre-school children. In 1979 the percentage of pre-school children suffering malnutrition in Apia was 19.3%, in the rural areas of Upolu was 23.3% (Thomas, 1981b:32-33) and in the rural areas of Savai'i was 6.3% (Sio, 1981:2). In the urban areas low-income families experience the highest malnutrition levels, especially where breast-feeding has been replaced by infant formulae (op cit:34; Sio, 1981), and Apia is regarded as having perhaps the worst nutritional status of any urban area in the South Pacific region (J. Lambert, pers. comm. 1981). The high cost of some local foods and the poor nutritional value of imported foods result in the more 'modern' families with limited access to land experiencing the most severe problems. Diabetes too has a greater incidence amongst urban populations (Zimmet et al, 1981) as in other Polynesian populations.

Development planning in Western Samoa began in the 1960s and the present Five Year Development Plan (1980-1984) is the fourth national plan. The major aim of the third Plan (1975-79) was to increase the production of export crops, diversify the economy, promote tourism and develop the national infrastructure. Export promotion was hampered by world inflation and the plan fell short of achieving its objectives in a number of areas, including manpower training. The fourth and current plan sought to focus on a broader set of objectives and a more balanced development strategy, while still focusing on increased production, and it was recognised that there were important issues in terms of the distribution of incomes and the satisfaction of basic needs. Greater stress was placed on movement towards true economic independence and self-reliance (Western Samoa, 1980:4). Thus the plan's emphasis on agricultural production, greater self-reliance (through import substitution), greater decentralisation and a more egalitarian distribution of resources, was similar to that of other contemporary development plans in the region. Relatively little attention was given to the means of achieving national objectives, although it was recognised that there were likely to be capital constraints (that would necessitate continued aid flows) and constraints of skilled manpower, and there are conflicts within the plan objectives. For example, the first objective of the plan is 'to increase production, particularly in the case of village agriculture, by working through existing leadership and social organisation' (Western Samoa, 1980:4) but it has been argued that there is evidence that the existing leadership and social organisation have resulted in significant inequalities within Western Samoa, especially between urban

and rural areas and over access to land, hence this objective is incompatible with the fourth objective of seeking 'a fair distribution of the fruits of economic development' (ibid; cf. Thomas, 1981a). Similarly, Thomas suggests that there is also a conflict between an emphasis on increased production and the fifth objective 'to protect and conserve the environment' (1981a:18-19). As elsewhere in the South Pacific region detailed evaluation of the development plan reveals conflicts in aspirations and indicates that the plan objectives are no more than a guideline to anticipated programmes.

The Development Bank of Western Samoa was established in 1974 to provide financial support to new economic enterprises. Between 1975 and 1979 there was a steady increase in the number of loans and the value of assistance provided by the bank. The Bank has a branch office in Savai'i (at Salelologa). In 1979 3,859 (92% of the 4,173 loans were for agricultural purposes; however the value of loans for agricultural purposes represented only 44% of the value of all loans. Nevertheless this represents a shift away from support of industry to support of agriculture, and especially support for taro production (Development Bank of Western Samoa, 1979). The annual reports of the Bank provide no indication of the regional distribution of loans but in the early years only about 30% of loans went to Savai'i whilst it was intended that in the 1981-83 period this should be no less than 50%. There was also a bias in favour of Apia relative to all urban areas, a similar spatial bias to that of many other Development Banks in the South Pacific region. The Bank was also attempting to cooperate more fully with other related organisations and schemes, such as the Pacific Islands Industrial Development Scheme (PIIDS), and in 1981 was intending to advertise its services in both local and overseas newspapers to promote joint ventures, encourage qualified and experienced Samoans in New Zealand and elsewhere to return because of the enormous shortage of skills (Macpherson, 1983:5) and, with Bank assistance, invest their skills and other resources in the development of Western Samoa (Development Bank of Western Samoa, 1981:2). This increasing emphasis on rural development was apparent throughout planning in Western Samoa.

In the Third Development Plan greater emphasis was placed on rural development and this emphasis has been subsequently maintained; the programme attempted to stimulate increased production from the village sector by means of mobilising traditional village groups and subsidising group projects (65% of the cash cost of establishment being paid by the government). The most frequently requested projects were pig fences (Western Samoa, 1980: 102); there has also been substantial construction of access roads to village agricultural plantations and an increased number of fisheries projects. The principal traditional organisations are the village councils, operating through the government-appointed village official (pulenu'u), alongside women's and youth groups. Perhaps the most pressing problem in Western Samoa is youth unemployment (Simi, 1982) especially in the urban area; this partially explains both the focus on rural development, and attempts to coordinate development projects with such organisations as the YMCA. Since the inception of a Rural Development Scheme in 1979 greater attention has been given to the employment aspects of rural development projects. However by 1981 few projects were being started and the impact of existing projects on rural employment creation, especially for youths, was minimal (Western Samoa Department of Labour, 1983:3). There is also concern with the academic content of the educational curriculum, a phenomenon especially characteristic of Mormon education, that simultaneously produces limited white-collar skills and minimal interest in agricultural

development, and which therefore encourages rural-urban migration and emigration. There is some evidence (Leung Wai, 1983) that this may have encouraged a greater emphasis on vocational education.

Like many other small, recently independent states Western Samoa is classed as 'underdeveloped', although that term is rarely used in the South Pacific region. At the time of Western Samoa's affiliation to the United Nations the Prime Minister told the General Assembly that he regarded Samoa as part of the 'Third World' (Meleisea and Meleisea, 1980:36) and Western Samoa is the only country in the South Pacific region that in 1971 was classified by the UN with the poorest countries in the Third World as one of a small number of 'least developed countries'. In 1975 Newsweek classified Western Samoa as being a part of a 'Fourth World' alongside the world's 'worst economic hardship cases' (cf. Shankman, 1976:22). However, in comparison with other countries in that group (such as Bangladesh, Nepal and Tanzania), and with several countries in the South Pacific region, the standard of living in Western Samoa is relatively high since incomes and nutrition levels are much superior. Nonetheless this classification of Western Samoa is an indication of the grave problems that have long been recognised as inherent in the economy, and currently are unusually severe, and also explains the very high rate of emigration from Western Samoa. In a prophetic analysis, a UN official warned in 1964, that

> 'A combination of unfortunate circumstances in weather, plant diseases, pests and poor world market prices for two or even three of the major crops could result in a financial crisis for the Samoan nation' (Gerakas, 1964, cited by Shankman, 1976:27).

Just under two decades later his analysis proved correct. During the second half of the 1970s economic problems in Western Samoa worsened following a 70% increase in the cost of imports between 1976 and 1978, a result of an increase in government expenditure and rising prices (Ward and Proctor, 1980:397), and there has been a recurrent balance of payments deficit. An International Monetary Fund study of the Western Samoan economy in 1981 noted that Western Samoa had reacted slowly to a fall in export earnings and a decline in output, at the same time as public service salaries doubled in the period 1979-1982. Thus the IMG recommended a cut in the size of the public service (although expansion had been frozen since 1981), further restrictions on imports, less current and capital expenditure and less local borrowing to minimise inflation (Islands Business, 8(12), December 1982:28). Improved management has strengthened the national economy, although the national airline continues to run at a loss and prestigious projects, such as a national university, have been given recent consideration. In the circumstances aid from a number of different sources is consequently of some significance for Western Samoa; in 1979 it was equivalent to 68% of the development budget and $115 per capita (Western Samoa, 1980:47) and, as the Plan noted, Western Samoa may be approaching a stage where the advantages of aid are outweighed by the disadvantages (ibid). By any standards the economy of Western Samoa is exceptionally dependent.

Employment

The vast majority of the economically active population of Western Samoa are involved in the agricultural sector. In the 1976 census the labour force, that is the population between 15 and 64, was 74,240 and was growing at a rate of around 1,600 per year. The number of those working in the home or in village agriculture and fisheries, essentially within the

subsistence sector (that is without wages or salaries), was estimated at 38,053 (Table One) or 51% of the labour force. The 1976 Census provided data on activity rates which indicate that in the inter-censal period 1971-76 there was a small decrease in the activity rate from 40 to 37 per hundred population a decline which was greater for males than females (Western Samoa, 1979: 94-95). Thus in that period the level of participation in economic activity declined. There was no significant variation in activity rates between Upolu and Savai'i. In Apia the male activity rate was actually less than in the rural areas, as male entrance into the urban labour force is delayed by education, but for females it is higher in the urban areas because of the availability of wage employment opportunities there.

The distribution of the economically active population in 1971 and 1976 (Table One) indicates both the predominance of agriculture (and forestries and fishing) in the economic life of Western Samoa and also the significance of variations by sex. Males are overwhelmingly concentrated in agriculture whereas females are recorded as of limited importance in agriculture but much more involved in social and personal services (such as in education, health services and banking) although, even here, the number of males in employment is greater than that of females. However it is apparent, both visually and from other surveys, that females actually make a much greater contribution to agricultural production than is recorded in the census (where they may be regarded as outside the labour force). A survey of two villages on Upolu and two on Savai'i in 1966 recorded that, in each village, women worked in agriculture for not less than a third of the time of men (Lockwood, 1971). Census figures do not reflect the importance of secondary occupations and the significance of female participation in the household and village economy; consequently the census can be misinterpreted to mean that most women are "inactive" (Tiffany, 1979:140). Within Apia itself a relatively high proportion (21%) of urban males working in the primary sector reflects the semi-rural nature of many of Apia's sixty villages, a situation typical of many other Pacific towns where some household members are often engaged in some agricultural activities (Walsh, 1982:95). The most recent survey of labour inputs into agriculture was apparently that carried out by Lockwood in 1966 which indicated that males averaged 17 hours per week and females 7.5 hours, there were only limited social demands on labour time and there was apparently no shortage of labour for agricultural activities (Lockwood, 1971). Whilst this survey was carried out seventeen years ago there is no reason to believe that the situation is now fundamentally different. Moreover, since then, pesticides and weedkillers have been introduced on a substantial scale, and this has reduced agricultural manpower requirements. Between 1971 and 1976 there was a decline in both absolute numbers and proportions of both males and females involved in agriculture, partly because of migration into Apia (Western Samoa, 1979:116) whilst the most significant growth during that period was in the service industries, especially for females. There is little indication of changes in the structure of employment in Western Samoa since 1976.

The employment status of workers in 1971 and 1976 (Table Two) indicates the high proportions of unpaid family workers (primarily in the agricultural sector) who represent more than half of the total workforce. This is unlikely to have changed significantly since 1976. It is significant also that only a very small number of individuals were recorded as 'employers'; whilst the census analysis explains this as a result of the failings of small businesses (Western Samoa, 1979:118-9) it may be that this is a result of under-reporting in the context of the Polynesian social system where few

Table 1. Economically Active Population by Sector.

	Number					Percent			
	1971		1976		1976	1971		1976	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Males	Females
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	23,619	1,788	21,788	1,592	23,380	72.8	33.8	68.7	25.1
Manufacturing and Construction	2,458	230	2,758	235	2,993	7.6	4.4	8.7	3.7
Commerce (Wholesale and Retail)	1,571	847	1,294	1,113	2,407	4.8	16.0	4.1	17.5
Transport and Communication	1,175	73	1,864	194	2,058	3.6	1.4	5.9	3.1
Social and Personal Services	3,629	2,350	4,003	3,212	7,215	11.2	44.4	12.6	50.6
Total	32,452	5,288	31,707	6,346	38,053	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source Western Samoa, 1979:115.

wish to be regarded as employees. Very little data is available on the structure of the wage labour sector in Western Samoa despite its considerable size and importance, and especially its relation to the plantation sector.

Table 2. Economically Active Population by Employment Status and Sex, 1971-1976.

Employment Status	Sex	Number		Percent	
		1971	1976	1971	1976
Employer	M	64	74	0.2	0.2
	F	11	18	0.2	0.3
Employee	M	10,221	11,069	31.5	34.7
	F	3,752	5,000	71.0	78.3
Own Account Workers	M	14,922	1,083	46.0	3.4
	F	508	277	9.6	4.3
Unpaid Family Workers	M	7,245	19,641	22.3	61.6
	F	1,017	1,087	19.2	17.0
TOTAL	M	32,452	31,867	100.0	100.0
	F	5,288	6,382	100.0	100.0

Notes: Numbers for the 'own account worker' category and the 'unpaid family worker' category were interchanged in the 1971 census for males (Western Samoa, 1979:118) thus the numbers and percentages at the two dates are not directly comparable.

Source: Western Samoa, 1979:117.

A survey undertaken in 1973 recorded that more than 50% of all employees were employed by the government or in semi-government agencies (Laffer, 1973). A survey undertaken in September 1980 suggested that little more than a tenth of the total employment, then estimated at 42,500, was with the government of which about half was in Apia (Gupta, 1980). However this survey was never finally completed and published and there are grave doubts about the quality of the data. As Walsh records, the importance of government employment is hard to ascertain (1982:95), and a proportion somewhere between the 1973 and 1980 estimates is perhaps most likely. The lack of adequate data on government employment is unusual but reflects the general lack of good recent data on employment.

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region there is a predilection for administrative employment; 'administrative work, even lowly jobs, is felt to be work fitted only for chiefs' (Pitt, 1970:181) and second come doctors and teachers (ibid) and presumably pastors. These preferences, expressed almost two decades ago, have been strengthened following both increased contact with European societies from migration and through the impact of an academically-oriented education system. Indeed Pitt notes that the most important effect of education is its production of 'a distaste for rural or manual activity and a desire and aptitude for white-collar jobs' (op cit:222). Thus even in a situation where there appears to be a surplus of

unskilled labour and growing unemployment (see below) there are often labour shortages in the plantation sector to the extent that special agreements have had to be made through matai for 'aiga labour (see below) to offset these shortages. Thus in an economy with limited cash earning opportunities there is a considerable imbalance in the structure of employment.

In terms of participation in the wage and salary economy, the formal sector, there are not surprisingly significant differences between Apia and other parts of Western Samoa (Table Three). In 1976 Apia had 46% of all males and 50% of all females who were in the formal sector (Walsh, 1982:95). Moreover between 1971 and 1976 895 new male and 1,278 new female employees joined the workforce; of these 78% of the males and 35% of the females found employment in Apia. Female increases in the other three regions ranged from between 20 and 25%; for males North-West Upolu had an increase of 18%, Rest of Upolu an increase of 16% and Savai'i a fall of 12.4% (ibid). Thus new job creation in the first half of the 1970s was predominantly in Apia and the nearby coastal areas and least evident in Savai'i. The few available discussions of the structure of employment in Apia have tended to emphasize its short-term nature, the mobility of jobs through sharing within 'aiga, and hence the relative equality of access to a limited number of wage jobs. However between 1979 and 1981 the growing crisis of the Western Samoan economy resulted in a very low turnover of jobs (especially after the 1981 strike) and very little labour mobility, a situation similar to that recorded elsewhere in the South Pacific but in Western Samoa not also associated with changing migration patterns. Not only is the basic structure of urban employment different from that elsewhere in the country but it is acquiring a permanence that is less evident elsewhere.

The number of those formally recorded as unemployed in the last three censuses was extremely small. In 1966 there were 226 unemployed and in 1971 there were 232 (141 males and 91 females); in 1976 the total number fell to 88 (50 males and 38 females), figures which the census analysis itself noted were unrepresentative of the real situation:

> 'Quite the contrary. There is an unemployment problem - observations show that many young people are roaming the streets because they have no employment. A paper presented recently by a member of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) speculated that unemployment could be as high as 5,000 but it is worrying the planners and policy makers' (Western Samoa, 1979:119).

In this context then, Western Samoa is typical of most other states in the South Pacific region where the western concept of 'unemployment' is unhelpful, since almost all those within the economically active population are able to engage in unpaid family work in agriculture if no formal sector job is available; many of these are 'underemployed' in the sense that they are not working full-time, would prefer other forms of employment but are not actively seeking it. 'People who want a paid job but are unable to find one can either migrate abroad or remain active within their 'aiga' (Western Samoa, 1980:14). The current Development Plan notes the general existence of unemployment and comments that 'it will not be attempted to reduce under-employment; the aim will be to prevent its increase' (ibid) which, as the plan further notes, is a very modest target but in keeping with expectations based on previous trends (ibid). Furthermore the Plan, estimating that the current number of unemployed was 1,350 and noting that

Table 3. Economically Active Population by Industry and Sex, 1976. (Population aged 15 years and over).

		Agri-culture Forestry Fishing	Mining and Quarry-ing	Manufact-uring	Electri-city Gas and Water	Construc-tion	Trade	Transport Storage and Commun.	Finance Insurance Real Estate	Community Social and Personel Service	Not Stated or Un-defined	Total
Apia	M	1,972	4	243	298	811	643	956	120	1,856	35	6,938
	F	161	1	125	12	12	652	126	114	1,452	22	2,677
N.W. Upolu	M	4,893	1	91	107	481	302	511	37	836	119	7,378
	F	294	-	49	3	5	231	47	31	610	8	1,278
Rest of Upolu	M	6,974	-	27	25	267	166	229	11	588	-	8,287
	F	330	-	9	-	2	113	12	7	492	-	965
Savai'i	M	7,186	1	151	23	227	182	162	-	538	5	8,475
	F	765	-	15	-	3	115	8	2	502	6	1,416
WESTERN SAMOA	M	21,025	6	512	453	1,786	1,293	1,858	168	3,818	159	31,078
	F	1,550	1	198	15	22	1,111	193	154	3,056	36	6,336

Source: Walsh, 1982:98.

'the strongest emphasis will continue to be given to job creation during DP4', nevertheless estimated that there would be an increase in the number of unemployed to around 2,400 by the end of the plan period (ibid). Thus, even in a situation of relatively high emigration, there is little doubt that unemployment is not only substantial but is increasing and that there is little prospect of it declining in the immediate future. The most recent report on employment in Western Samoa concluded that 1982 was marked by a decline of both economic activity and formal employment and that this decline was likely to worsen (Western Samoa Department of Labour, 1983:1). However the actual level of unemployment cannot be accurately measured, especially since there is no indication of what proportion of the 'unemployed' population can find work without wages in the primary sector.

Despite the overall excess of labour, and growing unemployment, there is a severe shortage of skilled labour in Western Samoa; 'manpower bottlenecks are among the major problems hampering Western Samoa's development' (Western Samoa, 1980:16) not only in skilled employment but also in unskilled employment on WSTEC estates. On the estates jobs are increasingly being contracted to matai who can command their 'aiga workforce, because of the low status and low wage rates of agricultural work (ibid). However there are major shortages of skilled manpower in senior and middle-level management, in technical skills (at all levels) and in accountancy (op cit:17). The lack of sufficiently skilled tradesmen (e.g. mechanics, electricians, carpenters, plumbers and others), is seen as particularly critical, firstly, because it is rarely feasible to attract tradesmen from overseas and, secondly, because the jobs are undertaken poorly by people with inadequate skills (op cit:18). Thus the current Development Plan estimated that (even excluding replacements) some 1,098 extra skilled workers would be required in the 1980-84 plan period (op cit:20), an estimate not very different from Gupta's estimate of 1,297 (Gupta, 1981:45) and an indication of the massive task required to train labour in Western Samoa and, incidentally, to localise the expatriate labour force. Whilst the Plan stressed that a detailed manpower plan would be formulated during the plan period, 'including ways of discouraging the emigration of skilled local people' (Western Samoa, 1980:7) this has not yet materialised, partly because Gupta's report was never completed and partly because of the local lack of skilled manpower. Consequently data on employment in Western Samoa are very poor and an immediate priority is the updating and upgrading of manpower data.

Data on income levels and income distribution in Western Samoa are also poor. In 1977 the average annual per capita income in Western Samoa was recorded as A$304, the lowest figure recorded anywhere in the South Pacific region (Sevele, 1982:7) whilst the increase in income over previous years was so small that real income levels were almost certainly static or declining (op cit:6). Early estimates of income are more indicative of the very limited monetisation of the economy and, to some extent, of real poverty. In 1964 the villages of Salani and Malie had average per capita incomes of £21 and £29 respectively and in Apia the average income was £51 (Pitt, 1970:273); in 1969 the average per capita income in Western Samoa was about $39 with rural per capita incomes being about $23. Consequently the village of Sa'asi, where per capita income was $40, could be regarded as 'well-to-do' (Shankman, 1976:63). Whilst income levels have increased since then there are apparently no village-level studies that record incomes and their distribution, with the exception of that of Salamumu (Upolu) where Orans recorded a per capita income of $642 in 1978, although he had gave doubts about the accuracy of his data (1981:135-6). Almost a quarter (23%)

of this came from remittances (op cit:136). Increases in income levels as much as anything reflect the increased significance of remittances; in 1958 in the Apia urban village of Nu'utasi international remittances were unimportant although food was received from villages outside Apia (Hirsch, 1958:282-3) but a decade later remittances were everywhere a significant proportion of incomes. In general cash income levels, both rural and urban, in Western Samoa are extremely low and necessitate substantial maintained dependence on subsistence food production. The legal minimum wage in 1974 was only 23 cents per hour for men and 21 cents for women; by 1983 this had reached 45 cents per hour, but remained the lowest minimum wage in the South Pacific region. Even so because its level is related to the cost of living rather than productivity, increases have tended to emphasize the widening trade gap so that by mid-1982 there was a $15 million overseas exchange deficit.

Population

Early estimates of the Samoan population date from the mid-Nineteenth Century and in 1853 a figure of 29,237 was recorded for Western Samoa (of whom 15,587 were on Upolu and 112,444 on Savai'i). Not until towards the end of that century was there significant population growth since in 1900 the total figure was 32,815; although this excluded 787 Melanesians from German New Guinea it included 195 Polynesians from Niue (99), Fiji (48), Rotuma (13), Uvea (Wallis) (20) and Futuna (15), (McArthur, 1967:101). Disease and intermittent warfare prevented growth but there was no sustained decline in numbers. Population grew at the start of the Twentieth Century until the 1918 influenza epidemic when about 8,000 people died, some 20% of the total population (op cit:125). From then onwards there was a relatively steady population increase, which accelerated in the two decades after the Second World War. In the inter-war years the annual population growth rate reached 2% and continued to increase until the Second World War. After the war the growth rate increased again reaching 3.7% for the period 1945-1951; since then it has never again reached that figure and since 1956-61 each inter-censal period has seen a decline in the growth rate. Between 1971 and 1981, the last two inter-censal periods, the growth rate was no more than 0.7%. This low growth rate is primarily a result of high rates of international migration rather than any form of population control.

Since the mid-1850s the homogeneous Polynesian population composition has declined with the immigration of Europeans and, later in the century, following Chinese immigration. Early in the Twentieth Century there was extensive labour migration from other parts of the South Pacific region, and a number of Melanesians eventually remained in Samoa (Meleisea, 1980). Census figures from the first half of the century indicate the increase in numbers of the non-Samoan population (Table Four). By 1966 89% of the population was Samoan, 10% part-Samoan, 0.6% European and 0.4% others; thus the Chinese population particularly has become absorbed into the Samoan population. The population composition remains extremely Polynesian although not to the extent of that in Tonga.

During the Nineteenth Century the populations of Savai'i and Upolu stayed roughly in the same relationship to each other but from the start of the Twentieth Century, until the Second World War, Upolu gradually increased its share of the national population. From 1945 to 1981 it has maintained between 72 and 73% of the total population. There is no evidence that there were significant differences in the rate of natural increase between the two islands, hence in the whole of the post-war era there has been no net

migration between Savai'i and Upolu. Since 1961 population statistics have been recorded under the same faipule units and grouped into four regions (Table Five). These data indicate that over the course of the past twenty years there have been some regional differences in population growth, with Apia and North-West Upolu growing faster than the other two regions. In the last five years North-West Upolu was the only region to have a significant population increase. Whilst there is internal migration from the Rest of Upolu to both Apia and North-West Upolu (see below) these differentials are partially a result of variations in emigration rates. Thus analysis of regional age and sex structures, reveals that sex imbalances are most evident in the periphery regions (Savai'i and Rest of Upolu), and least evident in Apia, suggesting that the effect of emigration from Apia has been at least partly offset by some immigration from the periphery regions (Walsh, 1982:84). There are significant variations in population density between regions; whilst in 1981 the national density was 57 persons per sq. km., the regional densities varied from 548 in Apia and 162 in North-West Upolu to 53 in the Rest of Upolu and 25 in Savai'i. Since population distribution is primarily coastal, and Savai'i is more mountainous, densities in respect of agricultural land areas are not so different as these figures suggest. Whilst there are regional variations in densities, growth rates and age and sex structures the maintenance of relatively balanced regional populations is quite unusual in the South Pacific region.

Table 4. Population of Western Samoa.

	'Samoan' Population (a)				
	Upolu, Manono and Apolima	Savai'i	Total		Total
1853	16,793	12,444	29,237	about	29,330
1900	18,793	14,022	32,815		34,415 (b)
C 1921	20,632	11,890	32,522		36,343
C 1936	35,657	16,575	52,232		55,946 (c)
C 1945	43,768	18,654	62,422		68,197
C 1956	65,374	26,459	91,833		97,327
C 1966	95,218	36,159			131,377
C 1971	106,046	40,581			146,627
C 1976	109,675	42,218			151,893
C 1981	114,980	43,150			158,130

Notes: (a) After 1966 questions on ethnic composition were abandoned hence totals from 1966 onwards population totals, are undifferentiated.
(b) This excludes 787 Melanesian from New Guinea.
(c) Includes 34 visitors from American Samoa.

Table 5. Regional Population Changes, 1966-1981.

	1966	1971	1976	1981
Apia urban area	25,480	30,261	32,099	33,100
North-West Upolu	32,570	35,581	36,739	40,730
Rest of Upolu	37,168	40,204	40,927	41,150
Savai'i	36,159	40,581	42,218	43,150

There is some evidence of a decline in fertility from around the start of the 1970s but the magnitude of that decline is somewhat uncertain; the 1971 census analysis estimated the total fertility rate during 1966-71 at 7.4 whereas the estimate for 1971-76 was 6.7 associated with a crude birth rate of 37.4 per thousand (Western Samoa, 1979:74-77). The 1982 survey of vital statistics gave a crude birth rate of 31.4 (Western Samoa, 1983:10). It seems therefore that a fertility transition has begun to take place, especially since in Apia the total fertility rate was 5.5 whilst the three other areas have an average rate of 7.1 which was regarded as 'illustrating the strong effects of unmet demands for birth control in the rural areas' (Western Samoa, 1979:75-77). The high level of fertility in Western Samoa is effectively that of a society not practising any birth control and the birth control programme in Western Samoa has primarily offered services to the population in the Apia urban area (ibid). In the 1960s at least 'the hardest thing to buy in Samoa are contraceptives' (Pitt, 1970:163) but, in this respect, Samoa was unexceptional in the South Pacific region. There are some indications that the declining urban birth rate is a result of a complex of factors involved in 'modernisation':

> 'The increasing monetization of the economy and dependency on imported foodstuffs implies that large families cost more to raise which in turn may encourage the desire for smaller families. The exposure of the family to outside values, especially by migrants returning from overseas, and the increasing general level of education of the population also encourage a shift in ideas away from the traditional values' (UNFPA, 1980:20).

In 1977 about 13% of women in the child-bearing age group (15-45) practiced family planning, and it has been estimated that in 1979 this had increased to 15% (Stanley and Me, 1979:6). There is some evidence to suggest that about a third of married women aged 15-44 in Apia currently use some method of family planning compared with less than one-fifth in the country as a whole (ibid) and thus a much lower rate in rural ares. These are low figures compared with other parts of the Pacific region (op cit:51) especially when a number of reasons, including longer urban education, better employment prospects and the efforts of women to enhance their prospects for overseas migration by postponing marraige and childbirth (Tiffany, 1979:134), have been put forward to explain lower urban fertility. The impact of emigration, and a shortage of marriageable males, have for some time served to depress fertility in Apia and the urban fringe (Wander, 1971a, 1971b; McArthur, 1968:160). By contrast, many reasons also exist to explain the limited response to family planning, including the availability of children to perform work (especially in old-age), children's potential to be income-earners, the desire and necessity to please husbands and the intrinsic desirability of producing and rearing children (cf. Nardi, 1983), factors which currently apparently outweigh arguments and situations in favour of more extensive family planning.

As with fertility there would appear to have been a very slight decline in mortality between 1966 and 1976 as life expectancies have risen from 60 for males and 63 for females in 1966-71 to 61 and 64 for 1971-76 (UNFPA, 1980:21). The crude death rate in 1976 was calculated at 7.9 per thousand, a relatively low rate in the South Pacific region, and the most recent figure is 8.0 (Western Samoa, 1983:14). The infant mortality rate is about 36 per thousand, which is 'surprisingly low...much less than one would expect on the basis of current life expectancies' (Western Samoa, 1980:72). Combination of birth and death rates gave a crude rate of natural increase of 29.5 per thousand in 1976 but by 1982 this had fallen to 23.4 (Western Samoa, 1983:16).

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region the population of Western Samoa is youthful. The proportion below the age of 15 has increased from 48.2% in 1956 to 51.3% in 1966; from 1966 this proportion then declined again to 48.2% in 1976. (At the time of writing data on age-sex distributions from the 1981 census were unavailable). The decline in youthfulness after 1966 is essentially a result of emigration, which is predominantly from the economically active age groups (since the proportion of the population aged 50+ has increased from 8.2% in 1966 to 9.7% in 1976). The decline in youthfulness of the population over the past fifteen years is not therefore so much a result of changes in the rate of natural increase as a result of emigration from the more fertile age groups.

Concern over population pressure on resources and environmental degradation, alongside increased demands for employment and services, has resulted in a development policy that 'considers the reduction of birth rates an urgent matter' (Western Samoa, 1980:94). The first family planning programme was introduced in 1971 and in 1980 population policy was redefined to aim at reducing the number of children by improving maternal and child health through child spacing, and hence reducing pressure on land, services and jobs. However there is no national policy on family planning and no institutionalised framework for this; nor is there any policy relating to internal migration (UNFPA, 1980:27-28) although reduction of 'the negative effects of urbanisation' is one of the aims of population policy. In the absence of an institutional context it is unlikely that family planning will become more widely accepted in the near future and, if migration rates decline, the rate of natural increase could grow again.

Internal Migration

In pre-contact times inland settlements were relatively numerous, although many are likely to have been occupied only intermittently at times of warfare or when individuals were displaced from their home villages. Inland residence had many disadvantages (such as the lack of fresh water and access to fishing grounds) hence during the Nineteenth Century the number of inland villages fell rapidly, under the influence of mission centralisation, growing desire for access to coastal trade and an imposed peace. Whereas around 1840 there were perhaps 90 inland villages, that number had fallen to 20 by the end of the century, and by 1960 there were about 15 inland villages, two of which were recent developments (Pirie, 1960:33). A steady migration from the inland hills to the coastal plains has occurred virtually throughout post-contact history, in part because population pressure fell following the introduction of European diseases (ibid). In the last two decades there has been a slow localised movement inland especially in North-West Upolu, as population pressure again increased in the coastal areas. This movement was enabled and accentuated by the construction of new, especially cross-island, roads. Throughout pre- and post-contact history there has been internal migration.

The population of the two small islands of Manono and Apolima has remained remarkably constant over the course of the present century (Table Six); both are densely populated islands and since the war have acquired or been given land on Upolu where mainland villages, Manono-Uta (with a population of 705 in 1976) and Apolima-fou (with 408 in 1976), have been established. However, unlike on some other small, and relatively remote islands in the South Pacific region (and Apolima is often inaccessible in high seas) there has been no long-term decline in population, despite decentralisation to the mainland. Both this permanency, and the very slight changes in regional population distribution, suggest the strong Samoan

attachment to home areas. The major exception to this proves the rule; the only real movement of villages was in 1906 when the Matavanu lava flow engulfed three Savai'i villages and two new sites were provided on Upolu at Leauva'a and Salamumu (Pirie, 1960:41). Both villages are still regarded as part of the Gagaemauga district of Savai'i for all traditional, ceremonial and political purposes.

Table 6. Population of Apolima and Manono Islands.

	Manono		Apolima (a)
1839	1,100		500
1853	1,015		191
1879	...	1,500	...
1900	887		151
1945	800		204
1951	1,013		202
1956	1,100		123
1976	1,167		135

Notes: (a) For the years 1945 and 1951 it is possible that the Apolima population figure includes the Upolu village of Apolima-fou or other mainland settlements.

The extremely slight change in the post-war regional distribution of population (Table Five) indicates that either there has been very little migration within Western Samoa or that all internal migration movements are counter-balanced by reverse movements of more or less the same size. Western Samoa is divided into 42 faipule (parliamentary) divisions, grouped into four census regions which constitute the basic region for the analysis of data on internal migration. Both the 1971 and 1976 censuses asked questions on population mobility. The earlier census report provided a table showing place of birth by place of usual residence and place of usual residence by residence a year earlier. Neither table provided any information on age or sex and changes in the form of production of data between 1971 and 1976 also limit opportunities for comparison. The absence of birthplace data in 1976 precludes discussion of lifetime migration.

In 1971 36,790 people, around one-quarter (25.7%) of the total population, were recorded as not living in their region of birth (Table Seven). Inter-regional migration of lifetime migrants indicated that both Apia and North-West Upolu were regions of net migration gain and the Rest of Upolu and Savai'i were regions of net migration loss. By comparison with such countries as Fiji and Solomon Islands, migration rates were generally low indicating that there was considerable counter-movement between regions. Apia, for example, had the highest in-migration rate with 43.3% of its population not having been born there but it also had a high out-migration rate with 39.1% of those born there being usually resident elsewhere; the result was an exceptionally low net-migration rate partly because of the significance of the return migration of those born in an urban hospital. The direction of net-migration streams indicates that until 1971 net gains by Apia were mainly from Savai'i. Apia itself had a net-migration loss to North-West Upolu and net-migration losses from the Rest of Upolu were more or less evenly divided between Apia and North-West Upolu. Only Savai'i (with net losses) and North-West Upolu (with net gains) had strong net-migration movements in 1971 (Walsh, 1982:84-86).

Table 7. Place of Birth and Usual Residence, 1971.

Birthplace	RESIDENCE Apia	North West Upolu	Rest of Upolu	Savai'i	Western Samoa
Apia	15,950	5,201	3,290	1,731	26,172
North West Upolu	2,704	23,388	2,700	1,597	30,389
Rest of Upolu	4,695	3,568	31,928	1,802	41,993
Savai'i	4,757	2,803	1,942	35,172	44,674
WESTERN SAMOA	28,106	34,960	39,860	40,302	143,228

Note: Foreign born population (which included Samoans) has been excluded from this table.

Source: Walsh, 1982:96.

Comparison of place of residence in 1971 with usual residence in 1976 (Table Eight) permits a limited comparison with the 1971 place of birth and usual residence. For the adult population (aged 15 years and over) 7% had changed residence within Western Samoa in the period 1971-1976. The out-migration rate for Apia relative to the in-migration rate was much lower than in 1971. North-West Upolu continued to be important as a destination from Savai'i and the Rest of Upolu, but had a net loss to Apia. The urban area accounted for nearly 90% of all net-migration gains arising from changes in place of residence between 1971 and 1976. Despite substantial migration from Apia, 15% of Apia's adult population and 7.5% of its children over the age of five years (whose migration patterns were necessarily similar to those of adults) had taken up residence in the town since 1971 (Walsh, 1982:86-88). These conclusions differ from those of the 1975 Sample Survey which suggested that during the survey years (1972-1974) movement to Apia, evident at the 1971 census, had 'practically stopped and possibly even reversed' and that the former strong out-movement from Savai'i had 'turned into an influx' (Western Samoa, 1976:16). It is probable that some measure of difference between the results was caused by sampling error and the briefer time coverage of the survey; it is also possible that the differences indicate 'the highly volatile nature' of Samoan internal migration over short periods of time with major trends being only evident over a longer period (Walsh, 1982: 88). Moreover the 'highly volatile' migration system has resulted in many moves being of a duration of much less than five years hence relatively few are recorded in five-year censuses when there is repeated return migration.

Perhaps the most significant feature of Samoan internal migration, especially in comparison with international migration, is therefore the considerable amount of counter-movement, much of which may well be return migration, even to the less developed regions of Savai'i and the Rest of Upolu. Nevertheless the overall effect of net lifetime migration change is gains in North-West Upolu and Apia (and the predominance of Savai'i as a region of net loss). Data on the population under matais, that is those who recognise the authority of traditional Samoan chiefs, provides some information on internal lifetime migration (Table Nine) since matai titles are all associated with particular places. These data indicate clearly that Apia and, to a much lesser extent, North-West Upolu have gained population

Table 8. Place of Usual Residence in 1976 by Place of Previous Residence Five Years Earlier.

Place of Usual Residence 1976		Place of Previous Residence: Apia Males	Apia Females	Apia Total	North-west Upolu Males	North-west Upolu Females	North-west Upolu Total	Rest of Upolu Males	Rest of Upolu Females	Rest of Upolu Total
Apia	a	4,098	3,834	7,932	116	80	196	124	143	267
	b	7,313	7,365	14,678	347	317	664	541	514	1,055
North-west Upolu	a	78	70	148	5,854	5,466	11,320	106	76	182
	b	256	217	473	8,591	8,339	16,930	280	282	562
Rest of Upolu	a	36	18	54	61	52	113	7,096	6,496	13,592
	b	139	82	221	213	120	333	9,918	9,452	19,370
Savai'i	a	29	28	57	27	34	61	55	33	88
	b	124	122	246	94	75	169	82	72	154
Samoa	a	4,241	3,950	8,191	6,058	5,632	11,690	7,381	6,748	14,129
	b	7,832	7,786	15,618	9,245	8,851	18,096	10,821	10,320	21,141

Place of Usual Residence 1976		Place of Previous Residence: Savai'i Males	Savai'i Females	Savai'i Total	Overseas Males	Overseas Females	Overseas Total	Total Samoa Males	Total Samoa Females	Total Samoa Total
Apia	a	97	84	181	125	117	242	4,560	4,258	8,818
	b	514	408	922	439	371	810	9,154	8,975	18,129
North-west Upolu	a	64	38	102	56	39	95	6,158	5,689	11,847
	b	241	193	434	203	178	381	9,571	9,209	18,780
Rest of Upolu	a	32	39	71	19	7	26	7,244	6,612	13,856
	b	135	83	218	89	60	149	10,494	9,797	20,291
Savai'i	a	7,226	6,559	13,785	11	15	26	7,348	6,669	14,017
	b	10,411	9,945	20,356	68	72	140	10,779	10,286	21,065
Samoa	a	7,419	6,720	14,139	211	178	389	25,310	23,228	48,538
	b	11,301	10,629	21,930	799	681	1,480	39,998	38,267	78,265

Notes: a. Population 5-14 years.
b. Population 15 years and over.

Source: Walsh, 1982:97.

from more distant rural areas. Available evidence indicates that the general pattern of internal migration, if not the volume, was sustained between 1971-1976, and quite probably in subsequent years, but at a much reduced level. The volume and short duration of internal migration suggest that it is probable that economic factors are less important as a motive for such movements, especially those movements to Savai'i and the Rest of Upolu (Walsh, 1982:88); however there is no evidence to test this assumption. In general internal migration in Western Samoa is much less important than in most other countries in the region and, as in Tonga, the numerical significance and impact of internal migration is much less than that of international migration.

Table 9. Population Under Matai by Place of Enumeration and Place of Origin of Matai Title, 1976.

	Place of Enumeration	Place of Origin of Matai Title	Net Loss or Gain Number	Percent
Western Samoa	146,880	146,880	-	-
Apia Urban Area	28,466	19,731	+8,735	+44.3
North West Upolu	35,663	34,683	+980	+2.8
Rest of Upolu	40,799	45,346	-4,547	-10.0
Savai'i	41,952	47,120	-5,168	-11.0

Source: Western Samoa, 1979:90.

The 1975 Sample Survey recorded migration between villages (rather than simply between faipule districts and regions as in the 1971 and 1976 censuses) and hence recorded a much more detailed pattern of migration (although the results have not been recorded in detail) and consequently a volume of migration that was more than twice that recorded in the 1971 census (Western Samoa, 1976:15). The data (Table Ten) demonstrate that over the period 1972-1974 some 14,700 people annually left their home villages to move elsewhere and some 4,500 of those moved abroad again demonstrating the very high level of internal migration that is unrecorded in the census.

Table 10. Estimated Annual number of Internal Migrants and Overseas Out-Migrants, 1972-1974.

	Origin				
Destination	Western Samoa	Apia Urban	North West Upolu	Rest of Upolu	Savai'i
Western Samoa	10,213	3,548	2,006	2,647	2,012
Apia Urban	1,518	332	648	538	0
North West Upolu	2,035	672	669	518	176
Rest of Upolu	2,111	538	350	994	229
Savai'i	2,162	575	239	329	1,019
Not known	1,299	675	416	158	50
Overseas	4,544	1,554	1,236	1,200	554
Total Out-migrants	14,757	5,102	3,242	3,847	2,566

Source: Western Samoa, 1976:29.

Table 11. Population by Faipule District (a).

	1951	1956	1966	1976	1981
APIA URBAN AREA	10,658	18,153	25,480	32,099	33,100
Vaimauga West	7,889	13,791	19,225	23,516	24,942
Faleata East	2,769	4,362	6,255	8,583	8,158
NORTH WEST UPOLU	17,117	25,032	32,570	36,739	40,730
Vaimauga East	1,733	2,428	3,234	4,179	4,507
Faleata West	1,821	5,352	6,908	6,723	8,386
Sagaga-Le-Falefa	2,966	3,879	5,224	6,922	7,243
Sagaga-Le-Usoga	2,357	2,774	3,673	4,257	5,114
Aana Alofi No. I	2,594	3,441	4,230	4,623	4,798
Aana Alofi No. II	1,907	2,456	3,243	3,058	3,205
Aana Alofi No. III	2,507	3,293	4,082	4,860	5,243
Gagaemauga No. I (part)	...	1,409	1,976	2,117	2,234
REST OF UPOLU	22,267	27,244	37,168	40,927	41,150
Aiga-i-le-Tai	1,933	2,696	3,607	4,021	4,680
Falelatai and Samatau	1,971	2,413	3,383	3,456	3,532
Lefaga	1,630	2,204	3,316	3,758	3,954
Safata	2,594	3,128	4,687	5,344	4,991
Siumu	905	1,123	1,568	1,868	1,754
Falealili	2,431	3,171	4,068	4,590	4,714
Lotofaga	1,001	1,192	1,700	1,785	1,660
Lepa	802	960	1,286	1,460	1,498
Aleipata-Itupa-i-Luga	906	922	1,269	1,480	1,315
Aleipata-Itupa-i-Lalo	1,770	2,075	2,909	3,097	3,254
Anoamaa East	2,344	2,681	3,483	3,455	3,653
Anoamaa West	2,530	2,941	3,784	4,403	4,143
Vaa o Fonoti	1,224	1,469	1,736	1,754	1,519
Gagaemauga No. II (part)	226	269	372	456	483
SAVAI'I	24,425	26,898	36,159	42,218	43,150
Faasaleleaga No. I	2,655	2,982	3,944	4,589	5,102
Faasaleleaga No. II	1,644	1,867	2,800	2,977	3,117
Faasaleleaga No. III	1,527	1,739	2,086	2,290	2,386
Faasaleleaga No. IV	682	812	1,169	1,289	1,354
Gagaemauga No. I (part)	1,232	801	1,098	1,336	1,285
Gagaemauga No. II (part)	1,066	455	599	644	588
Gagaemauga No. III	1,649	1,823	2,079	2,283	1,956
Gagaifomauga No. I	1,080	1,246	1,430	1,726	1,610
Gagaifomauga No. II	1,480	1,664	2,385	2,533	2,562
Gagaifomauga No. III	739	758	1,000	1,218	1,407
Vaisigano East	994	1,222	1,731	2,666	2,965
Vaisigano West	798	933	1,264	1,589	1,503
Falealupo	660	712	955	1,078	1,186
Alataua West	983	1,207	1,571	1,996	1,927
Salega	1,538	1,770	2,875	3,287	3,463
Palauli West	1,677	2,100	2,867	3,410	3,444
Palauli-le-Falefa	1,548	1,774	2,564	3,108	2,982
Satupaitea	1,047	1,224	1,517	1,731	1,779
Palauli East	1,426	1,809	2,225	2,468	2,534
WESTERN SAMOA	73,235 (b)	97,327	131,377	151,983	158,130

Note: (a) The two villages of Leauva'a I and II (Gagaemauga No. I) although located in Salamumu (Gagaemauga No. II) are regarded as part of the Gagaemauga district of Savai'i for all traditional, ceremonial and political purposes. In 1951 all the population of Gagaemauga No.I was recorded as being on Savai'i.

(b) This total excludes 6,918 Europeans.

Data on long-term population change by faipule districts (Table Eleven) also give some indication of long-term regional population changes (since the evidence suggests that there are no significant variations in rates of natural increase between region, with the exception of recently reduced fertility in Apia). Once again these data reveal striking similarities in population change between regions, with only a small number of significant variations even over a period of thirty years. Firstly, urban growth has occurred, as has more rapid growth in adjoining Faleata West, and growth rates have generally been higher in North-West Upolu than in the Rest of Upolu (apart from Aiga-i-le-Tai, which is essentially an extension of North-West Upolu, and also Lefaga). Secondly, regional variations within Savai'i have been greater than in other regions. The Gagaemauga area as a whole has experienced a long-term population decline (although different faipule have suffered losses at different times) whilst the old 'growth centre' of Vaisigano East has experienced the most rapid growth outside North-West Upolu. Nevertheless regional variations in population change are again relatively slight.

In the most recent inter-censal period a declining population has been experienced in 12 of the 43 faipule districts; of these five were in Rest of Upolu and seven in Savai'i. Whilst this does not demonstrate internal migration, as opposed to international migration, comparison of these data with those from earlier census periods indicates that actual population losses in earlier inter-censal periods were quite rare. The eventual availability of migration data from the 1981 census will thus be extremely valuable in assessing some of the characteristics of population decline in these districts, most of which are relatively distant from Apia. Overall population changes between 1976 and 1981 demonstrate a quite substantial change in the nature of migration, especially in comparison with earlier situations, and suggest that in some outlying districts international (rather than internal) migration has for the first time produced a significant population decline. This may be an exceptionally important trend especially given the necessity for an increased emphasis on rural development in Western Samoa.

Urbanisation

Apia has always been the only urban centre in Western Samoa, and was one of the earliest port-towns in the South Pacific region. In 1860 the population of Apia was estimated at about 120; this fell to 50 in 1865 but reached 150 in 1877. The decline of urban population in 1865-8 was due to a minor cotton boom which 'enticed many Apia residents to take up cotton production on the small areas of Upolu land which the Samoans...made available as this time' (Ralston, 1977:163) an early indication that increasing rural income earning opportunities stimulates urban-rural migration. Between 1900 and 1926 Apia more than doubled its population and in 1926 'steps were taken to counteract this trend' (Western Samoa, 1979:8) but without obvious success. However the economic depression of the 1930s reversed the movement to town and there was return migration to Savai'i and rural Upolu. After the Second World War rural-urban migration once again resulted in more rapid urban growth.

In the post-war years the population of Apia has grown steadily and, while the population doubled between 1951 and 1971, the rate of urban growth was the same at every inter-censal period until 1971 after which it declined (see Table Twelve). The town only slightly increased its share of the total population from 18.6% in 1951 to 21.1% in 1976 and 20.9% in 1981. In the past decade therefore urban growth has actually been below that of the

national average; whilst there has been some urban fertility decline the most likely explanation for this is return migration from Apia. Most recently rural-urban movement has declined and much of the population increase in North-West Upolu originates from emigration from Apia; those migrants may nonetheless continue their involvement with the urban economy. Indeed there is, in lieu of migration, substantial commuting from villages to the east and west; even in the mid-1960s commuting was common within 15 miles (24 kms) of Apia and from resource-poor villages further away (Pitt, 1970: 172). Commuting then as now was considered advantageous in that it involved little disruption with village life, either social or economic. The ease of commuting has certainly minimised the extent of urbanisation and, in this respect, Western Samoa differs from most other countries in the South Pacific region.

Table 12. Population of Apia (a).

	Population	Annual Rate of Increase (%)
1860	- about 120	
1877	- about 150	
1895	- almost 1,000	
1951	15,840	...
1956	18,153	...
1961	21,699	3.6
1966	25,480	3.3
1971	30,261	3.5
1976	32,099	1.2
1981	33,100	0.6

Notes: (a) The present urban area is officially the two faipule districts of Vaimauga West and Faleata East.

There has been no real attempt to decentralise urban activities from Apia; few activities could easily be decentralised and relatively slow urban growth rates have posed no real necessity hence decentralisation has only relatively recently been considered in development planning. The opening of a second overseas port at Asau, Savai'i, alongside some government offices, was expected to result in urban growth outside Apia (Soon, 1971:4) but never did. Subsequently development policy has focussed on rural development as an antidote to urbanisation rather than on the establishment of new growth centres elsewhere.

Even at the start of the 1950s urban problems had been recognised especially in 'the native residential districts where blighted conditions emphasize the problem of "urban" drift' (Johnston, 1953:36), although at that time the urban area was characterised by the dominance of part-Samoans (and also Europeans) in the population. However 'the parasitic nature of native life..in Apia itself further attracts greater numbers of migrants from the more isolated areas of Upolu and Savai'i' (op cit:37). By the early 1970s more widespread problems of overcrowded housing, service provision and crime rates had been recorded (Soon, 1971) but these have rarely been excessive because of the relatively slow rate of urban growth and the effective export of Samoan urbanisation. Nevertheless there are

health problems, resulting from the low-lying swampy areas where some housing areas are located, low urban nutrition levels, and a substantial extent of urban poverty.

International Migration to Western Samoa

Western Samoa was the first country in the South Pacific region to experience significant labour immigration, to work on the plantations established in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Until well into the Twentieth Century the labour force of the plantations came almost entirely from outside Samoa. (Eventually, and certainly by the 1950s, as the returns to copra production in Samoa fell, labour demands of plantations were met entirely with Samoan labour, an important reflection on the changing economics of cash crop production and regional development in the South Pacific region). As early as 1879 German plantation owners had introduced Melanesians, mainly from New Britain and Bougainville (Papua New Guinea) and Malaita (Solomon Islands). In 1905 Chinese indentured labourers were also introduced for plantation work. The number of Melanesians and Chinese reached its peak towards the end of the German colonial era; after 1914, when there were 877 Melanesian labourers on German plantations (Meleisea, 1980:7), the numbers fell although Chinese recruitment continued until 1935. Discussions more than fifty years later with those labourers suggested that the principal reasons for migration were, firstly,

> 'desire for adventure stimulated by the stories told by earlier recruits; second, a desire to get their hands on the trade goods that were so scarce in those days. The possession of such items would give them the means of paying brideprices and of participating in such exchanges which would make them important men when they came back to their home villages. The third reason, and one which was strongly stressed by all of them, was the reputation that life on Samoan plantations had as a place of abundant and varied food, including fresh meat' (Meleisea, 1976:129).

Whilst the migrants not surprisingly dwelt on the novelty of the experience there is little trace of the 'impelled' aspects of migration discussed elsewhere (Mahler, 1975). Perhaps what is most remarkable is that sixty or seventy years later the individual rationale of migrants, whether Melanesian or Polynesian, has fundamentally scarcely changed, one indication of the minimal change in the rural socio-economies of the South Pacific region.

At the 1921 census there were 1,290 Chinese and 465 Melanesian labourers; by 1945 there were 294 Chinese labourers, 75 Melanesian labourers and 7 'other Chinese' (New Zealand, 1945). Those Chinese and Melanesians who were not repatriated married Samoans, and few pure Chinese and Melanesians remain in Western Samoa; whilst the Chinese presence is apparent in many family names and the existence of the Chinese Association of Western Samoa there is little trace of what was once a substantial Melanesian presence.

There has also been some migration from other Pacific Islands, mainly from Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Tonga (apart from the constant movement between Western Samoa and American Samoa). Early plantation owners recruited workers from islands where conditions were more difficult than Samoa, especially Niue and also Micronesia (Pirie, 1960:40). Numbers of labour migrants reached a peak of over 1,200 around 1879, after which time they were largely replaced by Melanesians (ibid). Subsequent migration from

other Pacific Islands has been on an individual basis although, as recently as 1943, 'contract labourers from Tokelau and Niue were recruited without very stisfactory results' (ibid). Some parts of the Apia urban area have been largely settled by other Pacific Islanders, Vaipuna and Niue by Niueans and A'ai-o-Fiti by Fijians, whilst close to the plantations there were also special settlements, Ellise-fou for Ellice (Tuvalu) Islanders and Solomona-fou for Solomon Islanders (Pirie, 1960:41. Whilst the census does not distinguish non-Western Samoans by nationality there are probably no more than a few hundred other Pacific Islanders in Western Samoa, primarily in Apia.

The migration of Tokelauans to Western Samoa is indicative of the trends in migration from other Pacific Islands. Migration from Tokelau to Western Samoa was politically straightforward as both states were under New Zealand administration. By the end of the Nineteenth Century Apia had become a 'metropolitan centre' for the whole of Tokelau - a centre of trade and, later, education and, in the inter-war years, was the destination for a small but steady trickle of Tokelau migrants (Hooper and Huntsman, 1972:23-24). A number of migrants consciously sought to merge into Samoan society, through loyalties to a matai or a village and by adopting fa'a Samoa (Goldsmith, 1972, cited by Hooper and Huntsman, 1972:24). The number of Tokelauans in Western Samoa was 220 in 1951 and had grown to about 500 in 1962. After the independence of Western Samoa in 1962 Tokelauans became a disadvantaged minority in a situation where there was intense competition for limited wage employment. Consequently many of the Tokelauans who initially migrated to Western Samoa have subsequently moved to New Zealand although there remains a significant Tokelauan population in Western Samoa, almost all in Apia. By 1971 the Samoan Tokelauan population had fallen to 209 and were principally involved in education or employment with the Office for Tokelau Affairs in Apia. Thus the general lack of employment opportunities in Western Samoa, and the very low wage and salary levels, have severely restricted migration from other Pacific Islands.

By contrast the shortage of skilled labour has resulted in substantial immigration principally from the metropolitan countries, but also from elsewhere. Thus at the end of 1978 within the public service alone there were 138 expatriate public servants and another 35 expatriates working for the government but employed through separate agencies. An unknown number of foreign citizens were also working for the government but on local conditions, thus there were more than 200 foreigners working for the government alone (Western Samoa, 1980:21). In 1966 the total number of expatriates employed in Western Samoa was eighty-six, half of whom were in education (Lorenzo, 1979:20-21) a clear indication of the substantial increase in the numbers of expatriates. In December 1980 there was a total of 633 expatriates employed in Western Samoa, the majority from New Zealand, U.S.A. and several Asian countries; by 1981 the total was closer to a thousand and was still increasing. As elsewhere in the South Pacific there has also been a substantial distribution of aid to Western Samoa, one of the disadvantages of which is the 'creation of a layer of foreigners in technical and management positions which, because of advanced technology introduced in aid packages, it will be hard to localise' (op cit:47). As with the small group of Indians in Western Samoa most Europeans are in some sense 'teachers or technicians' (Philips, 1981). Gupta's (1981) estimates of the lack of skilled manpower in Western Samoa, although possibly of doubtful accuracy, suggested that by the end of 1984 more than an additional 1,200 skilled workers would be required; whilst this increase is unlikely to occur, because of the costs involved in either training or importing such skilled labour, it does indicate that the number of expatriates working in

Western Samoa is unlikely to fall in the near future. Thus, despite a 'normal' range of controls over the employment of foreign workers (such as that no Samoan with the skills for the job can be excluded and a counterpart training component must be included in expatriate contracts), the number of foreign workers has steadily increased since Independence whilst skilled Samoans emigrate, a seeming paradox that is repeated throughout much of Polynesia, and constitutes a critical problem for development. In the same manner that there is occasional concern in New Zealand over the extent of remittances to Western Samoa (although much of this is used for purchasing New Zealand commodities) so there is concern in Western Samoa that the incomes of migrants to Western Samoa earn relatively high incomes, but little of this remains in Western Samoa to assist in capital formation. Filipinos, for example, (of whom there were about 50 in Western Samoa in the early 1980s) must remit 40% of their earnings. Nevertheless the balance of remittances (see below) is overwhelmingly in favour of Western Samoa.

International Migration from Western Samoa

Overwhelmingly the most important migration movement in Western Samoa is the migration of Samoans overseas, especially to New Zealand but also to American Samoa and the U.S.A. Some overseas migration has been long-established; the 1921 New Zealand census listed 164 persons in New Zealand who had been born in Western Samoa. The 1945 census listed 592 and that of 1956 listed 2,995 although many of these must have been Europeans. Emigration from Western Samoa in its contemporary form has existed for a longer period than in almost any other country within the South Pacific region and this emigration has broadly succeeded other historic forms of population movement. During the Second World War estimated departures of Samoans fluctuated between 2,000 and 3,500 annually, although until 1951 this net outflow was more than offset by immigration from American Samoa (Stace, 1956:4). By the early 1950s total departures had more than doubled and net emigration was becoming established. In the 1950s American Samoa was the principal migration destination; it was close to Western Samoa, the culture was the same, most Western Samoans had relatives there and wages were higher than in Western Samoa. In the 1950s restrictions on migration from Western Samoa (and elsewhere in Polynesia) were introduced in American Samoa, some Western Samoans lost their jobs and the rate of migration declined (Shankman, 1976:32; see Country Report No.1) and shifted in orientation. In the 1950s there was relatively little emigration to New Zealand, although by 1954 the high cost of migration to New Zealand was finally exceeded by the level of remittances from New Zealand (Fairbairn, 1961:28); the relative cost of emigration to New Zealand declined as accessibility increased, a Samoan community evolved and the possibility of migration to American Samoa declined. Thus the first significant emigration to New Zealand began not long after the Second World War and between 1951 and 1956 there was a recorded net loss through migration of 1,453 males and 704 females (Jupp, 1958:12), the bulk of whom were aged between 15 and 24 (McArthur, 1967:129). The actual level of emigration was probably higher and McArthur suggests that the net loss was 4,865 (op cit: . 130) since there were no restrictions on movement between Western and American Samoa. The most significant feature of the early emigration to New Zealand was that there was a change in the racial composition of emigrants from 'mixed-blood' Samoans to 'full-blood' Samoans (Fairbairn, 1961:19). Emigration of Samoans to New Zealand reached an early peak in 1953 but then declined following a revision of New Zealand policy and a 'tightening-up' of its administration, which effectively made migration more difficult for older people or those with dependent children (op cit:20-21). Even in the 1940s and 1950s there

was a relatively even sex ratio of migrants. A substantial proportion of emigration in the 1950s was to American Samoa and some of these migrants may have then gone on to the U.S.A. (McArthur, 1964:337), but the proportions going to New Zealand gradually increased.

At the start of the 1960s the significance of migration to New Zealand increased; free migration continued and in 1962 after the independence of Western Samoa the New Zealand Cabinet decided to sponsor a programme of selective migration. An annual quota was established to enable 1,500 Samoans per year to be admitted to New Zealand for permanent residence. During the ten year period 1957-66 there was a net emigration of some 10,470 persons (some 8% of the population of the country) and in the second half of that decade (1962-66) the rate of emigration was higher, at 1,448 persons per year (Lorenzo, 1969:3). Whilst many migrants continued to move to American Samoa, and some on to the U.S.A., New Zealand was becoming much the most important destination. A second trend during this period was in the source area of migrants to New Zealand; after the war Apia was the main source of migrants (since it was the area from which ships left, permits could be obtained and where it was less difficult to obtain the language, educational or occupational skills that made obtaining an entry permit easier). But in the 1960s the source area shifted out into rural Upolu and Savai'i (Shankman, 1976:34; Pitt, 1977:8) where, by the late 1960s, 'conservative' areas like Aleipata demonstrated the highest emigration rates (Pirie, 1976:87). The small changes in the regional distribution of population in Western Samoa suggest both that Apia was then something of a 'staging post' and also that the spatial transition occurred extremely quickly.

It is argued that overseas migrants are drawn more from the urban than the rural population (Tiffany, 1979:133); if this is so then there must also be extensive step migration, first from rural areas to Apia and then overseas. Tiffany's conclusion is based on the small urban village of 'Nuanua' in Apia; between January 1968 and August 1970 22 people emigrated, leaving a resident population of 160. Since this may have been a conservative estimate of emigration it does indicate a substantial population change. However Tiffany provides no indication of how typical 'Nuanua' is of other urban areas or of the extent of migration into it; she does however note that 'Nuanua' is not a village of migrant "outsiders" since aiga links must be activated for securing residence and land rights. Data collected both in Western Samoa (Harrison, 1978:72-3) and New Zealand does however suggest the transition from urban to rural sources of migration (Table Thirteen) whilst birthplace data on Western Samoa in 1974 (Table Fourteen) indicate that the great majority of Western Samoans in American Samoa were born outside Apia, suggesting a similar trend to that of migration to New Zealand. Nevertheless despite the transition towards a rural source of migrants there was proportionately more migration from Apia (and nearby areas) as Tiffany's data indicates. The 1975 Sample Survey recorded that some 3,888 of a total of 13,826 persons recorded in the 1971 census had moved from their 1971 location, of those 1,180 were overseas (and a further 322 in unknown destinations) (Western Samoa, 1976:13). Thus the overall annual emigration rate in Western Samoa for 1972 to 1974 was very close to 10%, but varied from a rate of 17% in Apia compared with a little over 9% elsewhere in Upolu and only 6% in Savai'i (op cit:14). Limited available evidence suggests that the trend away from Apia has probably continued but as the current slow growth of the urban population indicates, there is still substantial emigration from the Apia area, even if the origins of emigrants are increasingly like that of the distribution of the Western Samoan population as a whole.

Table 13. Place of Birth of Samoan Migrants to New Zealand.

	1962		1970	
	No.	%	No.	%
Apia	78	26.0	69	22.84
Environs Apia (a)	109	36.3	102	33.77
Elsewhere Upolu	61	20.3	61	21.08
Savai'i (b)	44	14.5	63	20.84
Other	5	1.6	3	0.99
Not Stated	2	0.6	1	0.33

Notes: (a) Mulifanua-Apia-Fagaloa.
(b) Including Apolima and Manono.

Source: Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:120.

The New Zealand quota of 1,500 permanent residents per year was maintained throughout the 1960s and this tied in well with a common situation where 'one official processed all the applications in Samoa [a he had a certain physical capacity to do the paperwork necessary and this was the limit on migration' (Pitt, 1977:9). During this period there was a great expansion in 'tourist migration' (Harrison, 1978) as Samoans received three-month tourist visas and consistently overstayed as workers. A rising demand for labour at the end of the 1960s and the advent of a Labour Government in New Zealand in 1972 saw the figure being raised by 10% (in 1973) although the Samoan government had asked for a quota of 2,500 (ibid). The early 1970s (Table Fifteen) were thus the peak period of migration between Samoa and New Zealand and the substantial growth in the Samoan population of New Zealand between 1971 and 1981 (Table Sixteen) is largely a result of this particular period of migration. However after 1975 immigration into New Zealand was viewed there as an impediment to economic growth in a period of rapid inflation and a burden on social services (ibid) as a shortage of labour became an oversupply. Increased attention was focussed on Samoan 'overstayers' and during 1975 and 1976 there was substantial deportation of overstayers, a reduction in the quota and a net migration balance away from New Zealand; after this period migration rates tended to return towards those of the 1960s and the direction of migration tended to revert towards American Samoa and also on to U.S.A. (Table Seventeen). Most recently, and essentially in the last two years, there appears to have been a significant slowing in the rate of emigration to New Zealand and some very recent evidence of increased return migration.

Rates of migration have also been reduced by the slow processing of applications (Harrison, 1978:71). Following the migration problems of the mid-1970s the New Zealand government sought to resolve and regularise the migration situation, firstly, by creating a formal guest-worker programme with some South Pacific countries and, secondly, by providing in-country training and employment programmes to improve skills in island countries. Out of this came the South Pacific Work Permit Scheme and the Pacific Islands Industrial Development Scheme (Macpherson, 1981:259). The Work Permit Scheme provided opportunities for workers from Western Samoa, Fiji and Tonga to take up specific job offers from employers in New Zealand for a period of up to eleven months; however the scheme has proved impractical at a time of maintained relatively high unemployment in New Zealand and few

Table 14. Western Samoans in American Samoa, 1974.

Birthplace	Age Groups 0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+		Total
Apia	481	3.7%	692	9.2%	350	7.7%	167	6.0%	48	4.0%	1,738
Rest of Upolu	866	6.6%	1,705	22.7%	980	21.6%	482	17.4%	139	11.6%	4,172
Savai'i	260	2.0%	628	8.4%	340	7.5%	150	5.4%	66	5.5%	1,444
WESTERN SAMOA	1,607	12.3%	3,025	40.3%	1,670	36.9%	799	28.8%	253	21.1%	7,354

Source: Levin and Wright, n.d.:68.

Islanders have benefited from it. Because of the reduction in the immigration quota, what was effectively an informal guest-worker scheme grew up around the thirty-day visitor visa scheme (op cit:260). The formal Work Permit Scheme remains in operation in the same manner to that currently existing in Tonga (see Country Report No.18). However the limited demand for unskilled labour in New Zealand and the relative ease of obtaining labour locally in a situation of relatively high unemployment have resulted in the scheme being a failure. In 1979 it provided employment for ten Samoans; in 1980 eleven Samoan workers found employment through the scheme, there were five in 1981 and one in 1982 which brought the total number of jobs provided in seven years to 54. 'As a means of alleviating unemployment in Samoa, the scheme is obviously ineffective' (Western Samoa Department of Labour, 1981:3) and 'may be considered a failure' (Western Samoa Department of Labour, 1983:3). Consequently almost all short-term employment of Samoans in New Zealand is organised through individual Samoans in New Zealand outside the scope of the formal scheme.

Table 15. International Migration (a).

	Total			Western Samoa Citizens		
	Arrivals	Departures	Net Migration	Arrivals	Departures	Net Migration
1960	9,240	10,182	-942	...	...	...
1961	8,355	8,398	-43	...	...	...
1962	12,829	14,930	-2,101	...	...	...
1963	16,312	18,311	-1,999	...	...	...
1964	16,098	17,349	-1,251	...	...	...
1965	14,656	15,303	-647	9,867	10,334	-467
1966	14,417	15,660	-1,243	9,295	10,499	-1,204
1967	22,407	29,965	-558	11,031	12,096	-1,065
1968	20,416	21,892	-1,476	9,990	11,362	-1,372
1969	30,428	32,620	-2,192	15,729	...	...
1970	35,329	37,874	-2,545	15,436	...	...
1971	42,907	29,799	13,108	...	...	...
1972	46,356	47,500	-1,144	...	...	...
1973	46,669	50,447	-3,778	15,294	17,532	-2,238
1974	54,751	58,995	-4,244	19,193	23,283	-4,090
1975	50,472	54,[illegible]	-3,973	19,797	22,279	-2,482
1976	52,483	53,[illegible]9	-1,086	18,707	19,900	-1,193
1977	57,740	59,027	-1,287	20,807	23,613	-2,796
1978	67,267	70,895	-3,628	25,257	26,589	1,332
1979	77,782	82,869	-5,087	22,405	22,034	371
1980	81,046	86,275	-5,229	39,563	39,248	315
1981	87,829	87,971	-142	43,627	45,735	-2,108
1982	77,880	78,839	-959	39,434	39,141	283

Note: (a) The 1969-72 data are estimates only hence the extraordinary net migration rate for 1971 which is probably around 16,000 too high.

Source: Western Samoa Quarterly Statistical Bulletins.

Table 16. Samoans in New Zealand.

	Born in Western Samoa	Ethnicity
1901		37
1921		164
1945		716
1951		1,336
1956		3,740
1961		6,481
1966		11,842
1971	12,354	22,198
1976	19,711	27,876
1981	22,146	42,456

Source: New Zealand Census Reports.

Table 17. Departures by Main Place of Stay Abroad. Western Samoa Citizens (a)

	Total	American Samoa	Other Pacific Islands	New Zealand	Australia	U.S.A.
1976	19,900	8,249	551	4,698	131	447
1977	23,613	10,990	649	4,185	106	580
1978	26,589	12,472	691	4,047	131	660
1979	22,034	9,872	969	6,407	207	1,036
1980	39,248	25,304	1,098	8,093	360	977
1981	45,735	31,582	1,364	8,035	401	1,410

Note: (a) The unusual increase in emigration to American Samoa between 1979 and 1980 suggests some unstated change in the classification procedures (or typographical or other errors).

Source: Western Samoa Quarterly Statistical Bulletins.

It was not until some time after the war that migration to American Samoa began to have a net balance in favour of American Samoa. There had always been Western Samoans in American Samoa; the 1940 census of American Samoa recorded 955 persons born in Western Samoa (or other Pacific Islands) some 7% of the total population but in 1950 there were 1,908 born in Western Samoa (see Country Report No.1). In the 1950s there was an economic crisis in American Samoa resulting in both American Samoan migration to the U.S.A. and return migration of Western Samoans to Western Samoa so that the number of Western Samoans in American Samoa had fallen to 1,704 in 1960. In the 1960s economic conditions in American Samoa again improved, in the sense that in Tutuila there were new job opportunities with higher wages than elsewhere in the Samoan Islands, hence immigration from Western Samoa once again increased. Those born in Western Samoa and living in American Samoa increased from 1,704 in 1960 to 4,545 in 1970; meanwhile in Western Samoa there was a decrease in the number of those born in American Samoa from

1,437 to 1,021 (Park, 1979:25); this suggests some propensity for those who had previously migrated once to American Samoa to return again. It is also indicative of the strong social ties between Western Samoans and American Samoans and underlies a substantial problem in actually defining an American Samoan as opposed to a Western Samoan. Migration data from the 1970 census of American Samoa thus indicates that probably over 2,000 Western Samoans migrated to American Samoa during the last five years of the 1960s (Park, 1972:11). This increase in the rate of emigration from Western Samoa to American Samoa accelerated after 1970 despite stricter regulations on alien employment. In 1970-71 more than one-third of all births in American Samoa were to Western Samoan parents (Park, 1979:27). Thus in the 1974 census there were 7,384 persons born in Western Samoa and resident in American Samoa, a very substantial increase from 1970 and an increase which meant that in 1974 the number of persons born in Western Samoa constituted over 25% of the total population of American Samoa (Park, 1979:25). However this census figure may well have been an underestimate since a 1973 government report recorded 7,721 Western Samoans in American Samoa (30% of the total population) some 1,500 of whom were being investigated regarding their legal resident status (ibid). The 1974 census data also show that the largest concentration of Western Samoans was in the age group 15-29 in which Western Samoans constituted fully 40% of the population. The restrictions on migration of Western Samoans to New Zealand after 1975 resulted in a more significant movement of Western Samoans to American Samoa, despite the restrictions, hence the Western Samoan proportion of the population is now likely to be significantly higher than in earlier years. In the mid 1970s Park concluded

> ..at least in the near future, there will be a continuous inflow from Western Samoa because of strong familial loyalty. Once they come to American Samoa many Western Samoans may choose to stay because of better economic conditions. On the other hand, the out-migration of American Samoans [to U.S.A.] will almost certainly continue regardless of the situation in the islands' (Park, 1979:27).

There is no reason to challenge this conclusion now, although economic reasons are certainly more important than 'familial loyalty' which primarily provides the means.

Migration from American Samoa to Hawaii and the U.S.A. effectively began in the 1950s, but the data on migration is very inadequate since American Samoans are American citizens and therefore there are no arrival or departure statistics in the U.S.A. (see Country Report No.24). The 1980 census recorded 42,050 Samoans in the United States (many of whom have been born in the United States) it is probable that three-quarters of those in the United States were migrants from American Samoa, or the descendants of migrants from American Samoa. However Lyons found from a sample of Samoans in Hawaii that 16% were born in Western Samoa (1980:66); if this is typical then the proportion of Western Samoans may be less than a quarter, perhaps therefore around 10,000. American Samoa has been referred to as an 'underground route' (New Pacific, January 1980:58) into the U.S.A. for both legal and illegal aliens from Tonga and Western Samoa but, for obvious reasons, there is inadequate data to examine the extent to which this is true. However that there is considerable illegal migration through American Samoa has been of concern in both the United States and American Samoa and legislation to control Western Samoan migration, albeit a difficult proposition in view of extended and extensive Samoan kinship ties, is always a possible constraint over further migration between Western Samoa and the U.S.A.

Not only has there been migration to New Zealand, American Samoa and the U.S.A. but there has also been migration to other parts of the South Pacific region, especially to Fiji. Migration to Fiji tended to be related to education and migration to Tonga tended to be related to marriage, rather than the more obviously economic motivation of migration to U.S.A. and New Zealand (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:8). In the mid-1960s about 40 Samoan tradesmen were recruited to work in Nauru, but the scheme fell through following resentment over wage levels; there remain Samoans based in Nauru working with the national airline. Of all Pacific nationalities only Fijians are more widely dispersed than Samoans in the South Pacific region and there are Samoans virtually throughout the region and more rarely beyond: a small community, a classic example of chain migration, is in Sweden.

In the late 1970s especially there was significant migration of Western Samoans to Australia, principally through New Zealand, however there is no adequate data on Samoan migration to Australia. The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs however has recorded an increase in the number of official settlers, who are citizens of Western Samoa, from 12 in 1978-9 and 36 in 1979-80 to 94 in 1980-81. Yet this is only the tip of an iceberg since many Samoans, after five years residence in New Zealand, became New Zealand citizens or gained permanent resident status and until 1981 could move freely into Australia. Available estimates suggest much higher totals and whilst there are almost certainly at least 1,000 Samoans in Australia even crude estimates are impossible. There is no doubt that many more Samoans would migrate to Australia if this were possible (Salale, 1980:3; T. Simi, pers. comm. 1982) and numbers in Australia have continued to rise, especially since 1975.

In terms of the metropolitan countries Pitt and Macpherson (1974:9) make the rather surprising statement that 'most people did not worry much about which country to choose', that choice was as much related to 'technicalities rather than fundamental motives' and that some migrants tried both U.S.A. and New Zealand. Certainly there are many families with members in more than three different countries outside Western Samoa and although chain migration was important chains of relatives and kin were relatively extensive. However on the basis of studies in the mid-1960s Pitt had previously concluded,

> 'The migrant who goes to Pago (American Samoa) has more prestige than the migrant who only reaches Apia but less than the migrant who goes to New Zealand, less still than the migrant who reaches the United States, which is for most Samoans the ultimate symbol of sophistication and desirable living' (1970:181).

By contrast, from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s, it was stated that,

> 'Samoans prefer to migrate to New Zealand primarily due to economic considerations. Migrants to New Zealand are likely to make more money than their counterparts in American Samoa...This is because New Zealand encourages employment and pays very high wages, among the highest in the world' (Shankman, 1976:34-35).

When Shankman was conducting his research (1969-70) the attractions of the New Zealand economy were perhaps greater than at any other time before or afterwards. In the mid-1970s the New Zealand economy slumped and in 1976 close restrictions were placed on migration from the South Pacific region. Not only were there bureaucratic restrictions, which had their greatest

impact on Samoans (and Tongans), rather than on migration from those smaller Polynesian countries whose residents were citizens of New Zealand, but New Zealand wages were no longer rising and the possibility of migrating to the U.S.A. through American Samoa was becoming increasingly apparent. Consequently migration again increasingly oriented towards American Samoa, but this time with American Samoa seen essentially as an intermediate, short-term destination. Bureaucratic constraints were at least as important as freedom of choice in international migration.

It is possible to make reasonable estimates of the number of Western Samoans outside Western Samoa; in 1981 there were 10,507 Western Samoan aliens in American Samoa which is therefore the minimum number of Western Samoans in American Samoa (see Country Report No.1). (This figure excludes some children born to Western Samoans in American Samoa, and others who have become naturalised citizens). Based on a proportion of about 20% the number of Western Samoans in U.S.A. is unlikely to be less than 10,000. In 1981 there were 42,456 Samoans in New Zealand; of those 22,146 were born in Western Samoa and 19,524 in New Zealand and almost all were originally from Western Samoa (rather than American Samoa). Estimates of the number of Western Samoans in Australia are extremely difficult to make but the total is unlikely to be less than 1,000. The Polynesian-born (excluding Rotuma) population of Fiji was no more than 1,353 in the 1976 census hence it is unlikely that more than about 500 of these were Samoans. Thus, with small numbers overseas elsewhere (including Tonga, Niue and New Caledonia), the number of ethnic Samoans overseas, of Western Samoa origin or ancestry, is around 65,000, some 30% of the total number of ethnic Western Samoans, but a proportion somewhat lower than many casual estimates have suggested. By 1966 it was estimated that 8% of the population born in Western Samoa had migrated overseas on a permanent basis (Lockwood, 1971:26); it now appears that the proportion is much greater than that and in the course of the last decade it has, for example, become possible to talk of such identifiable groups as 'New Zealand Samoans' whose social and economic ties with Western Samoa have become extremely tenuous and who can scarcely continue to be regarded as Western Samoans overseas. The relative longevity of Samoan settlement in New Zealand has resulted in internal migration there, away from the central areas of Auckland and the Hutt Valley of Wellington, into newer, outer suburbs and into other towns such as Tokoroa, Christchurch and as far south as Bluff. These moves too can be seen as economically-motivated, guided through chain migration, but also as a definite measure of stabilisation and permanency. In other destinations the same situation is also apparent but on nothing like the same scale. However not all migrants will remain overseas as permanent residents, and few intend to do; as in the Cook Islands (see Country Report No.2) there are also a number of travelling groups, associated with villages, churches or particular matais, who travel principally for the purposes of fund-raising and most of whom return. However, of all the states in the South Pacific region with the possible exception of Guam, Western Samoa has the most migrants overseas and a high proportion of these must be considered permanent migrants.

The Rationale of Migration

The primary influence on migration in Western Samoa is economic, and this economic rationale is more apparent in discussions of migration in Western Samoa than in most other countries in the region, especially since the potential gap between incomes within Western Samoa (one of the poorest countries in the region) and overseas is great. Recent data indicate, for example, that unskilled workers in New Zealand earn five to ten times as

much as in Western Samoa (Salale, 1980:3) and that the daily wage rate in Western Samoa is approximately the same as the hourly rate in American Samoa. Whereas in the 1950s much migration was to American Samoa, and much of this was for social reasons, by the 1960s long-distance migration from Western Samoa was separate and distinct as a more obviously economic phenomenon. This trend, recognisable elsewhere in the region, was particularly apparent in Western Samoa because of the disastrous effects of the 1966 hurricane on agricultural production. At an individual level this form of migration is readily apparent,

> 'Title holders often encouraged their sons and daughters to migrate, hoping that migration would ease tensions at home and supply sufficient remittances to compensate for the loss of their labor and services' (Shankman, 1976:56).

In a situation of relatively high population pressure on resources and low agricultural commodity prices the relative benefits to migration are considerable. Moreover 'aiga who had lost manpower would then invite poorer relatives to the village, who could obtain land and access to some extra services that may have resulted from the remittances of migrants (op cit:57). Thus even for relatively short-distance moves within Western Samoa there was a sound economic basis. The fundamentally economic basis of migration was documented two decades ago (Fairbairn, 1961). Recognition of the primacy of economic factors is now widespread (e.g. Western Samoa, 1979:43; Raghavachari, 1976:44; Western Samoa, 1977:34) even though it is readily apparent that migration is not simply a function of crude economic differentials, real or perceived. The explicit comparison between the income that might follow migration and the income obtainable within Western Samoan villages has been made by Shankman: 'migration was a far more lucrative investment than anything available in the village' (1976:71) and both the symbolism and impact of migration is apparent in Pitt and Macpherson's conclusion that 'in many villages migrants yielded more money than any other cash crop' (1974:13; cf. Ward and Proctor, 1980: 398) a comment that reflected Samoan perceptions in the mid-1960s (Pitt, 1970:186). Similarly 'few Western Samoans are able to do better in a material sense by staying than emigrating' (Pirie, 1976:89). Moreover, in the context of international migration, 'the relatively minor differences in levels of economic opportunity among the rural districts are overwhelmed by the very great discrepancy in levels of opportunity, both actual and perceived, between the destination areas, mainly Tutuila [American Samoa] and New Zealand' (Pirie, 1976:89). Thus internal migration to some extent occurs in the absence of finance for international migration which, because of the massive economic differentials, may be stimulated, rather than reduced, by a 'wave of prosperity', as occurred in the 1960s in Aleipata (ibid), which enabled overseas migration to be more effetively financed.

The informal guest-worker schemes (Macpherson, 1981) essentially have the sole aim of earning income for individual or group projects; this is virtually a classic form of 'target migration' through which migrants may earn a transferable income of NZ$4,000 to $6,500 in a year (ibid). Similarly the short-term travelling parties, aimed at fund-raising principally for village, church, club or 'aiga social ends, also demonstrate that short-term migration is primarily motivated by economic (that is, cash-earning) requirements. For long-term migration the rationale becomes more complex and the systemic nature of migration more apparent.

In the early years of post-war emigration to New Zealand migration intentions were more obviously oriented to eventual return; intentions were directed at the acquiring of education and the accumulation of adequate

savings to build a home or establish a store (Fairbairn, 1961:23). 'Most of them plan to return to their homeland and go back with the increased prestige and knowledge that a stay in New Zealand will bring' (Challis, 1953:3) and the transmission of knowledge and skills may then have been important. Nevertheless, even then, Fairbairn concluded that it was very unlikely 'that many emigrants would return home, especially after marriage' (1961:23); events essentially proved Fairbairn correct as intentions changed, migration increasingly became permanent and larger overseas Samoan communities became established.

Beyond relatively simplistic economic explanations of migration there are also important social factors; indeed Pitt goes so far as to state that,

> 'Samoan migration can be explained more fundamentally as a social process within the migrant society, a process in fact taking place whether or not there is migration' (1977:2).

and hence that the actual movement is peripheral to social and economic change rather than central (ibid); that is, migration is one part of a wide range of changes. However migration can also be seen as a 'rite of passage' (Pitt, 1977; Harrison, 1978:95), an almost essential aspect of a transition in social life, and in this respect migration for work and education is seen rather as a rationalisation of much more comprehensive social and economic change, in which 'the excitement of the bright lights of the cities stems from its close symbolic connection with the excitement of courtship ritual and behaviour. People are aware that city life may be rather hard and that very few get rich overnight' (op cit:3-4). It is these aspects of migration that figure so prominently in the Samoan literature of Albert Wendt and especially in Sons for the Return Home (1974) and Three Aiga and the Return (1981) with their emphasis on the wide-ranging social, economic and psychological ties between migrants and their 'aiga in Samoa.

Social influences have consequently played a strong role in migration. Not only is most migration to New Zealand and hence is organised within the kinship network of the 'aiga but, seemingly paradoxically, much migration is seen both as a means of security outside the 'aiga and a means of discharging 'aiga obligations without actually being in the village (Shankman, 1976:55-56). Employment in Apia too is a means not only of achieving status but of escaping some of the constraints of the dominance of village life by matais. Many ambitious young men see migration as a means of effectively discharging 'aiga obligations and strengthening claims to leadership positions in 'aiga, through achieving matai titles. Although there is little to prevent young men severing their ties with the 'aiga and its obligations after becoming economically independent overseas, few do so, most regarding their new economic power as a means of enhancing status and claims within 'aiga and village (A. Toleafoa, pers. comm. 1983).

A continuing influence on migration is education, especially the intention of obtaining a better education for one's children. In 1964 half of all primary school students from a group of villages left their village to go to secondary school in Apia or overseas (Pitt, 1977:7) and since then demand for education has increased rather than declined. Many secondary and tertiary education opportunities are overseas and the decision of the New Zealand government in 1982 to restrict Western Samoa students to sixth form places only in New Zealand schools proved unpopular in Western Samoa (Va'a, 1982:39). Pitt goes so far as to claim not only that education results in an 'antipathy to fa'a Samoa, a desire to become a European and in many cases

to migrate abroad' (1970:22), but also that one out of four scholarship students sent to New Zealand since 1945 have subsequently abandoned Samoa to return to New Zealand (ibid). More recently it has been observed that of those who go overseas for education and training less than half return (T. Simi, pers. comm. 1982) and, although students trained overseas are bonded to return to Western Samoa for an equivalent length of time, this does not always happen. Some educational opportunities occur through the churches, and especially the Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) which provides a range of secondary and tertiary education opportunities in Hawaii and the United States mainland, and has enabled much long-term migration to America. The experience of education overseas, cultural change during a formative period and the perception of the economic benefits to remaining overseas all limit return migration.

Natural hazards have prompted internal migration, especially in earlier times when land was more easily available; thus after the 1907 volcanic eruption in Savai'i the inhabitants of villages, whose lands were engulfed in lava, migrated to Upolu although this aggravated food and land shortages there (McArthur, 1967:123). Since hazards primarily restrict economic life their influence is often similar to other economic factors.

What is abundantly apparent from all attempts to analyse the reasons for Samoan migration is not only the underlying primacy of an economic basis to migration but also the diversity of explanations for migration, a diversity which is most apparent in single-purpose surveys of migration, such as that of Western Samoans in New Zealand (Table Eighteen). The combination of earning higher incomes and supporting extended families recurs in at least one later study of Samoans in New Zealand (New Zealand Department of Labour, 1979:30). Doubt must be cast on any survey where the proportion of unstated reasons for migration is so high yet this response may demonstrate the difficulties involved in singling out particular reasons when the factors involved are many, complex and inter-related. In many respects migration is not even an individual phenomenon. Migration decisions are made more often by families than individuals whilst the payment of fares (the means of migration) is even more likely to be a group activity, thus migration is rarely an individual decision or an individual achievement (cf. Graves et al, 1983). Consequently Samoan social organisation can in fact be regarded as 'a form of family organisation meeting different types of income from different sources, allocating opportunities between individuals to meet the needs and requirements of the family' (Harrison, 1978:12) so that migration plays an important role in an attempt to spread and diversify the sources of income and welfare, and minimise risk. In this context migration, educational achievement, agricultural production and the local wage labour force are all possible strategies of rural income and welfare generation and development.

The volume of migration from Western Samoa, its income-generating potential and its impact throughout national life has further influenced migration in the sense that for many young people migration is both accepted and expected as normal, without there necessarily being strong or clear individual motivations for migrations (cf. Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:14). This creates pressure for continued access to migration opportunities (especially where they imply economic and social gain) and hence opposition to any constraints on migration. Migration is thus firmly entrenched in the economic, social and cultural life of Western Samoa.

Table 18. Migrant Motives for coming to New Zealand.

Reason for Coming	Tokoroa				Auckland				Wellington			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Job/Income	11	15.6	7	9.9	18	14.1	12	9.4	8	16.0	7	17.5
Support Family	8	11.4	12	17.1	8	6.3	7	5.5	18	36.0	11	27.5
Buy House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Join Relatives	6	8.5	17	24.2	5	3.9	18	14.1	4	8.0	4	10.0
Education	12	17.1	6	8.5	16	12.5	18	14.1	13	26.0	5	12.5
Health	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6.0	2	5.0
Travel (Curiosity and New Life)	11	15.7	14	20.0	11	8.6	16	12.5	-	-	-	-
Generally Improved Social Conditions	5	7.1	5	7.1	17	13.3	21	16.4	-	-	-	-
Not Stated	17	24.6	9	13.2	53	41.4	36	28.2	4	8.0	11	27.5

Source: Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:121.

Impact of Migration

In a country where emigration has been extensive and sustained over long periods of time its impact has been felt throughout society and is crucial to many aspects of development at national and village level. This impact is initially a function of the characteristics of the migrants. At almost all time periods there has been a relative 'balance in the sex ratio of migration although, in the early 1950s, there was actually a sex ratio in favour of females in migration movements to New Zealand' (Fairbairn, 1961) and this may also have been true between 1971 and 1976. Thus not only have single females emigrated at roughly the same rate as single males but whole families have tended to emigrate either at one time or over a short period of time. Thus the sex ratio within Western Samoa has been fundamentally unchanged by migration. Data on the characteristics of internal migrants is limited; for the 1976 census it was recorded that 'males and females are nearly equally mobile. This applies not only in the case of internal migration but also in the case of external migration' (Western Samoa, 1979:55). The same conclusion was reached by Raghavachari, although he recorded a greater migration of females than males to Apia, especially from the Rest of Upolu (1976:50). However the 1975 Sample Survey reported almost equal movement of males and females aged 15-24 years but more pronounced movement of males in older age groups (Western Samoa, 1976:88). Similarly Walsh's analysis found that males comprised a higher proportion of migrant than non-migrant populations and the limited age/sex analysis possible showed adult movements to be more obviously male (1982:88). The slight variation in conclusions suggests that if there is a male bias in long-term migration it is extremely slight and of no real significance.

The age structure of migration demonstrates conclusively, and unsurprisingly, that most migrants are in their early twenties. The 1975 Sample Survey found that between the ages of 20 and 24 there was an emigration rate of 22% and for children and older people the rate was between 6 and 7% (Western Samoa, 1976:14; see also Harrison, 1978:71). The most recent statistical data indicate that these proportions are virtually unchanged and thus that the age and sex structure of migration in Western Samoa is similar to that in other parts of Polynesia.

Migration has consequently had a significant impact on the dependency rate (defined as the number of population below the age of 15 and over 65 divided by the number of people between 15 and 64). The dependency rate increased from 104 in 1956 to 118 in 1966, but from 1966 to 1976 decreased to 105. Between 1956 and 1966 the increase in dependency rate was also a result of an increased fertility rate (Western Samoa, 1979: 36) but from 1966 onwards fertility declined as, to a significant extent, emigration was significant amongst those of child-bearing age and Samoan fertility was transferred overseas. However dependency ratios vary significantly from region to region; in 1976 the regional rates were 80 for Apia and 105.5 for North-West Upolu compared with 117 for Rest of Upolu and 115 for Savai'i so that the impact of migration on high rural dependency rates is apparent. There was some belief that emigration, high dependency rates and the inability of old people to support themselves (even with some remittances) have contributed to the demand for places at Mapuifagalele, the first home for the aged anywhere in Polynesia (Rhoads and Holmes, 1981). The loss of population in the young adult age groups is thus apparent in high dependency rates, especially in the rural areas, which in turn has resulted in reduced rates of natural increase. One effect of emigration is that all population

projections hitherto made for Western Samoa, including the most 'conservative' predictions, have so far proved too generous (cf. Pirie, 1972:215) and even Raghavachari's (1976) projections on the basis of the 1971 census gave population estimates for 1981 ranging between 191,184 and 194,239. Thus ominous predictions over future population pressure have hitherto been averted. Emigration has therefore been regarded as one means of slowing down population growth thus the 1966 census analysis report stated 'The slowing down of the rate of the population growth after 1966 provides a breathing space which should be used to prepare adequate programmes for family planning' (Wander, 1971:12) but also that 'a higher volume of emigration would not be a suitable means of solving existing population problems' (ibid). However these concerns have so far been ignored; as long as emigration remains a possiblity the problems of rapid natural increase can be mitigated despite its high demands on the social welfare services of Western Samoa.

The most obvious impact of emigration has been the slowing of the Samoan population growth rate; not only have population migrated but the Samoan fertility rate has fallen. This fall has led to high village dependency rates and consequently some decline in agricultural production; however the general poverty of the Samoan economy, low wage levels and the necessity for some local source of cash income ensure that the decline is rarely significant. Nevertheless the impact of emigration on agriculture has been considerable and has been largely negative:

> 'In spite of some agronomic problems and the technical problems which affect smallholder operations throughout the Pacific, the withdrawal of labour from agriculture stands out as the main factor in the stagnation and, in some cases, decline of the sector' (Ward and Proctor, 1980:398-399).

There are two elements in this withdrawal of labour, firstly, the actual emigration of labour (both to urban employment and overseas) which has produced high rural dependency ratios and may have resulted in the declining size of the rural workforce. Secondly, the extent of remittances has probably reduced the motivation for rural production (and resulted in high food imports), a motivation that as elsewhere in the region was declining following social change and the impact of urban-industrial employment in New Zealand (cf. Ward and Proctor, 1980:399; Burgess, 1982:23-24). However, in Sa'asi village for example, increased remittances enabled copra producers to avoid committing their copra as credit in the village store and they were therefore able to obtain better prices elsewhere, a situation which has acted as an incentive to increased copra production (Shankman, 1976: 77). In general, since remittances are not used for productive investment (see below) and there is no prospect of mechanisation on large landholdings, there has been no real incentive to expand cash crop production which has therefore tended to stagnate. The Prime Minister has recently commented,

> 'Western Samoa is not inherently a poor country. No body is hungry in Samoa. The problem is people tend to want the easy life. Instead of cultivating their plantations and raising pigs, poultry and other things with which Samoans are traditionally accustomed, many Samoans go instead to the movies, using money sent to them by relatives overseas' (T. Eti, cited in Savali, 13 May 1983).

Moreover there is evidence that a decline in remittances in 1982 prompted increased agricultural production (F. Sevele, pers. comm. 1983).

Significantly when there was rapid inflation in the 1970s the reaction of some village councils was 'to prohibit the purchase of cash economy goods and literally force people back to subsistence' (Pitt, 1976:76-77). A third factor may have also contributed to lack of motivation through the relatively substantial expenditure in the rural sector that has been service-oriented rather than production-oriented. It has been argued that the productive benefit of these services is likely to have been limited in a country like Western Samoa where labour productivity has never seriously been affected by disease or inferior living conditions and may have resulted in some disincentive to work for commercial gain in agriculture, when the combination of remittances and government services may be seen as adequate (Ward and Proctor, 1980:399-400); this factor would be extremely difficult to test (and disregards humanitarian issues). Fourthly, the regular exposure of Samoans to overseas economic conditions, including occasional to frequent visits, emphasizes the gap between the village agricultural situation, where work is hard in difficult conditions, in both physical and psychological terms (A. Toleafoa, pers. comm. 1983). The combination of influences on agricultural production does indicate clearly that emigration is not the only (or necessarily the most important) influence on agricultural decline but, as elsewhere in the region, operates in combination with other social and economic factors. In contrast to many other parts of the region, the agricultural system has retained much of its significance and migration has not been of crucial importance.

In some parts of Western Samoa considerable population pressure on resources was experienced relatively early; a survey conducted in the mid-1950s concluded that population pressure on land resources was confined to a few villages and quite small areas in north and north-west Upolu (Cumberland, 1962:315). Since then no detailed examination of population pressure on resources has been made; undoubtedly it has increased substantially especially in areas of immigration like North-West Upolu but equally certainly the effects have been dampened as a result of emigration. Whilst it has been argued that population pressure on resources is a secondary problem compared with farm management (Ward and Proctor, 1980:395-406; UNFPA, 1980: 26) the expansion of cash cropping is likely to have significantly worsened the pressure on resources and the complexities of land tenure are also likely to have made this severe in some areas. These issues have not been examined in detail in Western Samoa in recent years.

The selectivity of migration has been a critical drain on skilled manpower. So that although national policy gives priority to scholarships in agriculture, engineering and architecture (Western Samoa, 1980:18) it is recognised that many graduates prefer not to return to Samoa after the completion of their studies, but remain overseas where salaries are higher (see above). Those Samoans migrating to New Zealand under the work permit schemes must have already been young and economically active in Western Samoa; many of these have significant skills (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974). More generally the increased availability of educational facilities since the 1950s has created rising expectations among the younger generation, dissatisfaction with village life and a longing for wage employment in Apia or a chance to emigrate (Meleisea and Meleisea, 1980:37). Thus migration from Western Samoa has been viewed as a 'brain drain' (Western Samoa, 1980:122); education and skills acquired within New Zealand have effectively benefited the migrants, and the New Zealand economy, rather than Western Samoa where the early stages of education and skill training have been financed. Indeed it is widely believed in Western Samoa that a significant proportion of those with skills who remain in, or return to, Western Samoa

are those with extensive family obligations or who are able to use their skills in profitable business activities. Consequently there is a definite shortage of skilled labour in Western Samoa.

The direct effect of migration is the loss of population and the impact of that loss because of its characteristics (age, sex, skills, regional distribution, etc.). Other effects of migration are indirect. Just as the underlying rationale for migration is economic so too is the principal impact of migration and that impact is primarily a result of remittances. The first attempt to estimate remittances to Samoa was made by Fairbairn who calculated that remittances increased from £5,800 in 1947 to £65,500 in 1957, but were partially offset by the cost of travel and remittances to New Zealand. It was not until 1954 that remittances on balance actually benefited Western Samoa (Fairbairn, 1961:25-29) but in the late 1950s it was the fastest growing component of Western Samoa's national income (Fairbairn, 1973:55-57) although still of minor significance to the national economy. By the early 1970s they comprised more than half of Samoan personal incomes (ibid). In 1966 data from four villages, which had an average of 16% of their population overseas, show that remittances provided 30% of all incomes (Lockwood, 1971:26). In 1974 it was estimated that remittances contributed more than 50% of the national income (Shankman, 1976:28) and in three out of four years between 1975 and 1978 remittance income exceeded the receipts from all exports (New Zealand Coalition on Trade and Development, 1982:22-23). Although the overall significance of remittances is apparent, and one detailed study has been made of remittances (Shankman, 1976), the problems of measurement remain considerable and are no less in Western Samoa than elsewhere (cf. Macpherson, 1981:267). Many remittances are directly posted or are brought by hand and American remittances are unmonitored; for the year 1966, unrecorded remittances represented about 24% of all remittances (Shankman, 1976). Nevertheless crude minimal estimates of remittances can be made. The actual size of remittances has increased over time; in 1970 Pitt and Macpherson recorded a median range of $101-200 and in both Tokoroa and Auckland some migrants said they sent over $500 per year (1974:13). At much the same time Shankman recorded similar figures within the village of Sa'asi, but skewed downwards (1976:61). In 1977 data collected from about 180 Western Samoan migrants around Wellington gave an average value of remittances of $462 per year, a figure lower only than that of Tongans (New Zealand Department of Labour, 1979:105).

National income data, and the data collected by Lockwood (1971) from four particular villages, suggest that remittances in the late 1960s constituted about 30% of all household incomes (Shankman, 1976:36-38) but also that remittances were greater, absolutely and proportionately, in urban areas and also in Upolu (op cit:43) even though they constituted a greater proportion of the total income in rural areas (op cit:44). There was a clear correlation between the size of remittances and the duration of residence outside the village; for example in the village of Sa'asi temporary migrants comprised only 16% of the village's remitters but supplied almost one-third of all remittance income. Temporarily migrants were able to remit more, partly because many of their expenses were met by permanent migrants and partly because their temporary visas ensured that their return was imminent. Migrants permanently overseas were under less pressure to remit as their village commitments became less intense and less significant (Shankman, 1976:59-60) and they had also acquired financial commitments in New Zealand. This is a typical version of the normal remittance model described elsewhere (Connell, 1980:23). Workers were the most reliable remitters, especially young unmarried women who were more

likely to maintain their kinship ties (Shankman, 1976:60). The relatively unusual situation, in which not only are women as likely to migrate as men (the sex ratio for migration in Western Samoa being fairly balanced) but where women are also the most likely to send remittances, has resulted in a large amount of money being transferred between women and thus, in the village of 'Sa'asi' at least, the women have much more economic leverage than they had before migration became important (Shankman, 1976:61).

The extent of migration and its economic rationale, within the context of the 'aiga, suggests that a very high proportion of households are likely to receive some remittances. In the urban village of Nuanua (Apia) every one of twenty-two households received some remittances from overseas kin; for some households this was irregular and for one it was the only source of cash income (Tiffany, 1979:150). In Sa'asi village, although seven out of 26 households did not receive any remittances this represented only 16% of the population and some had previously received remittances on a regular or irregular basis (Tiffany, 1979:167). Similarly the sending of remittances is almost ubiquitous although by 1970 some Samoans in Auckland were no longer remitting money (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:13). Whilst long-term New Zealand residents, with many kin in New Zealand, may not send remittances it is probable that in the past decade the distribution of remittances has become even more widespread than in the 1960s.

Whilst the distribution of remittances is virtually ubiquitous within Western Samoa there are considerable inequalities in that distribution. In Sa'asi village, with one exception, households receiving remittances were much better off than non-receivers (Shankman, 1976:63). The evidence from Sa'asi (op cit:64) further suggests that there was no apparent correlation between the extent of remittances and the extent of income from other sources; that is remittances neither increased nor decreased existing inequalities. However Shankman quotes other evidence to suggest that remittance income did result in considerable inequalities in income distribution (op cit:66) as individuals increasingly consider remittances as being for their personal use rather than for redistribution within the 'aiga. In this way not only do remittances contribute to inequalities, of a different dimension than historical inequalities, but they weaken the strength of both the 'aiga and the matais, as social power declines in the face of economic power.

The principal role of remittances has been to provide a higher standard of living in the village than agricultural income alone would have enabled. Thus remittances were used for, what Shankman calls, 'security investments, such as houses, small-scale luxury consumption and redistribution within the Samoan status system, including church donations' (1976:63) but increasingly imported commodities (such as luxury cars from American Samoa) have become very costly. A major source of expenditure is imported foodstuffs to the extent that imported goods such as canned mackerel and corned beef, frozen New Zealand sausages, rice, sugar, salt, tea, butter and flour are all 'basic staples' (Tiffany, 1979:151). Consequently Samoans,

> 'have increased their consumption of imported goods [while] agricultural production continues to decline. This paradoxical trend of consuming more while producing less is, in large part, the result of migration and remittances' (Shankman, 1976:xi).

Although remittances were used to promote further migration and occasionally were considered as savings for future agricultural projects, they were not used for productive investment thus as Shankman notes in the case of Sa'asi, a 'conservative pattern of remittances persists' (1976:65). Moreover, in

that case too, remittances resulted in the village trader boosting his profits and emphasizing his central role in the village economy (op cit: 66) whilst, more generally, expenditure on consumer goods has an inflationary effect. Capital investment therefore does not benefit from remittances, firstly, because remittances are small, secondly, because there are social constraints to their use and, thirdly, because in strictly monetary terms 'migration was a far more lucrative investment than anything available in the village' (op cit:71) so that the incentive to invest is very small. Remittances have therefore had a surprisingly small impact on changing the structure of the Samoan economy.

One of the characteristics of the short-term informal guest-worker scheme is that it is effectively controlled by Samoans within New Zealand who are able to play a significant role in allocating migration opportunities to those in Samoa known to be interested in migration. This form of patronage is extremely selective and displays elements of a Calvinist moral philosophy (Macpherson, 1981:262). Firstly, opportunities are allocated to rural Samoans rather than to the children of Samoans in New Zealand who are considered to be better off; secondly, priority is given to those who are considered poor, despite their own efforts, than to those who are already employed or are considered poor because they have wasted their opportunities; thirdly, there is a tendency to choose candidates from the rural sector whose responsibilities for kin limit their opportunities to accumulate capital (ibid). Whilst the specific benefits of this short-term guest-worker scheme are extremely difficult to evaluate the fact that sponsors choose those who are relatively unskilled and under-employed in the subsistence sector limits the negative impact on agricultural production (op cit: 271) and does result in the development of productive and entrepreneurial activities (ibid) which tend to benefit individuals, aiga and areas with the greatest needs. This equalising impact of migration is extremely unusual and strengthens the case that there are positive benefits to migration for rural Samoa.

The extent of migration to U.S.A. and New Zealand has resulted in the westernisation of many aspects of Samoan culture (and migration is a greater influence on this change than tourism) and the acquisition of more individualistic behaviour. These changes are ubiquitous within the South Pacific and are not only a function of migration and would have occurred anyway. However the overall impact of emigration on the whole Samoan lifestyle (fa'a Samoa) has also been subject to different interpretations. Pitt found that the effects on Samoan custom was negligible especially since migration takes place within the context of the 'aiga, and that any negative effects were offset by the gains of higher incomes skill levels and increased prestige (1970:185). By contrast Shankman notes that migration not only weakened the structure of the 'aiga and the authority of the matais but by encouraging further emigration and further remittances weakened the whole of village society, whilst such non-Samoan roles as trader and pastor have however been strengthened at least in the case of Sa'asi (1976:88). Furthermore, based on further research in New Zealand, Pitt has continued to affirm that migration has strengthened rather than weakened fa'a Samoa both by providing remittances to support traditional institutions in Samoa and by creating 'new vibrant communities based on traditional institutions' (1977:6). Whilst he comments that the strength of fa'a Samoa is not increased by some form of retreatism he equally points out that many migrants who have experienced the European world (fa'a palagi) have returned 'chastened to the fold' a situation which strengthens cultural identity (ibid). It is not a convincing argument. Furthermore if the situation in American Samoa (see Country Report No.1) is compared with that of Western

Samoa it is apparent that extensive migration does result in the decline of fa'a Samoa. Whilst each of these studies implicitly considers that the maintenance of fa'a Samoa is beneficial, it is however possible to consider the disintegration of a fairly rigid social structure as a not wholly negative phenomenon. Interpretation of the impact of migration on social change is thus variable but there is little doubt that fa'a Samoa has been weakened, and the different interpretations of Pitt and Shankman are partly a function of time and the extent of emigration. The extent to which the weakening of fa'a Samoa, a process which exists apart from migration, is conducive to development is more equivocal.

Migrants move individually or are sponsored by 'aiga with the assumption that there are both social and economic benefits; for individuals these benefits are apparent in the material rewards of higher incomes and better education although international migrants may experience social problems and discrimination. A measure of individual success may well be the increased proportion of overseas migrants who appear to be permanently absent and, within Western Samoa, the steady flow of remittances. Whilst the remittances have not benefited the national economy (rather contributing to inflation and greater dependency on imported commodities of all kinds) they have raised material standards of living throughout the country and have not produced significant inequalities within Western Samoa, either by region or between individuals. Moreover because of the selectivity of 'guest-worker' migration the extent of equality may actually have increased, as the poor receive opportunities to migrate, the relative power of the matais declines and women predominate in the sending of remittances. Thus at an individual level the benefits of migration appear to have been significant and in the destinations (especially New Zealand) there are obvious benefits from the supply of cheap labour, whose cost of production and reproduction has largely been borne by Western Samoa. However for Western Samoa as a whole there are disadvantges, not only in the loss of skilled labour, the stagnation of the agricultural economy and the erosion of fa'a Samoa, but in the emergence of a migration-oriented society in which the solution to problems within Western Samoa lies in emigration beyond rather than production within. It is this dependence that is critical to development in Western Samoa and is discussed further below.

The final consideration relating to the impact of migration relates to the extent and impact of return migration. Return migration from outside Western Samoa is relatively unimportant: Shankman states bluntly, 'Polynesian migrants do not return, except for visitations, once they are overseas and have attained a degree of security' (1976:96). The limited extent of return migration is in part because of the great differences in wage and salary levels in Western Samoa and in the migrant destinations (and the high cost of living in Western Samoa) and in part because of the difficulty of obtaining unskilled jobs in Western Samoa and the reluctance of return migrants to work in plantations or more generally in the agricultural sector. However there is little data available to directly test these assumptions and some at least of those who return temporarily do remain in Western Samoa. The extent of return migration was greatest in the post-war years, when migration was quite new and, with the exception of the 1970s, appears to have subsequently declined in extent. There is some evidence (S. Lolesi, pers. comm. 1983) that return migration increased in 1982 when the election of a Prime Minister without aristocratic status, suggested the possibility of the 'secularisation' of politics, reforms in the structure of the socio-economy and the possibility of new job opportunities. Significantly the longer that Samoans stay away the more difficult it is for there to be return migration,

> 'Samoans who stayed at home will have taken over unused resources, especially in areas of rising population. Many rural Samoans feel that the migrants should not come back for long periods though they are welcome as visitors' (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:15).

These attitudes are common both in urban areas and elsewhere in the South Pacific region, especially in those countries like Niue and the Cook Islands where migration is extensive and some redistribution and accumulation of resources has followed. Nonetheless, surveys made in New Zealand especially, record that migrants do wish to return home, for example when their own children are established (e.g. Pitt, 1977:5). In the absence of data on return migration (see below) it is impossible to contrast expectation and reality yet this appears one example of a relatively familiar situation where migrants at their destination are contemplating or intending return migration whereas in their home villages there is little doubt that they have gone forever. Indeed the intention to return may be more nostalgia for the past than a real plan for the future (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:16). In general, despite occasional pressures on migrants overseas and occasional incentives from within Western Samoa, the volume, and consequently the significance, of return migration is small.

The extent to which the impact of return migration is positive is doubtful; whilst Pitt (1970) has argued that skills obtained from migration are of value in Western Samoa as does the analysis of the 1976 census (Western Samoa, 1979:58-59) there is considerable doubt that significant skills are obtained overseas, especially on eleven-month work schemes (T. Simi, pers. comm. 1982). Pitt, who concluded that migration did not have a harmful effect on the village economy, drew his examples of the useful skills brought into the village (new agricultural techniques and entrepreneurial activity) entirely from internal migration or commuting (1970:186). There are further doubts on the possibility of transfer of those skills into a Western Samoan economy where wages and salaries are much lower than in the metropolitan countries; that is, it appears that those who do have the skills most in demand in Western Samoa are least likely to return. A detailed analysis of attitudes to return migration by Western Samoans concluded that there were four principal reasons for non-return; firstly, businesses only rarely succeeded despite numerous attempts being made partly because commerce was poorly understood and partly because the social power of 'aiga ties eroded profitability; secondly, wages and fringe benefits in Western Samoa were very low; thirdly, New Zealand born children had trouble adjusting in Western Samoa and hence parents were reluctant to return with them and, fourthly, the gerontocratic social organisation limited individual aspirations (Macpherson, 1983). Moreover there is much evidence that actual return migrants, despite or more probably because of the status (in a modern and non-traditional sense) they have gained from migration, are a 'source of dissatisfaction with village life and the predominantly subsistence economy' (Meleisea and Meleisea, 1980:37), introduce new discontents, values and aspirations, do not settle long themselves and induce others to follow their lead.

Given a widespread belief that migration is of benefit to Western Samoa, in part because of its reduction of high population densities, there is no reason for any widespread encouragement of return migration: Western Samoa does not have a 'Jewish policy' (M. Kleis, pers. comm. 1981). However although the Development Bank has considered advertising opportunities overseas the current status of the Western Samoa economy provides little incentive to return migration although there is marked

interest among migrant Samoans in returning to Samoa to establish business ventures (Macpherson, 1983:9). Whilst providing cheap loans for housing might encourage return migration and give migrants obligations (S. Leung Wai, pers. comm. 1981) the necessity to provide a package of benefits precludes the possibility of substantial return migration and would in any case be likely to seriously distort the relatively equitable structure of income distribution in Western Samoa. Similarly the transfer of pension rights from New Zealand would encourage the return migration of retired Samoans but, at some cost, in terms of increasing the dependency rate.

Many of the more positive comments on the impact of migration stem from an earlier era when migration was limited in extent, was predominantly circular migration (with a high level of remittances as return was almost certain) and there was no real demand for skilled labour (cf. Pitt, 1970:187). Thus restless young men could earn money overseas, invest in the village (either in a social or economic context) and return as responsible citizens (op.cit:188). But to a large extent the current context of migration is quite different; whilst early migration was prestigious and 'the further the migrant goes in the outside world the more prestige he acquires' (op.cit:181) migration is not only such a universal phenomenon that prestige is minimised but has produced a socio-economy that in many respects revolves around migration. Increased familiarity with overseas situations and greater numbers of kin overseas have increased the ease of migration and for much of the past two decades economic differentials between Western Samoa and the main migration destinations have widened. Expectations have risen, as in the 1960s remittances rose, and are increasingly difficult to meet within the confines of the Western Samoan economy. Migration is thus viewed less as a means of diversifying economic risk within 'aiga but as a more permanent transfer of human resources elsewhere; migration is no longer necessarily circular. Whilst there is no evidence that migration is disproportionately of skilled individuals there is nevertheless a 'brain drain' which has both reduced the possibilities of localisation and resulted in continued disruption of administrative and productive activities. Whilst these costs are partially compensated by remittances and by a reduction in population pressure on resources (albeit with static production levels in agriculture and fisheries) in themselves they may not be excessive relative to alternative development options. These alternatives are discussed below.

Conclusion

Western Samoa is the largest country in the South Pacific region to have a society and economy that are substantially influenced by emigration; in the circumstances migration is not only an important issue in Samoa but it affects all aspects of Samoan economy, policy and society. Its increased significance in Samoa has necessarily reduced the possibility of adopting policies that would substantially alter the present structure of migration. As in other countries where migration is considerable the presence of an established overseas community further complicates policy formation related to migration. In the broadest sense there are three possible responses to emigration, each of which is dependent on attitudes to migration; the first regards migration as inappropriate to Samoan development and hence should be curtailed or substantially reduced, the second regards migration as a positive feature in development and hence should be encouraged, for example, by re-orienting the education system towards western systems and by seeking out new areas for potential emigration since, as government officials commented in 1974 'people are our most valuable export' (Shankman, 1976:xi).

The third approach recognises that there are both positive and negative aspects of migration, and hence necessitates a more complex and selective set of policies towards migration, or regards migration as one aspect of laissez-faire economic development and/or beyond the scope and ability of policy formation. In Western Samoa, as elsewhere in Polynesia, it is essentially this third situation that has predominated, primarily since emigration is always a short-term remedy to difficult and complex problems of long-term economic development. Attitudes towards emigration from Western Samoa within Western Samoa range from passive to acquiescent; for example within the Department of Economic Development emigration is viewed as nationally desirable since it reduces unemployment levels, generates foreign exchange, trains skilled workers and alleviates social problems (H. Kruse, pers. comm. 1981). In general emigration is seen as a 'second-best solution' but with a worsening economic situation the possibilities of retaining those who wish to leave is limited hence a laissez-faire situation, in which free choice prevails (subject only to external constraints), may be a better solution for Western Samoa (A. Wendt, pers. comm. 1981).

Not only is emigration now a critical issue but it has long been a critical issue; for a long period of time, certainly more than a decade, there has been Samoan pressure for an official migration rate higher than that allowed in New Zealand. Moreover in 1976 Shankman noted in the context of changing policies in New Zealand that 'any attempt to restrict migration will be met with resistance' (1976:103). The truth of this was apparent then and was equally apparent in 1982 when the existence of the present strong demand for emigration opportunities was well illustrated in the context of a decision by the British Privy Council which made most Western Samoan citizens New Zealand citizens. After a Samoan migrant in New Zealand had been declared a prohibited immigrant and faced with deportation defence lawyers argued that two New Zealand laws of 1923 and 1928 incorporated parts of a British statute of 1914 which declared any person born "within his majesty's dominions and allegiance" to be a natural-born British subject. The Privy Council in July 1982 ruled that those acts conferred British subject status, and therefore now full New Zealand citizenship, on Western Samoans born between 1924 (when the first act came into force) and 1948, when superseding New Zealand citizenship legislation came into force. Children born of those Western Samoans have the same rights, therefore virtually all Western Samoans were citizens of New Zealand. Since New Zealand citizens also have rights of residence in Australia the decision also had implications for Australia (James, 1982:34-5). The decision was greeted by consternation in New Zealand, for fear of massive immigration, and general delight in Western Samoa, at the prospect of dual citizenship (which would enable migration in a manner similar to that in the Cook Islands and Niue) and the possibility that this would reduce discrimination in New Zealand, although there was some insistence that Samoans had never owned allegiance to Britain. Discussions between the New Zealand and Western Samoan prime ministers resulted in a bill being passed in the New Zealand parliament that rejected the Privy Council decision and granted all Western Samoans then in New Zealand (perhaps 43,000), New Zealand citizenship but retained the annual quota of 1,100, a decision which would only allow migration to be a little greater than its present level. This renegotiation was greeted by strong objections in Western Samoa, oriented to the Prime Minister's essentially unilateral decision to surrender the possibility of dual citizenship, including a protest meeting of some 7,000 in Apia and a petition signed by 15,000 people. Underlying all the discussions that followed the Privy Council decision was the recognised possibility of extensive migration, welcomed by individual Western Samoans

and feared by New Zealand (and implicitly by Australia), so that since the present structure of migration opportunities is essentially similar to its predecessor, for most Western Samoans the saga was an opportunity lost. At a very broad individual level then there is a strong demand not only for migration but for a greater availability of opportunities for migration. Indeed, even more recently, Western Samoa has sought opportunities for Samoans in the U.S. Army and there is some demand for opportunities to be made available in the armies of Australia, New Zealand and perhaps England.

Outside Kiribati, Tuvalu and perhaps Wallis and Futuna, within the South Pacific region, the case for the positive benefits of emigration, and hence its continued (and perhaps expanded) existence, has been made most strongly in Western Samoa. Two key issues underline this case; firstly, emigration generates substantial foreign exchange earnings to the extent that it has been argued that 'the export of services through migration has become a more highly productive activity than much that takes place within agriculture' (Ward and Proctor, 1980:398). Secondly, and going beyond that, it is also argued that 'the natural resources of Western Samoa will not be sufficient to support the future population at the standards of living to which they currently aspire' (op cit:406) and consequently therefore that falling standards of living would be unacceptable. Whilst the negative impact of migration is recognised (notably the loss of skilled workers overseas) these have never been considered to outweigh the advantages. It is in this context, and especially in comparison with the potential of agricultural production, that Castle concluded a review of the limited possibilities of agricultural development:

> 'In the context of the limited physical resources of Polynesia this suggests a policy of unrestricted temporary or permanent migration of people from Polynesia, not only to New Zealand but also probably to Australia, the U.S.A. and Canada where Polynesian communities are already established' (Castle, 1980:136).

This then is the extreme case for emigration. Yet at the heart of this case is a fundamental contradiction in the Asian Development Bank's argument in that Castle recommends emigration whilst, in the same report, Ward and Proctor (see above) concluded that the withdrawal of labour from agriculture stands out as the main factor in the stagnation and decline of agriculture. This contradiction 'lies at the crux of the Samoan dilemma' (New Zealand Coalition for Trade and Development, 1982:80), that is, that migration provides short-term benefits and long-term disadvantages. Thus the 1980 Development Plan produced within the Department of Economic Development basically rejected the strong case for emigration and drew the conclusion,

> that emigration is at best a fragile solution to unemployment and balance of payment problems and, at worst, is likely to worsen those and other problems in the long term. The Plan strategy is to discourage emigration through improving economic opportunities at home, both in the traditional rural sector and in the modern urban sector' (Western Samoa, 1980:12).

This conclusion was based on a relatively detailed evaluation of the impact of emigration, a more detailed evaluation than any that has been officially conducted in other South Pacific countries experiencing similar migration trends. The Plan evaluation recorded a number of effects of emigration. Firstly, emigration alleviates unemployment, but this may not be an unambiguous advantage since rapid population growth may be a stimulus to economic growth (op cit:92); however this is primarily true of metropolitan

countries in earlier historic periods and has not been experienced in the South Pacific. Secondly, remittances contribute significantly to local incomes and thus the balance of payments; this too is not an unambiguous advantage since it generates additional consumption of imported goods (ibid) and is rarely used to support economic growth and development. Thirdly, emigration and remittances conflict with the national aim of greater self-reliance especially since 'a mentality is fostered of relying on money sent from abroad rather than on one's own productive potential...it is a vicious circle of dependence in which Samoa's status as an economic hinterland of her richer neighbours is reinforced' (ibid). Fourthly, migration is disproportionately of the young, skilled and educated which constitutes a loss of both important human resources and of social investment (ibid). Finally, emigration depends on circumstances completely beyond Samoan control:

> 'At any time New Zealand, the U.S.A. or Australia may choose to restrict immigration of Samoans. This would have severe and immediate consequences for the employment situation in Samoa as well as for the balance of payments. At worst it is illusory and no substitute for a policy of reducing the rate of emigration by expanding local employment opportunities' (op cit:93).

Thus official government policy is aimed at a reduction in emigration through the creation of local employment opportunities. The Plan review represents the strongest case against extensive emigration made within Western Samoa and contrasts both with earlier plan reviews; for example, the first Five Year Plan noted that migration also created a market for the export of Samoan produce (cf. Macpherson, 1981:209) and with the more benign views of some academic commentators, such as Pitt (1970, 1977). In a situation where there have been a series of economic crises in Western Samoa, several changes of government (and where the author of the section of the Plan on migration has himself emigrated) there are however serious doubts on the extent to which the Plan reflects current policies towards migration and development.

The Plan's conclusion that migration is not beneficial to Western Samoa can be supplemented by conclusions on the impact of migration (see above) and by considerations of the long-term impact of substantial emigration. Most apparent is the emergence of an outwardly-oriented, migration-dependent society in which migration is a part of everyday existence and has become essentially an individual right. Whilst national policies may proclaim the necessity for a greater degree of self-reliance and the consolidation of a national identity in a culture and society already divided (with American Samoa even more dependent on migration) such policies are no more than the rhetoric, from which the reality is necessarily different. A high level of emigration is a part of that reality. Yet migration offers only a partial solution to the problems of poverty in Western Samoa and continued dependence on migration (and remittances) is symptomatic of continuing underdevelopment. Moreover as, through dependence on migration, Samoans become more closely integrated into a wider political economy so migration may perpetuate underdevelopment (Shankman, 1976:85). Shankman thus explicitly contrasts his interpretation of the situation with that of Pitt who argued that 'migration does not usually have adverse effects on economic conditions generally' (Pitt, 1970:185) arguing that Pitt's analysis refers only to superior levels of material consumption and that the structure of the Western Samoan economy has not become more 'developed'. Examining the experience of some other countries Shankman states that 'there are no

examples of countries that have developed through migration and remittances' (1976:17); however this sweeping statement may be inaccurate for those countries where emigration has been long-term (perhaps Nineteenth Century Ireland), where migration and the use of remittances are both partially government-controlled (contemporary Asian migration to the Middle East) or where there are no apparently viable alternatives other than emigration (as, for example, in Tuvalu and Kiribati). The extent to which Western Samoa has gained from migration may have hitherto been small but two critical questions remain unanswered; firstly, can Western Samoa control current levels of migration to benefit from them and, secondly, can Western Samoa establish an alternative development that does not stimulate emigration but results in economic growth and perhaps even return migration?

There is virtually no prospect of control of migration. There is no interest in direct control since there is a strong belief in migration as a natural right and privilege. The overseas Samoan community is now so large and long-established (many emigrants having high wages and high standards of living) that even in ideal conditions (that is, where good wages and suitable job opportunities were readily available in Western Samoa) many potential migrants would not remain in Western Samoa. Most 'aiga are split between Western Samoa and overseas, thus all Samoans have relatives overseas, whilst the interest and possible excitement of migration overseas contrasts with the social constrictions of parochial rural life. Even the most ideal conditions within Western Samoa may also appear illusory in the light of past disappointments and long-standing perceptions of better living standards overseas. The possibility of legislation to restrict migration is virtually non-existent. In that there is substantial migration of those with skills and education, whose abilities are necessary to generate economic development, there is concern that this migration is a particular problem and some control would be beneficial to the national economy. Yet, firstly, it would be necessary to discriminate against those with required skills (and, moreover, the bonding situation which, in a sense, does this has proved to be unworkable and was abandoned in 1983) and, secondly, there is no necessary guarantee that, even if all skilled individuals could be retained whilst many unskilled individuals were lost, that Western Samoa would achieve a satisfactory level of development. Control over the level of migration is not a viable policy alternative; indeed, if it were viable, Western Samoa would be faced with the task of absorbing a substantial increase in population.

The lack of skilled manpower at all levels in Western Samoa is a particularly critical problem for Western Samoa because of low wages and the possibility of emigration hence if migration of skilled workers cannot be restricted there are possibilities of either more extensive training and local production of skills or the replacement of Samoans by migrants from elsewhere. Whilst local training problems are capable of reducing the deficit, despite problems of high drop-out rates (Western Samoa, 1980:18) and subsequent emigration, it may be that it is in the particular context of Western Samoa that the Pacific Regional Advisory Service (PRAS) of SPEC would be best able to assist in the provision of skilled manpower from other countries within the region. However, in general, Pacific Island countries lack regional consciousness on migration and prefer to advertise in the metropolitan countries rather than within the region (M. Kleis, pers. comm. 1981); the scope for regional labour migration, even if surplus skills are available elsewhere, is thus quite limited and the skilled labour supply is increasingly likely to come from Asia but at considerable cost to Western Samoa.

In the absence of direct control the possibilities of a form of economic development that would produce economic growth and development and slow emigration can be considered. The absence of natural resources and Samoa's remoteness from markets suggests that, even with low wage levels, development must primarily be oriented towards agricultural production, and hence rural development, with the possible expansion of tourism. Both are dependent on factors outside Western Samoan control, especially commodity prices. In the past, development policy has been broadly oriented towards rural development, with very limited results, and the current economic crisis in Western Samoa is in part a result of stagnating agricultural production alongside falling commodity prices. In this, Western Samoa is similar to large-scale labour exporting countries in Africa:

> 'Rural Swaziland continues to be highly traditional in its institutional and socio-economic structure. For many migration remains the only option available for accumulating sufficient cash income. One of the most formidable hurdles in the creation of adequate rural income-generating activities is therefore likely to be persuading the traditional leaders that the need for the changes required to make possible the commercialisation of the rural sector is an urgent one' (de Vletter et al, 1981:85).

Whilst there are possibilities for expanding agricultural production the task of implementing relevant policies is exceptionally difficult where migration remains a readily available option, and overseas wages ('fast money') appear a more attractive proposition than the occasional earnings of cash crop production and marketing. Again, in Swaziland, potential migrants rejected the possibility of working as manual labourers in agricultural tasks since it was considered that the wages were too low and the work too hard (op cit:62-3), a situation that has exact parallels in Western Samoa, especially in the context of plantation employment. The massive differentials between incomes and standards of living in Western Samoa and New Zealand, that underlie migration from Western Samoa, are such that migration has remained at relatively high levels for the past two decades. Moreover Pirie's conclusions that increased prosperity in Western Samoa may actually stimulate migration (1976:89) indicate that where differentials are great the prospects of economic development significantly reducing emigration levels are quite low (despite the positive impact on local living standards). Without controls over emigration there is therefore a very limited possibility of slowing the migration rate by economic development within Western Samoa. In a situation where population pressure on resources is considerable, and migration is seen as a means of reducing that pressure (whilst land tenure is a constraint on some forms of development), it is apparent that the other means of reducing population pressure, family planning, is especially crucial and itself is an alternative to migration. Increased emphasis on family planning would therefore be likely to provide better agricultural opportunities and reduce migration; however where emigration remains one means for the 'aiga to spread and diversify risks it is a very limited option. Nevertheless the fact that migration is only a second-best development option (raising consumption but not production) and may be limited by decisions beyond Western Samoa's control, whilst fa'a Samoa is consistently eroded, necessitates that increased attention be given to economic development options within Western Samoa. That there appears to be a current increase in unemployment alongside maintained high levels of emigration is however a measure of the difficulty of the task.

In these circumstances it is necessary to consider if there are possibilities for benefiting from migration, not by ending it or by diverting potential migrants into agricultural development, but by intervening at particular stages in the migration process. Only three possibilities are apparent but none appear viable; firstly, there would be strong objections to any attempt to impose a massive departure tax or passport purchase price and this does not represent a political option. Secondly, there is some interest in setting up an organisation similar to the Philippines Overseas Employment Development Board that actively seeks out job opportunities overseas and supplies cheap labour to those markets, in a situation of greater national control so that almost all earnings would return to the Western Samoa economy. However in a declining global market the possibility of Western Samoa being able to effectively market unskilled labour in competition with Asian producers is almost non-existent. Thirdly, remittances to Western Samoa from overseas are already at high levels and there would be considerable difficulties in either attempting to secure higher levels of remittances or ensuring that remittances were directed into productive economic activity; this and related issues are discussed in detail elsewhere (see Country Report No.2). Whilst the benefits of emigration are limited, and may even be to some extent illusory, the prospects of increasing the benefits are very small.

The tradition of migration in Samoa has been a long one; even for pre-European times it has been argued that 'Samoans preferred to emigrate rather than face increasingly stringent conditions in their own islands' (Pirie, 1960:30). At much the same time, in reference to internal migration, it was 'apparent that they [Samoans] are much more mobile and less conservative than has been supposed and...are ready to transplant themselves and to carve out new futures' (Fox, 1962:124-125). Subsequent emigration emphasized this mobility, yet one of the most outstanding characteristics of population migration within Western Samoa is that over almost the whole of the post-war period there have been few changes in the regional distribution of population. Only in the last five years has there been a population decline in outlying areas (and this may not be a permanent phenomenon) whilst between 1951 and 1981 the proportion of the population in Apia has been virtually constant. Although this stability is both a function of much return migration within Western Samoa and has occurred during a period of extensive emigration it is unique within the South Pacific region. It provides some evidence that the unusually equitable distribution of social and economic opportunities (limited though economic opportunities may be), alongside the traditional attachment to '<u>aiga</u> land, has slowed rural-urban migration to a degree unparalleled in any country of similar size in the region. Consequently the problems of urbanisation experienced elsewhere (unemployment, overcrowding, urban crime, inadequate health and nutrition, etc.) have been avoided to a greater extent than might be thought possible in a low-income economy. This further suggests therefore that although Ward and Proctor's view that rural service provision reduces agricultural production may have some validity it may also minimise internal migration and hence reduce both urban problems and the costs of urban welfare provision. Thus raising urban wages and salaries (to retain skilled workers) might prevent emigration but could result in unacceptable levels of rural-urban migration, substantial inequalities (as urban jobs become more long-term) and reduced agricultural production. However, because in a context of substantial emigration and remittances (where remittances may be preferable to low urban wages) conclusions on internal wage and welfare policies are exceptionally difficult (although a skill differential appears to have potential), the task of development policy formation to reconcile conflicting objectives is apparent.

The difficult task of evaluating development policies (especially with conflicting objectives) is compounded by the absence of data in a number of important areas. For example, despite the massive shortage of skilled labour in Western Samoa there are no studies on the employment and migration of those with skills and/or secondary education, and especially of technical college graduates, that would reveal what employment such individuals take up, how many go overseas, after what period of employment in Western Samoa and so on. A tracer study of high school or technical college graduates would provide useful information that would assist in refining wages and salaries policy in Western Samoa, and the 1981 census data will enable some correlation of migration with education and employment status.

The data on the current structure of employment in Western Samoa is inadequate and needs both updating and upgrading. This was intended to be done in Gupta's survey in 1981; it would still be extremely useful to complete this and bring it up to date by examining changes in the past two years. Data on internal migration is poor and could be refined to provide more useful information on the structure and rationale of migration. Although the official migration statistics on emigration and immigration enable the calculation of net movements they are of limited value for the analysis of the types of migrants, other than by sex; since much of this data is collected it could be tabulated in a much more valuable manner (UNFPA, 1980:22). The UNFPA survey of needs in Western Samoa made two recommendations on data collection in Western Samoa both of which can be endorsed here; firstly, more rapid and simpler analysis of census reports is essential to enable the implications of changes in population, migration and employment to be widely understood and acted upon quickly. In mid-1983 only the most basic data (population totals by faipule district) was available from the 1981 census. Since the 1981 census incorporated more information on migration than previous censuses, and there appears to be a new trend of rural depopulation, this is particularly unfortunate. Secondly, the development of a greater survey capacity is required; the Department of Statistics has been primarily concerned with census analysis and maintaining ongoing statistical series and indices and has been unable to carry out additional specific surveys on issues of particular concern (including employment). Whilst these developments are appropriate to Samoa's needs the possibility of carrying them out in the present financial climate and manpower situation appear extremely slight.

The absence of recent socio-economic data on migration, employment and incomes suggests that there would be some value to restudying the situation in a context where baseline data already exists; the village of Utuali'i in North-West Upolu, where population pressure in rural Upolu is greatest, has been studied at different times in the 1960s and 1970s by Fairbairn, Pitt, Lockwood and Harrison hence a vast amount of data already exists on this village which would enable a resurvey to be carried out more quickly and cheaply (not necessarily from within Western Samoa) that would enable a better understanding of the contemporary migration and employment situation. Whilst additional research would be of value there is, however, evidence that the socio-economic structure of migration is essentially unchanged so that extra information would be unlikely to influence policy formation.

Little more than a decade ago Lockwood commented,

> 'All the evidence presented so far points in one direction; Samoans are generally content with the life they lead. They have little interest in the

> outside world....They likewise have little evident concern for the future, little interest in productive investment, little willingness to "develop"' (1971:206).

Whilst much doubt must be cast on the accuracy of this statement (cf. Shankman, 1976:100) it is apparent that this is certainly not the case now; migration is of massive significance and with that has gone considerable change, if not necessarily development. It is equally apparent that only the most ruthless approach to migration and development, an approach that appears to be effectively precluded by political and economic realities, will significantly slow the rate of migration and generate economic development within Western Samoa. Nevertheless, in a situation where the extent of international migration is determined far beyond Western Samoa, it is imperative that the sentiments of the current Development Plan are moved closer to reality and that rural development retains its high priority in Western Samoa as the principal antidote to increased emigration and the decline of fa'a Samoa.

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