URBANIZATION IN THE PACIFIC

a tentative study

by

Donald R. Shuster

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URBANIZATION IN THE PACIFIC
A TENTATIVE SURVEY

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D.R.S.
September, 1979
When cities were first founded, an old Egyptian scribe tells us, the mission of the founder was to "put the gods in their shrines." The task of the coming city is not essentially different, its mission is to put the highest concerns of man at the center of all his activities: to unite the scattered fragments of the human personality, turning artificially dismembered men -- bureaucrats, specialists, "experts," depersonalized agents -- into complete human beings.

Lewis Mumford
The City in History, p. 573
I. Introduction

Third World urbanization is a complex social process directly related to culture contact, to both the international and local economic structure, to the rate of population growth, and to changes in population distribution. This paper is a survey of urbanization in the Pacific, in particular its wider context, its history, its relation to international economic structure, types of movement, motivation for movement, and settlement.

II. A Wider Context

Since 1950 the world's population has grown rapidly from 2.5 billion to 4 billion--a 60 per cent increase. Much of this growth has occurred in the developing nations, Oceania\(^1\) included. Figure 1 shows the growth of the world's urban and rural populations since 1800. At the beginning of the industrial revolution in 1800 fully 97 per cent of the world's population was rural and only 3 per cent lived in cities. By 1900 the urban percentage had grown to 15 per cent and the rate of growth of cities was starting to increase more rapidly than that of the rural areas. Today the world's population is almost 40 per cent urban\(^2\) and about equally divided between the developed and developing countries. If the present trend continues, by the year 2000 the world will be one-half urban. (United Nations 1976:3)

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\(^1\)The term Oceania as used in this paper refers to the island areas of Micronesia, Polynesia, and Melanesia excluding Hawaii and Australia but including the Maori of New Zealand.

\(^2\)The term urban refers to a densely populated human settlement having a population with varied skills. Such a settlement lacks self-sufficiency in food production and depends mainly on manufacture and commerce to satisfy the needs and wants of its inhabitants.
FIG. 1 The growth of the world's urban and rural population, 1800-2000 (in millions).


Some 60 per cent of the population of the developed world lives in cities compared to 25 per cent for the developing countries. However, the large population of the developing world makes the two totals about equal in absolute numbers. Further, the rapid growth rate of the large developing world population (3 times more rapid than the developed world's rate) means that in time the developing world will contain a majority of both the world's rural and urban populations, notwithstanding recent predictions of a slowing population growth rate. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 19 Oct. 1978:A-10) To have rapid urbanization precede economic development leads to unemployment and underemployment and makes for a very unstable social situation as in cities like Calcutta, Rio de Janeiro, Bogota, and Caracas. The urban areas of Oceania, as we shall see, are experiencing this same process but not on a scale seen in the megalopolises of Asia and the Americas.
Looking at the world's population as regionally divided into nine more-developed areas and fifteen less-developed areas, we can observe how urbanization in Oceania compares with the rest of the world. From Table 1, the following observations can be made. First, the annual growth rates for the total populations of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia are greater than that of any of the more-developed world regions, and are nearly as high as those of Africa and Asia. Second, and more important, the annual growth rate of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Annual growth rate</th>
<th>Amount of growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(per cent per year)</td>
<td>(millions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>Urban population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>Urban population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More-developed regions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Europe</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Europe</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern America</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperate South America</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia and New Zealand</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less-developed regions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other East Asia</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Africa</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>5.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanesia</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polynesia and Micronesia</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>4.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Africa</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>5.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle South Asia</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern South Asia</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western South Asia</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>4.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropical South America</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle America</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


aEast Asia other than China or Japan.

Melanesia's urban population is astounding 8.82 per cent higher than any other region in the world. With Papua New Guinea having a majority of Melanesia's population, most of this rate increase is occurring in the Pacific country. As high as this figure may seem, it is only half the 17.5 per cent annual rate recorded during the years 1966-71. (Ward 1977:50) In this period twelve population centers in Papua New Guinea were declared urban areas by census officials which helps explain the enormously high rate of urbanization during this period. Skeldon feels this definitional change distorted toward the high side the 1966-71 figures.

In a recent study, Skeldon maintains that there has been a dramatic decline in the rate of town growth in the 1971-77 period as compared to the 1966-71 period. (Skeldon 1978:6) Skeldon's statistical data show a significant fall-off in the urban growth rate (Table 2).

Skeldon attributes this reduction to a rapid decline in expatriate population—a net loss of between 10,000 and 12,000 persons during the 1971-77 period—and a low rate of creation of employment opportunities in the same period. Further, as expatriates departed, job opportunities in small businesses and domestic employment declined. In a later section this paper discusses rural highlanders options for economic activity of which several are found to be preferable to urban wage labor. Thus, urban drift under some conditions might be partly controlled by town authorities.

Although urban growth rates for the major towns in Papua New Guinea declined during the 1971-77 period, Port Moresby retains its magnetic quality.

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3The 1971 Papua New Guinea census indicated annual urban growth rates for the 1966-71 period of 26.2% for Mt. Hagen; 20.1% for Goroka; 19.2% for Lae; 13.8% for Madang; and, 13.2% for Port Moresby. "Preliminary evidence also suggests that, as predicted, urban populations have increased faster than urban employment opportunities." R.G. Ward, "Internal Migration and Urbanization in Papua New Guinea" p. 50.
TABLE 2. Growth rates of certain urban centers in Papua New Guinea, 1966-71 and 1971-77 (indigenous or citizen urban populations only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1966-71 (adjusted data)</th>
<th>1971-77 (enumerated data)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kieta-Arawa-Panguna</td>
<td>(69.4)</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popondetta</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavieng</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to Skeldon the city's present total growth rate is somewhere between 5.8 and 7.4 per cent per annum. Indigenous population is growing faster--about 9 per cent per annum. (Skeldon 1978:11) These growth rates correspond to U.N. figures noted above for the whole of Melanesia. Even though this growth rate is double that of the 4.29 of Polynesia and Micronesia combined, the latter exceeds that of all the more-developed world regions and five of the less-developed regions. Clearly, Oceania is experiencing enormous changes in its growth rate and the corresponding impact on its urban areas. These changes have deep historical origins.

III. A Short History of Pacific Towns

With the possible exception of political-religious centers as the marae at Opunohu, Moorea or Marae Taputapuatea at Opoa, Raietea, that were established
by Polynesian chiefs, pre-contact Pacific cultures did not have urban centers.\(^4\) When Magellan sailed into the Pacific at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, much of Europe lived in rural settlements similar in political-economic structure to those of the Pacific.

Cook's journals revealed island potential for trading, reprovisioning, and whaling. In the early part of the Nineteenth Century Honolulu (1804-1820), Papeete (1815-1830), Kororareka (1824-1840), Levuka (1810-1852) and Apia (1840-1856) were established as beach towns by powerful and influential chiefs. Assisting them were individual foreigners who became invaluable culture interpreters, mediators, culture brokers, and economic advisors. "In the sandalwood, beche-de-mer, timber and flax trades beachcombers played similar roles--keeping an eye on trading transactions, and organizing and controlling island labour when it was needed." (Ralston 1978:30) These beach communities thrived during the first half of the century through profitable export of local products and were thus drawn slowly and, for the most part, willingly into the Western commercial world. (Ralston 1978:15)

As contact increased with whaling, merchant and mission activities, more foreigners came to reside in beach communities. They eventually lost their egalitarian, multi-cultural and politically independent status. Island economies became tied more firmly into world markets thus increasing the demand for political stability and governmental efficiency. The metropolitan hand took a tighter hold and the colonial era began. Beach communities "were transformed into small scale Western-type port towns which became the organising centres for foreign political and economic aggrandisement. No longer was there

\(^4\)Except for certain areas of high-yield economic resources as at Tautira-Teahupo'o district on Tahiti where households were clustered close together to warrant the label "village," Polynesian island populations in pre-contact times were scattered. (Oliver 1974:44) Most marae, according to Oliver (p. 46), were generally and purposely distant from places of residence.
any identity of interest between islander and foreigner—the latter demanded, and increasingly enjoyed, supremacy in all spheres, political, economic and social." (Ralston 1978:187) The "golden age" of Pacific trade had come to an end.

The transformation from beach community to expatriate port town was gradual but dramatic. Levuka was replaced by Suva and along with Honolulu, Apia, and Papeete became expatriate urban centers. Their "major functions were the organization of trade between island hinterlands and the metropolitan countries, and the dissemination of orders and regulations from the colonial government to the island people." (Ralston 1978:216) Inevitably islanders became second class citizens who were rarely integrated into the economic, political and social life of the colonial town. The importation of Asian plantation laborers added, in time, new ethnic groups to the towns. Prior to the Second World War, colonial governments kept native residence in the European sections of town to a minimum and thus produced a segregated town as peripheral native settlements sprouted up. In New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Fiji and Papua New Guinea, town regulations were enacted which empowered police to remove from the European areas unemployed 'vagrants' and curfew breakers, though in practice such regulations were often difficult to enforce. In Papua New Guinea some of these regulations continued in effect into the 1950's. (Brookfield and Hart 1971:391) Although the Japanese in Micronesia did not use police power to exclude natives, the towns (e.g. Garapan on Saipan and Koror in Palau) during the mandate were so heavily populated by Japanese that the visiting islander felt uncomfortable and rarely resided permanently in town.

The nature, structure and function of colonial towns have, as noted above, varied with the intensity and disposition of foreign contact and control.
Towns that were destroyed during the war were rebuilt on the old colonial pattern of ethnic group segregation. Brookfield's description of Honiara of the late 1960's is a case in point.

> On the flat land by the shore are the port, commercial centre, government offices and other institutional and functional buildings. Further east are a closely built Chinatown and a separate 'village' for the Fijian community, then beyond that the main labour barracks, some industry and other institutions, and a shanty settlement euphemistically termed 'Fishing Village'. In recent years some 'low cost' housing for Melanesians has been built in valleys running inland. Almost the only Europeans living on the flat are single staff, who occupy apartments...most others live in widely dispersed houses scattered over the pleasant and relatively cool hills behind the town. This contrast between 'white highlands' and 'black lowland'--only now beginning to become blurred--is particularly stark. (Brookfield and Hart 1971:397)

Although extensive research is yet to be done on colonial towns, this tended to be the pattern in Melanesia prior to the early 1970's trends of self-government and independence.

With political independence and the departure of large numbers of expatriates, the 'white highlands' have become, to a certain extent, the abode of indigenous middle and upper class government officials so that by 1970 the South Pacific Commission described town structure as having three zones. (McCreary 1973:12) Each can be linked to its predominant economic function.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Economic Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A downtown commercial core with adjacent areas inhabited by locals in squatter or substandard housing.</td>
<td>This core is linked to the developed countries via dependent trade relations and to plantation and indigenous production areas as sources of supply.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Suburbs occupied mostly by the indigenous middle class and expatriates.</td>
<td>These workers are employed in the large government bureaucracy or by private firms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. The hinterland zone where town merges into country and where squatters may again be found. People in this zone may grow cash food crops, work in local 'bazaar' markets or as unskilled laborers or be unemployed.

This general structure would vary somewhat from region to region in the Pacific and, except for Ebeye-Kwajelein and Saipan, is generally not apparent in Micronesia where economic development has been very slow and expatriate populations small.

Another interesting development since the war has been the rise of indigenous satellite towns, particularly in Fiji and Papua New Guinea. These smaller towns rarely have a large expatriate population and are linked economically and governmentally via chains, e.g. Luganville--Vila--Noumea, to the principal town. The chief function they play in urbanization is that of initial acculturation centers for village youth who, in time, migrate to the region's principal town. Satellite towns vary in size from 1,000 to 20,000 persons and are characterized by 1) a heavy concentration of population compared to the surrounding areas; 2) an occupational distribution differing from the surrounding areas and engaged mainly in non-farming activities; 3) by some kind of localized administration. Small towns such as Mt. Hagen and Goroka in Papua New Guinea would fit this categorization.

Finally, the age of the expatriate-dominated town is all but over. Numerous expatriates can be found in Melanesian towns but their days as the main force in urban affairs have just about ended. Pacific towns, it seems, may again be taking on somewhat the character they had during their days as beach communities when islanders set the political and social tone. As more and more islanders attain higher education and insight into Western culture and its institutional practices, they have been able to assume leadership roles in government and business. Expatriates who do remain are generally
dedicated public servants who have gracefully accepted a followership role in relation to emerging island leaders. This is in direct contrast to French Polynesia and New Caledonia where French authorities continue to dominate the leadership scene. For most emerging Pacific island nations, the crucial issue, as in the past, is: can island nations make their way economically in the world?

IV. Urbanization and Neo-Colonialism

Pre-contact Pacific cultures, history reveals, did not have urban centers. Some three centuries after contact, beach communities were established in which island chiefs with the advice of astute beachcombers did business with ship captains and traders on a basis of parity and each party felt an advantage over the other. After mid-nineteenth century the heavy hand of colonial expansion ended the "golden age" of Pacific trade.

Toward the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, Western-type port towns were established throughout the Pacific as organizing centers for foreign political and economic interests. These towns originally had little need for urban labor other than a few stevedores, construction laborers, domestics and a minimal number of lower-level civil servants. Such towns were thus small foreign-dominated social units surrounded by a sea of hinterland. They eventually became nerve centers for the exploitation of available indigenous labor and land resources of the adjacent hinterland. Large and small holdings of copra, cocoa, coffee and sugar were developed in time, and indigenous economies of production for use were reoriented toward a capitalistic economy of production for profit. However, much of the indigenous labor and land resources were left untouched by the intruding economic system.

Prior to these changes, the land, labor and capital of indigenous economies
were all part of one producer-consumer family and village unit. Production and distribution involved little of the profit motive, and labor was rarely, if ever, available for hire. Goods were distributed according to rules of reciprocity, redistribution, and market-exchange, e.g. the Melanesian kula rings. These modes of economic exchange were deeply embedded in the social matrix; and, thus closely associated with political and magico-religious activities. This cultural feature helps to explain in part the Melanesian phenomenon of cargo cults as a reaction to the material-rich foreign economic system.

The capitalist mode of economic production instituted by metropolitan powers irreversibly transformed traditional island economics. This mode, in time, began the process of urbanization, which has been related to fundamental rural culture change. Not only have traditional agriculture and marine technologies been lost through contact, abandoned in many areas, or inadequate for booming populations, but the entire political-economy of the rural areas has been radically altered to the extent that few opportunities are available to youth today. In Palau, Micronesia, for instance, high school graduates are reluctant to return to the stagnating rural areas. In the Marshall Islands, rural atoll people flock to Majuro seeking government or private employment. And despite its crowded shacks, shortage of water, terribly unsanitary conditions, and diet of tinned foods, Ebeye continues to attract villagers who hope either to find jobs on the U.S. base at Kwajalein or to share the wealth of those who have the jobs. The ethos of invading cultural system pervades and creates Western oriented aspirations and expectations and thereby slowly changes to a degree the island value structure.

This pattern of rural flight and value change is also obvious in French Polynesia where cash cropping fell into disrepute in the 1960's. At this time
relatively high paying construction labor was needed to build a jet airport, hotels and public facilities on Tahiti. The tourist industry and associated urban activities have since offered steady employment, including that connected with French nuclear weapons testing. Such vast changes have emptied villages like Maatea, Moorea of its men, turning them into week-end villages. Finney maintains that the reciprocity ethic of the traditional Tahitian has been significantly weakened by Western style individualism and that wage labor is regarded as the preferred form of economic activity. (Finney 1975:184 and personal communication, 5 April 1979)

Melanesia had not escaped these cultural changes. Bonnemaison writing on urban migration in the New Hebrides declares:

Rural overpopulation occurs only when, traditional society having disintegrated, gardening loses intensity while new needs are felt as a result of contact with the outside world: imported food, clothes, household utensils, education expenses, etc. 'Overpopulation'--and therefore the resulting migratory drift--is associated with a certain degree of economic evolution and the change from one kind of rural society to another. In other words, it is the result of a certain level of 'development.' (Bonnemaison 1977:127)

Rural decline and urbanization are thus "logical" outcomes of colonial and neo-colonial economic activity of production for profit.\(^5\) This mode of production has created an economic dualism of rural subsistence and cash cropping on the one hand and urban wage labor and salaried employment on the other. Closely related are several types of sociological dualism: ruralite versus urbanite, unemployed versus employed, wage earner versus salaried employee, new migrant versus old resident, private sector worker versus civil servant,

\(^5\)For a full and persuasive development of the concepts of production for profit and production for use, see H.C. Brookfield, Colonialism, Development and Independence, 1972.
poorly educated versus highly educated. The associated economic and value changes, stimulated by culture contact and the intrusion of the Western economic system, have brought about the "peasantization" of the primitive and the "proletarianization" of the peasant. It seems that the crux of the matter is the degree to which both countryside and town have become absorbed within the overall encompassing capitalistic system of production for profit. In many parts of Micronesia and Polynesia involvement in "modern" forms of economic activity has seriously weakened the islander's bonds with indigenous values. In Melanesia, particularly Papua New Guinea, these bonds are considerably stronger. Cultures, fortunately, are extremely hardy and adaptable "things." As systems of symbols and meanings in terms of which people make sense of their world, cultures are living entities always in process of change and development. "It may be misleading therefore to use terms as 'traditional,' 'authentic' and 'preservation' in any context which demands an historical and empirical recognition of the fact that Pacific islanders have changed rapidly and often enthusiastically."6

Urban drift increased markedly in the late 1960's and early 1970's. During these years island colonies were gaining their independence or moving toward self-government. Island political leaders chose to continue capitalistic development policies which linked them to the international marketplace. Given the cultural changes since contact and the overwhelming power of the Western economic system, they had little choice. Balasuriya, writing in 1972, claims that these linkages, forged during the colonial years, are essentially neo-colonial and therefore exploitative. He writes:

In the poor countries which are open to the Western powers, large sections of the economy are still

6 Timothy J. Macnaught, Professor of History, University of Hawai, personal communication, December 6, 1978.
controlled by foreign powers. A good portion of the trade is in the hands of the foreign companies or nations, sometimes even the land is in the hands of foreign companies as in the case of Ceylon tea. (Balasuriya 1972:16)

Finney gives us concrete examples of this in a study of Papua New Guinea's Goroka highlands where European firms and businessmen overshadow local entrepreneurs. At the time of the study, Australian banks had a monopoly on banking services in Goroka. Two Australian airlines controlled air transport and regular bus and long-haul trucking services were in European hands. Retail trade in foodstuffs, clothing, and hardware were controlled by European owned firms. Also, motor vehicle distributorships, lumber yards, hotels, and other major businesses in Goroka town were European owned. "Even in the coffee industry, where Gorokans have made their greatest strides, European firms and businessmen dominate." (Finney 1973:159) It is little wonder that foreign visitors sense resentment and a strong perception of exploitation. This neocolonial dominance is strikingly clear in the area of primary agriculture (see Table 3). It is evident from these figures that non-indigenous individuals and companies produce the major share of copra, cocoa, rubber and tea and earn much more per holding than the indigenous farmer. Although the natives produce nearly 75 per cent of the coffee, much of it is sold to the larger non-indigenous companies which have large holdings and earnings far above indigenous farmers. Finney's description of foreign dominance in the urban areas extends to the hinterland.

Brookfield maintains that this state of affairs is natural given the behavior of the invading colonial system. Local entrepreneurs, no matter how clever, are up against vertically integrated and centralized corporations with multinational connections, and they simply cannot compete against this level of economic power. (Brookfield 1972:13) In banking, for example, the colonial
### TABLE 3
PNG PRIMARY PRODUCTION, 1970-71

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CROP</th>
<th>PRODUCTION (as a percentage)</th>
<th>NUMBER OF HOLDINGS</th>
<th>AVERAGE VALUE OF OUTPUT PER HOLDING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-indigenous</td>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>Non-indigenous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: K = Kina, the unit of currency in Papua New Guinea.
concern is to tap sources of deposits rather than to lend or invest to any significant extent. This was strikingly shown recently in the withdrawal of the First National City Bank from Suva precisely because of lack of deposits. A small entrepreneur in a similar situation would have gone under.

Strangely enough, another brand of colonialism results from too much aid as in the case of American Samoa and American Micronesia. Samoa has no private economic sector to speak of, 45 per cent of its labor force works for the government and 82 per cent of its annual budget comes from Washington, D.C. (Hono-lulu Star-Bulletin 4 November 1978:A-10) A similar artificial economy has been created in American Micronesia where the most important natural resource, it has been quipped, is the U.S. Congress. Congressional grants have mushroomed from $25 million in 1967 to over $130 million in 1978. Rural economies are all but non-existent as nearly all capital improvements have been made in the urban areas thus generating rapid urban drift. Essentially the rural areas have been starved of any development funds.

The economic picture in the Republic of Kiribati is considerably better than either of the American territories mentioned above. The colonial government through phosphate mining and vigorous encouragement of copra production has succeeded in balancing its budget without huge overseas grants. Although less educated and acculturated in the Western sense than either the American Samoans or Micronesians, the Kiribatians remain economically productive. It is on this base that they intend to build an independent nation. Nonetheless, Kiribati has not escaped urbanization, which is taking place rapidly. Employment opportunities on Tarawa have created a significant rate of in-migration from the outlying atolls.

7 Mr. Robert Campbell, Secretary of Natural Resource Development, Gilbert Islands Government, in personal communication at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 9, 1978.
With political independence in 1975, Papua New Guinea inherited a capitalistic economic and administrative structure and is struggling to balance the budget. The percentage of Australian grants to the national budget has decreased since 1945 but these grants are still required. Some 43 per cent of the budget is derived from mineral, timber and fish export earnings. With no major primary industry, Papua New Guinea is dependent for almost all domestic revenue from the uncertain income of export oriented resources and resource projects. Furthermore, the rural population earns nearly all its cash from crops which are subject to highly variable world commodity market prices. Papua New Guinea is thus inextricably tied into the world economy over which the nation has little if any control. A world recession will affect Papua New Guinea's miners, cash croppers, and urban wage earners as much, if not more than, workers in Japan, Australia or the U.S. The small islands of the New Hebrides offers an example of exactly this kind of economic vulnerability. Copra prices fell considerably in 1971-72 and caused a significant increase in urban drift. This occurred because more land was needed per farmer to attempt to make up for shortfalls caused by the price reductions. This in turn caused large numbers of landless young men to migrate to the urban centers looking for jobs. Even a rise of copra prices in 1973 did not seem to stimulate a reverse migration. (Bonnemaison 1977:131) It seems clear that Melanesia's political and economic future is largely dependent on an expanding world economy which is internationally open. As far as Papua New Guinea is concerned, radical economic changes in either Australia or Japan which would decrease their need for PNG's exports, would jeopardize her developmental strategies and affect internal political arrangements. (Garnaut 1975:7-19)

Despite Papua New Guinea's colonial heritage, large foreign investments,
the decision to continue Western-style economic development and inexperience in foreign economic bargaining, Papua New Guinea appears, at least at present, to be economically and politically stable. The recent re-negotiation of the Bougainville copper contract resulted in an agreement that more than doubled government revenues from this source. Foreign firms are prospecting for offshore oil deposits and the Japanese are active in fishing and timber. Presently Papua New Guinea is licensing offshore areas to Japanese fishermen for $A 5 million and plans to gain a share of the expertise and control—as has happened in Fiji—when this resource is fully established. (Pacific Islands Monthly September 1978:39) The $A 18 million logging and chipping operation established by the Japanese near Madang is now being conducted in conjunction with a large re-forestation program. The crucial issue in development projects of this nature, as Garnaut warns, is for Papua New Guinea to retain effective control over these operations and at the same time gain a large share of the generated wealth. (Garnaut 1975:17) This is no easy task when dealing with determined Japanese entrepreneurs. Furthermore, this kind of economic development, as Brookfield warns, while attempting to favor the developing countries "is limited to creation of a mixed economy in which there is a large measure of local control, but which does not really change the metropole-periphery relationship." (Brookfield 1972:180) Brookfield further maintains that a wholly satisfactory model of an integrated, mixed economy has not yet emerged from the colonial experience. One wonders if the Papua New Guinea or Fiji experiment may represent the first exception.

Economic expansion of the kind being carried out now in Papua New Guinea directly affects urbanization through the multiplier effect. Revenues earned from resource export are used to expand education, agriculture, health services, business services and public works, much of it in urban areas. This
in turn generates in-migration which may or may not be circular, i.e. migrants may or may not return to the rural area after an urban experience or two.

One could argue that in its choice of the Western economic model and Western definitions of development, Papua New Guinea's "new elites have accepted concepts which determine how problems are perceived--indeed, determine which problems are perceived. By simply 'getting on with the job' without determining their own definitions, they close options, perpetuate the status quo, and merely aggravate the distortions of colonial neo-colonial society." (Pettman 1975-76:31) This is a fundamental epistemological question which rarely is given attention in economic development thinking and planning. Failure to address such basic issues often creates a situation which spawns the 'third culture' of "officials, politicians, and businessmen who are able and willing to collaborate with foreign companies for their own benefit and whose loyalties to their own cultures are thereby weakened." (Brookfield 1972:180) This combination of forces works to divert wealth away from social development of the many to individual enrichment of the few. In the final analysis, the 'third culture' is the most insidious legacy of colonialism. Its emergence in Papua New Guinea would doom her experiment in mixed economy.

V. Urbanization and Movement

Urbanization can be usefully defined as a social process "whereby people acquire material and non-material elements of culture, behavior patterns and ideas that originate in or are distinctive of the city." (Little 1974:7) To say that urbanization is a social process means that attempts to dichotomize it in terms of gemeinschaft versus gesellschaft, traditional versus modern, or ascribed status versus achieved status can be misleading if not
incorrect. A villager comes to town wearing his full set of rural culture-clothes. A new set of urban clothes is acquired haltingly and often incompletely for much of the village can be found in the town. Identifiable migrant sub-cultures develop with varying life styles and value orientations. "There is a broad range of continuity of rural traditions within the urban sub-cultures. Institutions, values, and behavior patterns have persisted or have been adapted to the specific requirements of the urban setting. Social organization and mutual aid networks continue to function in the urban scene." (Berry 1973:82)

Expressed by a newly arrived village youth:

> Urban life does not draw relatives apart, it draws them together. In our country brothers quarrel over land and property; but in the town there is none to quarrel over and they come to each other for protection. (Little 1974.ix)

That much of the village is found in the town is a recognition of the power of culture. Chapman in his illuminating research on the Solomon Islands characterizes the urban-rural dynamic in terms of a tension of forces:

> Throughout the Solomons, as in South Central Africa, such constant mobility reflects the conflict between the centrifugal attractions of commercial, social and administrative services and wage employment, and the centripetal power of village obligations, social relationships and kinship ties. (Chapman 1976:132)

The pulling power of village culture in dynamic tension with the needs-satisfactions of the town produces, Chapman maintains, a to and fro circulation. A constant shuttling back and forth, a repetitive and oscillatory movement enables the ruralite to live in both worlds. Those villagers in the Solomons who do migrate and reside permanently in town are a minority. Chapman thus characterizes movement as circulation on the one hand or migration on the other.

The recent rapid expansion of town populations in the Pacific has come from the transfer of rural population than from internal town growth. According
to Chapman's model of movement as circulation, ruralites in town should be constantly turning over in their ebb and flow between town and country. Circular movements characterized pre-contact Melanesian culture. Chapman maintains that circulation is a "time-honored and enduring mode of behavior, deeply rooted in a great variety of cultures and found at all stages of socio-economic change." (Chapman 1976:132) Western contact, particularly since the end of World War II, has amplified circulation by giving people more reasons and means to move.

In Papua New Guinea, labor recruitment first of coastal peoples before the Second World War and of highlanders after, amplified the indigenous circulatory pattern. During sojourns of one to two years, natives were exposed to foreign culture while working on plantations, in mines, or as carriers. This contact had several important effects on future movement. First, it generated desire in the home areas for Western material goods which could be obtained only by additional labor migration. Second, contact established information flows and social networks between towns, mission stations, plantations, district centers and the rural hinterland. For non-literate communities, the returning laborer became the most important source of information about the strange outside world of the foreigner. These early migrants brought back information that tended initially to increase circulatory movement by reducing potential migrants' fears of the unknown. (May and Skeldon 1976:21)

In this way, area by area, knowledge of the white man's culture, however incomplete and distorted, diffused into the rural heartland awakening a desire to move and "see the world." For many it was perceived as a way to manhood and prestige obtained in earlier years through war—a means no longer acceptable to governing authorities.

Because labor was essentially circular and did not provide the degree of
prestige at first perceived, coastal areas in Papua New Guinea yielded fewer and fewer laborers. In 1949 the territorial administration allowed limited recruitment of highlanders. Decline in supply also set in, particularly with the initiation of government sponsored economic development programs in the highlands. These programs, mainly of cash cropping, provided an alternative source of cash to agreement labor, thus causing a further reduction in labor supply except in the more remote areas. According to May, as of the mid-1970's, those highland areas with a more extensive history of culture contact no longer contributed significant numbers of contract laborers. (May and Skeldon 1976:6) Cash cropping, trucking and retail business are far and again preferred to contract labor. This desire for financial self-sufficiency is a re-assertion of important cultural values. As stated by a thirty-five year old highlander of the Mt. Hagen area:

If I worked for a masta I would have to leave home, and I could not make bisnis at home. Suppose I went into employment and was then dismissed, I would have no bisnis. Some wage earners save up and buy a pig or so, but others spend their money, and when they come home they are rubbish men...I get money from my coffee, but what is the point of spending it on someone else's tradestore? My money would be lost. So I have built my own, and I can use it as a source of food if I am hungry, and I do not have to see my money disappear on someone else's bisnis. (Strathern 1975:39)

This attitude, not atypical of Hageners, functions as a strong centripetal force keeping men at home and drawing them back when they have strayed to town.

Despite documented research and historical evidence that movement in Melanesia is essentially circular, laymen as well as social scientists, tend to interpret village movement as migration--movement to the city and establishment of permanent residence there. If individuals carry out this move under their own volition and means, then they are independent migrators in
contrast to agreement laborers who usually circulate or students who also circulate during their years in school. Embedded in this notion of independent migration is the idea that the migrant readily and easily puts on the town's culture-clothes, no matter how bad the fit, and thus becomes a permanent town resident.

It has been found, however, that Melanesian ruralites in town create transitional societies in which they maintain their filial ties by reciprocal visits and by adaptation of traditional ties to the new scene. (Yen 1975:171) Furthermore, "exchange obligations are modified, at least in the form of goods, for reciprocation is manifest in a more indirect way with the fruits of labor as sought-after European goods purchased by cash." (Yen 1975:172) This relatively easy access to European money and goods may explain the lack of cargo cults in the urban setting.

Migration and cultural change are very powerful forces which are frequently called upon to help explain rapid urbanization and proletarianization. Additionally, it is maintained that village life is a social dead-end. Being an excellent farmer no longer carries the prestige of the past but..."is considered dull, dirty, and old-fashioned, while wage labor is the exciting, clean, and a modern way to earn one's living." (Finney 1975:188) These same value changes, as motivation for movement, are present in Micronesia to the extent that they frequently generate exaggerated editorial comment which indirectly depreciates village life and thus becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. A recent editorial in a Pacific newspaper stated:

The district centers like Moen on Truk, Colonia on Yap, Koror on Palau have a magic of excitement...movies, cold beer, fish in cans...young people come to the district centers excited by all the new ways

Note discussion of squatter settlements in Section VII.
and new things to taste and new people to talk
to...the surge of movement doesn't stop...young
people want to come to Guam...escalators, elevators,
T.V., night life...movement still doesn't stop...
They head for the mainland...amusement parks,
railroad trains, dude ranches, mountains, jobs...
for each person who packs up and goes to the main­
land, chances are, if he settles down, he will
bring out a half-dozen more. Others follow in a
snowball effect.

Such editorial statements are a curious mixture of truth and falsehood. They
assume, as many people do, that migration-urbanization is an easy socializa-
tion process whereby people are unaffected by value clash or exposure to
radical world view change--supposedly all they do is enjoy the novel sights
and sounds. Such statements also assume that urban drifters have permanently
forsaken their home village and its distinctive rhythm of life. Although
village life in Micronesia and Polynesia does not in fact retain the degree
of viability we see in Melanesia, it may not be as "sick" as many people
assume. The return link remains, however weak, and growing rates of urban
unemployment together with rural revitalization will see it strengthen. In
Palau, Micronesia for instance, significant numbers of government workers
return to the village on week-ends and on leave. Nearly all Kororians are
identified by their home village and all urban sports teams are organized on
a village basis.

In a recent study by Hezel, it was found that some 60 per cent of Truk's
high school graduates return to their home island "marry, have children, and
settle into the quiet village life they had known before their high school
days." (Hezel 1978:7) The earlier returnees obtained government jobs, usu-
ally as elementary school teachers, but the later returnees were not so
fortunate. Whether the growing legion of Trukese college students will
follow this path remains yet to be seen. Nevertheless, most Pacific islanders
have rural roots which may be deeper than is generally supposed.

VI. Motivation

As Strathern points out, movement to town is a function of both the rural society from which the migrant comes and the urban society in which one finds oneself. (Strathern 1975:59) Some writers seem to ignore this functional relationship and emphasize one or the other when discussing motivation for movement. Other writers speak of "push" factors in the rural area and "pull" factors of the town. The editorial noted above stressed the "pull" factors of the city.

An urban "pull" factor often mentioned is that of economic betterment--town jobs pay bi-weekly "fast money" which is much preferred to the "slow money" of cash crop harvest work. (Finney 1973:66) It is just this "fast money" that motivates Papua New Guinea highland youth, against the advice of elders, to strike out for town. Few of these youth have started cash cropping or other bisnis activities and believe that wage labor is an alternative avenue to prestige. These young men are neither cash crop peasants nor wage earning proletarians. They are economically undefined and go seeking an economic niche.

In a survey of 819 Standard VI students in Papua New Guinea, Conroy and Curtain found that an overwhelming majority aspired to enter monetary sector employment in urban areas. (Conroy and Curtain 1973:4) In Western Samoa, Kearns found that Apia's population growth was directly related to increased opportunities for employment, better schools and better health services. (Kearns 1965:31) In American Samoa, so many islanders have moved to the United States for wage labor that recent estimates indicate there are twice as many Samoans (60,000) living outside Samoa than in (30,000). One observer
has recently argued that the large remittances sent home by migrants act to retard both rural development and the quality of life in Western Samoa. (Shankman 1976)

Similarly, in Tonga returning migrants use savings to build European type houses or to purchase vehicles and stores in Nuku'alofa. They seem to spend as little as necessary on traditional obligations. Because of one's overseas experience, the returned migrant, Bollard claims, is committed to highly monetized patterns of economic behavior. Thus the migrant "may be out of place in the traditional agricultural economy that is still Tonga." (Bollard, 1974:181)

The South Pacific Commission has found that remittances are often used to purchase imported foods and consumer items thus decreasing both subsistence and cash production and altering diet. (South Pacific Commission 1975:21) In this connection it is important to note that in 1974 some 46 per cent of Western Samoa's foreign earnings came from remittances. These remittances, for all the rapid social change they bring, might be interpreted as a measure of the migrants' intentions of eventual return.

In Fiji, the economic motive was found to be prime in a study of 12 Indian migrants to Suva. A secondary pull factor was the desire to enjoy the better things of the city. Two major rural push factors were the rapid increase in rural population and the lack of access to land—a major Indian problem. Similarly, in coastal Papua New Guinea unattractive living conditions and few opportunities for wage labor act as push factors stimulating urban drift. (Oram 1964:41) Walsh in a 1964 study of Nuku'alofa, Tonga,

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9Tongan migration (to a great extent circular) to New Zealand has increased dramatically in the 1970's. In 1972 nearly 2,000 Tongans migrated to New Zealand. This increased to 5,000 in 1974 and 4,600 in 1975. (Bres and Campbell, undated, p. 1)
found that the need for money was the single main motivating force pulling villagers to town:

Money is an essential part of every Tongan's life. It is needed for school fees, for the imported articles that have become an essential part of Tongan living standards, and for churches more than any other single item. (Walsh 1964:50)

Finney finds the same motive in Tahiti and that in the Tahitian world view "there is now really only one acceptable economic niche for the 'true Tahitian,' that of being a member of the working class." (Finney 1975:189)

Secondary schooling is another common "pull" factor. Education is a magic word in Tonga and with nearly all the country's secondary schools located in Nuku'alofa, students flood in, often accompanied by their parents who, in the 1960's at least, could earn enough money through casual work to take care of minimal requirements. As nearly all high schools are located in the urban centers in Micronesia, a similar flood of students takes place with the beginning of each new school year.10

Education, which is already obtained, often acts as an urban holding factor. Of the 12 Indian migrants mentioned above all had some form of advanced schooling or skill ranging from engineering to truck driving. (Sahadeo 1973:43) Generally, the higher the education the more success at finding a job. Palauan youth recognize this economic principle and of the 116 graduates of Palau high School in June 1977 nearly 100 left Palau for higher education elsewhere.11 This flood has been so continuous in recent years that returned graduates have complained bitterly about the lack of

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10 Two notable exceptions are Outer Islands High School located on Ulithi Atoll, Yap District and the Modekngei Learning Center at Ibobang, Babelthaup, Palau.

11 David Thompson, M.A. candidate in Educational Foundations and East-West Center grantee, personal communication from Palau, Micronesia (USTTP), October 24, 1978.
employment opportunities. This has created a back-lash in the District Legislature which has resorted to scolding teachers involved in sending large numbers of students away to college. A similar educational explosion has occurred in Truk, where in 1978 over 650 students were attending tertiary institutions. What these youth do after college graduation is a problem looming in the near future. (Hezel 1978:10)

Curiosity and adventure are other town "pull" factors in the motivation equation. Whether local or overseas, the urban area is an unknown to be experienced to the fullest. For some, going to Port Moresby or Honiara is regarded as a rite of passage and proper initiation for a young man who is neither peasant nor proletarian. Generally, the Papua New Guinea highland youth, oriented strongly toward the village, views the town experience as one for gaining skills and capital for rural investment. Youth usually make several labor sojourns to town over a span of years before marrying and settling down in the village. The Gulf of Papua migrant, on the other hand, is more urban minded and seeks steady long-term employment of a proletarian. Copper mining on Bougainville has made both these economic strategies available to the islanders there as well as that of entrepreneurship. (Bedford and Mamak 1976:169-187)

Some rural "push" factors involved in stimulating movement are (1) the lack of opportunity in the rural area to use skills provided by schooling; (2) to escape village sorcery; (3) family pressure to obtain urban wage-labor so as to remit money and goods home or prepare the way for future migrants; (4) to escape church and clan domination. In town the migrant can usually evade these obligations provided one has a job and thus a means of support.

12 A Trukese student informant at the University of Hawaii recently claimed that many Trukese come to U.S. colleges in order to marry a Trukese partner of their choice rather than accepting an arranged marriage. Returning home in 2 or 4 years time, the "unapproved" marriage is readily accepted by families.
On the other side of the coin, the rural area sometimes has its "pull" factors and the town its "push" factors. The former are especially strong in highlands Papua New Guinea where maximum value is placed on rural bisnis activity. Wage laboring in town is judged as degrading and a low evaluation is given to town living. This view is not limited to just the successful cash croppers but men with little regular income also voice disapproval of urban wage-employment. These values and attitudes act as strong restraining forces on village youth. They are nicely summed up in a reply by a village elder to a visiting Australian dignitary:

Sir, are you telling us we should go to work everyday for 40 years so we can earn what we already have?  
(Strathern 1977:33)

This elder had fully comprehended the nature of the dual economy and flatly rejected proletarianism.

The English film actor Trevor Howard on location in Tahiti recently, found a similar attitude present on Bora Bora:

I don't know of any place else where the native can't be bought by money to go back to work. They won't work until they're ready. I think that's totally admirable.  
(Honolulu Star-Bulletin 15 Sept., 1978:C-8)

This attitude finds expression in the economic anthropologist's backward sloping supply curve of effort characteristic of "primitive" economies. According to this principle " primitives" and peasants will supply labor to a foreign economic system only to the point where wages will satisfy known wants. They will not work beyond this point unless forced to do so. Increases in wages will not cause greater effort but, paradoxically, will lead to a reduction because needs can be satisfied with less effort than expended previously, i.e. as one gets more money for each unit of effort, one can do less units of work because one wants only a set amount of money. The demand curve
can be straightened out by widening known wants and by encouraging belief in the utility of money, in short, by proletarianization. (Brookfield 1972:11)

Life in town can be difficult despite the establishment of rural patterns. Papua New Guinea highlanders will not come to town if wage-labor is available in the rural area. Fear of urban fighting and killing between ethnic groups is a strong force operating to reduce out-migration. Walsh maintains that rapid population increases in Fiji's main towns could intensify racial disharmony. (Walsh 1976:176) He advises rural development and easier access to land tenure for Indians in overpopulated rural areas. These policies, Walsh judges, would ease urban drift.

Another discouraging factor of town life is the constant need for cash to meet one's basic needs. If one does have a job, town life requires a continuous outlay of money--food, clothing, electricity, water, rent, transport, entertainment. Thus it becomes difficult to save, a pre-requisite to individual economic improvement.

Both urban and rural areas have their respective "push" and "pull" factors which stimulate or retard urban drift. As labor agreement has tended to decline, independent movement of young men who are neither peasant nor proletarian has bulged the main cities of the island Pacific. The nature of their town experience will, in the long run, largely determine the economic niche they will eventually fill and their attitude toward town life and its prospects.

VII. Squatter Settlements

Since the end of the beach community days, compensation for island wage labor and resource-use has been very low. This was a logical outcome of colonialism as an exploiting mode of production and of urbanization preceding
industrialization. This has affected all parts of the emerging urban society, housing being the most dramatic.

Rapid urban infrastructure development is a post World War II phenomenon which generated a need for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In some colonial towns inexpensive housing was provided for native workers by government or private employers. In other towns, migrants crowded together in decrepit houses in the central city. In New Zealand, Anglo-Saxon administrators and citizens viewed crowded Maori housing with horror and instituted clearance schemes under The Housing Improvement Act of 1945.13 (Austin and Rosenberg 1973:176) In the early 1950's, inexpensive housing in central Auckland and Wellington was replaced by housing most Maori urban pioneers could not afford. They were thus forced into affordable suburban housing and "their specific needs to have a central, cheap, and closely integrated 'take-off' location to help in the difficult task of learning the urban life style, were not realized." (Austin and Rosenberg 1973:177)

A far worse situation resulted in other colonial towns. Port Moresby effectively walled out the burgeoning migrant masses. Instead of suitable suburban housing which the Maori achieved, some 20 squatter settlements or banis have sprouted up since World War II to surround Port Moresby and, according to some observers, are today nearly out of control. Lae, Papua New Guinea, had 8 squatter settlements in 1965 ranging in size from 100 individuals to 400. Lucas' 1972 study implies that these settlements grew in both size and number. (Lucas 1972:273)

13 According to Austin and Rosenberg, The Housing Improvement Act declared the old central working class sections of Auckland and Wellington where Maori families occupied run-down houses 'reclamation areas.' These old houses could thus be demolished as, in fact, they were after 1953. (See Austin and Rosenberg 1973:176-177)
We have seen that maintaining European standards was an important force in the colonial world-view. Strict European-style building codes that prohibited use of bush materials for housing, high land costs, and the financial inability to afford government low-cost housing effectively worked to insure the existence of squatter settlements and their location outside the official town boundary.

In spite of the fact that squatter settlements relieve housing pressure and thus represent a solution to the complex problem of urbanization and migration (Berry 1973:87), they normally do not have the basic amenities of piped water, electricity, roads, sewers, or planned development. Therefore they can quickly become congested, unhygienic, and vermin infested places. In a 1970 survey of 73 squatter families outside Suva, housing conditions varied from poor to deplorable. One family of a mother and 4 daughters lived in a 5 foot wide and 10 foot long masonite shack with no furniture, no kitchen and one bed. Even in idyllic Tahiti rapid urbanization has produced "instant slums in the valleys and the mountain edges of the coastal flatlands...not a pretty sight." (Finney 1975:184)

Strange as it may seem, this is in direct contrast to New Zealand of today where squatters are not Maori or Pacific islander migrants but affluent people who build "holiday" houses without title using readily available materials. Fortunately for the Maori, urbanization has been a relative success. It came at a time of full employment, high wage levels and affordable housing schemes. (Austin and Rosenberg 1973:177)

On the other hand, the non-Maori Polynesians mainly from Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Tonga, and Niue Island, being relatively recent migrants, reside in the poorer areas of central Auckland. They lag behind the Maoris in intra-city movement to better housing areas. This is true "partly because
of greater social solidarity and partly because they received less housing assistance from the State." (Rowland 1973:265) Until 1969, Pacific islanders were not entitled to such assistance; and, thus their slower movement out of the central city. When Auckland's Pacific islanders do move, it is in response to changes in life-cycle, dissatisfaction with central city living standards and rising material aspirations. (Rowland 1973:266) Redistribution is often influenced by social linkages which result in island subcommunities within housing estates.

Although squatter settlements appear chaotic and unhealthy, they generally have a definite social structure and function. Most settlements in Melanesia are homogeneous containing individuals of the same ethnic or language group and thus represent distinctive subcultures. Traditional networks of social relations are maintained thereby establishing a continuity between village life and town life.

In contrast to what is generally assumed, a squatter settlement survey in Fiji revealed that 89 per cent of heads of household were employed. Of these workers, 70 per cent were unskilled low-paid manual laborers, 15 per cent were semi-skilled, 12 per cent skilled, and 3 per cent had white collar jobs. (Samy 1973:67) The average weekly wage was $13.60 (Fiji dollars) which met household and other expenses for 70 per cent of the families. (Samy 1973:68) A 1968 survey of Rabaul's shanty towns showed a similar high rate of unskilled and semi-skilled private sector employment. A few government civil servants were resident in the settlement because they had been unable to find other housing. (Bais 1973:60) Lae, Papua New Guinea exhibited yet another similar employment pattern with 20 per cent of 330 squatters earning more than K17 per two weeks. Of this group 30 per cent had been

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14 Kina (k) is the main unit of currency in Papua New Guinea.
permanent settlement residents for from two to ten years. The Fiji survey noted above found that the average household had been squatting for 14 years and had lately begun paying rent to the Suva area housing authority.

It is clear from these data that squatter settlements become communities in their own right and people are either financially unable to move to better housing or unwilling to do so. Those who are unable to move often support unemployed relatives and remit money home thus reducing their ability to afford better services and housing. Those people unwilling to move do not want to lose social contact with people from their area of origin.

Some progress has been made in easing the hardships of the squatter. In Papua New Guinea "no covenant" housing areas have been recently established. In these areas government has provided at little cost water and electricity on small plots of land. Families are allowed to build their own houses with whatever materials they can afford. Ward reports that this approach had been very successful in Lae. (Ward 1977:56)

The United Nations Center for Housing, Building and Planning fully supports this basic approach. The Center takes a rather optimistic view of government's ability to improve housing by terming squatter settlements and slums "transitional areas." Nevertheless, governments are urged to take action "to make normal urban utilities and community services available to transitional areas according to priorities established through the involvement of the resident themselves in the development process." (Berry 1973:90) The Center further notes that slum and squatter clearance programs are a waste of resource investment and often result in a net destruction of the living environment. (Berry 1973:90)

One might be reluctant to apply these recommendations to such a squalid area as Ebeye, Marshall Islands. Certainly living conditions in this very
atypical squatter settlement are grossly unsatisfactory according to the ideals of an egalitarian society and practical human justice.

VIII. Conclusion

The underlying theme of this paper focuses on the great power of the industrial urban culture, with its material abundance, to influence dramatically village culture. The changes so wrought have created Pacific urban centers and satellite towns which now display some of the highest growth rates in the world. The establishment and expansion of towns, motivation to move to town, and settlement there are all fundamentally related to the impact of the Western economic system and its associated values, expectations, concepts of time and progress, and desires. The urban-industrial world view has altered in a basic way the rural-agricultural world view.

Island leaders have generally accepted Western concepts of political-economic-social development in toto, often setting aside the fact that Western style development means greater costs in terms of environmental pollution, natural resource and soil depletion. Clarke has termed this the dilemma of development:

Economic development seems something like drug addiction. Consumption of energy and materials in ever larger amounts gives even lessening pleasure and health, but the industrial world--like a drug addict--spreads the gospel of the lift of economic 'take-off' partly for political reasons, partly out of generosity, and partly (one cannot help suspecting) in order to ease the opening of new sections of storehouse earth to overexploitation and to bring other peoples into conformity with industrially commercial life so that the industrial world will have more companions--mostly willing companions--in their addiction. It is widely felt to be only right that development is the faithful imitation of the 'developed.'

(Clarke 1973:293)
Development through industrialization and manipulation of the environment, as we have painfully realized recently, may be endangering the very ecosystem that spawned and maintains life. Chemical dumps, asbestos in the air, water, thermal and air pollution, nuclear radiation, not to mention social dislocation of large cities, are the legacies of development through industrialization. There are, to be sure, human creations of beauty on the positive side of the social ledger. One wonders, however, if Pacific islanders, who maintain many elements of their unique designs for living, are really willing to accept the negative and even destructive elements of "progress" and "development" for a better place in the Western sun. Perhaps, as it seems, they have little choice in the matter. The economic inertia may be too great.

Government planners in Polynesia and Micronesia have little to guide them in their efforts to stem the tide of urban drift. They might look to Melanesia, particularly Papua New Guinea, for direction. Viable economic opportunity exists in the rural areas there. Cash cropping and bisnis are much preferred to urban wage labor. It seems, however, that similar opportunity and attitude may be absent in Micronesia and Polynesia.

The basic issue is rural development. Papua New Guinea's rural areas are large, and wealthy from the standpoint of both subsistence and cash cropping, and culturally dynamic. Government planners throughout the Pacific would be well advised to study indigenous forms of economic activity which usually exhibit great ingenuity and knowledge of environmental carrying capacity. Such systems must not be scorned as backward.

Finally, the South Pacific Conference at its recent 1978 meeting in New Caledonia, cautioned planners that rural development schemes require the intangibles of morale, spiritual values, and a sense of community. These are foundational. They form the basis of any economic ideology that gets
people to produce. For discovering what they are specifically, one must gain an understanding of the substance and rhythm of village culture. Government planners need to begin here. If they would, some of the problems inherent in industrialism noted earlier might be ameliorated.
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C.J. D.