EDUCATION, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN
AMERICAN SAMOA

by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF TABLES</th>
<th>vi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM       | 1  |

2. THE SETTING                      | 6  |
   Historical Background            |  6 |
   The Missionary Period            |  8 |
   Naval Occupation                 | 12 |
   Post-Naval Period                | 16 |
   Summary                          | 19 |

3. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGE WITH AN EMPHASIS ON CULTURAL PLURALISM | 21 |
   Economic Opportunity             | 22 |
   Political Imbalance              | 25 |
   Cultural Pluralism, Economic and Political Change | 28 |
   Summary                          | 36 |

4. HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY       | 38 |
   Hypothesis                       | 38 |
   Methodological Considerations    | 39 |
   Political Change                 | 39 |
   Educational Change               | 44 |
   Economic Change                  | 46 |
   Test Implications                | 49 |
   Political Change                 | 49 |
   Educational Change               | 49 |
   Economic Change                  | 49 |
### TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Sample</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analytical Procedures</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. RESULTS</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial Perspective</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Opportunity</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Expansion</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Integration</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal Perspective</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Opportunity</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Expansion</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Integration</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures of Population</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Results</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation of Results</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternatives</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Considerations</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Conclusions</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Percent distributions of income by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of income by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of number of weeks employed by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of employment status by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of occupational diversity by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of industrial diversity by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of educational attainment by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of educational enrollment by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of affiliation with broker and non-broker institutions by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of affiliation with local and national broker institutions by districts and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of income for 1960 and 1970 by districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of number of weeks employed for 1960 and 1970 by districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Percentage distributions of employment status for 1960 and 1970 by districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Percentage distributions of occupational diversity for 1960 and 1970 by districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Percentage distributions of industrial diversity for 1960 and 1970 by districts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15. Percent distributions of educational attainment for 1950, 1960 and 1970 by districts</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Percentage distributions of affiliation with broker and non-broker institutions for 1960 and 1970 by districts</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Percent distributions of population aggregation by decade by district population for districts and villages</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Percent distributions of population growth by decade for districts and villages</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>American Samoa and the Pacific Area</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Models of political integration</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>American Samoa: Islands, Districts, Counties and Villages</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of income for 1970 by districts and villages</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of numbers of weeks employed for 1970 by districts and villages</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of employment status for 1970 by districts and villages</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of occupational diversity for 1970 by districts and villages</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of industrial diversity for 1970 by districts and villages</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of educational attainment for 1970 by districts and villages</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of educational enrollment for 1970 by districts and villages</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Percent distributions of affiliation with broker and non-broker institutions by districts and villages</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

A hypothesis proposing a positive relationship between educational expansion, economic opportunity and political integration is constructed to describe the process of educational, economic and political change in developing areas. Cultural pluralism is used as a means for structuring observation of political change. American Samoa is selected as a case for testing this relationship. Emerging from relative isolation in the 19th century, American Samoa passed through a period of colonial rule which saw the development of multiple institutions.

Analysis of spatial and temporal associations between educational, economic and political variables partially confirms the hypothesis. It is concluded that local economic dependence on government agencies is taking place in American Samoa rather than political integration. This is seen as a result of declining economic self-sufficiency and a lack of internally developed productive economic growth. Education is suggested as contributing to this process by fostering a program of educational expansion not coordinated with local economic needs.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Much has been written about political and economic changes in relation to educational change in developing areas. This educational change has involved the expansion of teaching and learning techniques for a new, mass clientele. Underlying this expansion has been a general belief in the usefulness of formal education as distinct from education in the family or village context. According to this view, formal education is seen as a means for adjustment to political, economic and social conditions. As suggested by Nash (1971, p. 144):

Education serves as one of the principle means of social transformation. In a newly developing nation education is viewed by the elite and their planning agents as having two chief tasks: (1) to instill the skills required for the movement of the economy from a raw-producing agricultural-export one toward an industrial, processing, and diversified agricultural economy; and (2) to produce a modern nation of dedicated citizens from a population of peasants who have small experience and understanding of civic, comensual, or mobilization politics.

This belief in the usefulness of education for adjustment of the individual has often, however, been founded on inadequate research. Annual reforms have been imposed upon the schools, new tasks added to their charges and more bodies added to their classrooms. Many of these changes, however, have been made without a meaningful inquiry into the state, characteristics and outcomes of the school as a particular institution of a social system (Fischer 1970).
In order to understand the consequences of these educational changes upon the social system in rapidly developing areas, it is imperative to clarify the relationship between education, and economic and political institutions. This task is made more difficult, however, by the fact that most developing areas are characterized by plural or multiple institutions. These institutions, termed "plural" institutions, are those that serve the same or similar functions within one society, and are derived from a diversity of cultural traditions (Davidson 1967).

The transition from independent native groupings to a status of colonial dependency necessitates a wide variety of institutional changes including changes in educational, economic and political institutions. Native institutions usually have to change to fit those of the colonial power. In addition, movement towards political independence introduces further changes. Institutions vacated by colonial powers need to be revamped to fit the amalgated traditions of the emerging independent nation. This transition from independent native groups to independent nations via colonial subjugation could provide a context in which to observe the role of educational change in an area on the path to an expanding economy and nationally integrated political system.

Developing areas have been characterized by a diversity of cultural traditions among politically dominant and subservient elements of the society. Therefore, the approach used in examining the problem of this study has been drawn from the literature on cultural pluralism. Three models of cultural pluralism are critically analyzed in terms of their heuristic implications for examining educational influence on
economic and political change. These are the models of J. S. Furnivall (1945, 1956), M. G. Smith (1960, 1965) and Leo Despres (1967). Furnivall defines a culturally plural society as one where distinct institutional systems co-exist with integrated ones and focuses upon the distinct nature of plural institutions. Smith distinguishes between compulsory, alternative and exclusive institutions which refer to distinct and shared institutions of the society. Despres focuses upon the integration of distinct institutions at different political levels in order to classify plural societies.

None of these models, however, attempts to explain institutional relationships. Therefore, an alternative model is proposed that builds upon these earlier propositions. This model shifts emphasis from the distinct nature of plural institutions to their interrelationships within the total social system. This is done by focusing upon such primary institutions as the economic and political systems. A relationship between the diversity in local educational and economic conditions and the level of national political integration is proposed. Using data from the political dependency of American Samoa, educational, economic and political variables are chosen to test this proposal.

American Samoa provides a good context for the analysis of these relationships. These six small islands located in the southwest Pacific have moved from a position of relative isolation to one of dependency on the United States for political and economic support (Figure 1). This dependency is associated with the subserviance of native institutions to those of the dominant colonial power. Recently, American Samoa has
Figure 1. American Samoa and the Pacific Area.
shown some signs of moving towards some measure of political and economic independence. These changing conditions permit an evaluation of educational responses.
CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

This chapter presents a brief description of the events involved in the educational, economic and political changes that have taken place during the period of Western influence on American Samoa from approximately the 1830's to the present. Prior to colonialization by the United States, American Samoa consisted largely of a series of politically independent and economically self-sufficient villages. Formal education was controlled by small, localized missionary efforts. Following colonialization, there was a breakdown of the economic self-sufficiency of the villages and a superimposition of a centralized authority on autonomous villages. A centralized educational system based on an American model was instituted. In recent years there has been an attempt to increase economic productivity, a breakdown of local village autonomy and an increased move towards a centralized political system. Educational changes have continued in the course of increased administrative centralization with educational goals and techniques following an American model.

Historical Background

Although some explorers and traders in the 18th and early 19th centuries touched Samoa, it was not until the 1830's that Samoa came into
more active relations with Western civilization. In this period, Euro-
pean missionary work was initiated in an attempt to expand Christian in-
fluence throughout the Pacific area. By the 1850's, commercial agents
from Great Britain, Germany and the United States had established copra
plantations and trading stations. International rivalry between these
three nations over economic interests in the area led in 1899 to an
agreement on the independence and neutrality of the islands. Further
disagreement led in 1900 to a tripartite agreement between Britain,
Germany and the United States. Germany took control of Western Samoa.
The United States acquired the island of Tutuila and its small adjacent
island of Aunu'a, three small islands of Ofu, Olosega and Ta'u, the
Manuan group, some 80 miles to the east of Tutuila, and the uninhabited
atoll, Rose Island. In 1925, Swains Island was ceded to what was now
American Samoa. Formerly under the administrative control of the United
States Navy, American Samoa, since 1951, has been directed by the United
States Department of the Interior.

In 1900, a census estimate gave a population count of not quite
5,700 individuals. By 1970, this figure had jumped to over 27,000. Of
individuals reporting that year, approximately 59 percent were found in
the eastern district of Tutuila, with approximately 33 percent of the
population living in the western section of this island. The District
of Manu'a contained not quite eight percent of the total population of
American Samoa, with less than one percent inhabiting Swains Island.
The Missionary Period

Largely because of their small size, Tutuila and the remaining islands comprising American Samoa did not attract the traders and planters as did the Western Samoan islands (Davidson 1967). The presence of these early traders and planters in western Samoa greatly altered the traditional political and economic systems in this area through the substitution of a commercial for a subsistance economy (Gilson 1970, Davidson 1967). Missionaries did not seem to have the same kind of effect. In contrast to the wide social disruption associated with the establishment of plantations and stores, missionary activity was widely accepted by native groups and brought little disintegration of traditional ways of life (Gilson 1970). Consequently, much of the missionary period in American Samoa is characterized by the maintenance of traditional political and economic patterns. Formal education introduced during this period appears to have largely reinforced the traditional autonomy and self-sufficiency of the native villages of American Samoa through its practice of local orientation and control.

During this period American Samoa was a agrarian society (Williamson 1924, Grattan 1948). Generally land belonged to an extended household group. In some sections it remained the common property of the family, while in others it was portioned out to individuals. Permanent alienation of land, however, did not exist, nor was crop production considered private property (Gilson 1970).

Politically, American Samoa was generally characterized by a loosely organized patriarchy. Socially it was stratified into several
classes: chiefs, high and petty, heads of families and commoners (Goldman 1970). Although chiefs and family heads were the nominal rulers, individual freedom was observed. Chiefs were subject to the control of fono or council meetings. Additionally, the practice of acting in accordance with the opinions of individuals expressed in discussion resulted in dispersion of power (Goldman 1970).

Each of the major islands comprising American Samoa were divided into a number of small self-governing districts based on kinship ties and common defense (Keesing 1934). These districts, in turn, were divided into self-governing villages composed of domestic households. Each household was governed by a male head who was obliged to discuss economic and political decisions with family members (Gilson 1970). Villages were considered politically independent and were generally economically self-sufficient. Local matters were considered by village chiefs and family heads at the village fono. District matters were considered at the district fono, and those of general importance to all the islands were considered at a general fono with inter-island representation. Such meetings were convened only on such occasions as major ceremonies and wars (Williamson 1924).

Formal education did not exist in the Samoan society before the advent of missionary-sponsored programs. For some matters, formal instruction was given in a skilled craft or in chiefly learning, but the educational process was direct—the prime task was to transmit an already existing tradition. Most learning thus took place within the family and from individuals chosen from the context of the village (Keesing 1934).
European missionaries introduced formal education into the area. Principally through religious instruction and the training of native religious teachers, educational efforts were rapidly expanded. The early success of educational programs appears to be attributable largely to the ability of church organization to become integrated with traditional patterns of political and economic organization. The acceptance of formal instruction appears to have been a consequence of this integration.

Davidson (1967) discusses some of the reasons for the rapid spread of missionary influence. The expansion of trade and contact among other islands prepared the ground for missionary efforts in Samoa. The "white man's god" was already held in respect because it seemed to possess the "power of material blessings." The desire for European goods thus predisposed the Samoans to the acceptance of Christianity. Additionally, Samoan society did not possess a priestly class. No one group had a vested interest in maintaining religious ritual (Ellison 1938). Church affiliation also served as an important source of intervillage rivalry. Large church membership and ostentatious churches and church activities displayed individual and community prestige (Davidson 1967).

A leading factor in the spread of Christianity and formal education rested, however, with the association of the new religion with the old social structure. The missions, by organizing congregations at the village level, avoided political commitments and permitted local events
and conditions to assume greater importance (Davidson 1967). This type of organization along traditional lines of village autonomy, permitted the development of educational programs that were locally organized and compatible with Samoan traditions.

Samoans, for example, refused to move from villages to centralized mission settlements. Such centralization was contrary to traditional patterns of local political and economic organization. As a result, a great majority of the congregations had to be placed under the charge of a Samoan religious teacher. This permitted the development of an educational curriculum compatible with local interests and needs as well as one carried on in the native tongue (Ellison 1938). Moreover, as native religious teachers became wholly dependent upon their congregation for material support, they were required to become particularly sensitive to traditional local authorities (Davidson 1967). A pattern of local control of educational instruction was a principle result.

In the first years of their efforts, missionaries attempted to control the consequences of educational programs by assuming "quasi-episcopal" authority themselves and by limiting the status of teachers by, for example, refusing to ordain them (Davidson 1967). By 1870, however, the missionaries were seldom consulted by individual teachers. As a result, the structure of educational efforts began to take on a "distinct Samoan characteristic" (Davidson 1967).

The influence of native pastors was thus not confined to the affairs of the church but spread to educational efforts. Traditional patterns of village autonomy and self-sufficiency, combined with
inadequate supervision of native education by missionaries, permitted
the development of locally controlled and organized educational pro-
grams. Reliance upon native teachers that were dependent on the local
population for subsistence needs assured an education that was com-
patible with local desires and standards.

**Naval Occupation**

During the next 50 years, from the turn of the century until
1951, significant political and economic changes were apparent. These
changes tended to reverse earlier characteristics of village autonomy
and self-sufficiency of the missionary period. Concurrent with these
changes was the growing importance of education as a means of achieving
a rapid "Americanization" of the native populace.

In the first years following establishment of American control
of American Samoa, substantial changes in the economic system were
absent. Subsistence agriculture and fishing were the major economic
strategies. In addition, no industry was reported as existing (United
States Navy 1913). An increasing reliance on Western goods was apparent,
however. By 1912, ten stores were present. One was a cooperative native
venture under the direction of the naval governor of the islands (R.G.1913).

Attempts were made by the naval authorities to develop a copra-
based agricultural industry. A copra cooperative was formed by the
naval government to market surplus crops and an attempt was made to

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1. United States Navy and United States Department of the Interior hereafter will be abbreviated as R.G. with the year published.
stimulate agricultural production. By 1936, however, agricultural development was deemed largely unsuccessful. As cited by the governor, "Outwardly the Samoans display little interest in intelligent cultivation and to them, the expenditure of funds on a government experimental farm is a waste of money" (R.G. 1953, p. 9).

The apparently unsuccessful attempt to stimulate agricultural production was next channeled into an alternative venture. A handicrafts cooperative was established in 1934 (R.G. 1953). Alternative sources of income were also increasingly associated with civil service employment. The growth of government bureaucracy and services appeared to have provided a significantly large number of low paying, low skill jobs (R.G. 1954).

Throughout this period of naval administration considerable economic change was apparent. A money economy became firmly established and wage employment, particularly in areas closest to naval establishments, was an increasingly frequent phenomena. The basic resources of the islands, land and agriculture, were still, however, principally exploited at the subsistence level. Production in excess of needs was frequently sold at a central government station. Because of unpredictable excesses, marketing, however, was irregular (R.G. 1953). In contrast to the missionary period, the self-sufficiency of the village was reduced. This was apparent in the growing reliance on manufactured goods and the expansion of native employees.

Concurrent with these economic changes were political changes in the islands. In contrast to the lack of central political authority of
the missionary period, a territorial government with a powerful executive office was instituted. The focus of political power thus shifted from a large number of family and community leaders to a small number of political specialists drawn from both local Samoans and mainland Americans.

Following cessation of the islands to the United States, the Department of the Navy established a coaling station at the island of Tutuila. Under presidential authority, the Navy was authorized to set up an "island government." The commanding officer of the naval station served as governor and officers and enlisted personnel along with several American civilians comprised an administrative staff.

An administrative system established in 1900 provided the basis for government throughout the naval period (Keesing and Keesing 1956). Besides a high court and central executive department, local or village governments and regional governments under the control of the attorney general were instituted.

Initially, all purely local matters were resolved by traditional means. Under this "indirect rule," the central government retained "supreme power" over the islands yet was only irregularly involved in local affairs (Keesing and Keesing 1956). Later, a native legislative body was instituted. Elected members, however, served in an advisory capacity only.

Contributing to the weakening of local political and economic ties appears to be the changing focus of education during this period of time. From the beginning of naval administration, governing
authorities had adopted a policy of secular education. An examination of the educational objectives promulgated suggests an early emphasis on rapid Americanization. The first public school was opened in 1904 with the avowed purpose to "teach Samoans the English language" (R.G. 1927). By 1921, a secular educational system provided the main basis for education in American Samoa (R.G. 1922). From that year, missionary schools operated outside public school hours.

Education in the naval period of administration contrasted sharply with that of the missionary period. Earlier emphasis upon religious instruction conducted by native teachers, the use of the vernacular, as well as emphasis on local control and organization had been largely displaced under naval guidance. Adopting the goal of rapid assimilation, educational emphasis had changed from a local to a more territorial focus. Curriculum more comparable to that used in American schools was instituted. Native teachers were in many instances replaced by teachers brought in from the United States. Instruction was in English and the control of education had shifted from local authorities to the guidance of a director of education exercising control over what had become an inter-island school system.

In the succeeding years of naval administration, a change in educational policies was again apparent. In contrast to the earlier period of naval control in which a widespread policy of acculturation to American educational ideals was in effect, a more locally oriented educational program was instituted. Instruction in the native tongue, for example, was reintroduced in the primary grades. In addition,
academic skills, more prominent during the first years of naval control, were in some instances replaced by a greater emphasis on vocational coursework such as agricultural and craft pursuits. Although reminiscent to some extent of the educational policies of the missionaries, such changes contrasted sharply with the locally oriented administrative procedures in practice during the missionary period. Thus, in spite of such changes towards restructuring some educational policies, to more closely reflect Samoan traditions, control over these policies and the establishment of educational standards remained under government regulation. The central focus of educational programming and development had been firmly instituted.

Post-Naval Period

In 1951, administration of American Samoa was transferred to civilian control under the United States Department of the Interior. In the succeeding years, from 1951 to the present, political and economic policies introduced by the Navy became largely crystallized. Economic productivity under the Department of the Interior was increased and the breakdown of local village autonomy was nearly completed. A centralized political structure became firmly established. Educational changes appeared to continue under an expanded and intensified policy of Americanization.

The first years of civilian administration were marked by severe economic depression. The sudden withdrawal of income derived from navy economic subsidies and employment had a severe impact on the economic development of the islands. Concurrent with these changes was a growing
population pressure depleting agricultural resources. With a growth rate of nearly 47 percent from the years of 1940 to 1950, the largely subsistence level of agricultural production became increasingly inefficient (R.G. 1953). Wage work was increasingly required to supplement dwindling agricultural per capita production (R.G. 1958).

Attempts to introduce alternative economic strategies to develop a more diversified and productive economy were apparent in the following years. Canning and fishing industries were encouraged. Transportation facilities were expanded in an attempt to attract American investment and tourism.

Economic changes in the 1950's and 1960's appeared to have had certain social effects. Rising employment rates and cost of living were increasingly cited phenomena (R.G. 1959, 1961). Increased demand for wage work was associated with population aggregation into larger villages.

Concurrent with these economic changes was the continued decline of local political influence. Under the naval administration, the center of island government was the governor's office. Reorganization under civilian administration did not appear to have lessened the governor's importance (R.G. 1964). In contrast, the prominence of local government, a basic characteristic of political organization in the missionary period, declined. For example, the Department of Samoan Affairs, designed to supervise local government administration, reported in 1967, the difficulty in obtaining qualified local leaders. This difficulty was attributed to the low salary the offices provided and
the growing importance of the money economy. "Many qualified people," the report suggests, are forced to "seek full-time jobs to provide for their livelihood" (R.G. 1968, p. 13).

The growing importance of centralized political organization apparent in this post-naval period appears to have rested largely on the growing dependency on the money economy. As an early report cites, "the people of American Samoa have become, in large measure, dependent upon income derived from employment either directly or indirectly related to the Naval Establishment" (R.G. 1954, p. 1). Readjustment following transfer of control over the area to the Department of the Interior does not appear to have significantly lessened the Samoans's dependence upon the government. Intensified economic production apparent throughout this period appears to have been largely tied to government subsidy.

Education appears to have contributed to these political and economic changes by providing a means to meet rising economic expectations. This appears to have been particularly true as a means to acquire English. As a 1964 report suggests, "without a full command of English it is difficult for a Samoan to find anything but a menial job" (R.G. 1965, p. 15). Among recent changes in educational aims and policies has been a growing trend towards upgrading existing programs and facilities to meet standards on the mainland United States. This intensification of educational objectives of assimilation can be seen in the resurging importance of academic goals, territory-wide standards and English as a primary mode of instruction. Additionally, the opportunity for higher education has been expanded.
Summary

In the first period of American Samoan history prior to colonialization by the United States, political and economic organization remained relatively unaffected by outside influence. Politically independent and economically self-sufficient villages formed the primary basis for social organization. Educational programs introduced by missionaries appear to have reinforced these traditional patterns. Native teachers, instruction in the vernacular and the assurance of local control and organization appear to have contributed to the maintenance of social and economic organization.

In the years of naval administration, economic, political and educational conditions changed considerably in American Samoa. A hierarchical political structure with a strong central focus was superimposed over traditional political organization. Changes in the economic system contributed to this political structure. Government influence on agricultural production, the establishment of marketing cooperatives under government control and the growth of civil service employment reduced the economic self-sufficiency of the villages and increased native dependence on the navy for economic support. Educational policies appear to have reinforced these changes. Decentralization of control and organization of education evident in the missionary period is replaced by a centralized educational system. This system is also dependent upon the government for direction and economic subsidy.

Following transfer of administrative control, political and economic change was directed towards a reaffirmation and intensification
of policies instituted during the naval period. Current economic development appears to be wavering between light industrial development independent of government ownership and dependence on government agencies for employment opportunities. Subsistence farming, more dominant in the two preceding periods appears to have virtually disappeared. Many of these changes appear to have been in response to population growth and the subsequent need to rely on wage employment to offset reduced agricultural per capita production.

Concurrent with these changes have been the strengthening of the centralized political structure and the breakdown of village autonomy. This appears to have been related to the economic dominance of the government in both employment opportunities and control of local cooperatives.

Increased educational opportunity and expansion of policies of assimilation appear to have contributed to this political and economic change. Currently, a centralized educational system with territory-wide standards, academic goals and increasing emphasis on English is in existence. Such characteristics contrast sharply with the earlier policies of local control, and religious and bilingual instruction of the native period. This more recent trend towards centralization reconfirms, however, the continuing commitment to assimilation during the period of naval occupation.
CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGE WITH AN EMPHASIS ON CULTURAL PLURALISM

In the previous chapter, economic and political change was suggested to be associated with educational change in American Samoa. The reduction of traditional patterns of political autonomy and economic self-sufficiency appeared to have come about through a growing economic reliance by the Samoans on the political organization instituted by the United States Navy and later reinforced by the Department of the Interior. Educational changes appeared to have paralleled these economic and political changes. From a small, locally organized and controlled missionary effort, education in American Samoa changed to a secular, centralized system under the administrative control of a government staff.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine various views on the interrelationship between education, economic and political change in developing areas such as American Samoa. It is proposed that education is related to economic and political change through (1) economic opportunity, and (2) political imbalance, respectively. These two aspects of economic and political change were chosen because they directly impinge on educational growth. In addition, the concept of cultural pluralism is examined in terms of some of its implications for observing the interrelationships between education and economic and political change.
The notions of differentiation and integration, central to this concept, are illustrated through the examination of several models of cultural pluralism.

Economic Opportunity

The expansion and growth of economic systems involves the opening of new economic opportunities—the growth and diversification of positions of employment. The fulfillment of economic opportunity results in economic gain and social mobility for the individual. Education is an important means for the realization of economic opportunity. In this section, the impact of education of economic opportunity and gain is explored.

As an economy shifts from subsistence agriculture and local craft activities to commercial production, its manifestation in the human or social sphere is a series of shifts in work roles. These shifts are the opening of new economic roles which allow for economic gain and social mobility. They involve the establishment of economic inroads from the "modernized" sector to the "subsistence" sector of the society. This occurs directly through the development of a technical labor force regularly participating in the modernized sector and indirectly through the increasing demand for manufactured products in the subsistence sector (Moore 1966).

A major aspect of economic expansion that effects labor force participation is the decline in agricultural activities (Moore 1966). Contributing to this decline is the reduction of agricultural income, a product of the growing efficiency of agricultural production, population
growth surpassing production expansion, the fall in prices of primary products and the concentration of investment in industrial production (International Labor Office 1960). The effects of this change is to lower employment opportunities in agriculture and stimulate the search for alternative sources of employment (International Labor Office 1960).

A second major aspect of economic growth related to labor force participation is the expansion of non-agricultural occupations and specialization of occupational roles (Moore 1966). Reasons for these changes are several. The size of interdependent economic and other social units increases. This makes possible the efficiency of division of labor. Additionally, technological change requiring skilled personnel stimulates expansion and diversification of economic roles. Finally, new products and services are associated with economic growth requiring greater numbers and types of employees (Heilbroner 1970).

These effects of economic expansion suggest that employment opportunity is widened by the growth and diversification of economic production from subsistence levels. Education is related to these changes. Often accompanying the growth and diversification of economic production is the readjustment of training functions previously performed by the family and other traditional social institutions to a more specialized unit—the school (Goslin 1965). Education can be related to this economic change in two ways. First, as the level of economic expansion intensifies, the amount of skill required to fulfill occupational roles expands. A product of economic expansion is the upgrading of occupational skills in response to the requirements of new work roles.
Education provides these required occupational skills and thus becomes an important criteria for occupational placement (Hurd and Johnson 1967). Associated with this change is the reduction in importance of ascriptive criteria such as kinship affiliations and class status for occupational placement (Bowman 1965).

Economic demand in this instance is assumed to determine the supply of persons with given levels of education (Folger and Nam 1964). The acquisition of occupational skills, however, does not guarantee employment or occupational gain. Rather, economic gain is also dependent on available employment opportunity.

Secondly, where educational status replaces ascribed status as a criterion for occupational placement, education may lead more directly to economic gain. Educational status may become a criterion of occupational placement regardless of the possession of required occupational skills (Carlsson 1958). In this instance, economic demands may not be as essential in creating employment opportunities. In many developing nations, government agencies rapidly expand bureaucratic positions despite a relatively slow rate of economic growth (Foster 1970). Education in this instance contributes directly to economic gain and social mobility by providing a symbol of social position that is analogous to kinship affiliation. This is true regardless of economic demands and possession of specific occupational skills related to these demands.
Political Imbalance

Increasing exposure to education associated with economic growth may lead to political imbalance which may be defined as interpersonal discord between constituents and political leaders. This may occur despite educational benefits. Such imbalance at the local level may result in the breakdown of the traditional political structure. Local integration, in this instance, may be replaced by affiliation with national political agencies.

The economic advantages of expanding educational facilities are generally defended on two grounds: (1) they increase the amount of skill in society, and (2) they motivate the educated to diversify occupational skills (Schultz 1963). This view, however, has been countered with several arguments that point to the political disruptions that may arise.

The interdependence of educational and occupational change does not assure their synchronization. The transfer of educational techniques from developed to newly developing areas, for example, may result in educational innovations that are disruptive to economic expansion. This occurs where educational expansion surpasses local economic demands. The supply of social aspirants produced by the schools may exceed the rate at which they may be absorbed by industry (Moore 1966).

In addition, the types of skills or intellectual accomplishments fostered by the schools may be incompatible with economic needs. Leibenstein (1965) for example points out that educational investment to achieve intellectual status is approximately equal to that needed to obtain technical skills. It is not uncommon, however, to find numerous
unemployed intellectuals accompanied by an insufficient number of craftsmen and technicians. Similarly, Bowman and Anderson (1963, p. 277) find that educational expansion may foster "status values and/or special privileges that are incompatible with economic advance." Anderson (1964) additionally finds that the educated often develop elitist status and higher subsistence demands. These demands lead them to refuse to work in the rural or "backward" parts of the society and refuse anything that resembles manual employment.

Such arguments about the dysfunctional aspects of educational expansion raise questions about the type of education provided. The transfer of inappropriate educational techniques and goals has led to the failure to provide both the types of individuals needed for economic expansion and to enhance the status of these occupations to encourage their acceptance (Smelser and Lipsett 1966). As a result, an oversupply of educated individuals with unrealistic expectations of employment, salary and status has occurred. Unrealized expectations of educated individuals often leads to a frustrated and potentially disruptive stratum whose political activities may undermine conditions of economic growth (Germani 1965).

The political consequences of educational expansion rest with the demand for rights and benefits that cannot easily be met by the existing political structure (Eisenstadt 1964). Abernathy (1971, pp. 330-331), for example, finds that in Nigeria, "large numbers of young people were mobilized for participation in a modern economy and polity at a time when the economy could neither employ them nor afford
what was a costly welfare scheme . . . ." The political system, moreover, "lacked the resources to adapt to new demands."

The political consequences of such situations, on the one hand, are the decline of traditional patterns of authority and the breakdown of local political autonomy. On the other, such situations also lead to increasing integration with national political centers. As Gusfield (1970) points out, nationalization processes in many new nations are occurring before economic growth is intensified. Similarly, Foner (1972) suggests that limited economic opportunity in the face of educational expansion may intensify local interpersonal discord. Lerner (1964), for example, finds that literacy rates become a "sociological pivot" intensifying conflict between educated and non-educated members of the society. As access to local economic opportunity is restricted, local political and economic competition increases. This results in migration to urban centers in search of wider employment opportunity (Sjoberg 1966) and the resort to high level political organizations for the settlement of local disputes (Lees 1974). Therefore, disproportionate educational and economic growth may intensify local economic competition and political discord that precipitates national integration.

Alternatively, parallel expansion of educational and economic opportunity may minimize local political imbalance. In this instance, local political autonomy is apt to be maintained. Abernathy and Coombe (1968) for example find that with educational expansion, local autonomy is likely to be maintained as students are able to obtain much or all of their education locally. The concurrent expansion of local economic
opportunity would assure the maintenance of this autonomy by permitting the opportunity to also obtain employment locally. Political imbalance, in this situation, would be minimized by reducing the potential for inter­personal economic and political discord—a product of inadequate local employment opportunity. Local integration rather than national integra­tion would more likely take place.

Cultural Pluralism, Economic and Political Change

The concept of cultural pluralism may be useful in examining the structural changes involved in the previously described process of political and economic change. Central to this concept are the notions of differentiation and integration. Differentiation occurs where the multifunctional structures of society evolve into autonomous, specialized structures while integration unites differentiated structures (Smelser 1964). In this section some of the implications of these concepts for examining economic and political change will be discussed employing illustrations from some approaches towards cultural pluralism.

Under conditions of indigenous economic and political development, the process of differentiation is one in which a multifunctional social role or organization differentiates into two or more specialized roles which function more effectively in new conditions (Smelser and Lipsett 1966). The new roles are structurally distinct from each other; taken together they are functionally equivalent to the original unit(Smelser 1964).

Under conditions of externally imposed economic and political de­velopment, differentiation involves a different process. Introducing socioeconomic elements from a developed area into a non-developed area
may produce plural or multiple social structures (Nash 1971). These plural structures can be viewed as functionally redundant. The imposition of a Western political bureaucracy, for example, on a traditional political structure may result in two organizations having basically similar functions.

In conditions of indigenous development, specialized integrative structures are formed to coordinate and solidify the functionally distinct structures formed in the process of differentiation (Smelser 1964). In contrast, under conditions of externally imposed development, the non-indigenous organizations may serve as integrative structures. In American Samoa, for example, the naval political bureaucracy incorporated and integrated some aspects of the traditional local political organization in structuring its government (Keesing and Keesing 1956).

A number of views have been proposed concerning differentiation and integration in situations where non-indigenous influences have stimulated development. Some of these cultural pluralism positions have emphasized the social disturbance resulting from discontinuities between the processes of differentiation and integration. Other positions have emphasized the integrative aspects of such changes.

Some of the first analysts of the economic and political implications of development emphasized the way in which modern Western economies destroyed traditional lifeways. In this view, the imposition of a Western economy stressing centralized production on areas where a great majority of the populations was engaged in an agricultural, consumer-oriented economy, destroyed the organic social and political unity of such
societies. A "multiple" society or economy resulted in which the larger but economically weaker society ultimately lost its ability to function. Colonial domination was seen as undermining the social utility of many traditional institutions hastened by the release of "anti-social" forces. Efforts to control these forces were seen as failing to provide socially acceptable mechanisms for integration (Boeke 1953, Furnivall 1956).

Smith (1960) provides a similar perspective with certain methodological advantages. These methodological considerations allow a more precise way of observing the pluralistic effects of political and economic change. He attempts to formalize this concept by defining the differences between indigenous and non-indigenous institutional systems. Smith (1960, p.763) argues that the imposition of a western economy on a non-Western society may result in "territorially distinct units that practice differing institutional systems and that are politically separate." Such societies are viewed as not only politically separate but culturally distinct.

In this view, contrasts between different sectors of the society are a major factor in the alteration of the original economic and political systems. Analysis of such changes requires observation of institutional differences between the various groups that make up the society.

These views of cultural pluralism stress the dysfunction inherent in cultural differentiation. Such positions have been criticized by Nash (1956) as overly simplistic. Non-Western societies are described as much less varied than they actually are. Morris (1957) also questions the tendency of such conceptions to concentrate on the dysfunctional
aspects of political and economic change. He argues that these views emphasize group differences while ignoring the many similarities and functional changes that can occur. Similarly Rex (1959) finds that such conceptions fail to recognize the impact that changed economic conditions may have on new group affiliations and how such changes may give new meaning to old group relationships.

Hoselitz (1966) attempts to meet some of these criticisms by recognizing the integrative potential for economic and political change in developing areas. He proposes some alternative prospects for such changes which incorporate the integrative aspects of economic and political change. These include (1) that the economically simpler society may become completely destroyed, absorbed or developed into a welfare-maintained portion of the economically advanced portion of the population; (2) that the indigenous population may quickly adopt non-indigenous forms of economic and political organization; (3) that the indigenous population may persist for a long period in self-centered and separate groups; and, (4) that the two elements of the society may integrate successfully.

In this view, contrasts between different sectors of the society are a major aspect to be considered in the observation and analysis of change in the indigenous economic and political systems. Adjustments in traditional modes of status differentiation for example, in response to economic change, may motivate individuals to enter new social groups (Anderson 1964). Additionally, changes in traditional political organization may result in the unification of formerly disparate and weaker political units (Eisenstadt 1964). In American Samoa, for example, the
establishment of district boundaries reduced inter-village rivalry and enhanced the political status of less powerful villages (Keesing 1934). Such changes in which the integrative aspects of political and economic development contrast with views such as those of Smith (1965) and Furnivall (1956) who propose that economic and political changes are sources of disintegration of traditional organizational structure.

Despres (1967), among others, has attempted to mediate between the polarization of the functional and dysfunctional approaches. Despres deals with this problem of polarization by focusing on the different levels at which one society may be integrated or divergent.

According to Despres (1967), analysis of economic and political change that results from externally imposed influence must first take into account the extent of differences between indigenous and non-indigenous elements of the society in terms of specific institutional activities, and secondly, the organizational level at which these activities maintain differences between these two groups. Four classificatory concepts are used in establishing this information: "local" and "broker" institutional types, and "minimal" and "maximal" cultural sections. Minimal cultural sections occur where institutions maintain differences between indigenous and non-indigenous groups at the local level of the society. Maximal cultural sections occur where institutions integrate similar cultural sections and differentiate these sections from others at the national level. Local institutions are those that structure activity at the local level. Broker institutions are those that link local activity with that at the national level.
In the absence of a homogenous society, one that is pre-literate or tribal, the existence of minimal cultural sections, suggests Despres, indicates the least amount of cultural pluralism that can exist. A society containing minimal cultural sections is socially and culturally heterogeneous but structurally integrated. Short of a society being structurally bi-furcated into two or more separate and independent cultural systems, the existence of maximal cultural sections expresses the greatest degree of cultural pluralism that can be maintained within a unitary system of political activity. A plural society is seen in this view as one that contains maximal cultural sections.

Citing the example of the United States and Nigeria, Despres (1964) attempts to clarify this difference. The United States, he points out, contains many cultural groups such as the Irish and the Polish ethnic groups that are integrated at the local level. Local residential segments of such ethnic groups often have their own local social and political institutions. There are few if any such institutions that integrate particular ethnic groups at the national level. Instead, the local segments of ethnic groups participate in national institutions with a wide variety of other types of local groups. The United States is thus a heterogenous society. In Nigeria, however, such groups as the Ibo and the Yoruba are not only culturally different and locally integrated, but institutions exist such as political parties, which maintain cultural differences at the national level. Relative to the United States, Nigeria, in this view, is an example of a pluralistic society.
It is the extent of variation in institutional activity between indigenous and non-indigenous groups that defines the degree of change between the two. This analysis requires two steps. The first step focuses on determining whether minimal or maximal cultural sections exist within the society. This is approached through analysis of the amount of integration between institutional activities of indigenous and non-indigenous groups—whether institutions are specific to each particular group, not group specific but modified by some, or uniform for all groups in the society. Cultural differences are thus measured by the extent to which institutional activity is integrated with that of other groups in the society or specific to the local group. Institutionally differentiated groups constitute culturally different sections of the society. On the other hand, if institutional activity is uniform or integrated among all groups of the society, such groups share a common culture.

The second step in the analysis of change in institutional activity between various groups within a society focuses on the degree to which broker institutions integrate local groups with the national society. Institutions such as markets, religious associations, school associations and government agencies are examined in terms of the degree to which they reinforce the separate integration of similar local groups at the national level, the degree to which they mediate relationships between different groups, or the degree to which they integrate all groups into a national culture.

The first step in this analysis thus focuses on the disparate units of the society in terms of the amount of differences that may
exist. In contrast, the second step examines the integration of these disparate units through analysis of potential sources of similarity. Through observation of local and broker institutional activity, the extent of economic, political and educational change is determined by the level of integration at which this activity takes place.

In contrast to the conceptions of cultural pluralism suggested by Smith (1960, 1965) and Furnivall (1956), Despres emphasizes the relationship between institutional activity rather than differences between indigenous and non-indigenous groups. By looking at different levels of integration of institutions, Despres is able to account for both dysfunctional and functional aspects of economic and political change simultaneously. Change at one level of a particular society may be functional, while at another level, such change may lead to social disorder. Additionally, Despres provides a framework for viewing education as a mediating institution within this process. Through the classificatory concepts of local and broker institutions and minimal and maximal cultural sections, education as well as political and economic institutions can be more objectively examined avoiding the pitfalls of the earlier polarized arguments. These advantages suggest the greater heuristic value of Despres' conception of cultural pluralism for structuring analysis of the role of education in economic and political change.

These advantages also suggest reasons for applying this conception of cultural pluralism to American Samoa. During much of the period of contact with Western agents, American Samoa has been a political
dependency under the control of the United States. As a dependency, American Samoa has experienced the growth of multiple or plural institutions that can be described and classified by such conceptions of cultural pluralism provided by Smith (1960) and Furnivall (1956). In order to understand the nature of the relationship between educational, economic and political change through the missionary, naval and post-naval periods of administration of this area, a more dynamic way of examining change is needed than that provided by the conceptions of cultural pluralism such as those suggested by Smith and Furnivall. Despres, by focusing on relationships between institutions at different levels of integration in the society in contrast to an emphasis on classification of institutional types, provides a more useful way of analyzing the changing relationships between educational, economic and political institutions during the different periods of administration of American Samoa.

Summary

Associations between education and economic and political change have been examined. Both economic opportunity and political imbalance appeared to be central to these relationships. Under policies of economic expansion common in developing areas, the potential for individual economic opportunity to widen often takes place. Education may be related to this change by providing a means to obtain necessary occupational skills required in economic expansion. Education, therefore, may contribute to individual social mobility and assist in the realization of economic gain.
The uneven expansion of educational and economic growth may contribute, however, to imbalance in the local political system. Inadequate economic opportunity in the face of educational expansion may create economic competition and political discord, disrupting local political autonomy and increasing the likelihood of national integration. Balanced educational and economic growth more likely assures adequate employment opportunity and the avoidance of local political discord. Local political autonomy is in this instance more likely to be maintained.

The concept of cultural pluralism is a useful heuristic device for examining these organizational changes by providing a means to structure observation of the differentiation and integration of social roles and organizations that may take place in developing areas. The introduction of Western socioeconomic elements into a non-Western system may produce plural or multiple social structures. At the same time, non-indigenous organizations may serve as integrating structures to unite indigenous and non-indigenous sectors of the society. Of the conceptions of cultural pluralism discussed, that suggested by Despres (1967) provides the most useful approach to observe educational, economic and political change in American Samoa. In contrast to some earlier approaches to cultural pluralism, this view emphasizes the relationship between institutional activity and provides a framework for more objectively examining the role of education as a mediating institution in the changing society of American Samoa.
CHAPTER 4

HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

A significant phenomenon in developing areas has been the expansion of technical and agricultural production. Associated with this expansion has been the rise in economic opportunity for the individual. Education is related to these changes by providing a means to obtain necessary skills required in the course of economic expansion. The uneven expansion of education and economic opportunity may lead, however, to political imbalance or discord. The failure to coordinate educational expansion with economic demand may lead to a surplus of educated but politically disaffected individuals. In this chapter, hypotheses and test implications will be proposed that attempt to establish some relationship between these educational, economic and political changes. A model of political change will be proposed that draws from Despres' conception of cultural pluralism. This will be used in constructing measures of political change. In addition, the methods used in analyzing these propositions between educational, economic and political change will be discussed.

Hypothesis

A general hypothesis can be drawn stating that the expansion of educational and economic opportunity is related to political imbalance.
This relationship may occur in two ways.

1. If educational expansion surpasses the expansion of economic opportunity then national integration is more likely to take place.

2. If educational expansion keeps pace with the expansion of economic opportunity then local political autonomy is more likely to be maintained.

This hypothesis can be tested by examining patterns of political institutional affiliation, use of educational facilities and measures of economic expansion.

**Methodological Considerations**

**Political Change**

The choice of institutional affiliation as a measurement of political change derives from the conception of cultural pluralism suggested by Despres (1967). Despres suggests that political change must take into account the level at which political activities maintain cultural differences between Western and non-Western groups. To establish this level, the concepts of local and broker institutions and minimal and maximal cultural sections are posited. The definition of these institutional types involves the delineation of the focus of their activity: local institutions structure local activity while broker institutions mediate between local and national activities. The discrimination of minimal and maximal cultural sections involves
observation of the degree of traditional autonomy or integration between Western and non-Western elements of the society.

These concepts developed by Despres (1967) have processual implications. In a situation of initial contact between Western colonial powers and native groups, maximal cultural sections and small broker institutions would be expected. In this situation, interaction would involve a limited set of activities such as trading, slaving or religious prosletization. Such interaction would be carried out through indigenous political and economic structures. Membership in broker institutions, in such situations, would include traders, missionaries and native chiefs who would function as intermediaries between locally autonomous native groups and the Western power in the few activities in which they would engage. Early contact between Africa and colonial powers, for example, involved extensive slave trading. Small numbers of Western traders exploited tribal rivalries and traditional customs in order to obtain slaves for Western markets (Moran 1964). Such indirect interaction tends to integrate similar local segments and maintain differences between culturally dissimilar sections (Figure 2a).

As activities between native groups and colonial powers intensify, minimal cultural sections and larger broker institutions would develop. This intensification would involve direct exploitation of native resources by the colonial power as in the case of large scale mining and plantation activities. Such exploitation would be carried out through the introduction of Western political and economic structures into the local context. This intrusion would tend to integrate culturally distinct local groups.
Figure 2. Models of political integration. -- a. Period of initial contact; direct national linkage between autonomous villages and outside agents. b. Period of intensified contact; direct local linkage between villages. c. Period of intensified contact; indirect national linkage. NBI = National Broker Institution. LBI = Local Broker Institution. A-D = villages.
Two forms of such integration may be discernible. First is the integration of local culturally distinct institutions at the local level by local broker institutions. This would result in a series of locally autonomous groupings in an area (Figure 2b). Second is the integration of locally autonomous groups, each composed of local culturally distinct institutions and local broker institutions, at the national level by national broker institutions. This would result in a series of local units with little autonomy (Figure 2c). These two forms of integration can be illustrated by the growth of national educational policies in the United States. As Goslin (1965) points out, government involvement has been steadily increasing in educational institutions through such programs as federal aid and regulatory legislation. In this instance, direct interaction between local and national institutions has been associated with the reduction of local control over education, exemplifying the reduction of local autonomy in situation 2c. In contrast, in the former situation, the greater local autonomy of educational institutions lacking such direct national involvement, exemplified model 2b.

The concepts of local and broker institutions and the analysis of the level at which they are integrated provide a means to structure the examination of political change. Government agencies are broker institutions (Despres 1967). Determination of the level at which these institutions maintain differences between Western and non-Western groups within a single society provides a way to link the expansion of educational utilization and economic opportunity to changing political activity. This is achieved by observation of the extent to which these
institutions contribute to the formation of minimal cultural sections or locally autonomous cultural groups, or maximal cultural sections, where such culturally diverse groups are nationally autonomous.

The extent to which institutions such as government agencies contribute to national integration can be determined by examining patterns of institutional affiliation. Institutions reflect educational, economic and political activities. Lerner (1964, p. 3) states:

Institutions are the behavioral patterns performed by people whose goal is to enhance as much as possible the values which they hold important. This process involves an expenditure of available skills and knowledge upon the raw materials at hand; the process is actually one of conversion. The process becomes an institution when the application of techniques to the resources is formulated into a set pattern which is productively efficient. Routine behavior which conforms to a maximizing principle is rational. An institution, in short, is a code of rational, routine activity.

According to Lerner (1964), the process in which more developed societies influence those that are less developed involves institutional intrusions by the more developed society. This impact can be recognized in two ways: (1) the extent of affiliation with broker institutions measured by membership size; and (2) the level, whether local or national, at which affiliation with broker institutions occurred. Political change can thus be examined by measurement of the extent and organizational level of affiliation between broker institutions related to political activity.

Criteria for distinguishing extent of affiliation with broker institutions was obtained from relative percentages of numbers of individuals employed by government agencies in contrast to private employees. The level of institutional affiliation was gauged by the
focus, whether local or national, of institutional activity. Measurement of tendencies of local government agencies to either reinforce the separate integration of local groups, or national government agencies to reinforce the national integration of these groups was assumed to provide an indication of the level of local affiliations with broker institutions.

**Educational Change**

It is often assumed, in developing areas, that education plays an important role in economic and political change. Kazamias and Epstein (1968), for example, point out that education contributes to economic growth by providing for a more skilled labor force and by producing workers who can more easily adapt to change. Economic success and political advancement, however, are not guaranteed by a high output of educated people. Anderson (1964) for example finds a correlation of only .28 between post-primary enrollments and per capita incomes for countries lacking almost universal literacy. Similarly, educational programs designed to encourage economic and political development do not always insure that educational opportunity is equally available for all individuals (Anderson 1967). In spite of these and many other objections to relating educational programs to economic and political change, the expansion of educational facilities is a common phenomena in developing areas (Fischer 1970). Therefore, the use of educational facilities has been selected as one indication of educational change.

Levels of educational attainment and enrollment figures are common measures of educational expansion in developing areas (Smelser and Lipsett 1966). In addition, these measures may be associated with
economic development. Attainment levels may be associated with economic development as a method to meet rising skill demands of the labor market (Moore 1966). A rising average or minimum level of educational attainment for a labor force in the course of economic development would thus be probable. In addition, enrollment figures have been used to justify changes in policies of economic organization. As Dennison (1963, p. 38) points out, "... the availability of better educated labor has led to changes in the whole organization of production as among occupational groups in order to take advantage of a labor supply of higher quality ...." It was assumed, therefore, that educational enrollment and attainment figures provided some indication of the expanded use of educational facilities and were reflective, in some measure of educational response to economic and political development.

The criteria for measurement of educational expansion was thus the level of grade attainment in school of all individuals 25 years of age or older and the amount of individuals comprising regular school populations by age groups. It was assumed that by the age of 25, most individuals had completed their formal education. In addition, the grade attained rather than the number of years in school was the figure reported for attainment level. Enrollment figures were obtained for individuals from pre-school level through age 24.

The basic assumption in measuring educational expansion was thus that individuals will maximize their chances of realizing economic opportunity by obtaining formal instruction. The limiting factor in this instance was assumed to be the availability of educational resources.
As Sussmann (1967) points out, it is well established that increased accessibility of selective schools to a rural population increases the participation rate. Therefore, the availability of educational facilities was considered the limiting factor for educational enrollment. Other factors that may have influenced attainment figures could not, however, be accounted for. Such factors as classroom effects on educational attainment (Wallen and Travers 1963), the effects of the school environment (Coleman 1961), peer group influences (Wallace 1965), and influences outside of the school, particularly social class (Charters 1963) that have been related to educational attainment could not be considered because of the unavailability of such data for American Samoa. In addition, attainment levels by sex, which has been found to have an important effect on grade achievement particularly in developing nations (Blitz 1965), could not be considered because of the unavailability of comparable data through the time period included in the analysis. Therefore, attainment figures, although reflecting educational expansion, may be limited in their interpretability.

Economic Change

A primary change in the occupational structure associated with economic development is the creation of a labor market (Moore 1966). A product of this change is the expansion and the diversification of economic opportunity for the individual through the growth in numbers and types of occupations (Smelser and Lipsett 1966). Measurement of the growth of economic opportunity requires the recording of numbers of distinct populations. Rates of change would be derived from successive
surveys of occupations held by employed individuals. A recorded increase in occupations might, however, represent a mixture of genuine increase and improved identification, reducing the accuracy of interpreting temporal trends in occupational expansion (Moore 1966).

An alternative measure of changing economic opportunity is the potential for economic growth. A number of simple measures of economic potential are available. Five indices were selected including income, occupation, industry, number of weeks employed and unemployment status. These measures were selected for their usefulness in indicating economic gain. It was assumed, for example, that an area with a median family income surpassing the mean family income for the whole of American Samoa offered greater economic potential for the realization of economic gain than an area in which the median family income failed to meet the mean family income for American Samoa.

The critical delimiter in these economic measures was assumed to be the potential for economic growth. Other factors that may effect the interpretation of these economic measures, in particular income levels, cannot be accounted for because of the unavailability of data for American Samoa. Levine (n.d.), for example, suggests that place of residence, age and personality traits may influence level of income. Attitudes and values such as independence and conformity he sees as playing an important role in determining social and economic incomes. In addition, incomes vary, he points out, in different segments of the life cycle. Similarly, income differences among a national population may be due, he suggests, to differences in price levels. Thus the real income, or
purchasing power of an income may vary depending upon locale. These and other factors may all effect an individual's realization of economic gain, and thereby limit the validity of the economic measures chosen. Because of the lack of more extensive data from American Samoa for some of these potentially limiting factors, interpretation may be limited. Some indication of economic opportunity, however, should be possible from the measures selected.

Figures for personal income were obtained from the total income for families. This contrasted with information on other measures of economic opportunity which were obtained from all individuals 16 years of age or older. It is assumed that figures for income represent income obtained from individuals at least 16 years of age as compulsory education laws exist in American Samoa preventing individuals younger than this age from engaging in significant amounts of wage labor. Income figures, therefore, were assumed to be comparable with those obtained from other economic measures.

Categories of occupation and industry represent standard United States census occupational breakdowns. Values for number of weeks employed were subdivided into three categories: full-time (50-52 weeks of continuous employment annually, three-quarter-time (27-59 weeks), and half-time or less (a maximum of 26 weeks) of employment within one year. Unemployment status was obtained from employment-unemployment figures and included all civilian personnel. Armed forces employees were excluded from the economic measures since they did not participate directly in
the economic system of the islands and accounted for less than one percent of the total work force.

Criteria for distinguishing economic measures was thus inferred from relative percentages of family incomes, numbers of weeks of employment, unemployment figures, occupational diversity within industries and industrial diversity displayed by residents over the age of 16, from the areas sampled.

Test Implications

Political Change

If political imbalance at the local level leads to national integration, then it can be expected that (a) membership in broker institutions will increase and (b) membership will increase relative to membership in broker institutions at the local level.

Educational Change

If educational expansion occurs, then it can be expected that (a) educational attainment of individuals will rise and (b) school enrollment will increase.

Economic Change

If expansion of economic opportunity occurs, then it can be expected that (a) annual length of employment increases, (b) unemployment rates decline, (d) occupational diversity within industries increases, and (e) average family cash income increases.
The hypothesis proposed earlier can be restated in terms of these test implications.

1. If educational attainment levels and school enrollments increase, whereas length of employment, industrial diversity, occupational diversity and family income remain constant or decline and unemployment rates remain constant or increase, then increasing membership in broker institutions and increasing membership in broker institutions at the national level are expected.

2. If length of employment, industrial diversity, occupational diversity and income remain constant or increase and unemployment rates remain constant or decrease, then increasing membership in broker institutions and increasing membership in broker institutions at the national level are not expected.

These changes are not expected to be absolute changes. Rather, the extent of political change is observed relative to economic and educational changes.

The Sample

The changes proposed previously are examined in both a temporal and areal perspective using evidence from American Samoa. Political, economic and educational changes can be examined in one area at two points of time. If political, educational and economic changes do not proceed at the same rate in all areas, then similar results can be expected from the examination of differences in the rates of change between different areas of American Samoa. In this instance, the different
areas for the purpose of this study can be seen as equivalent to one area at different points of time.

Two samples were used in this study. The first consisted of three of the four administrative districts of American Samoa. The fourth administrative district, Swains Island, was omitted from the sample. Swains Island possesses a total population of fewer than 100 individuals (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1970) and lacks both historic and cultural ties with the main Samoan group. The three remaining administrative districts correspond roughly to traditional political boundaries (Keesing and Keesing 1956) and consist of the division of the largest island, Tutuila, into two approximately equal sized districts, Eastern and Western Tutuila. The third administrative district, The Manuan District, consists of the three smaller islands of Ofu, Olosega and Ta'u.

The second sample was composed of five of the largest villages in American Samoa, each with a population of 1000 or greater. Of these five villages, four were located in Eastern Tutuila, with the remaining village in the western district of Tutuila (Figure 3). The second sample was chosen because of its potential for further illustrating differences in political integration, economic opportunity and educational expansion. Differences between the more rural and urban sectors of the same district are expected.

**Analytical Procedures**

Data for analysis was derived from the United States Census statistics for American Samoa for the years 1912 through 1970. In addition,
Figure 3. American Samoa: Islands, Districts, Counties and Villages.
the Annual Reports of the Governor of American Samoa were used as a supplemental source of information.

Analysis consisted of compilation of values for the measures of educational expansion, economic opportunity and political integration from cases of the two samples. These values were then converted to percentages and a bar graph was constructed for some measures. This permitted comparison of the distribution of each of these measures among the two samples. In addition, an index of population measures was constructed. Individuals inhabiting communities with a population of 1000 or greater were compared with those living in more rural settings for each district. This provided the proportion of individuals included in the village sample and provided some indication of population changes between more aggregated and more dispersed settlements. Additionally, population figures for each of the districts and villages were compared for the years 1912 through 1970. This also provided some indication of population changes between the districts.

Summary

Drawing from the discussion of educational, economic and political change in developing areas, a hypothesis was constructed which posited a relationship between educational expansion, economic opportunity and political integration. Measures and test implications were then derived. From the conception of cultural pluralism posited by Despres (1967), a structure for analysis of political change was obtained. Measures such as educational attainment and school enrollment figures were selected as criteria to measure educational expansion. Measures
such as occupational diversity and income were selected as indications of economic change. Some of the limitations of these measures were discussed. A sample was then selected and analytical procedures presented.
CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The measures of economic opportunity, educational expansion and political integration derived in the previous chapter were examined in spatial and temporal perspectives for the two samples, districts and villages, in American Samoa. This analysis involved the determination of percentage distributions of the different values for each measure and sample. Temporal values could not be obtained for all measures because of the unavailability of comparable data. Results are tabulated in Figures 4 through 11 and in Tables 1-19 (referred to later in this chapter).

Spatial Perspective

Economic Opportunity

Income. Comparison of the distribution of personal family income among the districts showed a similarity between the eastern and western districts of Tutuila (Table 1). Approximately half of the individuals sampled in these two districts were in the lower to middle income bracket. Manu'a contrasted with both of these districts with its largest percentage of individuals in the lowest income bracket.

In examining income distributions in the village sample, further variation was apparent. The villages of Leone, Nu'uuuli and Pago Pago
Table 1. Percent distributions of income by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-500</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-1499</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-4999</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000-9999</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000-25,000</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater than 25,000</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>2093</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
revealed approximately similar income distributions. The largest numbers in all three of these cases were in the middle income brackets. Individuals from the village of Utulei, however, were generally wealthier. This pattern was also evident but to a lesser degree in the village of Fagatogo.

**Number of Weeks Employed.** All districts appeared to be generally similar in terms of number of weeks employed (Table 2). Approximately two-thirds of the individuals sampled were employed on a full-time basis. In Manu'a, however, the remaining third of the individuals sampled worked on a greater than half-time basis. This figure contrasted with that of approximately eight percent for half-time workers in both districts of Tutuila.

In the village sample, greater variation in number of weeks employed was apparent. Half-time or less workers ranged from a low of under five percent in Fagatogo, to nearly 12 percent in Utulei. As was the case among the district sample, however, a large majority of the individuals were full-time employees.

**Employment Status.** Percentage distributions for employment status showed more variation in the district sample in contrast to the preceding economic measure (Table 3). In the western district of Tutuila, for example, unemployment was twice as high as the eastern district. In the Manuan district, however, unemployment figures were less than one percent. This low rate of unemployment was also evident in three of the villages sampled. Nu'uuli, with a 2.5 percent
Table 2. Percent distributions of number of weeks employed by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weeks Worked</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-52</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-27</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 or less</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 3555 196 1720 393 368 397 517 319
Table 3. Percent distributions of employment status by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>E. Tutuila</th>
<th>Manu'a</th>
<th>W. Tutuila</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Fagatogo</th>
<th>Leone</th>
<th>Nu'uuli</th>
<th>Pago</th>
<th>Pago</th>
<th>Utulei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>3470</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>291</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
unemployment figure and Fagatogo, with over five percent, were the exceptions having a relatively high rate of unemployment.

**Occupational Diversity.** Similarly, in comparison to other economic measures, percentages of occupational types in the sample of districts showed a contrast between Manu'a and the two districts of Tutuila (Table 4). Although the professional and technical categories in all three cases comprised the largest occupational group, Manu'a had a considerably higher percentage of individuals in this occupational category. Occupational diversity in Eastern and Western Tutuila was thus generally greater than in Manu'a, with large numbers of individuals also employed in service, clerical, craft and operative occupations.

In the village sample, a greater similarity in occupational distributions was apparent. Although professional and technical categories contained the largest percentage of individuals in only two of the five villages, percentages were in all cases but one, between 15 and 20 percent of the working population. Utulei, with closer to 30 percent of its working residents in this category, appeared to be divergent. Utulei again differed from other villages in possessing greater percentages of managers and administrators and fewer individuals in clerical, craft and service occupations. Among the remaining four villages, distributions of occupational types were more similar. In all villages, however, occupational diversity was relatively wide.

**Industrial Diversity.** Comparison of distributions of industrial types were generally similar to occupational distributions in the
Table 4. Percent distributions of occupational diversity by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
<td>W. Tutuila</td>
<td>Fagatogo</td>
<td>Leone</td>
<td>Nu'uuli</td>
<td>Pago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Technical</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers and Administrators</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Workers</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Household</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>3328</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1611</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
district sample (Table 5). Eastern and Western Tutuila had similar percentages for all categories. Manu'a again contrasted with both districts with over 75 percent of its working population concentrated in the two industries of construction and professional activities. Only approximately 33 percent of the workers in the other two districts were so employed. Similarly, as found in examination of occupational diversity between the districts, industrial diversity was greater in the two districts of Tutuila than in the district of Manu'a.

In the village sample, similarities in industrial distributions were more apparent. Although the professional and related category was the primary industry type in only three of the five villages, percentage distributions in all cases were approximately 20 percent. Greater variation was evident in the area of construction. Approximately 5.5 percent of the working population of Pago Pago was employed in the construction sector. This figure contrasted with over 18 percent in Nu'uuuli who were so employed. As was the case with occupational diversity, however, distributions of industrial types showed greater similarities between villages than differences.

**Educational Expansion**

**Educational Attainment.** Values for educational attainment showed variation between the cases in the district sample (Table 6). Although a majority of individuals in all cases possessed at least a grade school education, considerable differences above this level of educational attainment were apparent. The two districts of Tutuila, for example,
Table 5. Percent distributions of industrial diversity by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E.Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural, Forestry, Fishing,</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans., Communication</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale-Retail Trade</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking, Insurance, Real Estate</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, Repair Services</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal, Household Services</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, Education, Public Welfare</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>3328</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Percent distributions of educational attainment by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Education</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E.Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12+</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>5373</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
showed somewhat similar percentages of individuals in the lower levels of educational attainment. Eastern Tutuila, however, had relatively greater numbers of individuals with nine years of education or more. In addition, Manu'a contrasted with both of the districts of Tutuila with relatively fewer individuals with less than a grade school education. Fewer individuals, however, also had at least a high school education in contrast to both the eastern and western districts of Tutuila.

In the village sample, differences in attainment levels was also apparent. The two villages of Leone and Nu'uuli were relatively low in percentages in all attainment levels. Pago Pago possessed relatively greater numbers of individuals in both the lowest and highest attainment levels, generally resembling Fagatogo. Showing the greatest percentages of highly educated individuals, Utulei contrasted sharply with all villages except Fagatogo, with over twice the percentage numbers of highly educated individuals.

Educational Enrollment. In the district sample, patterns observable in attainment levels were generally reversed when enrollment figures were considered (Table 7). Districts higher in attainment figures were in all cases lower in terms of numbers enrolled in school. Eastern Tutuila, for example, although possessing the highest percentages of educated individuals, was lowest in the relative numbers of school enrollees. Similarly, Manu'a showed the highest enrollment percentages for all age categories in contrast to having the lowest attainment levels. Western Tutuila, moreover, although lower in attainment figures
Table 7. Percent distributions of educational enrollment by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E.Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-13</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>97.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>99.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-21</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-24</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>5539</td>
<td>1067</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
relative to Eastern Tutuila, was somewhat higher in percentages of school enrollees.

Among the villages, differences were again apparent in contrast to attainment levels. The higher attainment levels found in Utulei were reversed when enrollment percentages were considered. Similarly, Fagatogo, also high in percentages of educated individuals, had lower enrollment levels relative to Leone and Pago Pago. Fagatogo, in this measure more closely resembled Nu'uuli, with amongst the lowest percentages of school enrollments.

Political Integration

Broker Institutional Affiliation. Percentages of individuals affiliated with broker institutions were in all cases but one, approximately half of the individuals sampled (Table 8). In the district sample, percentages of individuals in both Eastern and Western Tutuila affiliated with broker institutions approximately equaled the numbers that were not. This was also the case in four of the five villages. Only in the village of Utulei and the Manuan district were percentages not equal. In both cases, relatively more individuals—almost 89 percent in Manu'a and 66 percent in Utulei, were affiliated with broker institutions.

Local and National Affiliation. In terms of percentages affiliated with local in contrast to national broker institutions, somewhat greater variation in contrast to the preceding measure of political integration was apparent (Table 9). In all cases of both the village
Table 8. Percent distributions of affiliation with broker and non-broker institutions by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>E. Tutuila</th>
<th>Manu'a</th>
<th>W. Tutuila</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Fagatogo</th>
<th>Leone</th>
<th>Nu'uuli</th>
<th>Pago</th>
<th>Pago</th>
<th>Utulei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-broker</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 3352 138 1660 379 361 375 527 288
Table 9. Percent distributions of affiliation with local and national broker institutions by districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>E.Tutuila</th>
<th>Manu'a</th>
<th>W.Tutuila</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fagatogo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and district samples, the large majority of the individuals sampled were affiliated with local broker institutions. In the district of Western Tutuila and in the villages of Leone and Nu'uuli, however, percentages of individuals affiliated with national broker institutions was at least twice as great as in the remaining cases of each sample.

**Temporal Perspective**

Values of economic, educational and political measures reported in the preceding section are compared with those from earlier years for the district sample. In some cases equivalent measures could not be obtained.

**Economic Opportunity**

**Income.** Comparison of percentage distributions for the years 1960 and 1970 showed a general upgrading of income levels in all districts (Table 10). In the earlier years, however, greater differences were apparent between Eastern and Western Tutuila in contrast to more recent income figures. Similar to the 1970 figures, however, are the consistently lower income levels in the Manuan District in comparison to the remaining two districts.

**Number of Weeks Employed.** Comparison of percentage distributions of full-time employees showed some differences between the years of 1960 and 1970 (Table 11). Relatively fewer individuals in both the Eastern district of Tutuila and Manu'a were employed full-time in 1960. Figures remained constant, however, in the Western district of Tutuila.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Income</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-500</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-1499</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-4999</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000-9999</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000+</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-500</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-1499</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-4999</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000-9999</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000+</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11. Percent distributions of number of weeks employed for 1960 and 1970 by districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weeks of Employment</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-52</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>97.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-27</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 2590 846 1771 3555 196 1720
Employment Status. Percentage distributions of employment rates generally showed little difference between the years of 1960 and 1970 (Table 12). As was the case in 1970, the large majority of individuals were employed. Some differences were apparent in Eastern Tutuila, however, with unemployment figures rising approximately two points by 1970. In Western Tutuila, however, considerable difference was evident with unemployment in this district rising nearly eight percentage points.

Occupational Diversity. Comparison of percentages for the years 1960 and 1970 showed considerable change in occupational distributions for all districts (Table 13). This change was particularly apparent in the areas of farming and professional occupations. In all cases, farming activities declined dramatically. This was particularly evident in Manua with a decline of nearly 89 percent during the decade from 1960 to 1970. Concurrent with this change was the growth of employment in professional occupations. In Manu'a, this growth was again most evident with an increase of over 36 percent in numbers of professional workers. Additional growth was also apparent in labor, service, operative and craft occupations in this district. This change was also evident but to a lesser extent in both districts of Tutuila. Diversity in occupational distributions in all districts increased.

Industrial Diversity. Changes apparent in the years of 1960 to 1970 in occupational distributions were also evident in industries (Table 14). Again a decline in agricultural activities was observable. Much of this decline appeared to be absorbed in the industries of
Table 12. Percentage distributions of employment status for 1960 and 1970 by districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>99.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>3099</td>
<td>913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13. Percentage distributions of occupational diversity for 1960 and 1970 by districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th></th>
<th>1970</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
<td>W. Tutuila</td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Workers</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>86.8</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Workers</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3007</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>3328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industries</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th></th>
<th>1970</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
<td>W. Tutuila</td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural, Forestry, Fishing</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>86.8</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, Communication</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, Education, Public Welfare</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 3011  892  1824
     3328  136  1611
professional and public welfare activities, although growth in the area of construction was also apparent. Similarly, as in occupations, changes in industrial distributions were largest in the Manuan District and in all cases, growth in industrial diversity was also evident.

Educational Expansion

**Attainment Levels.** Comparison of percentages of attainment levels for the years of 1950, 1960 and 1970 revealed a gradual upgrading in all districts (Table 15). Generally, patterns evident in the 1970 figures were also apparent in the earlier periods. The two districts of Tutuila appeared to be approximately the same in educational attainment. Eastern Tutuila, however, was consistently higher throughout these years in contrast to Western Tutuila, whereas the district of Manu'a remained consistently lowest in attainment levels among all districts.

**Enrollment.** Enrollment figures for the years of 1930, 1950 and 1970 were generally consistent with the pattern evident in the spacial perspective (Table 16). The district of Manu'a was consistently highest in enrollment figures. Only in the most recent period, however, did Western Tutuila surpass Eastern Tutuila in percentages of educational enrollment.

Political Integration

**Broker Institutional Affiliation.** Comparison of percentages of affiliation with broker institutions for the years 1960 and 1970 showed considerable changes in the three districts (Table 17). In all cases,
Table 15. Percent distributions of educational attainment for 1950, 1960 and 1970 by districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attainment Level</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th></th>
<th>1970</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
<td>West Tutuila</td>
<td>East Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
<td>West Tutuila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>88.3</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12+</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N =

---

3383  968  1709  3571  917  1853  5373  688  2937

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th></th>
<th>1950</th>
<th></th>
<th>1970</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East Tutuila</td>
<td>West Tutuila</td>
<td>East Tutuila</td>
<td>West Tutuila</td>
<td>East Tutuila</td>
<td>West Tutuila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-13</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>97.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>99.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19*</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>1624</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>5089</td>
<td>2575</td>
<td>5539</td>
<td>3570</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Age group 18-19 was 18-20 for 1930 figures.
Table 17. Percentage distributions of affiliation with broker and non-broker institutions for 1960 and 1970 by districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Political Affiliation</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-broker</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>90.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>3057</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C O Q
affiliation with broker institutions had increased dramatically. This difference was particularly apparent in the Manuan District with affiliation increasing nearly 80 percent. Comparable figures were unavailable for local-national affiliation with broker institutions.

Measures of Population

In addition to comparison of economic, educational and political measures from preceding years, population changes between districts and villages were considered. Two types of population change were included. The first dealt with changes in levels of population aggregation. The second considered population changes for each.

Population Aggregation. Members of village and district samples overlap since villages are also residents of districts in which the villages are located. A measure of population aggregation, therefore is derived by consideration of numbers of village inhabitants in proportion to district inhabitants. This procedure permits comparison of associations of variables between the rural and more urbanized sub-populations of each district.

In 1970, with approximately 43 percent of its population included in the village sample, Eastern Tutuila represented the conditions of greatest population aggregation (Table 18). Of the five villages in American Samoa with a population of 1000 or greater, four were found in this district.

The Western district of Tutuila ranked considerably lower in levels of population aggregation. In 1970, Leone, the single village
Table 18. Percent distributions of population aggregation by decade by district population for districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Districts*</th>
<th>E.Tutuila</th>
<th>W.Tutuila</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Fagatogo</th>
<th>Leone</th>
<th>Nu'uuli</th>
<th>Pago Pago</th>
<th>Utulei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>81.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The district of Manu'a was excluded since it did not contain any villages included in the village sample.
over 1000 inhabitants, accounted for approximately 18 percent of the total district population. The district of Manu'a ranked lowest in level of population aggregation with no population centers of 1000 or greater. With a total population of just over 2100 inhabitants in 1970, Manu'a had fewer residents than the single village of Pago Pago.

Comparison of levels of population aggregation from the years of 1912 to 1970 revealed a generally consistent pattern of greater aggregation within the Eastern district of Tutuila than in Western Tutuila or Manu'a. In all periods, Manu'a was lowest, lacking any larger population centers.

Population Size. Examination of changes in population within districts from 1912 through 1970 showed a gradual population increase in both Eastern and Western Tutuila. Growth rates peaked in the years of 1940-1950 and appeared to resume at approximately the same rate in the most recent decade (Table 19). The district of Manu'a, in contrast, showed a gradual decline in growth rates from the years of 1940 to the present. This decline was most evident in the most recent decade.

Changes in percentages of population growth in the villages showed a more rapid rate of population growth in some cases than in the districts. The villages of Pago Pago and Nu'uuli, in particular, equaled or surpassed the growth rate of the district of Eastern Tutuila as a whole. The village of Fagatogo, however, appeared to expand at a lesser rate than the district. Comparison of population changes in Leone with the district of Western Tutuila indicated generally similar rates of growth in most years.
Table 19. Percent distributions of population growth by decade for districts and villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Tutuila</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
<td>W. Tutuila</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fagatogo</td>
<td>Leone</td>
<td>Nu'uuli</td>
<td>Pago</td>
<td>Pago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-1920</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1930</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1940</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1950</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>101.0</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1960</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>-4.4</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>-21.1</td>
<td>-3.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1970</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>-21.6</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of Results

These results indicate the presence of a number of patterns. Observation of these patterns is facilitated by illustration in Figures 4 through 11.

In terms of districts, Eastern and Western Tutuila are similar according to most measures and contrast with the district of Manu'a. Eastern and Western Tutuila are relatively high in extent of affiliation with non-broker institutions, and levels of educational attainment, income, unemployment, occupations that can be described as skilled blue-collar, and a variety of categories of industrial diversity. In addition, both districts are relatively low in educational enrollment, full-time employment, professional occupations and industries of construction and public welfare. In contrast, the Manuan district is high in affiliation with broker institutions, educational enrollment, full-time employment, professional occupations and the industries of construction and public welfare. In addition, Manu'a is relatively low in extent of affiliation with non-broker institutions, and level of educational attainment, income, skilled blue-collar jobs, and most measures of industrial diversity.

These differences between districts have generally not changed through time. In contrast to the Eastern and Western districts of Tutuila, Manu'a has been lower in economic opportunity in earlier years as well as in more recent periods. In 1960, for example, nearly 90 percent of the working population in Manu'a was concentrated in agricultural activities. By 1970, although agricultural activity had declined,
Figure 4. Percent distributions of income for 1970 by districts and villages.
Figure 5. Percent distributions of numbers of weeks employed for 1970 by districts and villages.
Figure 6. Percent distributions of employment status for 1970 by districts and villages.
Figure 7. Percent distributions of occupational diversity for 1970 by districts and villages.
Figure 8. Percent distributions of industrial diversity for 1970 by districts and villages.
Figure 9. Percent distributions of educational attainment for 1970 by districts and villages.
Figure 10. Percent distributions of educational enrollment for 1970 by districts and villages.
Figure 11. Percent distributions of affiliation with broker and non-broker institutions by districts and villages.
generally non-productive economic opportunity was introduced with the
growth of professional and public welfare occupational opportunities.

Similarly, differences in educational measures between Manu'a and
Eastern and Western Tutuila have generally remained unchanged. Since
1930, Manu'a has been lower in educational attainment than the two
districts of Tutuila, but higher in educational enrollment. In addi-
tion, affiliation with broker institutions in Manu'a, as evident in 1970,
was greater than Eastern and Western Tutuila in the early period as well.

These results indicate that higher economic opportunity, repre-
sented by higher income levels, occupational and industrial diversity
and higher educational attainment are not associated with affiliation
with broker institutions. Such affiliation appears to be particularly
related to professional occupations and construction and public welfare
industries. The distinction between affiliation with local and national
broker institutions is not consistent with this pattern. Western
Tutuila, for example, although high in most measures of economic oppor-
tunity and educational attainment, is highest in affiliation with
national broker institutions.

The patterns for the villages are not as distinct as those for
districts. Leone most closely fits the pattern indicated by the
districts. Leone is low in income and industrial diversity although
high in construction and public welfare industries. In addition, it is
low in educational attainment and highest in educational enrollment.
These trends are associated with high affiliation with national broker
institutions although Leone is at the same time lowest in affiliation
with broker institutions as a whole. It diverges from the district pattern in that it has the lowest full-time employment, it is relatively high in skilled blue-collar occupations and low in professional occupations.

Utulei exemplifies a variation of the pattern indicated by the districts. Utulei is highest in professional and managerial occupations, public welfare and administration industries. It is low in unemployment, most skilled blue-collar jobs and aspects of industrial diversity. At the same time, it is amongst the highest in educational enrollments and affiliation with broker institutions. It diverges from the pattern indicated by the districts in that these values are also associated with the highest income levels, low full-time employment and high educational attainment.

The two villages of Fagatogo and Pago Pago exemplify only certain aspects of the pattern discussed previously. Both districts are similar to the districts of Eastern and Western Tutuila in that they are lowest in construction and public welfare industries but highest in manufacturing. In addition, Fagatogo is high in educational attainment and low in educational enrollment. Fagatogo is also low in affiliation with broker institutions. Pago Pago is similar to Fagatogo in broker institutional affiliation. It is different, however, in educational attainment and enrollment.

The village of Nu'uuli indicates a different pattern from that apparent in the districts. Where most measures of economic opportunity such as income and occupational and industrial diversity are very low,
educational attainment and enrollment follows a similar trend. Affiliation with broker institutions, particularly national broker institutions, however, is high.

These results tend to support the patterns indicated by the districts. Leone and Utulei, like the district of Manu'a, indicate a high relationship between professional and managerial occupations and affiliation with broker institutions. In contrast, Pago Pago and particularly Fagatogo, like the districts of Eastern and Western Tutuila, indicate the reverse. Manufacturing industries appear to be negatively associated with public welfare industries. Educational attainment appears to be negatively associated with educational enrollment and affiliation with broker institutions. Finally, the village of Nu'uuli appears to exemplify a third situation in which all measures are low.

**Summary**

Results were totaled and described for measures of economic opportunity, educational expansion and political integration in spatial and temporal perspectives for districts and villages in American Samoa. Associations between industrial and occupational diversity, educational expansion and affiliation with broker institutions were found. Districts appeared to exemplify two obverse aspects of this relationship. Villages exemplified a wider range of alternatives involving these relationships. A third pattern of relationships was indicated by one village. In addition, although the remaining four villages appeared to exemplify the pattern indicated by the districts, associations between particular measures were not as consistent.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results described in the last chapter partially support the hypothesized relationship between economic opportunity, educational expansion and political integration. The distribution of these variables for districts indicates a positive association between expansion of educational enrollment, low economic opportunity and high affiliation with broker institutions in American Samoa. Measurement of these variables for the sample of villages from American Samoa supports this contention in part only. Comparison of rural settings and population aggregates indicates strong support of the hypothesis. The expectation of association of low economic opportunity, educational expansion and affiliation with national broker institutions did not receive as strong support from either of the samples. Examination of certain measures in temporal perspective supports these conclusions. In addition, the results indicate the presence of other unexpected associations. Most importantly, economic measures may be far more important explainers of the variability described than educational measures.

**Interpretation of Results**

Observation of the results of the analysis indicates that all measures of each variable are not positively associated. Measures of
educational and economic variables, for example, form two patterns of association. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the critical measures of each variable from other measures.

In terms of economic opportunity—income, productive occupations such as crafts and industries such as manufacturing—are positively associated. These measures appear to most closely reflect real economic growth in terms of production and the creation of new wealth. In contrast, economic measures such as professional occupations and industries such as construction and public welfare are positively associated and negatively associated with the above economic relationships. These measures appear to reflect less productive economic activities in that they depend on heavy external inputs of wealth. Therefore, only certain categories such as manufacturing and craft occupations that were used to measure economic opportunity appear to measure economic activity based on productive activities. The other categories such as construction and professional occupations measure opportunity derived from public welfare activities. The more productive type of opportunity has a greater potential for creating jobs. For example, the manufacturing of a product leads to the creation of jobs for the transportation, distribution and marketing of that product. In contrast, passing of money through public welfare agencies directly benefits only the immediate participants. In American Samoa, construction appears to associate with public welfare since most construction probably involves large public buildings that house welfare and public service agencies.
The measure of educational enrollment is a much more precise measure of educational expansion than educational attainment. Educational enrollment is a measure of the current capacity and use of educational facilities. Educational attainment, in contrast, is a measure of previously existing educational activities since most individuals measured in terms of attainment have completed their education.

The following, therefore, would constitute confirmation of the previously proposed hypothesis.

1. Educational enrollment surpasses the expansion of productive economic opportunity and national integration takes place.
2. Educational enrollment keeps pace with the expansion of productive economic opportunity and local political autonomy is maintained.

Analysis of American Samoa tends to partially support both aspects of the hypothesis. First, high educational enrollment, low productive economic opportunities and high affiliation with broker institutions are associated. This indicates that educational expansion may have surpassed economic opportunity since the highest educational enrollment is associated with the lowest economic opportunity in the districts and most villages. Secondly, high educational enrollment and high productive economic opportunities are associated with low affiliation with broker institutions.

Although these patterns indicate a relationship between economic, educational and political activities, the expected association of affiliation with national broker institutions, expanding educational activities
and low economic opportunity is not supported. For example, although Manu'a is the district with highest educational enrollment and lowest economic opportunity, it is highest in affiliation with local broker institutions. In contrast, Western Tutuila, with much higher economic opportunity and lower educational enrollment is highest in affiliation with national broker institutions. Therefore, in American Samoa, it appears that the expansion of educational enrollment beyond economic opportunity leads to the formation of larger local broker institutions rather than national.

It is apparent from examination of the results that high affiliation with local broker institutions is logically dependent in American Samoa on economic opportunity of the public welfare type. In this situation, public welfare agencies appear to have replaced private productive enterprises. Therefore, the failure of the proposed economic and political competition to arise in a situation of expanding education and low economic opportunity can be explained (Foner 1972). It appears that government agencies have created new employment opportunities at the local level that fill the gap created by the lack of productive economic growth. In this way, local competition that would have led to affiliation with national broker institutions is alleviated.

Viewing economic, educational and political measures through time tends to support this conclusion. In Manu'a, for example, educational enrollment has always been higher than in other districts. This difference has continued to increase through time. Concurrently, economic diversity has always been low. Until approximately 1960, most residents
of Manu'a were employed in agricultural activities. By 1970, there was a complete shift in employment with equal numbers employed in public welfare and construction activities. The remaining two districts, in contrast, have always been lower in educational enrollment and higher in economic diversity. In these districts, the shift from agriculture involved more productive economic activities in addition to public welfare and construction. In Manu'a, therefore, economic growth did not match education provided to local inhabitants. It can be inferred that instead, government agencies created the employment opportunities that filled the gap from the lack of productive economic growth.

This conclusion is further supported by population changes and levels of educational attainment in districts. Although educational enrollment has always been higher in Manu'a, educational attainment has consistently been lower relative to the remaining districts. Furthermore, Manu'a has witnessed a slower growth rate than other districts, and since 1960, a sharp population decrease. These lines of evidence suggest that the more educated individuals may be immigrating in search of economic opportunity. Examination of the sample of villages does not inconclusively support this conclusion.

Examination of population aggregation tends to support conclusions drawn from districts as a whole. Areas of population aggregation such as the large villages are higher in economic opportunity, educational attainment and affiliation with non-broker institutions than the rural sectors of the districts. Comparison of results from villages and districts for measures of economic opportunity indicate a generally higher income for
all villages in contrast to the district as a whole in which the villages are located. Similarly, a higher percentage are employed full-time in villages. The village of Leone has amongst the lowest level of unemployment while its district of Western Tutuila has the highest level of unemployment. Similarly, the villages in Eastern Tutuila have generally lower levels of unemployment than the district as a whole. In addition, these villages have much more evenly distributed occupations and industries. In contrast, districts peak in certain industries and occupations. Therefore, it appears that income, employment opportunity and economic diversity are much higher in villages than in the more rural sectors of the districts.

Similarly, higher levels of educational attainment are more common in villages than in the districts in which they are located. Enrollment, however, appears to be similar for both villages and districts. Rural sections of the districts appear, however, to be slightly higher. The district of Manu'a, in particular, has the highest level of enrollment.

Finally, affiliation with local broker institutions is slightly lower in villages while affiliation with national and non-broker institutions is much higher. This is particularly evident for the more aggregated villages of Eastern Tutuila. For this district as a whole, affiliation with national broker institutions is lowest of all cases. Affiliation with such institutions is much higher in the four villages of this district and highest of all in the village of Nu'ulu'.
These observations indicate that examination of differences between villages and the more rural segments of the districts supports the predicted associations between economic opportunity, educational expansion and political integration. Rural areas, for example, have the lowest economic opportunity and equally high if not higher educational enrollments. It appears, therefore, that educational expansion has surpassed economic opportunity in these areas. At the same time, educational attainment and affiliation with national broker institutions is higher in the more aggregated sections of the district. It appears that individuals with higher educational attainment in areas of lower economic opportunity as in the case of Manu'a, have migrated to the larger villages. Examination of figures of population growth in villages and districts indicates that rural-urban migration has indeed occurred in American Samoa (Table 19). Three of the villages in Tutuila have increased in population at a rate greater than the district to which they belong. Pago Pago, in particular, has witnessed the largest absolute rate of growth. It is interesting, in this light, that Pago Pago is highest in productive economic opportunities such as manufacturing in contrast to other villages.

Alternatives

The results of the analysis of villages indicates the possibility of alternatives to the predicted hypothesis. The observed results may be influenced by that aspect of economic opportunity measured by access to centers of economic development. That is, such access may be the
independent variable that determined political change. Education may be another dependent variable in this pattern of associations.

Fagatogo and Pago Pago, for example, are on the one hand, high in economic opportunity but low in affiliation with broker institutions. Measures of educational expansion do not consistently associate with either of these trends. Nu'uuli, on the other hand, is very low in economic opportunity and educational expansion. In this case, affiliation with broker institutions, particularly national broker institutions is very high. This pattern contradicts expected results and indicates that educational expansion may have relatively little to do with national integration. Increasing economic opportunity, alone, may in some cases lead to national integration.

Examination of the extent of economic opportunity among districts and villages suggests that many of the differences observed may be attributable to proximity to areas of intensified economic growth. Pago Pago Harbor is the area most characterized as that area of such growth (Figure 3). The three villages of Fagatogo, Pago Pago and Utulei located around the harbor are all high in measures of economic opportunity. In contrast, Leone and Nu'uuli, more distant from this area, are much lower in measures of economic opportunity. Among the districts, Manu'a conforms most accurately to this pattern. With the lowest levels of economic opportunity, Manu'a is also most distant from this area of economic growth. The Western District of Tutuila, in contrast, appears to offer greater opportunity. Its lower rating relative to Eastern
Tutuila appears to be derived from the greater concentration of economic growth in the eastern section of the island.

The lower rating of economic opportunity at the district level of Eastern Tutuila contrasts, however, with the larger villages where nearly half of its population resides. It appears that in this instance, that economic opportunity outside of these villages may be considerably lower. Proximity to areas of intensified economic growth again appears to be a factor in these differences. Spatial distributions of communities not represented in the village sample are in many instances, of equal or greater distance from the harbor area than villages found in the western district of Tutuila (Figure 3). Access to higher economic opportunity thus appears to be impeded by distance from the area of concentrated economic growth. A lower level of economic opportunity for communities more distant from this area would be a probable result.

The implications of these observations in accounting for variation in level of national integration in American Samoa suggest that communities farther from the growth area are more likely to be nationally integrated than those closer to this area. An examination of distance and type of affiliation among those areas high in this variable suggest that access is indeed a factor in level of integration. The three villages low in affiliation with national broker institutions are found in the harbor area. The remaining two villages more distant from this area are highest in affiliation with national broker institutions. At the district level, variation in affiliation between the two districts of Tutuila again suggests that access is a critical factor. Western
Tutuila is highest in affiliation with national broker institutions. The Manuan district, however, which can be classified as a rural area, has only a slightly higher level of affiliation with national broker institutions than Eastern Tutuila.

Although this alternative proposal accounts well for level of affiliation, the implications of these observations in accounting for variation in educational expansion are inconsistent at best. If access to areas of economic growth is the variable determining educational expansion and political integration, then the highest educational enrollment and attainment would be expected in areas close to the Pago Pago Harbor. The village of Nu'uuli, relatively distant from the harbor has low educational attainment and enrollment. Utulei, adjacent to the harbor is amongst the highest in measures of educational growth. In addition, Pago Pago and Fagatogo, also located adjacent to the harbor area are high in educational attainment relative to the more distant villages.

The village of Leone and the district of Manua, however, have the highest levels of educational enrollment. In addition, the villages of Pago Pago and Fagatogo and the district of Eastern Tutuila have relatively low levels of educational enrollment. Furthermore, educational attainment, as previously discussed, may not be an accurate measure of educational expansion. Attainment levels may in fact measure simply the attraction of areas high in economic opportunity. Evidence, therefore, for education as a variable dependent on access to areas of economic growth is supported only in the cases of Utulei and Nu'uuli.
Evidence from the remaining villages and all districts indicates that educational expansion is not dependent on access to areas of economic growth. This conclusion supports the original hypothesis.

A second alternative is presented by the possibility that increasing affiliation with national broker institutions may trigger educational expansion. This alternative is suggested by the fact that areas low in what have been called productive economic activities are very high in public welfare activities. This suggests that there is a strong government influence at the local level.

The pattern of educational expansion supports this alternative hypothesis. Many of the differences in educational expansion between areas of high and low economic opportunity appear to be attributable to the availability of facilities for higher education. The measure of educational attainment reflects, for the most part, education received by individuals during the years prior to the 1960's, a period of greater local autonomy for education. Additionally educational standardization was less than in more recent periods and educational organization was more decentralized (U. S. Navy 1962). Areas more distant from centralized administration and assistance would be less likely to prepare students to vie competitively for limited educational spaces since education beyond the grade school level was largely unavailable for approximately two-thirds of the population until the mid-1960s (R.G. 1963).

The high enrollment in areas distant from the center of economic growth may be due, therefore, to recent increases in educational
facilities at the local level by national broker institutions. This conclusion, however, is not supported by historical evidence. Educational enrollment in Manu'a, particularly at the higher age levels, has traditionally been higher, at least since the 1930's (Table 16). The current high educational enrollment cannot be attributed to recent government activity. Rather, it can be inferred that high educational enrollment is probably the result of locally initiated educational activities. The original hypothesis is, therefore, again supported. Recent government attempts to standardize and centralize educational activities may lead, however, to marked changes in educational attainment and enrollment in these outlying areas.

Discussion

The models of political integration derived from Despres' (1965) conception of cultural pluralism have proved to be useful. Briefly, these models have postulated that there is a relationship between level of national political organization and extent of integration with national agencies. Drawing from the notions of local and broker institutions and minimal and maximal cultural sections posited by Despres (1967), an attempt was made to draw processual implications from these essentially descriptive and classificatory concepts. Three models of political change were posited. These models attempted to trace changing modes of political integration from initial contact between Western agents and native groups, to the intensified interaction associated with direct exploitation of native resources by Western agents.
In the first model, of the initial contact (Figure 2a), interaction between Western agents and native groups would be limited and carried out largely through indigenous political and economic institutions. Under these circumstances, maximal, or nationally integrated groups with small broker institutions would be probable. The second and third models referred to two possible outcomes of this initial interaction. With more direct economic exploitation of native resources, interaction between Western and native groups would intensify. In this changed situation, minimal or locally integrated groups and larger broker institutions would be probable.

Two forms of integration were predicted. In the second model (Figure 2b), integration of native groups at the local level by local broker institutions was predicted. This would result in native groups retaining local autonomy. In the third model (Figure 2c), however, integration of these groups at the national level was predicted. In this instance, local native groups with little autonomy would result.

The associations of economic, educational and political variables through time demonstrate the ability of these models to describe the process of political integration in American Samoa.

In the initial period of contact, from approximately 1850 to 1920, political organization was based principally on small, autonomous villages that were economically self-sufficient (Goldman 1970). These villages correspond to villages A through D in Figure 2a. At this time, basically two sets of broker institutions were in operation under the control of naval and missionary agencies. Each agency was focused
largely in a particular geographical area. For the Navy, this was the Pago Pago Harbor area, the site of the naval coaling station. Missionary effort, in contrast, was largely concentrated in the outlying areas, particularly the Western district of Tutuila (R.G. 1912, R.G. 1926). Some overlap was apparent since two Catholic schools were located in Pago Pago (R.G. 1926). A focus of activity for each agency, however, can be seen.

Both missionary and naval agencies dealt with different activities: religious prosletization and education on the one hand, and maintenance of the naval station on the other. In this setting, interaction between native groups and outside agencies involved limited activities that were carried out largely on the local level. Membership in missionary broker institutions, for example, involved European missionaries and native pastors. These individuals functioned as intermediaries and between local native groups and outside interests. The Navy, in contrast, sought local laborers for participation in naval enterprises such as stores and maintenance. Membership in naval broker institutions thus involved some naval personnel as well as limited numbers of local workers who also functioned as intermediaries between the two groups.

As a result of differences in activities and geographical locale between the two agencies, the institutions associated with each of these agencies linked autonomous villages into separate groups interacting with the outside world. Such groups, in this instance, retained their separate nature at the national level of the society through the limited activity of naval and missionary broker institutions. Such groups of
villages can thus be viewed as maximal cultural sections. This situation appears to exemplify the conditions found in model 2a.

In the more recent period, from approximately the 1920's to the present, a different set of conditions appeared to have replaced those found in the initial contact period. These conditions appear to exemplify those found in section 2c of the models of political integration. During this period of time, naval institutions and later those of the Department of the Interior replaced many missionary activities. This resulted in the predominance of one major broker agency. In the previous setting, missionary agencies dealt principally with educational and religious activities while the Navy was concerned primarily with economic activities. In this second period, additional activities are combined with educational activities that are absorbed by the Navy.

This process of absorption of missionary activities and the expansion into new activities appears to have occurred largely through the establishment of local broker institutions under the control of the Navy. For example, the establishment of experimental farms and marketing cooperatives, and particularly the growth of local civil-service employment extended the range of economic influence by the Navy (U.S. Navy 1962). In addition, a centralized and secular educational system dependent on the naval administration for direction and subsidy was established. All such institutions functioned as mediators between local native groups and the interests of the outside agency. In this way, they can be seen as broker institutions. In addition, these institutions were under the influence of one national broker institution--
the Samoan established naval administration, and later, the administration of the Department of the Interior.

A product of these changes was that interaction between native groups and one national broker agency intensified. The earlier characteristics of village autonomy and self-sufficiency weakened and integration of local groups occurred through participation in local broker agencies such as educational and economic institutions. In addition, as these local broker institutions were under the influence of national broker institutions, affiliation with one national broker agency took place.

These conditions appear to exemplify those found in section 2c of the models of political integration. In this instance, intensified contact between Western and indigenous groups has taken place through the establishment of local broker institutions such as schools and public service institutions that are under the control of one national broker agency. This situation contrasts with the previous period of lesser outside influence on native villages and the maintenance of traditional local autonomy in relationships with non-native agents. The status of maximal cultural sections applicable to individual villages in this earlier period contrasts with the greater minimal status of relationships between Samoan and non-native groups more recently. That is, more recently, national integration of local native groups through the establishment of local broker institutions has resulted in local groups with little autonomy. Model 2b, involving only direct local linkages through local broker institutions does not appear to have occurred.
The models of political integration thus appear to fit the associations between economic, educational and economic variables observed. First, areas that have the greatest broker institution activity are those with the least amount of productive economic opportunity and the highest levels of educational enrollment. Manu'a, for example, with little occupational and industrial diversity, the lowest income levels and the highest levels of educational enrollment, is very high in affiliation with local broker institutions. In addition, these associations appear to have existed through time. The districts of Eastern and Western Tutuila, in contrast, are much higher in occupational and industrial diversity and income, lower in educational enrollment, and lower in affiliation with local broker institutions. This pattern has also persisted through time.

These associations between economic, educational and political variables imply that uneven educational and economic expansion have fostered dysfunctional economic and political development in American Samoa. Much of this dysfunction appears to be attributable to the lack of coordination between numbers of educated individuals and the ability of local economic opportunity to absorb such individuals. As a result, there appears to be a gap between educational supply and economic demand. Part of this gap appears to have been filled by the creation of employment opportunities in the area of public service. This process seems to be best illustrated in the case of Manu'a. Here, consistently high educational enrollment is found with low economic opportunity. Manu'a,
however, has additionally been characterized by high employment in public welfare and construction activities.

Such changes, however, have not been the type that facilitate productive economic growth. Concurrent with these patterns has been the decline of economic self-sufficiency in Manu'a. This is indicated by a growing dependence on employment opportunities such as professional occupations that do not contribute directly to productive economic growth in the area. A product of this decline in economic productivity appears to be the intensified rates of out-migration from Manu'a. The decline in population in the last decade corresponds in time with the dramatic decline in agricultural activities in Manu'a and the rapid growth in construction and professional industries. That migration can be attributed to the search for greater economic opportunity can be inferred from population growth in more aggregated areas characterized by greater productive economic growth (Table 19).

The lack of coordination between educational expansion and economic opportunity and the parallel decline in economic self-sufficiency can also be inferred as taking place in Eastern and Western Tutuila. A large number of individuals—almost half of the working force in both districts—are employed in occupations such as professional and public administration industries. This suggests that economic opportunity is inadequate in occupations such as manufacturing that are more likely to facilitate productive economic growth.

Such changes appear to be associated with a growing affiliation with the central government. Activities associated with the central
government appear to be increasing through time. The large numbers of individuals, for example, that are employed by public service agencies indicates the predominance of government influence in employment. This suggests that political integration is occurring in areas with large numbers employed in such occupations and that political autonomy is declining. This decline in autonomy, however, appears to be economically rather than politically based. Although government influence in local affairs is increasing, local autonomy does not appear to be breaking down. Rather, economic self-sufficiency appears to be declining as local residents become increasingly dependent on outside wealth. These changes, in addition, appear to be taking place in spite of high levels of educational expansion. This implies that first, Samoans are not becoming more affiliated with national broker institutions but that the government is creating greater numbers of local broker institutions that create local economic dependence. Secondly, educational expansion appears to contribute significantly to this process by failing to synchronize its training function with local needs for more productive economic growth. Therefore, it appears that national political integration is not occurring in American Samoa as much as is economic dependence. This dependence is fostered by a program of educational expansion not coordinated with local economic needs.

Future Considerations

Interpretation of results and conclusions from this analysis of economic, educational and political change in American Samoa suggests a
number of possibilities for future research. These possibilities may assist in reducing some of the ambiguity obtained from the results.

Observation of change in population measures between districts and within villages suggests a way to clarify the role of educational expansion in economic change. This analysis has suggested that there is a link between educational expansion, local economic opportunity and changes in population figures. The nature of this link could only be inferred from relative changes in enrollment, economic measures and population size. A more direct way to examine the effects of educational expansion and economic opportunity on a particular locale would be through a closer examination of migration. Lerner (1964), for example, finds that most professionals are found in metropolitan centers. Examination of what parts of the population are moving particularly in terms of educational background could provide a way of observing more directly the effects of local economic opportunity on local residents.

Examination of employment by employer type could further clarify the role of economic opportunity on political change. Results have indicated that the expected association between low economic opportunity, educational expansion and affiliation with national broker institutions has not occurred. This lack of confirmation may be due, in part, to the limited distinction between local and national broker institutions used in this analysis. For example, individuals classified as local workers may actually be representatives of national organizations such as tax collecting agencies that may simply be locally based. This could result in a classification of low national affiliation. Comparison of job
opportunities between urban and rural settings by type of employer could assist in alleviating such ambiguity by more directly linking type of institutional affiliation with economic measures.

In addition, further refinement of economic and educational measurements of change could assist in reducing some of the ambiguity obtained. For example, the occurrence of high levels of educational attainment with low levels of educational enrollment may be due to sexual differences in school attendance. Thus students may be largely males with few females attending. In this case, enrollment would be considerably lower than attainment because only part of the potential school population would be attending. More likely, however, because compulsory educational laws have been in effect during much of the period of American occupation of the islands, would be that high school attainers are not actually residents of American Samoa but have moved there after completing their education. As a political dependency of the United States, American Samoa could contain some highly educated individuals brought from the United States for administrative or advisory purposes. In this instance, such individuals would be relatively few in numbers but also have high school attainment. They would not contribute to enrollment figures but would have some impact on educational attainment. The inclusion of origin of birth could thus provide a way of observing the effects of participation in educational systems other than schools considered in the analysis.

Similarly, the refinement of economic criteria should enhance the measurement of economic change. In particular, the variable, income,
may be subject to numerous intervening variables. Such factors as age of worker, sex and residence that could potentially influence not only the amount of income but its purchasing value (Levine, n.d.), were not accounted for in this analysis. The importance of including such variables can be seen from the results. Income levels in all districts increased through time. At the same time, income levels in Manu’a were consistently lower than those in the two districts of Eastern and Western Tutuila. The significance of this variation between districts cannot be fully interpreted without also considering, for example, the buying power of these incomes. Thus incomes between districts may not be comparable limiting the interpretation of any variations that may exist. Comparison of income levels by such factors as age, sex, and accounting for potential differences between locales in terms of purchasing power could assist in alleviating the ambiguity of such economic measures by assuring more comparable results.

Summary and Conclusions

Employing observations of economic, educational and political change in developing areas, a hypothesis was drawn in which a positive relationship between educational expansion, economic opportunity and political integration was posited. Cultural pluralism was selected as a way to structure observation of political change. American Samoa was selected as a good case for testing this relationship. From a period of relative isolation in the 19th century, American Samoa passed through a period of dominant colonial rule which saw the development of multiple institutional systems. Missionary activity in the late 19th century
as well as occupation by the United States Navy in the first half of the 20th century led to the establishment of multiple relationships between native groups and representatives of these outside interests. The economic dominance of the military ultimately reduced affiliation with missionary interests, a pattern that continued through Department of the Interior administration since 1951.

Analysis of spatial and temporal associations between economic, educational and political measures partially confirmed the hypothesis. Results from administrative districts in American Samoa indicated a positive relationship between low productive economic opportunity, high educational expansion and political integration. Expected associations between low economic opportunity, educational expansion and affiliation with national broker institutions did not receive strong support. It was suggested that this may be attributable to weak distinctions between local and national affiliation. Results from analysis of villages in American Samoa were not as clear. A third pattern of relationships was indicated by one village in which all measures were low. Remaining villages appeared to generally exemplify the pattern indicated by the districts. Associations between particular measures, however, was not as consistent. It was suggested that this may be attributed in part to the indirect method of relating educational expansion to local economic opportunity. Comparison of rural and more urbanized sectors of the population, however, indicated strong support of the hypothesis. In addition, examination of certain measures in a temporal perspective also supported this position. It was concluded that population integration
was not taking place in American Samoa but that local economic dependence on government agencies was. Declining economic self-sufficiency through the lack of internally developed productive economic growth was seen as taking place. Education was suggested as contributing to this process by fostering a program of educational expansion not coordinated with local economic needs.

These results indicate the usefulness of the concept of cultural pluralism for structuring research on economic, educational and political behavior in developing areas. Although measures of these variables employed in this analysis have some limitations in their ability to portray social behavior, future analysis using more direct and rigorously defined criteria would result in a more extensive examination of potential associations.

These results also indicate the need to expand the critical analysis of the role of education in developing areas. The rapid growth of educational facilities and programs intensifies the need to more fully evaluate the mediating role of the educational institution. As an institution concerned with the transfer and distribution of both skills and information, the educational institution is in a unique position to contribute directly to the diffusion of development goals. The mediator status of education provides an obvious link between policies conceived at the national level and their implementation at the local level of society. The additional complication of colonial histories of many developing areas reaffirms the need to further utilize the concept of cultural pluralism in such evaluations.
Finally, these results point to the importance of viewing education as but one component in a complex, multi-component social system. As illustrated by the analysis of educational, economic and political change in American Samoa, the failure to coordinate educational policies with local economic needs has resulted in economic dependence on government subsidy and a decline in productive economic growth. The need to coordinate educational resources with the local economic context, and to consider the political ramifications of such alliances is essential to productive policy strategies.

American Samoa has provided a good test case for the use of conceptions drawn from cultural pluralism for understanding the influence of multiple cultural conditions on economic, educational and political development. Future examination of this area should further clarify the relationship between education and economic and political change in transitional societies.
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122


