

REPORT ON THE 1974 CENSUS OF AMERICAN SAMOA: PART II

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INTRODUCTION

In this part of the report explanations and further compilations of the data are presented. In Part I (also referred to as Volume I in the text), basic information was provided about the census and 51 tables showing census results were presented without interpretation.

There are two types of tables in the report. The tables prepared for Part I were labeled sequentially with single arabic numbers; the tables for Part II ("text" tables) have been labeled with a Roman numeral for the chapter and a sequential arabic number (e.g., I.1, II.1, II.2). In the text, tables from both volumes may be referenced in the same sentence.

The text tables have been added to aid in explanation of the data. There are three kinds of these tables: 1) compilations of information already available in the tables shown in Part I of the report; 2) tables showing comparative information from previous American Samoa censuses; and, 3) tables comparing data with the 1971 Census of Western Samoa. These tables are used for explanatory purposes, and, for the most part, will not be interpreted.

Each chapter includes a short discussion of the census question from the census form, an explanation of the tables prepared for Part I of the report, and further tabulations for comparative purposes.

Several conventions have been used to aid in understanding the tables. Many of the totals for column and row percents for text tables, for example, do not equal 100 percent because of rounding errors. Rather than adjust individual entries to add to 100 percent, the actual percentage determinations have been given.

The Samoan words matai and aiga are used throughout Part II of the report without being glossed. Aiga means a group of people related bilaterally by blood, marriage and adoption. A matai is a family leader, and is the

head of an aiga. There are different levels of matai in Samoa, but these levels were not distinguished in the 1974 Census.

For many of the regular tables, and several of the text tables, the country of Western Samoa has been divided into three areas to permit more analysis of the data: 1) Apia consists of Apia, the capital city of Western Samoa, and the towns surrounding it; 2) Upolu covers the remainder of the island of Upolu (where Apia is located) and the two small islands of Manono and Apolima; and 3) Savai'i consists of Savai'i, the other large island in Western Samoa.

The American Samoa Advisory Council on Vocational Education has funded the writing of Part II of this report. A section in Chapter IX has been included to aid the council in assessing some of the problems facing American Samoans in the labor force; many of the other tables in Part I and text tables in Part II have also been prepared to help identify areas of current and potential change in demography, education, and employment. The support of the Advisory Council is gratefully acknowledged.

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CHAPTER I: AMERICAN SAMOA: ITS CHARACTER AND
TWENTIETH CENTURY POPULATION CHANGES

Introduction

American Samoa, a territory of the United States of America since 1900, is located in the South Pacific between longitudes 168° and 171° west and latitudes 14° and 15° south. It contains a total of six inhabited islands: Tutuila, Aunu'u, the three islands of Ta'u, Otu, and Olosega of the Manu'a group and remote and privately owned Swain's Island. In addition, uninhabited Rose Atoll also belongs to the territory. Altogether, there are only 76 square miles of land in the territory.

Much of the land, especially on the major island of Tutuila, is mountainous and unsuitable for agriculture. It is estimated that perhaps 30 percent of the land is arable. Aside from rich volcanic soil well-suited for agriculture, Samoa has no known mineral resources. However, the heavy annual rainfall of between 150 and 200 inches annually and a temperature ranging between 70 and 90 degrees does provide favorable conditions for raising taro, the favorite food staple, as well as a variety of commercial crops, notably copra and bananas. The predominant trade winds keep the weather generally pleasant. As a result of the equitable climate, excellent beaches and an "exotic" atmosphere which is also American, American Samoa has considerable tourist potential. The waters around American Samoa contain several commercially valuable varieties of fish, but these have been exploited mainly by Japanese and other foreign fishermen.

In the latter 19th century, American Samoa and what is now the independent country of Western Samoa were a united indigenous kingdom. It became subject to the rivaling territorial and commercial aspirations of Germany, the United States, and Great Britain. The conflicting claims were settled at Samoa's expense in 1899 when Great Britain withdrew its

claims, what is now American Samoa was given to the United States and the remainder came under the administration of Germany. Formal control by the United States actually began in 1900. New Zealand acquired control of Western Samoa after World War I and retained it until independence came in 1962. Until 1951, the United States Navy administered American Samoa, but the Department of the Interior has since had administrative responsibilities.

Approximately 30,000 inhabitants reside in the territory. Approximately 85 percent are indigenous Samoans of polynesian ancestry; half of the remainder are part-Samoans and the balance are of other ethnicities. Despite massive economic changes, Samoan society has maintained many of its traditional features. The basic social unit is the aiga, a group of people related bilaterally by blood, marriage, or adoption. Matai , who may also be family leaders, head these units. Ninety six percent of the land is owned communally and only one percent is owned by individuals. (The remaining three percent is government owned.) Despite these manifestations of the continuing strength of the indigenous culture, many cultural practices have been modified or dropped as a result of "Westernization".

Prior to World War II, the economy was basically one of subsistence agriculture with minimal governmental intervention except in the fields of health and education. The establishment of tuna canneries in 1954 and 1963 brought many Samoans into wage employment for the first time. The expansion of the governmental sector, especially since 1960, has resulted in an economy heavily dependent on governmental expenditures. These changes have brought a general affluence unimaginable prior to World War II and unobtainable in adjacent Western Samoa, but the costs have been aspirations rising faster than the ability of the economy to grow without

massive governmental subsidies, vulnerability to international economic fluctuations, a greatly reduced self sufficiency in providing food and other goods, serious regional imbalances between Tutuila and outlying islands not sharing in the economic expansion, and a weakening of traditional cultural institutions and norms without the adoption of adequate replacements. Thus, American Samoa faces many serious challenges in the coming years. The 1974 census provides much of the basic data needed for assessing where American Samoa "is at" and what changes are desirable for the future.

Population Changes Since 1900

The population of American Samoa has increased by more than 400 percent since 1900, when United States rule began. It has grown from the 5,679 recorded by the United States Navy in 1900 to 29,190 in 1974 (Table I.1 and Figure I.1). This represents an annual growth rate of 2.2 percent. However, the growth has been erratic, a reflection of varying health conditions in the early years and, more recently, fluctuations in emigration and immigration. Until the 1940s, the population grew at an annual rate of approximately two percent. Improved health conditions, hygienic and sanitary habits, and the establishment of a hospital helped maintain a high growth rate in the years prior to World War II.

The increase in population that occurred between 1940 and 1950 can be attributed both to natural increase and to immigrants from Western Samoa who came because of the great demand for labor during World War II. The 1940 census enumerated 955 born in "other Pacific Islands" but the 1950 census counted 1,980 Western Samoa-born and 212 born in other Pacific Islands. Norma McArthur estimated that natural increase contributed 4,700 out of the 6,000 plus net increase recorded for the decade. Thus, immigration probably accounts for more than one-fifth of this total (McArthur 1968:144). Between 1950 and 1960, however, the rate of increase was very slow, and between 1956 and 1960 there was actually a decrease in population, if the censuses are accurate. The average emigration rate during the 1950's was approximately 2.5 percent annually. According to McArthur, during 1950-56 the net loss through emigration was 3,000 persons compared with the addition of 4,100 persons through natural increase (*ibid*). During the three and one half years between the two censuses of 1956 and 1960, there were about 2,800 births and 400 deaths suggesting a 2,500 net loss due to

Table I.1 Population of American Samoa from 1900 to 1974 by District

Census Date	Total	Eastern Tutuila	Western Tutuila	Manu'a	Swain's Island	Index 1900=100	Percent Change Since Previous Census	Annual Percent Change Since Previous Census
June 1, 1900	5679	2221	1702	1756		100		
1901	5563	2342	1618	1603		98	-2.0	-2.0
1903	5888	2441	1752	1695		104	5.8	2.8
1908	6780	3018	1907	1855		119	15.1	2.8
1913	7251	3186	2268	1797		128	6.9	1.3
Jan. 1, 1920	8058	3777	2408	1873		142	11.1	1.3
1926	8763	4221	2395	2060	87 ¹	154	8.7	1.4
Apr. 1, 1930	10055	5032	2777	2147	99	177	14.7	3.4
Apr. 1, 1940	12908	6733	3431	2597	147	227	28.4	2.5
1945	16493	9338	4610	2406	139	290	27.8	4.9
Apr. 1, 1950	18937	10624	5330	2819	164	333	14.8	2.8
Sept 25 1956	20154	11405	5902	2767	80	355	6.4	1.0
Apr. 1, 1960	20051	11137	6113	2695	106	353	-0.5	-0.1
Apr. 1, 1970	27159	15955	9018	2112	74	478	35.4	3.1
Sept 26 1974	29190	16828	10520	1808	34	514	7.5	1.6

¹ Swain's Island became an American possession in 1923.

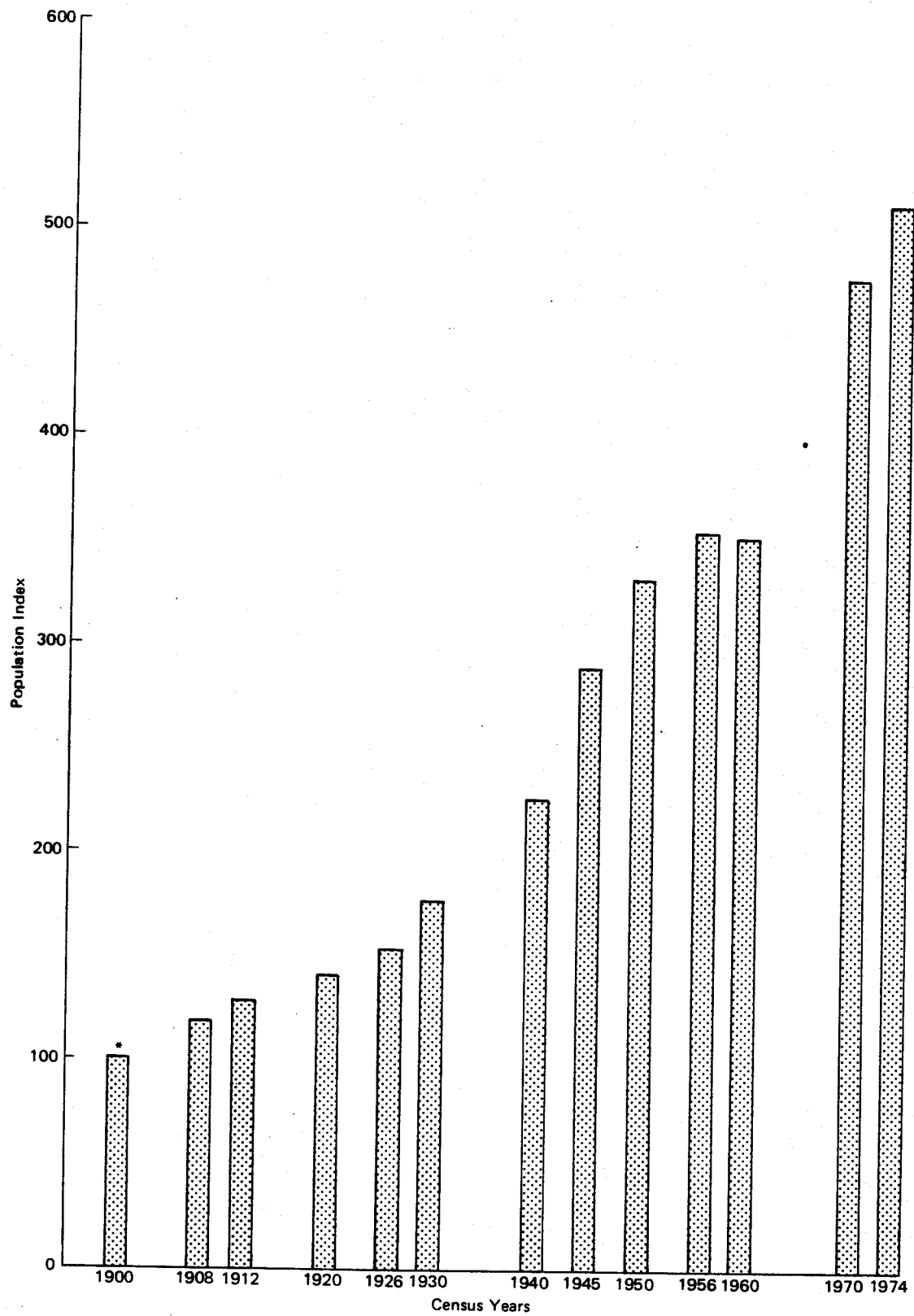


Figure I.1 Index of Population Growth in American Samoa, 1900-1974

emigration, and an average annual emigration rate of 3.5 percent. This mass emigration reflects economic stagnation and greater willingness to emigrate resulting from greater information about economic opportunities in the United States.

The growth rate increased dramatically to 3.1 percent per annum during the 1960s, although emigration continued to be high (Park 1972:9). The rate of increase slackened to 1.6 percent annually between 1970 and 1974 due to increased emigration for education and jobs.

Fluctuations in population change since World War II thus appear to be tied to economic changes as well as increased awareness of opportunities in the United States. Given these facts, it is difficult to forecast future changes in population. It does appear that American Samoans are very willing to move to better their economic circumstances, but would prefer to stay if the local opportunities are sufficient to meet their aspirations.

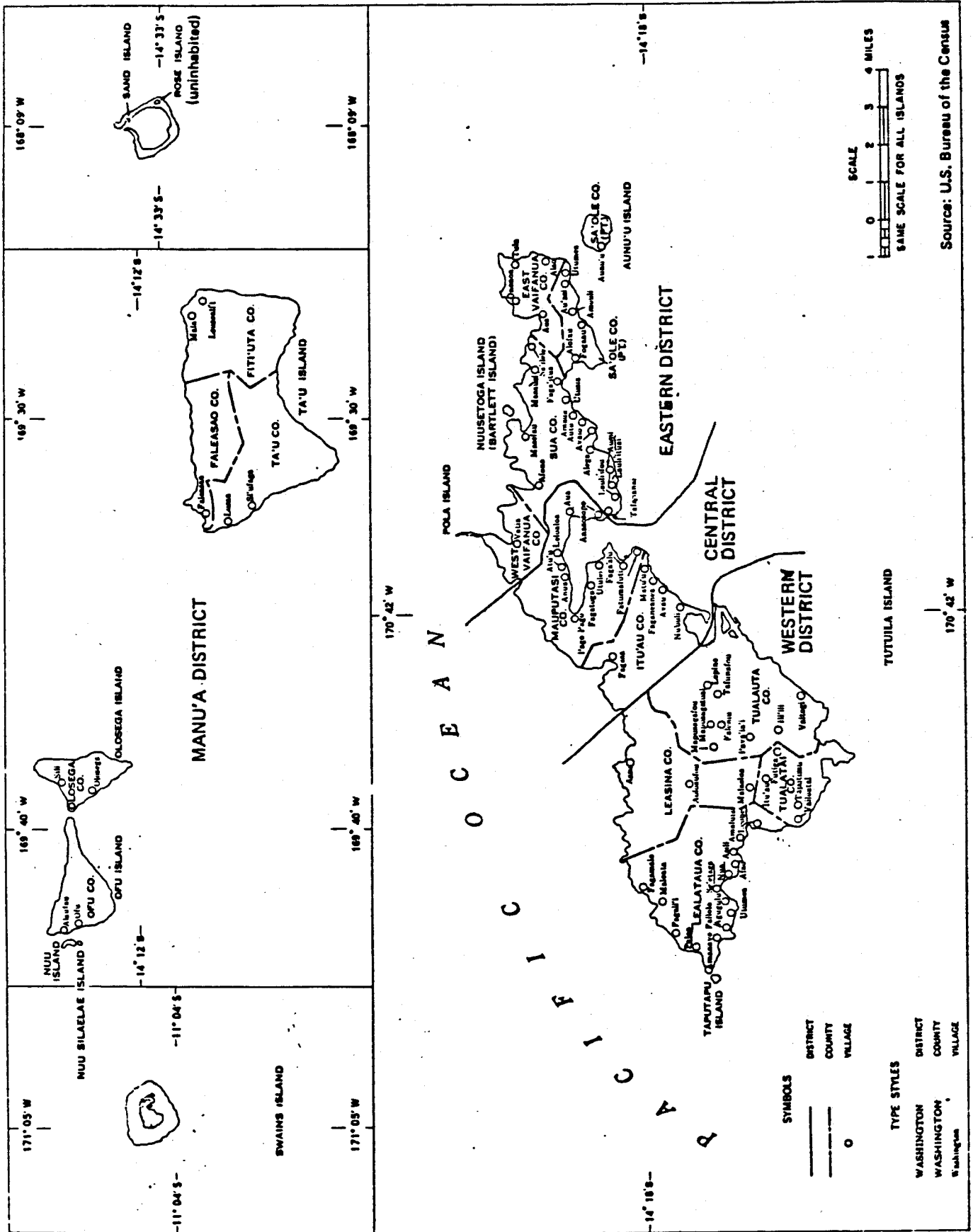
CHAPTER II: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY

For purposes of the 1974 Census, four areas or districts were used to measure population distribution and change (Figure II.1): Swain's Island and the islands of Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosega in Manu'a were combined to form Manu'a District; Tutuila was divided into the three districts of Western District (from the Western end of the island to and including the road to Tafuna going to the airport), Central District (from Nu'uuli to Anasosopo), and Eastern District (from Tafunanai to the Eastern end of the island). Adjoining Aunu'u Island was also included in the Eastern District. Previous censuses had divided Tutuila into Western and Eastern districts (the 1974 designations of Central and Eastern Districts made up the former Eastern District). Central District which contained the government offices, the tuna canneries, and American Can Company, as well as four of the five largest villages, was the only district which could be considered urban. For the purposes of the 1974 Census analysis the village of Leone in Western District has also been classified as urban because over 1000 persons lived there. It was possible to reconstruct Central and Eastern District populations from village populations for most censuses after 1930; no reconstruction has been attempted for earlier censuses.

All of the villages in Manu'a and Swain's Island are on or near the coast. Most of the villages on Tutuila are also along the coast; in Western District, however, the main road cuts through part of the highland area, and villages have been established along this road. A few other villages in this district are short distances from the main road.

In the early 1900s the proportion of the total population living in Eastern District (including Pago Pago and the other Central areas) grew whereas the proportion living in Western District did not change and that

Figure II.1 Census districts and villages of American Samoa



of Manu'a decreased (Table II.1). Whereas the 1900 Census revealed 39 percent of the population to be living in the Eastern District, this proportion had risen to 47 percent by 1920.

Since 1930, the proportion of the population in Eastern District, as defined in the 1974 Census, has remained relatively constant; that of Western District has grown substantially, while that of Central District has grown steadily, but less rapidly; and that of Manu'a has decreased by three-fourths (Table 1, Table II.2 and Figures II.2 to II.4). Although the number of persons living in Manu'a in 1974 was almost identical to the number there in 1900, the proportion of the total dropped from 30.9 percent in 1900 to 6.3 percent in 1974.

From 1930 through 1960 the percentage of people in Western District remained about constant. Since 1960, however, this percentage has grown considerably, mostly at the expense of Manu'a District. Central District has experienced a steady growth, both in absolute and relative terms. (The 1960 totals are in exception but may indicate severe underenumeration in the Central District.) Figure II.5 shows in logarithmic form the changes in population structure by district. The exponential growth of American Samoa is clearly seen.

In 1974, the population density of American Samoa was 385 persons per square mile (Table II.3). In terms of arable land, however, the density is closer to 1300 persons per square mile. There was considerable variation by district: Central District had 1015 inhabitants per square mile whereas the corresponding figure for Manu'a District was 79. Overall, the density was 520 for Tutuila as a whole.

Percent changes in the population between censuses illustrate the differences in growth rates among the districts (Table II.4).

Table II.1 Distribution of American Samoa Population by
Districts for Census Years 1900, 1903, 1908, 1912 and 1920

District	N u m b e r					P e r c e n t				
	1900	1903	1908	1912	1920	1900	1903	1908	1912	1920
Western	1702	1752	1907	2268	2408	30.0	29.8	28.1	31.3	29.9
Eastern	2221	2441	3018	3186	3777	39.1	41.4	44.5	43.9	46.9
Manu'a	1756	1695	1855	1797	1873	30.9	28.8	27.4	24.8	23.2
Total	5679	5888	6780	7251	8058	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table II.2 Distribution of American Samoa Population by Districts for
Census Years 1930, 1940, 1950, 1956, 1960, 1970 and 1974

District	1930	1940	1950	1956	1960	1970	1974
<u>N u m b e r s</u>							
Western	2777	3431	5330	5902	5784	8751	10520
Central	3309	4373	7231	7591	6735	10655	11646
Eastern	1627	2222	3224	3485	3829	5177	5182
Manu'a	2246	2744	2983	2847	2695	2112	1842
Total	10055	12908	18937	20154	20051	27159	29190
<u>P e r c e n t s</u>							
Western	27.6	26.6	28.1	29.3	28.8	32.2	36.0
Central	32.9	33.9	38.2	37.7	33.6	39.2	39.9
Eastern	16.2	17.2	17.0	17.3	19.1	19.1	17.8
Manu'a	22.3	21.3	15.8	14.1	13.4	7.8	6.3

Table II. 3 Density per Square Mile of Districts for Census Years, 1930-1974

	Area [*] in Square Miles	1930	1940	1950	1956	1960	1970	1974
Western	27.8	100	123	191	212	208	314	378
Central	11.5	288	381	630	662	587	929	1015
Eastern	13.3	122	167	242	262	288	389	389
Manu'a	23.2	97	118	128	123	116	91	79
Total	75.8	133	170	250	266	264	358	385
Total Tutuila	52.6	147	191	300	323	311	467	520

*Areas obtained with a polar planimeter and maps provided in the 1970 U.S. Census Report.
These areas are estimates.

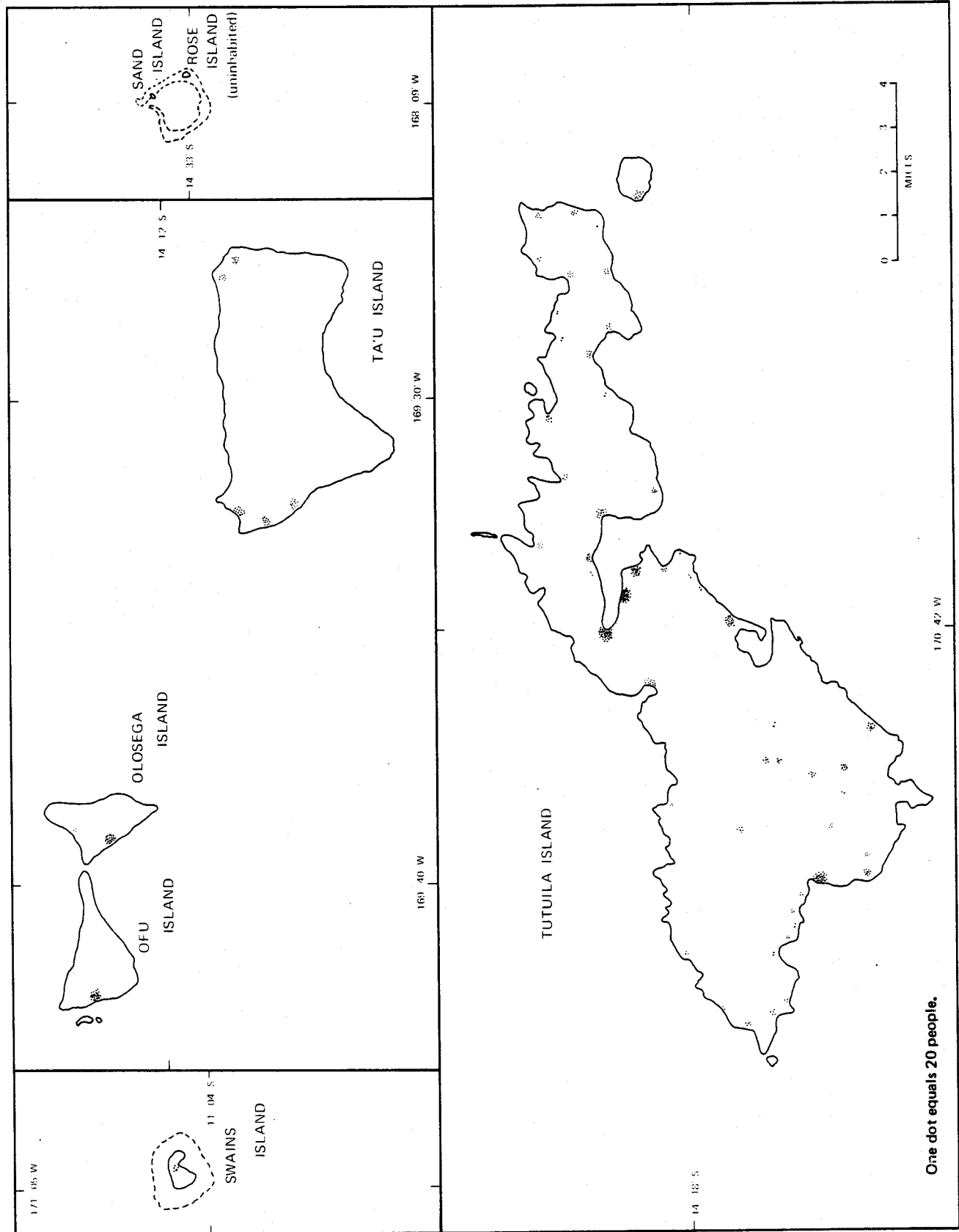


Figure II.2 American Samoa Population Distribution, 1930.

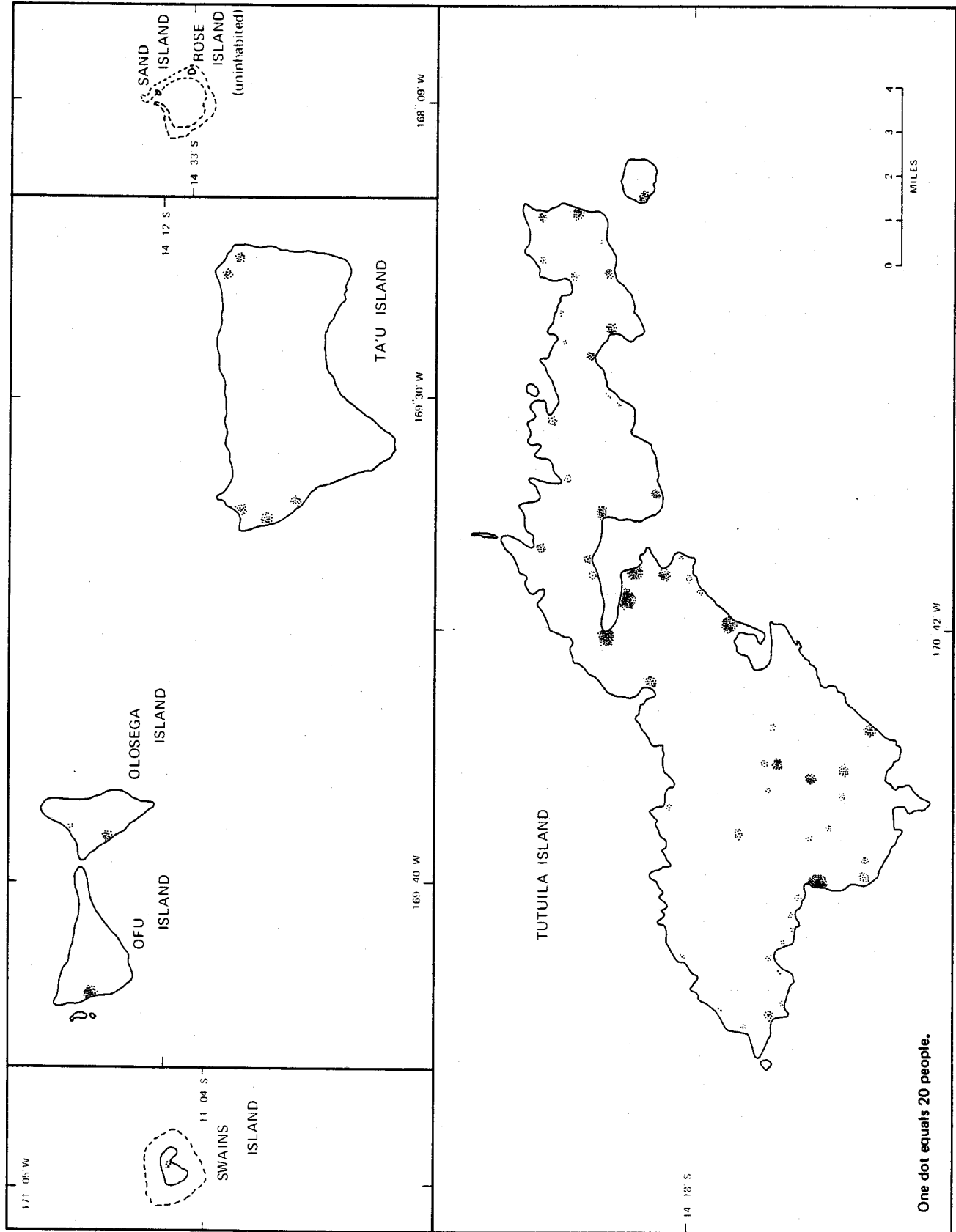


Figure II.3 American Samoa Population Distribution, 1960.

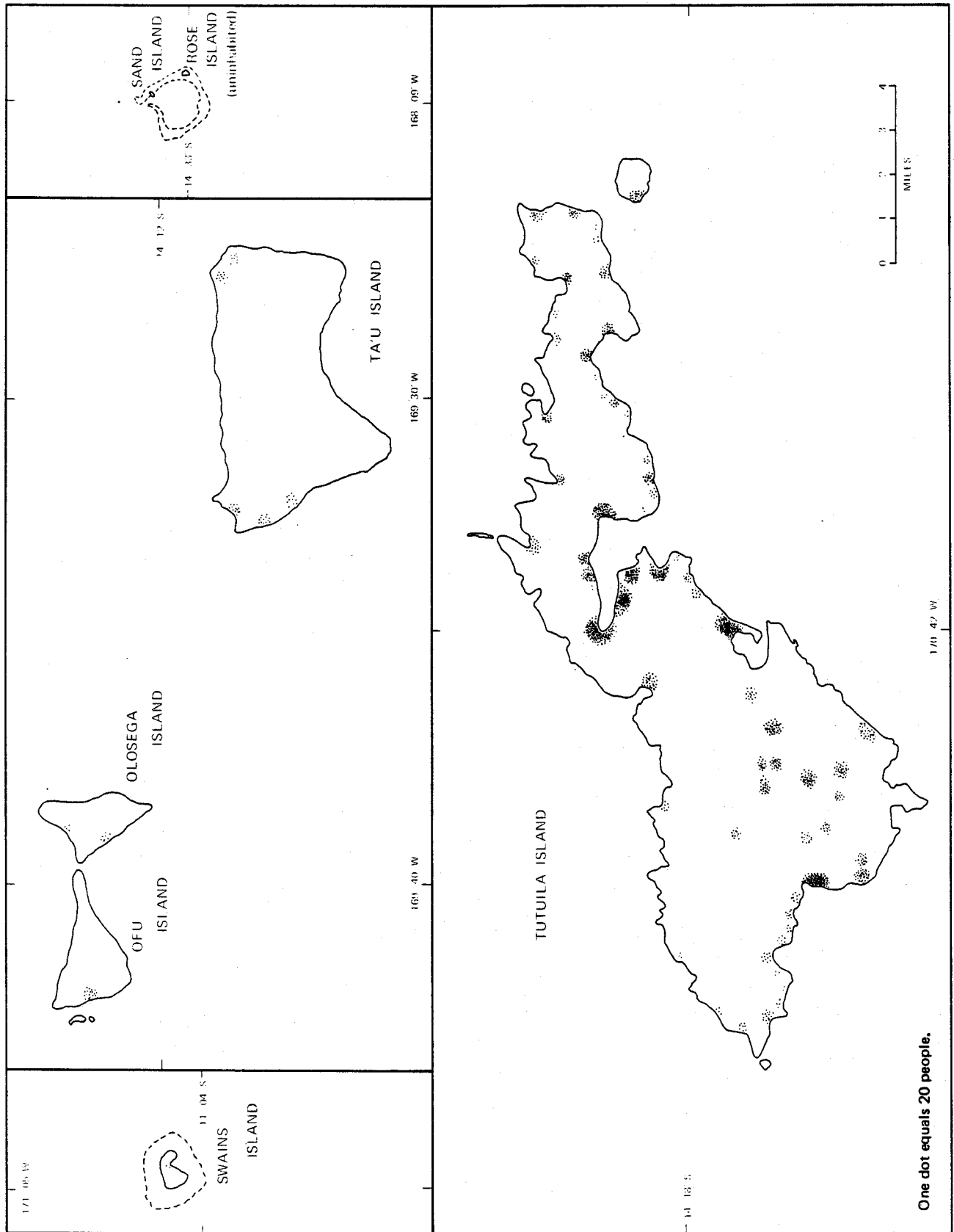


Figure II.4 American Samoa Population Distribution, 1974.

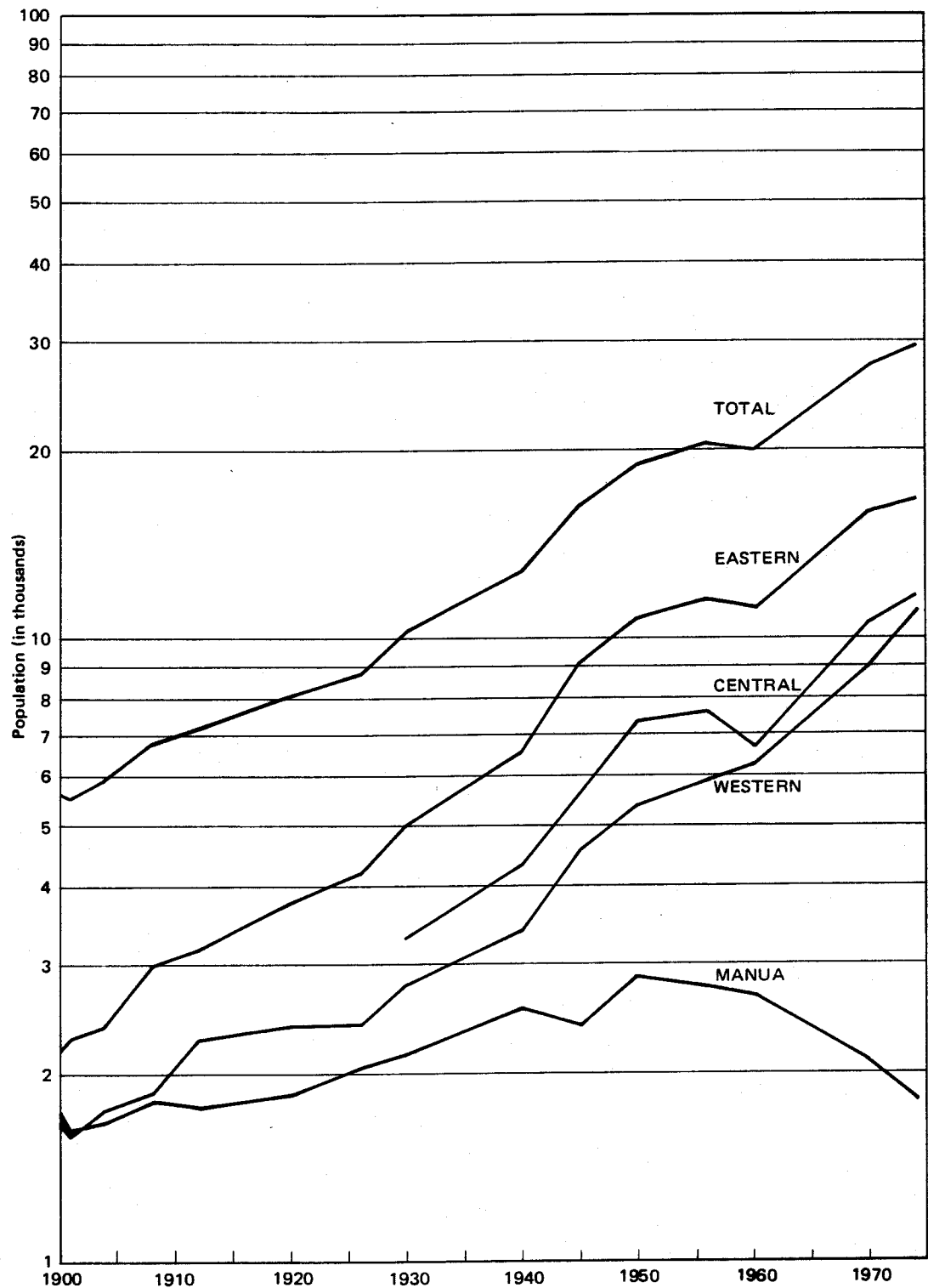


Figure II.5 Population of American Samoa in the Twentieth Century by District.

Table II.4 Percentage and Annual Change in Population Between
Censuses by District, 1930-1974

District	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1956	1956-1960	1960-1970	1970-1974
<u>T o t a l P e r c e n t C h a n g e</u>						
Western	23.6	55.3	10.7	-2.0	51.3	20.2
Central	32.2	65.4	5.0	-11.2	58.2	9.3
Eastern	36.5	45.1	8.1	9.9	35.2	.1
Manu'a	22.1	8.7	-4.6	-5.3	-21.6	-12.8
Total	28.4	46.7	6.4	-0.5	35.4	7.5
<u>A n n u a l R a t e o f C h a n g e</u>						
Western	2.1	4.4	1.6	-.6	4.1	4.1
Central	2.8	5.0	.8	-3.4	4.6	2.0
Eastern	3.1	3.7	1.2	2.7	3.0	.0
Manu'a	2.0	.8	-.7	-1.6	-2.3	-3.0
Total	2.5	3.8	1.0	-.1	3.0	1.6

Until 1960, the annual growth rates for Western District were similar to those for all American Samoa. Since 1960, however, the rates have been almost double those for the whole territory. For Central District, the rate from 1960 to 1970 was even higher than that for Western District, probably due to industrialization and the increasing numbers of government jobs; the rate of increase has been slower since 1970. Although the rate of increase of Eastern District was the same as that for the whole territory from 1960 to 1970, growth almost stopped between 1970 and 1974. Manu'a began to lose population before the 1956 Census, and the percentage decrease has accelerated between each census taken since 1956.

The population density for counties varies somewhat within districts (Table II.5). Mauputasi County, with the large villages of Pago Pago, Fagatogo, Utulei, and Faga'alu, is the most densely populated (1331 persons per square mile). Swain's Island is the least densely populated because of heavy population losses resulting from its isolation and economic stagnation. Other areas in Manu'a are also more sparsely inhabited than any county in Tutuila, except Leasina County which contains only isolated villages. The other counties on Tutuila are all relatively densely populated, ranging from West Vaifanua (215 per square mile) to Mauputasi.

In summary, the overall density of 385 persons per square mile is misleading in that many areas are uninhabited and population density exceeds 1000 persons per square mile in the urbanized Central District. Population growth has been uneven and has favored developed areas in Central Tutuila and, more recently, Western Tutuila, mainly at the expense of the outlying islands. Indeed, the exodus from the Manu'u District has resulted in depopulation there.

Table II.5 Density per Square Mile of Counties for Census Years, 1930-1974

County	Area* in Square Miles	1930	1940	1950	1956	1960	1970	1974
Lealataua	7.7	163	198	258	274	301	400	437
Leasina	7.0	39	48	60	61	54	64	59
Tualatai	3.0	146	175	281	329	316	522	561
Tualauta	9.8	83	97	182	218	219	349	445
Western	27.8	100	123	191	212	208	314	378
Itu'au	4.8	157	212	376	348	395	602	654
Mauputasi	6.4	372	485	806	930	761	1212	1331
Central	11.5	288	381	630	602	587	929	1015
West Vaifanua	1.8	87	116	148	166	181	212	215
Sua	6.3	84	119	182	184	230	335	335
East Vaifanua	2.3	202	252	395	423	417	499	491
Saole ¹	2.3	194	273	345	403	467	530	530
Eastern	13.3	122	167	242	262	288	389	389
Faleasao	3.5	81	98	106	106	100	83	73
Fitiuta	5.8	69	85	97	102	103	85	76
Ta'u	6.8	92	121	128	134	120	87	82
Ofu	2.5	186	199	229	214	241	164	149
Olosega	1.4	212	241	253	222	202	161	95
Swain's	1.2	80	119	133	65	86	60	28
Manu'a	23.2	97	118	128	123	116	91	79

¹ Aunu'u included with Saole county.

* Areas obtained with a polar planimeter and maps provided in the 1970 U.S. Census Report. Counties do not add up to district totals because of errors in estimation and rounding.

CHAPTER III. SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE

In the 1974 Census, sex and date of birth were obtained for all persons. Whenever possible, month, day, and year of birth were obtained. Known birth dates, personal appearance, and a calendar of historic events were used to help determine the year of birth when the actual date of birth was unknown.

Table III.1 shows the distribution of residents in each village of American Samoa by age and sex. There were 14,747 males and 14,443 females in the total population of 29,190 persons. Table III.2 shows the number of persons by single year of age and sex for each district. The overall ratio of 102 males per 100 females in 1974 is "normal," given the youthful population and a sex ratio of 106 for persons born between 1960 and 1970 in American Samoa.

Sex

Censuses from 1900 (Table III.1) have consistently shown an excess of males, but the long-term trend has been towards numerical equality between the sexes. Marked fluctuations observed in earlier censuses may reflect differential undercounting of males and females.

A division of the population into age groups reveals some of the reasons for the variability in the sex ratios between 1956 and 1974 (Table III.2). The large number of young men who leave American Samoa to study, work, or join the United States military has reduced the sex ratios for age groups 20-24 and 25-29, particularly the former. Females also predominate in the 70-74 and especially the 75+ age groupings. This results from much higher rates of male mortality in ages 60 and over (Park 1972: 72). A marked surplus of males in the 30-44 age range reflects the impact of non-Samoans, who are mostly male and are concentrated in this age range.

Table III.1 Proportions of Sexes in the Population of American Samoa,
1908-1974

Census Date	Males	Females	Excess of Males	sexratio
				Number of Males/100 Females
1908	3619	3161	458	114
1912	3836	3415	421	112
1920	4092	3966	126	103
1926	4494	4269	225	105
1930	5208	4847	361	107
1940	6612	6296	316	105
1945	8565	7928	637	108
1950	9818	9119	699	108
1956	10107	10047	60	101
1960	10164	9887	277	103
1970	13682	13477	205	102
1974	14747	14443	304	102

Table III.2 Sex Ratios for Census Years 1956, 1960, 1970,
and 1974

Age Group	1956	1960	1970	1974
0-4	106	107	104	105
5-9	105	108	101	112
10-14	110	112	99	107
15-19	101	117	108	92
20-24	94	87	87	71 ✓
24-29	76	72	106	94 ✓
30-34	99	79	104	117 ✓
35-39	96	99	100	112 ✓
40-44	112	113	95	111
45-49	105	105	104	96
50-54	108	121	119	101
55-59	86	119	124	124 ✓
60-64	94	84	110	106
65-69	70	89	101	124
70-74	106	84	84	91
75+	86	86	66	60
Total	100.6	102.8	101.5	102.1

Many are contract workers in Samoa for short periods of time (See Chapter 4, "Ethnicity").

Table III.3 shows the number of males per 100 females for the five-year age groups by district of residence. Manu'a is the only district with fewer males than females. For all districts, especially the Eastern District, the lack of males in the 20 to 24 year age group is evident. With the exception of Manu'a, there is a surplus of males in the 30-44 age range.

District sex ratios have changed considerably in successive censuses (Table III.4). For example, prior to the 1974 Census, Manu'a had a majority of males; the change to a surplus of females was probably due to a dominance of males among those leaving for jobs in Tutuila, Hawaii, and the United States mainland. Since 1950 Western District twice had more females than males, and in 1960, only Manu'a had more males than females.

Age

The age-sex distribution in 1974 is portrayed in Figure III.1, which shows a very youthful population. The mean age is 19.2 years for males and 21.9 years for females, and the median ages are 16.5 years and 17.7 years, respectively. An analysis of broad age groups helps explain the age structure.

Each of the broad age groups grew between 1970 and 1974, although the younger age groups grew at slower rates than did the older age groups (Table III.5). (Since Eastern and Central Districts were not separated in the 1970 Census, the 1974 data have been grouped for comparative purposes.) The age group 0-14 years grew only 1.7 percent during the four and one-half year period. The percent increase in the 15-29 year age group was 8.2

Table III.3 Number of Males per 100 Females Classified by 5-Year Age Group and District, 1974

Age Group	District			
	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a
0-4	109	101	112	92
5-9	109	117	110	108
10-14	108	103	117	105
15-19	97	80	113	84
20-24	73	84	59	81
25-29	90	101	92	70
30-34	106	124	120	156
35-39	121	109	105	95
40-44	110	118	114	75
45-49	101	94	97	80
50-54	96	115	76	117
55-59	139	119	136	88
60-64	119	83	112	167
65-69	131	110	129	200
70-74	100	100	64	93
75+	45	50	111	57
Total	103.2	100.7	104.8	97.6

Table III.4 Sex Ratio of American Samoa by District, 1950 to 1974

Year	American Samoa	Western District	Eastern [*] District	Manu'a
1950	107.7	106.9	109.1	104.0
1956	100.6	99.7	99.0	100.5
1960	102.8	103.0	103.4	100.0
1970	101.5	98.1	103.1	104.1
1974	102.1	103.2	101.9	97.6

* As defined by the U.S. Census Bureau. Sex ratios for Central and Eastern Districts in 1956 were 96.6 and 100.5 respectively; in 1974 these compositions were 100.7 and 104.8. In other census years there was no distinction between Central and Eastern Districts.

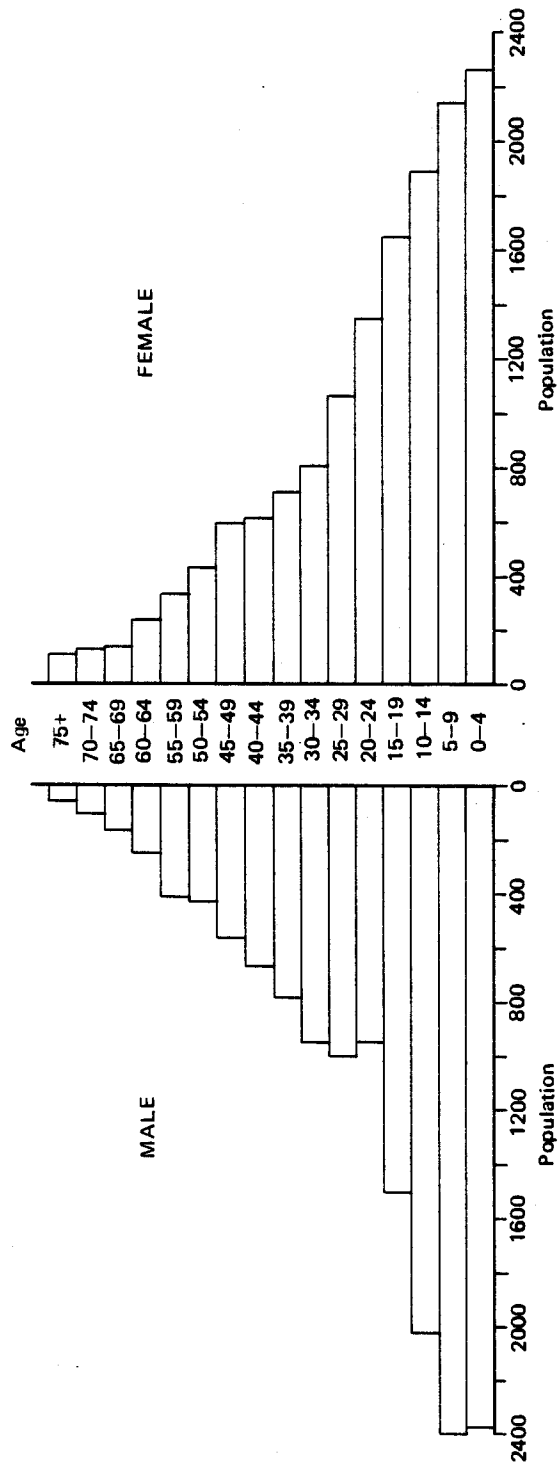


Figure III.1 Number of American Samoan Residents by Age and Sex, 1974

Table III.5 Percent Change of Broad Age Groups by Sex and District, 1970 to 1974

District and Sex	A g e G r o u p				
	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+
Western					
M	16.2	14.1	36.0	16.9	26.5
F	.5	27.5	21.1	30.1	27.6
T	8.1	21.0	28.5	22.9	27.0
Eastern					
M	1.6	-3.0	18.6	7.8	18.8
F	-2.5	14.9	5.8	18.6	14.9
T	-.3	5.9	12.3	15.7	16.8
Manu'a					
M	-12.9	-48.1	-8.3	-11.0	8.3
F	-6.9	-24.4	-31.9	12.0	-19.4
T	-10.0	-37.2	-21.8	-.4	-6.8
Total					
M	5.1	-.4	22.7	11.9	19.9
F	-1.8	16.8	7.7	21.7	13.7
T	1.7	8.2	15.2	16.5	16.7

percent, approximately half that for the older age groups. Many young adults with accompanying children are apparently leaving American Samoa, and they are not being replaced by young immigrants.

Western District is increasing fairly rapidly in all except the 0-14 age groups. Manu'a District, on the other hand, showed decreases in all age groups, some of them quite striking. The 15-29 year age group had 37.2 percent fewer persons in 1974 than in 1970--owing to a large exodus for jobs and other activities in Tutuila and the United States. Eastern District and Manu'a shrank in the 0-14 year age group, although the loss was negligible in the Eastern District. In the older age groups, changes in Eastern District were close to the averages for American Samoa.

The changes differed considerably for males and females. The number of females in the age group 0-14 years declined by almost two percent during the intercensal period, whereas males in that age group increased by about five percent. Why this should be so is puzzling as there is no reason to assume sex selectivity of migrants in this age range. In the next age group (15-29), however, the males showed a slight decrease, while the females increased substantially. This is probably due to the predominance of males among the emigrants. Conversely, the more rapid male increase in the 30-44 age group may be due to return migrants who are presumably also predominantly male. The rates of increase for both sexes over 45 years were high.

Western District showed large increases for both sexes in all age groups, except for females 0-14. In Eastern District, however, there were decreases in the number of females 0-14, and males 15-29, and only a slight increase in the number of males 0-14. Manu'a had large decreases in all of the younger age groups for both sexes. This reflects an exodus which has assumed massive proportions in recent years.

The percentage distribution of persons in each age group for 1970 and 1974 shows that in both years almost half the population was less than 15 years old (Table III.6). Between 1970 and 1974 the percentage of persons under 15 in Manu'a increased from 50 to 54 percent although it declined from 47 to 45 percent in the territory. The proportions in all age groups increased slightly in American Samoa, although there was a 5 percent decrease recorded for the 15-29 year age group in Manu'a (Table III.6).

The distribution of the population by sex, broad age group, and district (Table III.7) shows that in all districts there is a higher percentage of all males than females in the 0-14 age group, whereas the opposite is true in the 15-29 age group. The latter shows that the effects of sex selective emigration affected all areas. In all districts a higher proportion of all males than females are in the 30-44 age group. Most of the persons "on contract" are in this age group. No clear patterns are evident in the higher age groups.

The population can also be analyzed by grouping ages by a functional standard, such as that prepared for the World Population Conference (United Nations Economic and Social Council, "World and Regional Population Prospects," 31 March 1973): preschool (ages 0-4), school age (5-14), employable (15-64) and retired (65 and older). The proportion of the population under five years decreased from 17.3 percent in 1970 to 15.9 percent in 1974. The 5-14 year age group, generally the group for whom school attendance is compulsory, also experienced a relative decline from 30.1 to 29.0 percent during the period. In contrast, the "employable" age group, those persons 15-64, increased from 50.1 percent to 52.4 percent because of the decrease in the proportion in the younger age groups. The oldest age group remained proportionately constant (2.5 percent).

Table III.6 Percentage Distribution of the Population by Age and District, 1970 and 1974

Age Groups	D I S T R I C T					Total
	Western	Central	(Both) *	Eastern	Manu'a	
0-14						
1970	48.3		(46.6)		49.9	47.4
1974	44.8	42.6	(44.0)	47.0	53.6	44.9
15-29						
1970	25.3		(26.4)		20.3	25.5
1974	26.3	27.9	(26.5)	23.4	15.2	25.7
30-44						
1970	14.3		(14.8)		13.0	14.5
1974	15.8	15.9	(15.7)	15.2	12.1	15.5
45-59						
1970	8.7		(8.5)		10.8	8.8
1974	9.1	9.1	(9.4)	9.9	12.8	9.5
60+						
1970	3.3		(3.7)		6.0	3.8
1974	3.6	4.1	(4.1)	4.3	6.7	4.1
<u>Total Persons</u>						
1970	9018		15955		2186	27159
1974	10520	11646	(16828)	5182	1842	29190

* Central and Eastern Districts were combined as "Eastern District" in the 1970 census.

Table III.7 Percentage Distribution of Males and Females by 15 Year Age Group by District, 1974

Age Group	Sex	D i s t r i c t			
		Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a
0-14	M	46.0	43.9	48.7	54.4
	F	43.6	41.4	45.2	52.3
	T	44.8	42.6	47.0	53.6
15-29	M	24.1	25.3	21.5	13.6
	F	28.5	30.4	25.4	16.6
	T	26.3	27.9	23.4	15.2
30-44	M	16.4	17.2	15.8	12.2
	F	15.2	14.7	14.7	11.9
	T	15.8	15.9	15.2	12.1
45-59	M	9.3	9.4	9.7	12.4
	F	8.9	8.8	10.2	13.0
	T	9.1	9.1	9.9	12.8
60+	M	3.7	3.8	4.3	7.1
	F	3.6	4.3	4.3	6.2
	T	3.6	4.1	4.3	6.7
Total	M	5343	5842	2652	910
	F	5177	5804	2530	932

The net outflow in some of the age groups has changed the dependency ratio (Table III.8). The dependency ratio is the number of dependent persons--those aged 0-14 years and 65 years and older--divided by the generally employable population--those aged 15 to 64 years. Although the overall dependency ratio declined between 1970 and 1974, there was considerable regional variation; Western District's dependency ratio declined considerably, and Eastern District's (i.e., as defined in 1970) less so, while that of Manu'a increased. A heavy outmigration of persons in the productive ages, maintenance of high fertility (Chapter X), and possibly outmigrants leaving children with relatives in Manu'a all contributed to this increase.

One of the major problems in analyzing census data is a preference for particular digits, especially 0 and 5, in reporting ages. A number of indices have been developed to measure the extent of "clustering" of the population in particular ages. Whipple's index, one of the simpler measures of bias in digits 0 and 5, is obtained by taking the number of persons reporting ages ending in 0 and 5 out of one-fifth the total population reporting ages 23 to 62. A result of 100 indicates no preference for or against the digits 0 and 5. Whipple's indices for males and females, and all persons were 98.1, 106.1, and 102.0, respectively, all reasonably close to 100. Since the population of American Samoa is so small, this variation can be attributed as much to chance as to age misreporting.

x Myers' index measures preferences for all digits from 0 through 9. The pattern of digit preference for ages 0 through 69 (Table III.9) shows a slight preference for ages ending in 0. Blending, which deemphasizes mortality effects, shows a slight preference for the digit 6 and a corresponding avoidance of the digit 3. Since date of birth, rather than age, was collected, one might have expected a bias toward digits 4 and 9 since the

Table III.8 Dependency Ratios for American Samoa, 1970 and 1974*

District	1 9 7 0			1 9 7 4		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Western	97.6	106.1	101.8	91.9	84.0	87.9
Central				86.1	78.4	82.2
(Both) ¹	(96.2)	(95.6)	(95.9)	(91.6)	(82.4)	(86.9)
Eastern				113.1	92.2	102.2
Manu'a	119.1	118.1	118.6	142.7	131.8	137.1
Total	98.4	100.7	99.5	94.3	85.5	89.8

$$* D = \frac{\text{Persons 0-14 and 65+}}{\text{Persons 15-64}} \times 100$$

¹ Central and Eastern Districts were combined as "Eastern District" in the 1970 census.

Table III.9 Age Score Test (Myers'-Blended Index) by Sex and Last Digit of Age
(For Persons 0-69), 1974

Digit	Males		Females		Blended Population *	Ratio to Digit 9
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
0	1644	11.3	1666	11.8	2433.1	1.019
1	1544	10.6	1470	10.4	2297.8	.963
2	1574	10.8	1524	10.7	2394.0	1.003
3	1429	9.8	1403	9.9	2246.8	.941
4	1467	10.1	1496	10.6	2456.0	1.029
5	1440	9.9	1437	10.1	2468.0	1.034
6	1505	10.4	1382	9.7	2562.6	1.074
7	1367	9.4	1321	9.3	2456.0	1.029
8	1285	8.8	1286	9.1	2426.7	1.017
9	1258	8.7	1192	8.4	2387.0	1.000
Myers' Index		6.6		7.2		

* Age_{10+x}, Age_{20+x} weighted

census was taken in 1974. All in all, the Myers' index suggests fairly accurate age reporting.

Summary

The population of American Samoa is a youthful one, with nearly half of the population under 15 years of age. In recent years, however, there has been a drop in the proportion of young children. Age appears to have been reported quite accurately. There are approximately equal numbers of males and females. However, variations by age are considerable and reflect differential impacts of migration and mortality.

Although the population in all districts is youthful there are nevertheless marked variations in age and sex characteristics, reflecting mainly differential economic opportunities and migration flows resulting from them.

CHAPTER IV: ETHNICITY

The 1974 Census noted an ethnic group or origin for each person in American Samoa. Those of unmixed Samoan ancestry were coded as Samoan. When a person had both Samoan and non-Samoan ancestors, he or she was classified as part-Samoan. Tongan, Nieuuan, and Tokelauan ethnicities were coded separately. If all ancestors were from other Pacific Islands, the person was coded as "Other Pacific Islander". Codings were also provided for Caucasians and Koreans. Persons with all other ancestries were coded as "other". Tables 7 through 10 in Volume I contain information on ethnicity and other demographic variables.

Table IV.1 shows the ethnic distribution of the 1974 population by district of residence. Almost 85 percent of the American Samoa population in 1974 were Samoan and an additional 8 percent were Part-Samoan. Eastern and Manu'a Districts were almost 98 percent Samoan or Part-Samoan, and proportions for Central and Western Districts were 89.5 and 93.1 percent, respectively. The largest percentage of Samoans resided in Manu'a (95.7 percent); the smallest percentage lived in Central District (80.0 percent). On a district level there is an inverse relationship between the proportions who are Samoan and Part-Samoan, a reflection of intermarriage between Samoans and non-Samoans. Caucasians constituted the largest ethnic group other than Samoans and Part-Samoans (2.9 percent of the total population), with the highest percentages being in Western District (3.7 percent) and Central District (3.3 percent). Tongans comprised only 2.0 percent of the total population, primarily living in the Central (3.4 percent) and Western (1.5 percent) districts. The other ethnic groups made up only 2.3 percent of the total population. In general there is a strong positive relationship between the level of economic development and the proportion of the population that is of a given non-Samoan ethnicity.

Table IV.1 Population of American Samoa by Ethnic Group and District of Residence, 1974

Ethnicity	Place of Residence							
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Samoan	8906	84.6	9305	80.0	4792	92.5	1763	95.7
Part Samoan	891	8.5	1121	9.6	280	5.4	38	2.1
Both	9797	93.1	10426	89.5	5072	97.9	1801	97.8
Tongan	157	1.5	393	3.4	25	.5	1	.1
Niuean	27	.3	96	.8	3	.1	2	.1
Tokelauan	42	.4	107	.9	14	.3	13	.7
Other Pacific	23	.2	17	.1	8	.2	2	.1
Korean	21	.2	117	1.0	16	.3	0	0
Caucasian	392	3.7	385	3.3	36	.7	22	1.2
Other	61	.6	105	.9	8	.2	1	.1
Total	10520	100.0	11646	100.0	5182	100.2	1842	100.1
							29190	100.0

According to the 1956 Census, Samoans, Part-Samoans, Other Pacific Islanders (with no distinctions made), Caucasians (termed "Europeans") and Others comprised 89.1, 7.5, 1.5, .9, and 1.0 percent, respectively of the total population. In relative terms, therefore, the Caucasians grew most rapidly between 1956 and 1974. Their rapid increase is due largely to the rapid expansion of the government services and the need for trained bureaucrats from the Mainland to run them, but economic expansion in the private sector also played a role. The growth of the Other Pacific Islander population (as defined in 1956) to 3.2 percent of the population in 1974 was also impressive and reflects improving living standards far above those of most other Pacific Islands. Koreans were not enumerated separately in 1956 but were numerically insignificant then. Surprising is the lack of relative growth in the Part-Samoan population between 1950 and 1974 as all offspring between Samoans and non-Samoans, Part-Samoans and Part-Samoans, and Part-Samoans and non-Samoans are, in theory at least, counted as Part-Samoans. Thus, one would expect the population so classified to grow rapidly. Indeed, whereas the 1956 census enumerated 1518 Part-Samoans, the 1974 census enumerated only 794 Part-Samoans aged 18 and above. Two likely possibilities are that Part-Samoans are especially prone to emigrate or that many declare only one ethnic affiliation when they reach maturity. The proportion of self-proclaimed Samoans dropped by nearly five percent in the 18 year interval, but they are still the overwhelming majority.

Table IV.2 compares the ethnic distribution by district for 1956 and 1974. Manu'a and Eastern Districts which experienced little economic growth contained few non-Samoans in both years. Central District in both years contained high proportions of non-Samoans. Puzzling is the indicated percentage decline for Part-Samoans. The relative growth of the non-Samoan

Table IV.2 District of Residence and Ethnicity of
American Samoa Population, 1956 and 1974

Ethnicity	District of Residence							
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a	
	1956	1974	1956	1974	1956	1974	1956	1974
	<u>Number</u>							
Samoan	5452	8906	6275	9305	3493	4792	2762	1763
Part-Samoan	365	891	1015	1121	97	280	40	38
Caucasian	15	392	154	385	2	36	2	22
Other Pacific ¹	69	249	167	613	7	56	43	18
Other	1	82	191	222	0	24	0	1
Total	5902	10520	7802	11646	3603	5182	2847	1842
	<u>Percentage</u>							
Samoan	92.4	84.7	80.4	79.9	96.9	92.5	97.0	95.7
Part-Samoan	6.2	8.5	13.0	9.6	2.7	5.4	1.4	2.1
Caucasian	.3	3.7	2.0	3.3	.1	.7	.1	1.2
Other Pacific	1.2	2.4	2.1	5.3	.2	1.0	1.5	1.0
Other	----	.8	2.4	1.9	----	.5	----	.1
Total	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0

¹ Including Tongans, Niueans, Tokelauans and those coded as "Other Pacific" in 1974.

component of the Western District population was spectacular. The percentage of Caucasians increased tenfold, while that of other Pacific Islanders doubled. In 1956, government services and non-subsistence economic development was restricted to Central District. Economic growth in the Western District between the censuses attracted many from elsewhere, and the improved road network enabled many to commute to jobs in Central District.

In 1974, the sex ratio varied considerably among the enumerated ethnic groups (Table IV.3). There were virtually equal numbers of males and females in the combined Samoan and part-Samoan population. The same was true of all other Pacific Islanders with the exception of the small contingent of Niueans. However, males outnumbered females by three to one among Koreans, two to one among "Others" and by a third among Caucasians. Most Koreans are males involved in construction projects. Few bring their families as their goal is to save as much money as possible. Many of the Caucasian bureaucrats likewise leave their families "Stateside" and some are unmarried males searching for "adventure". "Others" are difficult to categorize but it is reasonable to surmise that many are from Hawaii and belong to ethnic groups (e.g., Japanese, Chinese, and part-Hawaiian) that are well represented there. Their socioeconomic characteristics probably resemble those of the Caucasians. In 1956 (data not shown), the patterns were similar, although the sex ratio (156) among the Caucasians was even higher and there were only 2 females among the 192 Others. Upgraded educational and other facilities have undoubtedly contributed to the lowering of the sex ratio among Caucasians and "Others".

A breakdown by age groups (Table IV.4) shows that 96 percent of all persons aged 14 and under are either full- or part-Samoan. At the other

Table IV.3 Distribution of the Ethnic Groups by Sex, 1974

Ethnicity	Males	Females	Sex Ratio
Samoaan	12,371	12,395	99.8
Part Samoaan	1,144	2,330	103.7
Both	13,557	13,539	100.1
Tongan	290	286	101.3
Niuean	76	52	146.2
Tokelauan	88	88	100.0
Other Pacific	25	25	100.0
Korean	118	36	327.8
Caucasian	477	358	133.2
Other	116	59	196.6
Total	14,747	14,443	102.1

Table IV.4 Ethnicity by Broad Age Group for American Samoa, 1974

Ethnicity	Broad Age Group								Total Percent		
	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59			60+	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent		No.	Percent
Samoan	11163	85.2	6513	86.8	3630	80.1	2362	85.2	1030	85.8	84.8
Part-Samoan	1385	10.6	477	6.4	253	5.6	155	5.6	59	4.9	8.0
Total	12548	95.8	6990	93.2	3883	85.7	2517	90.8	1089	90.7	92.8
Tongan	180	1.4	169	2.3	168	3.7	43	1.6	14	1.2	2.0
Niuean	35	.3	28	.4	28	.6	22	.8	14	1.2	.4
Tokelauan	53	.4	38	.5	39	.9	31	1.1	15	1.2	.6
Other Pacific	7	.1	13	.2	17	.4	5	.2	7	.6	.2
Korean	29	.2	36	.5	76	1.7	11	.4	1	.1	.5
Caucasian	209	1.6	184	2.5	272	6.0	116	4.2	48	4.0	2.9
Other	5	.3	46	.6	48	1.1	26	.9	13	1.1	.6
Total	13096	100.1	7504	100.2	4531	100.1	2771	100.0	1201	100.1	100.0

extreme, non-Samoans comprise more than 14 percent of those in the 30-44 age group. The proportion that is part-Samoan decreases with age. Caucasians and especially Koreans are concentrated in the 30-44 age group. Reasons for this have been discussed. Tongans provide the largest share in the 30-44 age group, but in contrast to the Koreans and Caucasians, their age distribution reflects the presence of many families in which both spouses are present, and a moderately high birthrate. This age group also had the highest percentage of Koreans.

Figure IV.1 shows the distribution of Samoans and Part-Samoans by five year age groups and sex. Although the population of American Samoa was very young, Part-Samoans were even younger. Almost fifty percent of the Part-Samoans were under 10 years (Table IV.5). This suggests rapid growth in the future. However, the rate of growth will depend not only on rates of intermarriage and fertility, but also on the proclaimed self identities of those of mixed Samoan and non-Samoan ancestry.

Summary

The 1974 Census revealed nearly 85 percent to be Samoan with an additional eight percent who were Part-Samoan. However, other groups registered substantial numerical and proportional gains between 1956 and 1974. Their increases reflect enhanced economic opportunities for them in American Samoa.

Most of the non-Samoans live in the Central District, where the government and private economic opportunity are concentrated. However, the largest proportionate increase between 1956 and 1974 occurred in Western District, which had been undergoing an economic transformation. The most "traditional" areas are almost entirely ethnically Samoan .

Age and sex characteristics of the Samoans and non-Pacific Islanders are at considerable variance. They reflect a permanent indigenous population characterized by high fertility and the transience of most of the Caucasians, Koreans and others.

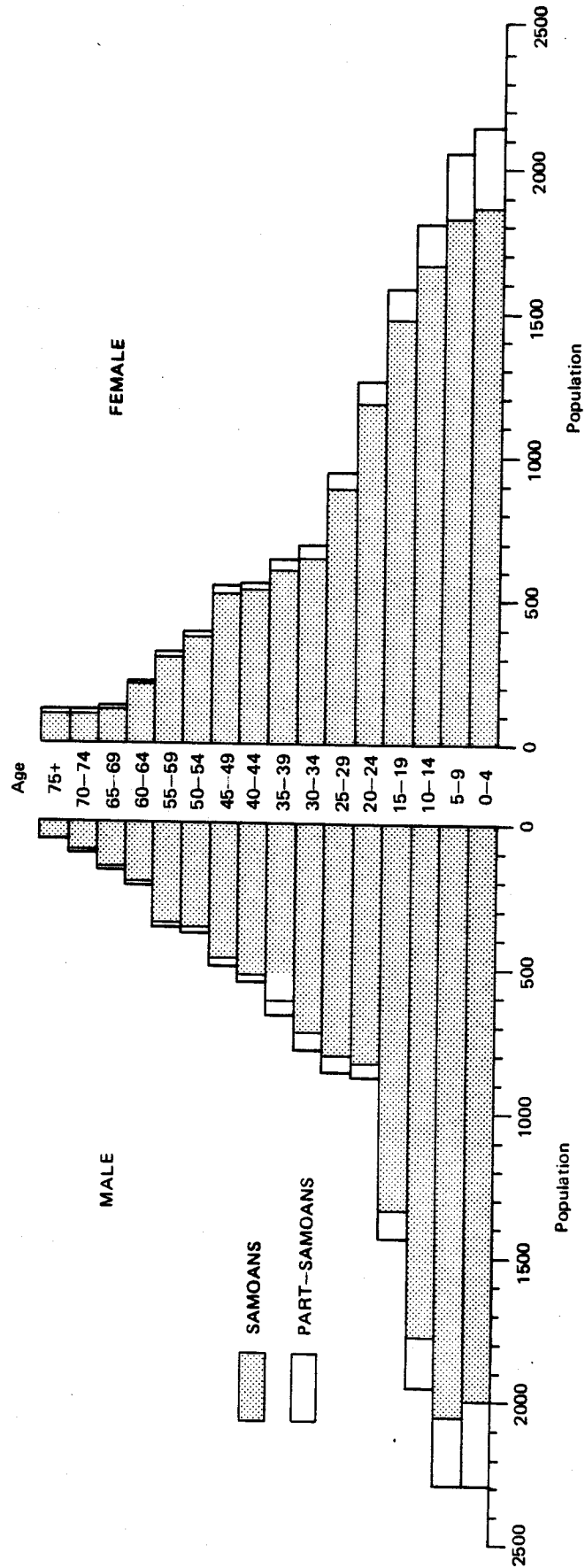


Figure IV.1 Number of Samoans and Part-Samoans by Age and Sex, 1974.

Table IV.5 Numbers and Percentages of Samoans and Part-Samoans by Age Group, and by Sex, 1974

Age Group	Samoan		Part-Samoan		Samoan		Part-Samoan	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	% of Males	% of Females	% of Males	% of Females
0-4	2001	1859	289	288	16.2	15.0	24.4	25.2
5-9	2047	1821	253	238	16.5	14.7	21.3	20.8
10-14	1777	1658	170	147	14.4	13.4	14.3	12.8
15-19	1341	1471	104	115	10.8	11.9	8.8	10.1
20-24	829	1183	55	81	6.7	9.5	4.6	7.4
25-29	805	884	61	61	6.5	7.1	5.1	5.3
30-34	719	641	67	52	5.8	5.2	5.6	4.5
35-39	614	602	43	36	4.9	4.9	3.6	3.1
40-44	521	533	29	26	4.2	4.3	2.4	2.3
45-49	465	522	37	29	3.8	4.2	3.1	2.4
50-54	357	368	24	22	2.9	2.9	2.0	1.9
55-59	348	302	26	17	2.8	2.4	2.2	1.5
60-64	201	206	17	12	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.1
65-69	149	113	6	6	1.2	0.9	0.5	0.5
70-74	95	106	5	7	0.8	0.9	0.4	0.6
75+	59	101	0	6	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.5
NS	43	25	0	1	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.1
Total	12371	12395	1186	1144	99.9	100.0	99.7	100.1

CHAPTER V: MIGRATION

Place of birth was recorded for all American Samoa residents and tabulated in Tables 4 through 6 in Volume I. When a child was born in a hospital, the mother's village or usual place of residence was given, rather than the location of the hospital. Since the Government of American Samoa requested information on the amount of immigration to, and emigration from American Samoa, a number of other "places" were also included in the data that were collected: place of birth and residence for all biological (own) mothers and fathers of residents (Tables 11 through 14) for information on generational movement; usual residences (Table 15), and places where residents attended primary school (Table 25) and secondary school (Table 26) to aid in tracing individual migrations.

In the 1974 Census, 18,680 persons or 64.0 percent of the total population, were enumerated as born in American Samoa (Table V.1). 10,510 persons (36 percent) were born outside American Samoa.

During the 1950s the percentage of residents born outside of American Samoa declined slightly. However, since 1960, there has been a steady decline in the percentage of persons born and living in the territory while the percentage born outside American Samoa has increased steadily from 11.6 percent in 1960 to 36.0 percent in 1974. Their actual number has quadrupled--from 2,319 to 10,510. Between 1960 and 1974 the foreign-born population increased by 585 persons per year.

The substantial contribution of Western Samoa-born persons to the population of American Samoa is apparent in comparing the places of birth noted for residents of American Samoa in 1974 with those for residents of Western Samoa in 1971 (Table V.2). Whereas 0.6 percent of the Western Samoa population was born in American Samoa, 25.3 percent of the American Samoa population was born in Western Samoa. Put another way, the latter

Table V.1 Persons Born In and Outside American Samoa,
1950-1974

Year	<u>Born In American Samoa</u>		<u>Born Outside American Samoa</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1950	16437	86.8	2500	13.2
1956	17692	87.8	2462	12.2
1960	17732	88.4	2319	11.6
1970	20067	73.9	7092	26.1
1974	18680	64.0	10510	36.0

Table V.2 Place of Birth of American Samoa Population, 1974,
and Western Samoa Population, 1971

Place of Birth	Western Samoa		American Samoa	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
American Samoa	911	.6	18,680	64.0
Western Samoa	143,273	97.7	7,384	25.3
Other Pacific	717	.5	809	2.8
New Zealand and Australia	939	.6	95	.3
USA and Other America	490	.3	1,843	6.3
Other	139	.2	344	1.2
Not Stated	0	--	35	.1
Total		99.9		100.0
Total Persons		146,627	29,190	

population outnumbered the former by more than eight to one. Both the proportions (10.7 vs. 1.6 percent) and the total numbers (3091 vs. 2291) born outside of either Samoa are higher in American Samoa.

An analysis of the American Samoa-born by district of birth (Table V.3) shows that the number and percentage of persons born in Manu'a are higher than those living there. This contrasts with Western, Central and Eastern districts where the reverse is true. The statistics for usual residence are similar to those for current residence. Although more than 25 percent of the American Samoa residents were born in Western Samoa, only around two percent claimed Western Samoa as their usual residence. This shows that most consider themselves to be "migrants", rather than visitors. Similarly, 10.6 percent of the population were born in "other places", but only 1.0 percent claimed these places as usual residences.

The distribution of persons by sex for places of birth and usual residence is similar to the distribution for the whole population (Table V.4). The percentages of ~~females~~ born in and having "usual" residences in "other places" are significantly higher than those of females.

The places of birth of those born outside American Samoa are given in Table V.5. More than 70 percent of this group, including 68 and 73 percent of the males and females, respectively, were born in Western Samoa. The next largest contributor was the United States (17.6 percent), the percentages of males and females being 18.4 and 16.7, respectively. These figures include Samoans whose parents were in Hawaii or on the United States mainland at the time of the births. The United States births were further divided into Hawaii, California, and other United States births; approximately 25 percent of these births occurred in Hawaii, 36 percent in California, and a little more than 38 percent in the rest of the United States. Tonga

Table V.3 Numbers and Percentages of Population by Current (De Facto) Residence,
Place of Birth and Usual (De Jure) Residence

Places	Birthplace		Usual Residence		Percentage Distribution for American Samoa			
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	Current Residence	Current Residence	Birthplace Residence	Usual Residence
Western	5439	18.6	9864	33.8	10520	36.0	29.1	34.9
Central	6667	22.8	11398	39.0	11646	39.9	35.7	40.3
Eastern	3720	12.7	5112	17.5	5182	17.8	19.9	18.1
Manu'a	2854	9.8	1877	6.4	1832	6.3	15.3	6.6
Total	18680	64.0	28261	96.8	29190	100.0	100.0	99.9
Apia	1743	6.0	115	.4				
Upolu	4187	14.3	371	1.3				
Savaii	1454	5.0	127	.4				
Western Samoa	7384	25.3	613	2.1				
Other Places	3091	10.6	284	1.0				
Not Stated	35	.1	32	.1				
Total	29190	100.0	29190	100.0				

Table V.4 Number and Percentage of Population by Current (De Facto) Residence, Place of Birth, Usual (De Jure) Residence, and Sex. Comparison of Places

AREA	Current Residence		Place of Birth		Usual Residence		Current Residence		Place of Birth		Usual Residence	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Western	5343	5177	2744	2695	4982	4882	36.2	35.8	18.6	18.7	33.8	33.8
Central	5842	5804	3327	3340	5722	5676	39.6	40.2	22.6	23.1	38.8	39.3
Eastern	2652	2530	1872	1848	2617	2495	18.0	17.5	12.7	12.8	17.7	17.3
Manu'a	910	932	1354	1500	928	949	6.2	6.5	9.2	10.4	6.3	6.6
Total	14747	14443	9297	9383	14249	14012	100.0	100.0	63.0	65.0	96.6	97.0
Apia			845	898	44	71			5.7	6.2	.3	.5
Upolu			2139	2048	192	179			14.5	14.2	1.3	1.2
Savaii			723	731	65	62			4.9	5.1	.4	.4
Western Samoa			3707	3677	301	312			25.1	25.5	2.0	2.1
Other Places			1723	1368	178	106			11.7	9.5	1.2	.7
Not Stated			20	15	19	13			.1	.1	.1	.1
Total	14747	14443	14747	14443	14747	14443			100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9

Table V.5 Place of Birth of Population Born Outside American Samoa, 1974

Place of Foreign Birth	Males		Females		Total	Percent of Non-Western Samoan-Born	Percent of all Foreign-Born
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent			
Tonga	306	17.8	274	20.0	580	18.8	5.5
Niue	40	2.3	25	1.8	65	2.1	.6
Tokelau	28	1.6	22	1.6	50	1.6	.5
Cooks	2	.1	2	.1	4	.1	-
New Zealand	49	2.8	46	3.4	95	3.1	.9
Guam	0	-	3	.2	3	.1	-
TTPI*	8	.5	5	.4	13	.4	.1
Other Pacific	41	2.4	53	3.9	94	3.0	.9
Korea	113	6.6	26	1.9	139	4.5	1.3
China	43	2.5	6	.4	49	1.6	.5
Other Asia	27	1.6	14	1.0	41	1.3	.4
Hawaii	224	13.0	249	18.2	473	15.3	4.5
California	371	21.5	293	21.4	664	21.5	6.3
Other U.S.	405	23.5	301	22.0	706	22.8	6.7
Puerto Rico	1	.0	1	.1	2	.1	-
Other Place	65	3.8	48	3.5	113	3.7	1.1
Total Non-Samoa	1723	100.0	1368	100.0	3091	100.0	29.5
Non-Samoa/All Persons	--	31.7	--	27.1	--		29.5
Western Samoa	3707	68.3	3677	72.9	7384		70.5
Totals	5430	100.0	5045	100.0	10475		100.0

* Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

contributed almost 19 percent of the non-Western Samoa foreign-born (5.5 percent of all foreign-born). Other countries made much smaller contributions to the foreign-born population.

As the census was a de facto one, data on place of birth and place of usual residence is the best single indicator of lifetime migration (Table V.6). Of the 10,510 persons who were foreign-born, 929 persons claimed usual residence outside of American Samoa. Of the districts in American Samoa, only Manu'a had a net outflow from migration. Both Western and Central Districts had very large population increases; Eastern District increased by more than one-third. There was more than a 50 percent increase for the total population. Apparently many Western Samoans and other foreigners have immigrated to American Samoa with the intention of staying there an appreciable period of time. In interpreting these figures, however, the substantial number of American Samoa-born who were living in the United States and thus not counted in the 1974 Census must be kept in mind. Overall many more have moved away from than moved to American Samoa.

The increasing prominence of foreign-born persons in the 1974 resident population when compared with other censuses is also seen in the relative proportions of foreign to American Samoa-born (Table V.7 and Figures V.1 and V.2). Although the percentage of Western Samoa-born residents did not change between 1956 and 1960, it nearly doubled between 1960 and 1970, and increased again by almost half between 1970 and 1974. The numbers are also impressive: between 1960 and 1970, the population of Western Samoa-born increased by 283 persons per year; during the same period the American Samoa-born population increased by only 234 persons per year. Between 1970 and 1974 the increase was even more striking: the Western Samoa -born increased by 633 persons per year, while the American Samoa -born

Table V.6 Migration from Birthplace to Place of Usual Residence, 1974

Place	Birthplace ¹	Usual Residence ² , 1974	Net Migration ³	
			Number	Percent
Western	5439	9864	4425	81.4
Central	6667	11398	4731	71.0
Eastern	3720	5112	1392	37.4
Manu'a	2854	1877	-977	-34.2
Total	18680	28261	9581	51.3
Western Samoa	7384	613	-6771	*
Other Places	3091	284	-2807	*
Not Stated	35	32		
Total	29190	29190		

¹This figure does not include persons born in American Samoa but living elsewhere in 1974.

²This figure does not include persons not in American Samoa on the day of the Census but considering American Samoa to be the "usual residence".

³This figure is subject to the limitations mentioned in footnotes 1 and 2.

* Not computable.

Table V.7 Places of Birth for American Samoa Population, 1956-1974

Total	1956		1960		1970		1974	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
American Samoa	17692	87.8	17732	88.4	20067	73.9	18680	64.0
Western Samoa	1729	8.5	1704	8.5	4535	16.7	7384	25.3
Other Pacific Islands	360	1.8	198	1.0 *	1010	3.7	809	2.8
U.S.	182	.9	232	1.2	1219	4.5	1843	6.3
Other	191	1.0	185	.9	328	1.2	474	1.6
Total	20154	100.0	20051	100.0	27159	100.0	29190	100.0

* Assuming "all other" is Other Pacific

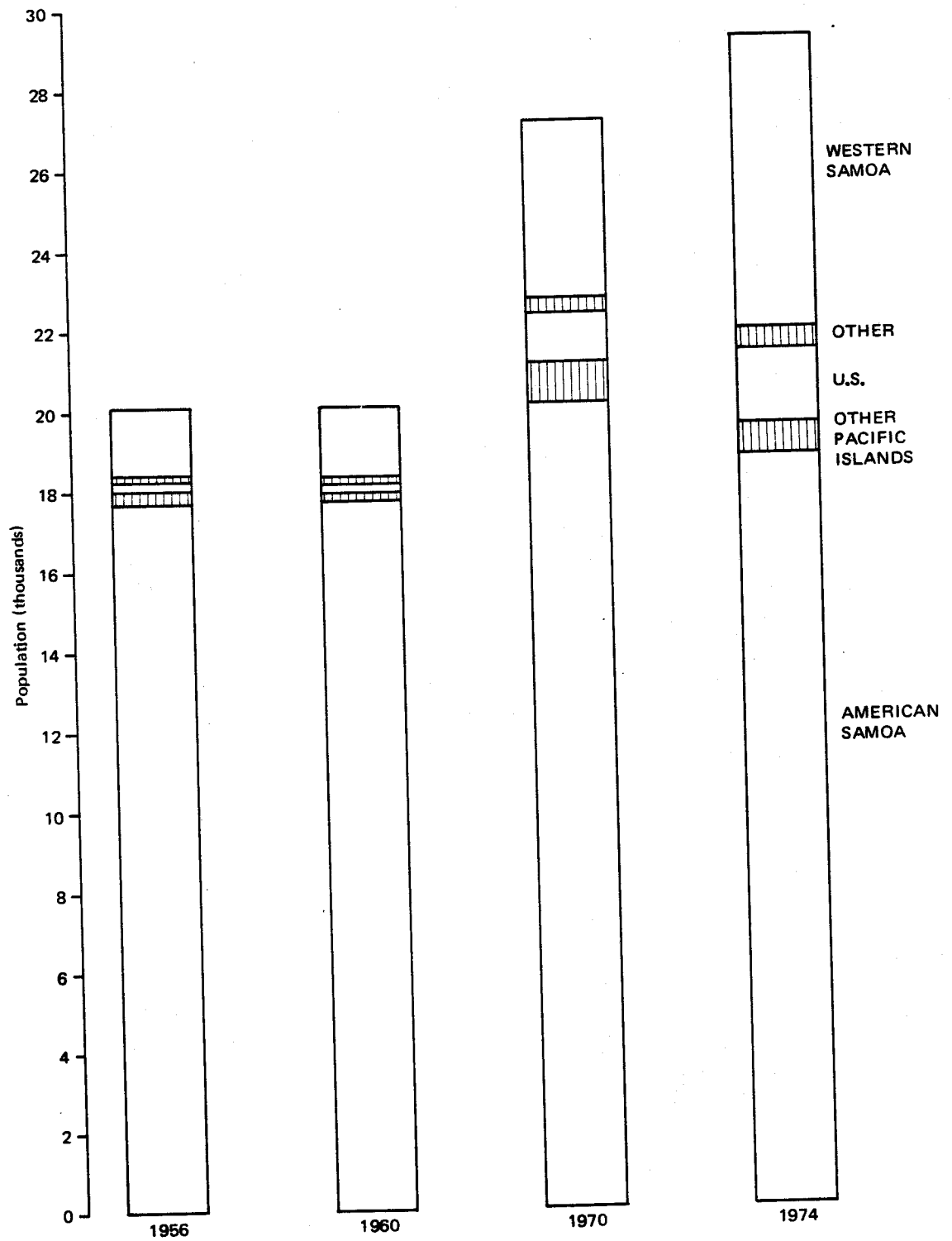


Figure V.1 Number of Persons Living in American Samoa by Place of Birth, 1956-1974

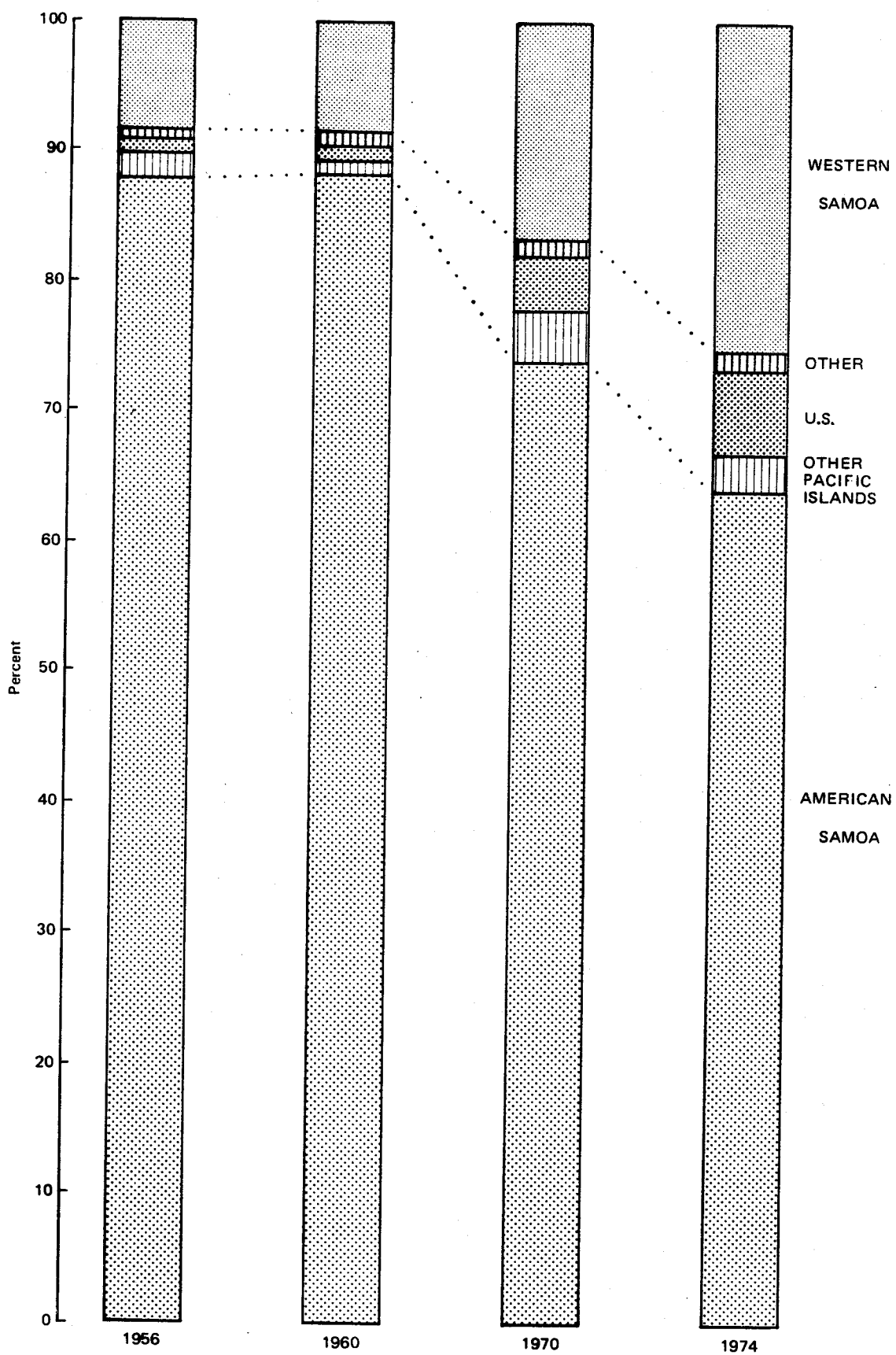


Figure V.2 Proportions of American Samoa Residents by Place of Birth, 1956-1974.

decreased by 308 persons per year. The 1960 figures for other Pacific Island births are exaggerated since all persons born in "all other places" were assumed to have been born in other Pacific Islands. From 1960 to 1970, however, this population increased by approximately 80 persons per year. The drop between 1970 and 1974 reflects tighter immigration controls. There was a five fold increase in the percent of United States-born between 1960 and 1974.

Approximately equal numbers of males and females characterized the American and Western Samoa-born populations in 1956, 1970 and 1974 (Table V.8). Males have always outnumbered females among those born outside the Samoas, but disparities have been declining in the populations born in the United States and other Pacific Islands. The number of females born in other Pacific Islands was five times as large in 1974 as in 1960, while the number of males quadrupled. Similarly, the United States-born males increased from 1.5 to 6.8 percent of the male population, while the U.S.-born females increased from only 0.8 to 5.8 percent of the female population. For females, this rate of increase was 52 persons per year. Although the United States-born male population increased at 59 persons per year, the relative percentage of U.S.-born female residents increased seven fold compared to the five fold increase in U.S.-born male residents.

There was considerable variation in the distribution of birthplaces by age group (Table V.9). For all of American Samoa, the youngest age group (0-14 years) contained the largest percentage of American Samoa-born, while the age group 30-44 had the smallest percentage of American Samoa-born. Forty and 37 percent of those in the 15-29 and 30-44 age groups, respectively, were born in Western Samoa. Since the former age group includes the high school population, some Western Samoans who had emigrated in order to continue their schooling in American Samoa may be included. This group also includes young workers from Western Samoa who have come

Table V.8 Places of Birth by Sex for American Samoa Population,
1956, 1960 and 1974

Birthplace	1956		1960		1974	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
<u>Male</u>						
American Samoa	8763	86.7	8911	87.7	9297	63.0
Western Samoa	854	8.4	875	8.6	3707	25.1
Other Pacific	193	1.9	123	1.2	425	2.9
U.S.	109	1.1	149	1.5	1001	6.8
Other	188	1.9	106	1.0	317	2.1
Total	10107	100.0	10164	100.0	14747*	99.9
<u>Female</u>						
American Samoa	8929	88.9	8821	89.2	9383	65.0
Western Samoa	875	8.7	829	8.4	3677	25.5
Other Pacific	167	1.7	75	.8	384	2.7
U.S.	73	.7	83	.8	844	5.8
Other	3	.0	79	.8	140	1.0
Total	10047	100.0	9887	100.0	14443 ⁺	100.0

* Including 20 males whose birthplace was not stated.

⁺ Including 15 females whose birthplace was not stated.

Table V.9 Percentage Distribution of American Samoa Population by District of Residence, Place of Birth and Broad Age Group, 1974

District of Residence and Place of Birth	Broad Age Groups					Totals
	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	
Western						
American Samoa	70.5	43.9	42.5	56.2	61.9	57.3
Western Samoa	17.6	47.6	42.5	34.5	28.1	31.4
Other	11.9	8.4	14.9	9.3	10.0	11.2
Central						
American Samoa	77.0	50.2	45.1	57.1	61.9	61.9
Western Samoa	10.8	38.6	35.1	29.5	23.3	24.7
Other	12.2	11.2	19.8	13.5	14.8	13.4
Eastern						
American Samoa	83.0	60.1	58.4	68.3	83.9	72.4
Western Samoa	9.5	35.5	36.1	27.8	15.2	21.7
Other	7.6	4.4	5.6	3.9	0.9	5.9
Manu'a						
American Samoa	93.8	86.7	83.8	92.7	98.4	91.7
Western Samoa	1.3	9.0	11.7	4.2	1.6	4.1
Other	4.9	4.3	4.5	3.0	0.0	4.2
Totals						
American Samoa	77.0	50.9	48.4	61.8	69.8	64.0
Western Samoa	12.3	40.3	36.9	28.8	21.1	25.3
Other	10.7	8.8	14.8	9.3	9.2	10.7

to American Samoa because of its better economic opportunities and much higher standard of living. This higher standard of living and the importation of middle and high level bureaucrats from the United States explain the large number of non-American Samoa-born (more than 51 percent) in the 30-44 year old age group. The age group 45-59 years also had a higher proportion of Western Samoa-born than the whole population.

Figures V.3 and V.4 show breakdowns by age and sex for all American Samoa-born and Western Samoa-born persons. Among the American Samoa-born, the effects of selective out-migration, especially among males, are evident in the drop in numbers observed in the 20-24 as compared to the 15-19 age group. On the other hand, there are relatively few Western Samoa-born persons younger than 15 years--evidence of immigrants with few accompanying young children.

Western District was least "American Samoan" by birth. In the 15-29 year age group there were more persons born in Western Samoa than in American Samoa; the 30-44 year age group had the same numbers of persons born in American and Western Samoa. Both the recent economic growth and the fact that it is closest to Western Samoa have contributed the high proportion of Western Samoa-born. Almost 15 percent of the population in this age group were born in "other" places.

Central District, the most developed of the districts, had the largest percentage of persons born outside the two Samoas--more than ten percent of the population in each age group. Eastern District had the highest percent of American Samoa-born persons on Tutuila, and the smallest percentages of Western Samoa and "other" born persons. Manu'a District was the most "American Samoan" of all the districts, with less than ten percent of the population born elsewhere. Given the low living standards there, its lack

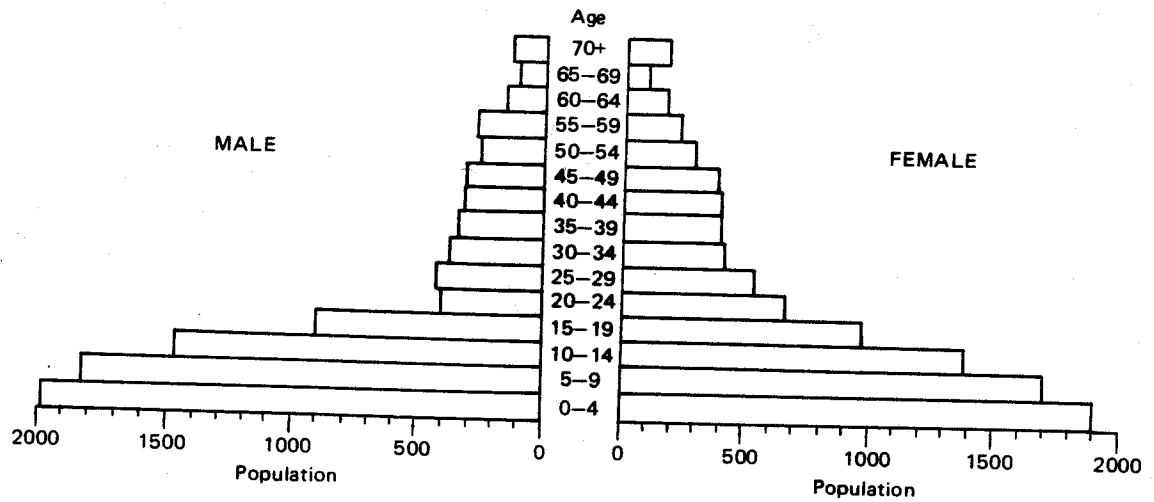


Figure V.3 Age and Sex Distribution for All American Samoan Born, 1974.

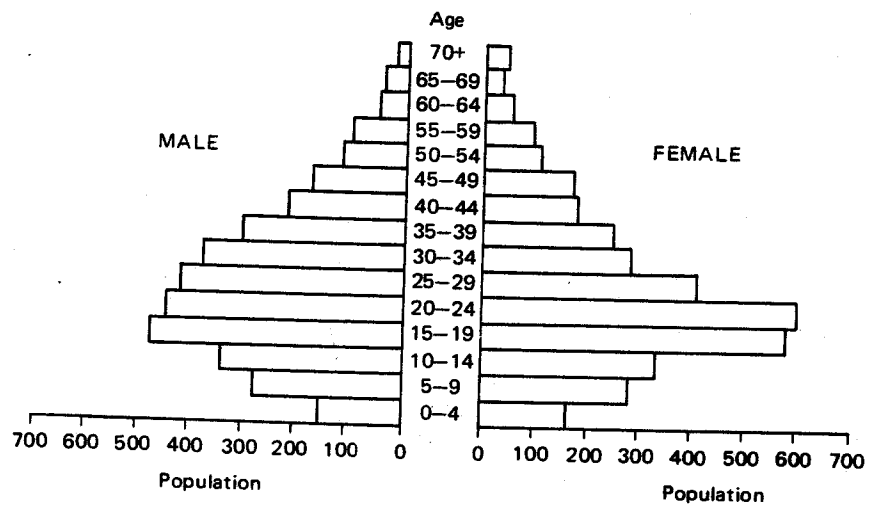


Figure V.4 Age and Sex Distribution for All Western Samoan Born, 1974.

of attraction for persons born elsewhere comes as no surprise.

Tables V.10 and V.11 cross-tabulate ethnic origin of residents with their places of birth in 1956 and 1974. (The numbers and percentage changes for each sex for birthplace can be seen in Table V.8.) The percentages of Samoans and Part-Samoans born in American Samoa decreased for both males and females between 1956 and 1974, while the percentages born in Western Samoa and "other places" increased. In 1956 the percentage of Part-Samoans born in Western Samoa was already quite large, so the increase during the period was slight. The percentage of Part-Samoans born in "other places" is now large. This undoubtedly reflects the births of children to Samoans who married non-Samoans abroad and later returned with the children to American Samoa. The numbers of persons in the other ethnic categories are too small for making generalizations.

The largest proportion of persons born in American Samoa and Western Samoa were Samoan (Table V.11). Since 1956, the percentage decreased slightly for American Samoa-born, and increased considerably for Western Samoa-born. There is a reverse trend for Part-Samoans. This reflects the fact that migrants from Western Samoa are no longer disproportionately from the Part-Samoan community. The percentages for Samoan, Part-Samoan and Caucasian males born in "other places" increased while the percentages for Other Pacific and other ethnicities declined; for females, the percentages for Samoans, Part-Samoans and "others" increased, while percentages of Caucasians and Other Pacific Islanders decreased. The dramatic increase for Samoans of both sexes reflects the increasing numbers of return migrants with accompanying children born in the United States.

Migration

Two types of tables have been prepared to determine the volume and characteristics of emigration and immigration for American Samoa. The

Table V.11 Percentage of Births for Each Ethnic Group by Place of Birth, 1974 and 1956

Ethnicity	P l a c e o f B i r t h						F e m a l e s						Not Stated	
	M a l e s													
	American Samoa 1956	American Samoa 1974	Western Samoa 1956	Western Samoa 1974	Other or 1956	Other or 1974	American Samoa 1956	American Samoa 1974	Western Samoa 1956	Western Samoa 1974	Other or 1956	Other or 1974	Not Stated 1974	
Samoan	92.5	90.7	86.4	94.4	6.7	25.1	92.8	90.8	86.6	94.7	14.4	28.4		
Part-Samoan	6.9	7.8	13.5	5.4	11.4	14.8	6.5	7.6	13.4	5.2	16.9	17.3		
Caucasian	-	0.2	0.1	0.1	21.0	26.3	-	0.1	-	-	27.6	24.9		
Other-Pacific	0.5	1.2	-	0.1	22.0	21.1	0.6	1.3	-	0.1	40.3	23.7		
Other	-	.1	-	-	38.8	12.5	-	.2	-	0.1	0.8	5.6		

first set shows distribution of the population by broad age groups for place of birth, mother's birth place, father's birth place, mother's residence, father's residence, usual residence, place and primary school, and place of secondary school (Tables V.12-V.19). The second set (Tables V.20-V.26) shows the distribution of the population for the above mentioned variables.

The earlier discussed Table V.9 shows that the proportion in each age group that is American Samoa-born follows a "U" curve pattern, highest in the 0-14 age group (77.0%) lowest in 30-44 (48.4%) age group, and rising in the succeeding age groups to 69.8%. Table V.12 shows this pattern to be common to those born in the three Tutuila districts. However, the proportion born in Manu'a rises with each ascending age group, reflecting little immigration and a substantial exodus of the Manu'a born which has covered several decades.

The percentages of Western Samoa-born were very small in the 0-14 year age group, but rose dramatically in the 15-29 year age group and then decreased. The pace of immigration to American Samoa increased in the late 1960s and most of the immigrants were young adults. The percentages for persons born in other places remained around ten percent for all age groups except the 30-44 groups, which was earlier shown to contain a large share of Caucasians, mostly United States-born and working for the government.

The district of birth of the Western Samoan-born is of interest. Whereas the percentages of Western Samoa-born claiming Aipa, Upolu, and Savaii place of birth were 23.7, 56.7, and 19.6 percent respectively, the distribution of the Western Samoa population by district in 1971 was 20.6, 51.7, and 27.7 percent, respectively. Put another way, Aipa contributed

Table V.12 Numbers and Percentages of Population in Broad Age Groups by Place of Birth, 1974

Birthplace	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	3115	23.8	1061	14.1	600	13.2	442	16.0	208	17.3
Central	3942	30.1	1381	18.4	673	14.9	463	16.7	198	16.5
Eastern	2024	15.5	740	9.9	449	9.9	350	12.6	153	12.7
Manu'a	1007	7.7	635	8.5	470	10.4	458	16.5	279	23.2
Total	10116	77.0	3817	50.9	2192	48.4	1713	61.8	838	69.8
Apia	481	3.7	692	9.2	350	7.7	167	6.0	48	4.0
Upolu	866	6.6	1705	22.7	980	21.6	482	17.4	139	11.6
Savaii	260	2.0	628	8.4	340	7.5	150	5.4	66	5.5
Western Samoa Total	1607	12.3	3025	40.3	1670	36.9	799	28.8	253	21.1
Other Places	1395	10.7	653	8.7	664	14.7	255	9.2	109	9.1
Not Stated	6	--	9	.1	5	.1	4	.1	1	.1
Total	13096	100.1	7504		4531		2771		1201	

1.2 times the proportion of its share of the Western Samoan population, whereas the comparable shares were 1.1 and .7 for Upolu and Savaii, respectively. Aipa is the only large urban center and is on Upolu Island. Upolu Island is closer to American Samoa than Savaii Island and may send proportionately more to American Samoa for that reason. Aipa's contribution is undoubtedly understated in that many from elsewhere in Western Samoa move to Aipa before emigrating (Shankman 1976: 33). That 30 percent of the Western Samoa-born under age 15 were born in Aipa is an indicator that a large number of non-Aipa-born adults also emigrate from Aipa.

Table V.13 shows that approximately 55 and 36 percent of the mothers of American Samoa residents were born in American and Western Samoa, respectively. The difference between the latter share and the 25 percent share born in Western Samoa reflects many births occurring to Western Samoa-born mothers residing in American Samoa. There were considerably more mothers of residents than residents (4209 vs. 2854) born in Manu'a district, a manifestation of chronic and continuing out-migration. The 30-44 year age group accounted for the smallest percentages of American Samoa-born mothers. More than half the mothers of 15-44 year old residents were born outside American Samoa. The percentage of mothers born in Western Samoa was highest for the 15-29 year age group--43.8 percent.

The percentage of fathers born in American Samoa was slightly smaller than that of mothers (Table V.14). There were 657 fewer American Samoa-born fathers than mothers of residents 0-14 years old (a difference of 5 percent for the age group), but the Western Samoa-born fathers outnumber mothers by nearly 400 in this age group. This can be accounted for by the lack of American Samoa-born mates (induced by emigration) for American Samoa-born females in young marriagable age groups (Figure V.3) coupled with an excess

Table V.13 Numbers and Percentages of Population in Broad Age Groups by Place of Birth of Mother, 1974

Place of Mother's Birth	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	2102	16.1	948	12.6	565	12.5	386	13.9	185	15.4	4196	14.4
Central	2485	19.0	1084	14.4	496	10.9	328	11.8	130	10.8	4535	15.5
Eastern	1658	12.7	726	9.7	407	9.0	292	10.5	146	12.2	3233	11.1
Manu'a	1914	14.6	869	11.6	572	12.6	557	20.1	290	24.1	4209	14.4
American Samoa	8159	62.3	3627	48.3	2040	45.0	1563	56.4	751	62.5	16173	55.4
Apia	981	7.5	672	9.0	305	6.7	131	4.7	37	3.1	2129	7.3
Upolu	2306	17.6	1879	25.0	1055	23.3	577	20.8	192	16.0	6031	20.7
Savaii	771	5.9	739	9.8	430	9.5	227	8.2	95	7.9	2270	7.8
Western Samoa	4058	31.0	3290	43.8	1790	39.5	935	33.7	324	27.0	10430	35.7
Other Places	856	6.5	565	7.5	674	14.9	258	9.3	111	9.2	2477	8.5
Not Stated	23	.2	22	.3	27	.6	15	.5	15	1.2	110	.4
Total	13096	100.1	7504	99.9	4531	100.0	2771	99.8	1201	99.9	29190	100.1

Table V.14 Numbers and Percentages of Population in Broad Age Groups by Place of Birth of Father, 1974

Place of Father's Birth	Age Groups									
	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	1971	15.1	942	12.6	538	11.9	414	14.9	192	16.0
Central	2275	17.4	970	12.9	538	11.9	325	11.7	147	12.2
Eastern	1460	11.1	641	8.5	401	8.9	322	11.6	137	11.4
Manu'a	1796	13.7	925	12.3	613	13.5	522	18.8	290	24.1
American Samoa	7502	57.3	3478	46.3	2090	46.1	1583	57.1	766	63.8
Apia	860	6.6	620	8.3	285	6.3	127	4.6	33	2.7
Upolu	2755	21.0	1942	25.9	970	21.4	528	19.1	170	14.2
Savaii	816	6.2	763	10.2	425	9.4	191	6.9	84	7.0
Western Samoa	4431	33.8	3325	44.3	1680	37.1	846	30.5	287	23.9
Other Places	1068	8.2	662	8.8	724	16.0	319	11.5	134	11.1
Not Stated	95	.7	39	.5	37	.8	23	.8	14	1.2
Total	13096	100.0	7504	100.0	4531	100.0	2771	100.0	1201	99.9
									29190	99.8

of males among the Western Samoa-born in the 25-44 age range. With this exception, patterns revealed by Table V.14 are similar to those discussed for Table V.13.

Data on the present residences of the "own" (biological) mother and father of each person were collected to help to determine the amount intergenerational movement. If the mother or father were not alive on census day, "dead" was noted in the spaces provided for residence of mother or father. Almost 82 percent of the residents had mothers who were alive in 1974 (Table V.15). The proportion ranged from almost 99 percent in the 0-14 age group to only 7.5 percent in the 60+ age group who had living mothers.

About 77 percent of those with living mothers had mothers who lived in American Samoa. However, the proportions were under half in the 30-59 age range, nearly two-thirds in the 15-29 and 60+ age groups, and 93 percent in the 0-14 age group. Approximately a quarter of these in the 15-59 age range had mothers who were living in Western Samoa, a reflection that widespread emigration to American Samoa began after 1960, and many of the young emigrants left parents in Western Samoa. That 27 percent have living mothers residing outside the Samoas reflects the presence of Americans, Koreans, and others on short term contracts. Some of the mothers living elsewhere are undoubtedly natives of American Samoa who emigrated elsewhere, but the numbers are not known. The distribution of mothers living in American Samoa corresponded closely to the distribution of residents although the percentages of mothers' residing in Eastern and Manu'a districts (out-migration areas) were slightly larger than for residents and the percentage for Central District (an immigration area) was slightly smaller.

Approximately 75 percent of the residents had fathers who were still alive in 1974 (Table V.16), with variation from 96.5 percent in the 0-14 age group to only 4.0 percent in the 60+ age group. Patterns by country and

Table V.15 Numbers and Percentages of Population in Broad Age Groups by Residence of Mother, 1974

Mother's Residence	A g e G r o u p												Total	
	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+					
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent		
Western	4286	33.1	1603	23.4	405	13.2	117	13.2	17	18.9	6441	26.9		
Central	4667	36.1	1658	24.2	521	17.0	163	18.3	21	23.3	7033	29.4		
Eastern	2257	17.5	825	12.0	295	9.6	97	10.9	10	11.1	3484	14.6		
Manu'a	810	6.3	398	5.8	165	5.4	60	6.7	10	11.1	1443	6.0		
Total	12020	93.0	4484	65.3	1386	45.2	437	49.2	58	64.4	18401	77.0		
Western Samoa	239	1.8	1577	23.0	844	27.5	232	26.1	11	12.2	2922	12.2		
Other Places	649	5.0	789	11.5	828	27.0	214	24.1	16	17.8	2511	10.5		
Not Stated	22	.2	15	.2	11	.4	6	.7	5	5.6	69	.3		
Dead	166		639		1462		1882		1111		5287			
Total	13096		7504		4531		2771		1201		29190			
Total living	12930	100.0	6865	100.1	3069	100.1	889	100.0	90	100.0	23903	99.9		
Percent of Mothers Alive	98.7		91.5		67.7		32.1		7.5		81.9			

Table V.16 Numbers and Percentages of Population in Broad Age Groups by Residence of Father, 1974

Father's Residence	Age Group										Total No.	Percent
	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+			
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent		
Western	3995	31.6	1437	22.7	320	13.5	60	13.4	11	22.9	5830	26.6
Central	4398	34.8	1501	23.7	363	15.3	64	14.3	15	31.2	6345	29.0
Eastern	2111	16.7	725	11.5	229	9.7	47	10.5	2	4.2	3116	14.2
Manu'a	750	5.9	362	5.7	144	6.1	44	9.8	2	4.2	1302	5.9
Total	11254	89.1	4025	63.6	1056	44.6	215	48.1	30	62.5	16593	75.8
Western Samoa	348	2.8	1473	23.3	690	29.1	117	26.2	5	10.4	2652	12.1
Other Places	952	7.5	800	12.6	599	25.3	106	23.7	9	18.8	2479	11.3
Not Stated	79	.6	31	.5	24	1.0	9	2.0	4	8.3	159	.7
Dead	463		1175		2162		2324		1153		7307	
Total	13096	99.9	7504	100.0	4531	100.0	2771	99.9	1201	100.0	29190	99.8
Total Living	12633		6329		2369		447		48		21883	
Percent of Fathers Alive	96.5		84.3		52.3		16.1		4.0		75.0	

district (if American Samoa) resemble those for the mothers.

Table V.17 shows the distribution of the population by place of usual residence and by age group. The percentage claiming American Samoa as the usual residence is at least 95 percent in each age group and is nearly 97 percent overall. Only a low proportion of the Western Samoa-born (2.1 percent claim Western Samoa usual residence whereas 25.3 percent were born there) are revealed to consider themselves still living in Western Samoa. The overall distributions by de facto and de jure residence are similar.

Data on places of primary and secondary school attendance were collected to determine movements of different age groups. A primary school was not recorded for persons less than five or six and secondary school was not recorded for persons under 14 since they were too young to have attended those levels of schooling. Some of the older people also did not attend school. In 1974, 23,201 persons, or 79.5 percent of the population had or were attending primary school (Table V.18). Only 58.6 percent of the persons 0-14 had or were attending primary school, but 92 percent of the persons aged 60 years and older had attended primary school.

Almost 71 percent of the population who had attended primary school did so in American Samoa. In relation to the percentage distribution of the American Samoa population as a whole among the districts, Western District was underrepresented in school attendance and Manu'a was overrepresented. These reflect the out-migration of persons educated in Manu'a and the immigration to Western District of persons educated elsewhere.

More than 20 percent attended primary school in Western Samoa. This proportion reached a third in the 30-44 age group. With the exception of those aged 0-14, the large majority of Western Samoa-born received their

Table V.17 Numbers and Percentages of Population in Broad Age Groups by Usual Residence, 1974

Usual Residence	Age Group												Total	
	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+					
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent		
Western	4508	34.4	2541	33.9	1527	33.7	910	32.8	352	29.3	9864	33.8		
Central	4952	37.8	3114	41.5	1804	39.8	1032	37.2	457	38.1	11398	39.0		
Eastern	2427	18.5	1175	15.7	784	17.3	500	18.0	219	18.2	5112	17.5		
Manu'a	989	7.6	299	4.0	221	4.9	245	8.8	131	10.9	1887	6.5		
Total	12876	98.3	7129	95.0	4336	95.7	2687	97.0	1159	96.5	28261	96.8		
Apia	35	.3	46	.6	18	.4	10	.4	6	.5	115	.4		
Upolu	84	.6	167	2.2	66	1.5	38	1.4	15	1.3	371	1.3		
Savaii	23	.2	59	.8	19	.4	16	.6	9	.7	127	.4		
Western Samoa	142	1.1	272	3.6	103	2.2	64	2.3	30	2.5	613	2.1		
Other Place	66	.5	99	1.3	85	1.9	20	.7	11	.9	284	1.0		
Not Stated	12	.1	4	.1	7	.2	0		1	.1	32	.1		
Total	13096	100.0	7504	100.0	4531	100.1	2771	99.9	1201	100.0	29190	100.0		

Table V.18 Numbers and Percentages of Population by Place of Primary School and by Broad Age Groups, 1974

Place of Primary School	A g e G r o u p											
	0-14		15-29		30-44		45-59		60+		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	2182	28.4	1282	17.6	584	13.3	480	18.0	236	21.4	4774	20.6
Central	3216	41.9	1806	24.8	841	19.1	536	20.1	211	19.1	6622	28.5
Eastern	1251	16.3	784	10.7	400	9.1	271	10.2	120	10.9	2831	12.2
Manu'a	645	8.4	552	7.6	419	9.5	403	15.1	192	17.4	2213	9.5
Total	7294	95.1	4424	60.6	2244	51.1	1690	63.4	759	68.7	16440	70.9
Apia	69	.9	702	9.6	529	12.0	253	9.5	88	8.0	1650	7.1
Upolu	97	1.3	1182	16.2	733	16.7	381	14.3	109	9.9	2511	10.8
Savaii	18	.2	327	4.5	203	4.6	90	3.4	30	2.7	672	2.9
Western Samoa	184	2.4	2211	30.3	1465	33.4	724	26.8	227	20.5	4833	20.8
Other Places	185	2.4	607	8.3	625	14.2	216	8.1	98	8.9	1735	7.5
Not Stated	10	.1	52	.7	60	1.4	34	1.3	21	1.9	193	.8
Total	7673		7294		4394		2664		1105		23201	
Total Population	13096		7504		4531		2771		1201		29190	
Percent Having Attended												
Primary School	58.6	99.9	97.2	100.0	97.0	99.9	96.1	100.0	92.0	100.2	79.5	99.9

primary education there. The same is also true of those born outside the Samoas (See Table V.12). More than a third receiving primary educations in Western Samoa did so in Aipa, emphasizing the importance of Aipa as an exporter of people to American Samoa.

Table V.19 shows the distribution of the population by place of secondary school attendance and by age groups. Of the 10,156 persons who had attended secondary school, 68.8 percent had done so in American Samoa. The percentages of secondary school attendance in American Samoa declined with the rise in age. In contrast the percentages of residents who had attended secondary school in Western Samoa increased with age. Prior to World War II, educational systems in both Western and American Samoa were rudimentary, but afterwards the educational system was expanded more rapidly in American Samoa. Thus, persons in American Samoa have greater educational opportunities, which accounts for most of the differences in the proportions (20.8 and 15.1 percent) receiving primary and secondary educations in Western Samoa. Likewise, high relative proportions receiving their secondary educations outside of the Samoas reflect almost universal high school attendance among Americans.

Tables V.20 and V.21 compare the district of birth of the residents born in American Samoa with the district of birth of their mothers and fathers, respectively. Manu'a District had the highest percentage of residents (86.3 percent) whose mothers were also born in the same district, as well as the highest percentage with mothers born in American Samoa (94.6 percent). Central District accounted for the smallest percentage of residents whose mothers were born in the same district--47.9 percent; 13.5 percent of the persons born in Central District had mothers born in Manu'a district. In view of the small population presently there it is noteworthy that

Table V.19 Numbers and Percentages of Population in Broad Age Groups by Place of Secondary School, 1974

Place of Secondary School	A g e G r o u p										Total*	
	15-29		30-44		45-59		60+				No.	Percent
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent				
Western	1406	25.9	364	14.0	216	18.6	81	22.0	2275	22.4		
Central	1881	34.7	939	36.1	385	33.2	103	28.0	3544	34.9		
Eastern	581	10.7	56	2.2	10	.8	5	1.4	727	7.2		
Manu'a	235	4.3	100	3.8	70	6.0	11	3.0	446	4.4		
Total	4103	75.6	1459	56.0	681	58.7	200	54.3	6992	68.8		
Apia	343	6.3	271	10.4	102	8.8	31	8.4	753	7.4		
Upolu	287	5.3	196	7.5	121	10.4	49	13.3	659	6.5		
Savaii	70	1.3	29	1.1	13	1.1	13	1.1	120	1.2		
Western Samoa	700	12.9	496	19.1	236	20.3	84	22.8	1532	15.1		
Other Places	586	10.8	592	22.7	214	18.4	67	18.2	1474	14.5		
Not Stated	39	.7	57	2.2	30	2.6	17	4.6	158	1.6		
Total	5428	100.0	2604	100.0	1161	99.9	368	100.0	10156	100.1		
Percent Having Attended												
Secondary School		72.3		57.5		41.0		30.6		60.1		

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* Includes persons 14 years of age. In this group, 549 attended secondary school in American Samoa, compared with 16 in Western Samoa, 15 elsewhere, and 15 for when place of schooling was unknown.

Table v.20 Numbers and Percentages of Population by District of Birth in American Samoa and Place of Birth of Mother, 1974

Mother's Birthplace	O W N B I R T H P L A C E									
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a		All American Samoa	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	2903	53.4	445	6.7	180	4.8	54	1.9	3582	19.2
Central	423	7.8	3196	47.9	250	6.7	75	2.6	3944	21.1
Eastern	242	4.4	376	5.6	2248	60.4	107	3.7	2973	15.9
Manu'a	310	5.7	901	13.5	336	9.0	2463	86.3	4010	21.5
Total	3878	71.3	4918	73.8	3014	81.0	2699	94.6	14509	77.7
Apia	270	5.0	505	7.6	131	3.5	17	.6	923	4.9
Upolu	871	16.0	764	11.5	399	10.7	80	2.8	2114	11.3
Savai'i	300	5.5	208	3.1	136	3.7	25	.9	669	3.6
Western Samoa	1441	26.5	1477	22.2	666	17.9	122	4.3	3706	19.8
Other Places	100	1.8	254	3.8	31	.8	24	.8	409	2.2
Not Stated	20	.4	18	.3	9	.2	9	.3	56	.3
Total	5439	100.0	6667	100.0	3720	99.8	2854	99.9	18680	100.0

more persons reported having mothers born in Manu'a than in any other district. Western District, closely followed by Central District, had the largest percentage of persons whose mothers were born in Western Samoa; Manu'a District, the smallest. Central District had the largest number and percentage of residents whose mothers were born in "other" places. All in all, the fact that 20 percent of the mothers of the American Samoa-born were born in Western Samoa shows the importance of the Western Samoa-born on the American Samoan population is greatly in excess of the 25.5 percent recorded as Western Samoa-born.

Patterns for birth places of fathers were similar to those for mothers (Table V.21), the largest difference being the higher proportions born in Western Samoa and elsewhere. Within American Samoa, the males appear to have been somewhat more migratory than females. Whereas 74.5 percent with American Samoa-born mothers were born in the same district as the mothers, the comparable proportion was 71.5 percent for those with American Samoa-born fathers.

Tables V.22 and V.23 compare district of residence with parental residence for parents still living. Mothers in all districts except Manua were more likely to reside in the same district as their offspring than to have the same birth place (Table V.22). Approximately 71 percent who had living mothers lived in the same district with them; this figure ranged from 68 percent in Central District to 76 percent in Eastern District. That only 12 percent had living mothers who resided in Western Samoa (vs. 25 percent who are born there) shows that many of the mothers of the Western Samoa-born have immigrated to American Samoa. Of those with living mothers, more than 10 percent had mothers who lived outside of Samoa. That the figures approach 10 percent for Eastern and Manu'a districts, which receive relatively

Table V.21 Numbers and Percentages of Population by District of Birth in American Samoa and Place of Birth of Father, 1974

Father's Birthplace	O W N B I R T H P L A C E									
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a		All American Samoa	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	2658	48.9	459	6.9	206	5.5	83	2.9	3406	18.2
Central	407	7.5	2730	40.9	270	7.3	113	4.0	3520	18.8
Eastern	265	4.9	375	5.6	1940	52.2	85	3.0	2665	14.3
Manu'a	340	6.3	867	13.0	382	10.3	2329	81.6	3918	21.0
Total	3670	67.5	4431	66.5	2798	75.2	2610	91.5	13509	72.3
Apia	257	4.7	485	7.3	118	3.2	32	1.1	892	4.8
Upolo	935	17.2	1024	15.4	556	14.9	96	3.4	2611	14.0
Savai'i	315	5.8	246	3.7	170	4.6	30	1.1	761	4.1
Western Samoa	1507	27.7	1755	26.3	844	22.7	158	5.5	4264	22.8
Other Places	214	3.9	444	6.7	62	1.7	46	1.6	766	4.1
Not Stated	48	.9	37	.5	16	.4	40	1.4	141	.8
Total	5439	100.1	6667	100.0	3720	100.1	2854	100.1	18680	100.0

Table V.22 Numbers and Percentages of Population by District of Residence and Place of Mother's Residence, 1974

Mother's Residence	OWN RESIDENCE									
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a		All American Samoa	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	6177	72.0	174	1.8	53	1.2	37	2.6	6441	26.9
Central	228	2.7	6521	68.0	114	2.7	170	11.8	7033	29.4
Eastern	73	.9	128	1.3	3249	75.8	34	2.4	3484	14.6
Manu'a	50	.6	317	3.3	46	1.1	1030	71.6	1443	6.0
Total	6528	76.0	7140	74.4	3462	80.8	1271	88.3	18401	77.0
Western Samoa	1166	13.6	1271	13.2	448	10.5	37	2.6	2922	12.2
Other Places	858	10.0	1156	12.0	370	8.6	127	8.8	2511	10.5
Not Stated	32	.4	28	.3	5	.1	4	.3	69	.3
Mother Dead	1936		2051		897		403		5287	
Total	10520		11646		5182		1842		29190	
Total w/Living Mothers	8584	100.0	9595	99.9	4285	100.0	1439	100.1	23903	100.0
Percent Having Living Mothers	81.6		82.4		82.7		78.0		81.9	

Table V.23 Numbers and Percentages of Population by District of Residence and Place of Father's Residence, 1974

Father's Residence	O W N R E S I D E N C E									
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a		All American Samoa	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	5547	70.7	182	2.1	58	1.5	43	3.1	5830	26.6
Central	218	2.8	5820	66.9	97	2.5	210	14.9	6345	29.0
Eastern	69	.9	138	1.6	2877	73.3	32	2.3	3116	14.2
Manu'a	43	.5	293	3.4	48	1.2	918	65.2	1302	5.9
Total	5877	74.9	6433	73.9	3080	78.5	1203	85.4	16593	75.8
Western Samoa	1049	13.4	1144	13.1	423	10.8	36	2.6	2652	12.1
Other Places	866	11.0	1064	12.2	408	10.4	141	10.0	2479	11.3
Not Stated	54	.7	64	.7	13	.3	28	2.0	159	.7
Father Dead	2674		2941		1258		434		7307	
Total	10520		11646		5182		1842		29190	
Total w/Living Fathers	7846	100.0	8705	100.0	3924	100.0	1408	100.1	21883	
Percent Having Living Fathers		74.6		74.7		75.7		76.3		75.0

few immigrants from outside of Western Samoa, suggests a large proportion of the mothers are emigrants. Had parents been asked about where their children lived, the indicated proportion of emigrants undoubtedly would have been much higher.

Table V.24 shows the distribution of birth places by district for each district of American Samoa. Whereas 80 percent of the Manu'a residents were born there, less than half of the Western and Central District populations were living in their districts of birth. Conversely, 48 percent of the Manu'a-born still in American Samoa were living on Tutuila with most residing in Central District. In comparison, the proportions living outside the district of birth were under 10 percent for those born in Western District and approximately 15 percent among those born in Central and Eastern districts. In terms of interdistrict movement from birth to present residence, Western and Central districts gained 638 and 542 residents respectively. Eastern District experienced virtually no change, and Manu'a lost 1,165 persons. That Aipa-born persons are disproportionately attracted to urban areas is shown by the fact that the largest number (856) and proportion of Western Samoa-born (29 percent) who were Aipa-born were in Central District. At the other extreme, only nine residents of Manu'a, comprising 12 percent of the Western Samoa-born population there, were born in Aipa.

Tables V.25 and V.26 show the distributions of primary and secondary school attendances, respectively, for each district of American Samoa. Percentage distributions for places of primary residence by district are similar to those of places of birth, which suggests that interdistrict migration rates are comparatively low for persons under 14 years of age. One anomaly is that whereas only 591 of Western District's residents were born in Central District, 1029 residents were educated there. This suggests

Table V.24 Numbers and Percentages of Population by District of Residence and Place of Birth, 1974

Birthplace	R E S I D E N C E							
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	4945	47.0	323	2.8	127	2.5	44	2.4
Central	591	5.6	5694	48.9	260	5.0	122	6.6
Eastern	225	2.1	285	2.4	3171	61.2	39	2.1
Manu'a	268	2.5	907	7.8	195	3.8	1484	80.6
Total	6029	57.3	7209	61.9	3753	72.4	1689	91.7
Apia	673	6.4	836	7.2	225	4.3	9	.5
Upolu	1925	18.3	1538	13.2	681	13.1	43	2.3
Savaii	710	6.7	502	4.3	218	4.2	24	1.3
Western Samoa	3308	31.4	2876	24.7	1124	21.7	76	4.1
Other Places	1165	11.1	1548	13.3	302	5.8	76	4.1
Not Stated	18	.2	13	.1	3	.1	1	.1
Total	10520	99.9	11646	100.0	5182	100.0	1842	100.0

Table V.25 Numbers and Percentages of Population by District of Residence and Place of Primary School, 1974

Place of Primary School	R E S I D E N C E							
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	4299	51.1	330	3.6	107	2.6	38	2.6
Central	1029	12.2	5094	55.5	464	11.1	35	2.4
Eastern	114	1.4	154	1.7	2546	61.1	17	1.2
Manu'a	155	1.8	646	7.0	143	3.4	1269	88.2
Total	5597	66.6	6224	67.8	3260	78.2	1359	94.4
Apia	617	7.3	785	8.5	231	5.5	17	1.2
Upolu	1121	13.3	932	10.1	438	10.5	20	1.4
Savai'i	327	3.9	229	2.5	105	2.5	11	.8
Western Samoa	2065	24.6	1946	21.2	774	18.6	48	3.3
Other Places	669	8.0	924	10.1	111	2.7	31	2.2
Not Stated	75	.9	92	1.0	25	.6	1	.1
Total	8406	99.9	9186	100.0	4170	100.0	1439	100.1

movement from other places to Central District and later to Western District.

Interpretation of Table Y.26 is complicated by the fact that many persons never attended secondary school and thus are not considered. That there is little immigration to Manu'a, yet more than a quarter of its residents attending secondary school did so in Central District reflects the fact that Manu'a residents at one time had to leave their islands to get a secondary education. Most who did so probably never returned. That more residents in Eastern District received their education in Central District than in their district of residence also reflects a previous absence of secondary schools. Evidence for Western District is less clear, but it appears some born there also went to Central District to attend secondary school there. The past concentration of secondary educational facilities in Central District undoubtedly contributed to its early economic development relative to the other districts.

Summary

Although the population of American Samoa has remained largely Samoan, the numbers and proportions of those born elsewhere increased from under 12 percent in 1960 to 36 percent in 1974. Notwithstanding stringent immigration restrictions imposed in the late 1960s, the Western Samoa-born component increased from 8.5 percent in 1960 to 16.7 percent in 1970 and 25.3 percent by 1974. The proportion born in other Pacific Islands increased from 1.0 to 3.7 percent in 1970, before dropping to 2.8 percent in 1974, apparently because of immigration controls. Given the fact that wages in American Samoa are several times those in Western Samoa and most other Pacific Islands, their immigration is not to be unexpected. A rise in the proportion of United States-born from 1.2 to 6.3 percent between 1960 and 1974 is attributable to some extent to the arrival of children born to former emigrants to the United States, but is largely due to the importation of civil servants to

Table V.26 Numbers and Percentages of Population by District of Residence and Place of Secondary School Attendance, 1974

Place of Secondary School	R E S I D E N C E							
	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Western	1670	45.5	413	9.7	143	8.4	49	9.1
Central	688	18.8	2129	50.2	578	33.8	149	27.5
Eastern	16	.4	177	4.2	526	30.8	8	1.5
Manu'a	22	.6	123	2.9	28	1.6	273	50.5
Total	2396	65.3	2842	67.1	1275	74.6	479	88.5
Apia	313	8.5	326	7.7	102	6.0	12	2.2
Upolu	281	7.7	225	5.3	137	8.0	16	3.0
Savai'i	53	1.4	46	1.1	19	1.1	2	.4
Western Samoa	647	17.6	597	14.1	258	15.1	30	5.5
Other Places	577	15.7	728	17.2	138	8.1	31	5.7
Not Stated	48	1.3	70	1.7	39	2.3	1	.2
Total	3668	99.9	4237	100.0	1710	100.1	541	99.9

run the vastly expanded social services programs.

Ironically, the native population has been emigrating at an ever greater rate for perceived better opportunities in the United States. The number is not known, but the fact that natural increase in the 1960s and early 1970s averaged 3.5 percent a year whereas the American Samoa-born increased by only five percent between 1960 and 1974, suggests an outflow exceeding 10,000. American Samoa may remain primarily "Samoan", but those with roots in American Samoa that cover several generations will become a minority if present trends continue.

Within American Samoa there has also been a substantial redistribution of population, most notably from the remote and subsistence level Manu'a Islands to Tutuila, particularly Central District. A lesser outflow has characterized the rural and rather isolated East. Until recently, the developed Central District has received the bulk of internal migrants, but with spreading development and greatly increased accessibility to Central District as a result of the spreading road network, Western District has recently become a magnet for persons from elsewhere.

There are many policy implications in the migratory flows. Whether the remote and economically "primitive" areas should be allowed to languish and become depopulated or whether a balanced, rather than rapid economic growth is most desirable is certainly one issue. Also the issue of whether American Samoa "belongs" to the American Samoa-born needs to be addressed. The division of the Samoan Islands into two separate entities was artificial and the Samoans on each side of the border view themselves as one people with one culture, but dealing with economic problems on the American Samoa side is compounded by the flow of immigrants into a small and resource-poor American Samoa. On the other hand, the economy has become more dependent on their labor. Decisions made concerning these and other issues created by the migratory flows will very much influence what American Samoa will be like in the future.

CHAPTER VI: RELIGION AND MATAI STATUS

Religion

A question on religious affiliation was included in the questionnaire. If a respondent objected to answering the question, the enumerator was instructed to write "refused" for religious preference. The enumerator used abbreviations for the five major religions, the name of the religion for other religions, and "none" for no religious affiliation.

Almost all persons (99.2 percent) residing in American Samoa claimed some religious affiliation. The breakdown of religious affiliation by district of residence, sex, and five-year age group is given in Table 16 in Volume I. Table 17 gives religious affiliation by village of residence and sex.

The main Christian denominations in 1956 and 1974 in order of numerical affiliation were the Congregational, Roman Catholic, Latter Day Saints (Mormons), Methodist, and Seventh Day Adventist Churches (Table VI.1). All other religions, grouped in the category "other", constituted 4.9 percent of the population in 1956 and 5.5 percent in 1974.

The Congregational Church was by far the largest denomination, with over half the population in 1974, although its percentage of the total population was considerably smaller than in 1956. The other major religious groups grew both numerically and proportionally. The religions experiencing the greatest percentage growth during this period were the Seventh Day Adventists and the Methodists. The Seventh Day Adventists grew at an annual rate of 9.7 percent. The annual growth rates of 5.1, 4.2 and 3.6 percent by Methodists, Mormons, and Catholics, respectively, also exceeded the population growth rate of 2.1 percent.

Reasons for the changes in the relative numbers belonging to each denomination are varied. Given the fact that about the same relative

Table VI.1 Numbers and Percentage Change of the Total Population by Religious Affiliation for American Samoa, 1956 and 1974

Religion	1 9 5 6		1 9 7 4		Percent Change	Annual Percent Change
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
Congregational	14006	69.5	16427	56.3	17.3	0.9
Roman Catholic	3094	15.4	5897	20.2	90.6	3.6
Methodist	810	4.0	2029	7.0	150.5	5.1
Mormon	1119	5.6	2399	8.2	114.4	4.2
Seventh Day Adventist	106	.5	603	2.1	468.9	9.7
Other	998	4.9	1610	5.5	61.3	2.8
No Religion	0	-	121	.4	-	-
Refused Question	21	.1	41	.1	-	-
Not stated	0	-	63	.2	-	-
Total	20154	100.0	29190	100.0	44.8	2.1

numbers belong to the LDS and Seventh Day Adventist Churches in Western Samoa (7.8 and 1.7 percent of the population, respectively in 1971), it does not appear that the rapid growth in these two denominations is attributable to immigration. Indeed, the same rapid growth had characterized these two denominations in Western Samoa. In both countries the growth is attributable to successful proselytizing. On the other hand, Methodists comprise approximately 16 percent of the Western Samoan population, although the proportion is only 12 percent in Upolu and 10 percent in Aipa. Most of the population in Tonga is Methodist. These facts suggest the rapid growth of the Methodist population is largely attributable to immigration; especially from Western Samoa, but also from Tonga. Almost 22 percent of the Western Samoan population is Catholic, but the proportions are 25 and 28 percent, respectively for Upola and Aipa. Thus, the growth of the Catholic population may be largely the result of immigration from Western Samoa. Only 51 percent of the Western Samoan population were Congregational in 1971, so one can assume that the immigrants from Western Samoa are proportionately less likely to be Congregationalist than the American Samoa-born population. However, between 1956 and 1971, the proportion in Western Samoa that was Congregational dropped from 55.5 to 51.0 percent, the proportions that were Catholic and Methodists showed virtually no change, and the proportions that were of other denominations greatly increased. It appears that the Congregational Church in both Samoas is slowly losing members to other denominations, especially the LDS and Seventh Day Adventist Churches.

The breakdown of religious affiliation by district (Table VI.2) shows that there were proportionately more Mormons and Seventh Day Adventists in the Western District than in the other districts in 1974. The large number of Caucasian and Korean single and childless contract workers undoubtedly increased the percentage of 'other' religions (8.1 percent) in Central District.

Table VI.2 Percentage of Total Population by Religious Affiliation and District of Residence, 1974

Religion	D i s t r i c t o f R e s i d e n c e				
	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total
Congregational	50.7	52.2	64.7	90.6	56.3
Roman Catholic	19.6	22.8	20.6	5.9	20.2
Methodist	6.7	8.8	5.7	.3	7.0
Mormon	14.2	5.2	5.3	1.1	8.2
Seventh Day Adventist	3.5	1.6	.7	.8	2.1
Other	4.8	8.1	2.7	1.4	5.5
None	.3	.7	.1	-	.4
Refused	.0	.3	.0	-	.1
Not stated	.2	.4	.0	-	.2
Total	100.0	100.1	99.8	100.1	100.1
Total Persons	10520	11646	5182	1842	29190

Manu'a District had the least diversity in religion of any of the districts. More than 90 percent of the population were Congregational, with only very small numbers of persons from all other religions.

As to the urban/rural division, where Leone and Central District were considered urban, Table VI.3 shows that relatively and absolutely more Methodists, and persons specifying nontabulated religions tended to live in urban areas whereas Congregationalists and Mormons were mainly concentrated in rural areas. This distribution is affected by the fact the Western Samoa-born and other foreign-born are disproportionately in urban areas. Changes in the relative strengths do not appear to be related to fertility differentials as all major religions contained virtually the same proportions of persons over and under 15 years of age (data not shown).

Matai Status and Village

The primary social and economic unit in American Samoa is still the aiga (extended family), and leadership within the family is through the matai system. The status of the matai (family leaders) is expressed according to ranking by age and by economic and political power.

Each person enumerated was classified by matai status. The village in which the person ranked as matai was also recorded. There were three possible categories of matai status: 1) M was noted with the name of the title and the name of the village if the person held a title; 2) UT--untitled --was recorded with the title name and village for persons who belonged to the matai system but who were not matai, and 3) NO MATAI was recorded for persons who were not in the matai system.

Since there are so many matai titles, these titles were not coded. Instead, information on family orientation was obtained from the distribution of persons by district of residence, five-year age group, and matai and

Table VI.3 Numbers and Percentages of Total Population by Religious Affiliation and Urban/Rural Residence,*
1974

		R E L I G I O N								
Congre- gational		Catholic	Methodist	Mormon	SDA	Other	None	Refused	N.S.	Total
Urban										
Number	6855	3439	1032	677	269	1021	94	36	46	13469
Percent	50.9	25.6	7.7	5.0	2.0	7.6	0.7	0.3	0.3	100.1
Rural										
Number	9572	2458	997	1722	334	589	27	5	17	15721
Percent	60.9	15.6	6.3	11.0	2.1	3.7	0.2	0.0	0.1	99.9
Percent Urban	41.7	58.5	50.9	28.2	44.6	63.4	77.7	87.8	73.0	46.1

* Leone and Central District are urban, All other places are rural.

household head status for non-matai heads. Table 18 in Volume I shows the averages and median ages for matai by district. The typical matai on Tutuila was younger (50.2 years) than his counterpart on the Manu'a islands (56.1 years). Similarly, non-matai household heads from Tutuila were younger (42 years, on the average) than those from Manu'a (46 years).

Table 19 and Table VI.4 show the distribution of the population by place of matai title, age group, numbers of persons having no matai, and the place of matai title for those in the matai system. Approximately nine percent of the American Samoa population had "no matai", that is, no identified family leader. This number (2626) is slightly higher than the number of enumerated persons (2094) without any Samoan ancestry who therefore were not part of the traditional family system.

The great majority of the population in the matai system (24619 or 92.7 percent) had matai whose titles were in American Samoan villages. (Some 1945 or 6.7 percent had their matai in Western Samoa or other places.)

The number of persons who claimed Manu'a as the place of matai title (2806) was considerably greater than the number of residents (1832), but the reverse was the case in other districts. Manu'a had experienced a large net out-migration of residents, whereas districts on Tutuila contained many immigrants from Western Samoa and elsewhere. That a quarter of the population was Western Samoa-born but only six percent of titles were in Western Samoa shows most of the emigrants transferred their titles to American Samoa, probably largely through marriage and pre-existing kinship ties with persons already living in American Samoa.

The distribution of matai (i.e., family leaders) per district also did not correspond exactly to the distribution of the population (Table VI.5). Manu'a and Eastern Districts were again over-represented and Western and

Table VI.4 Numbers and Proportions of Population by Place of Matai Title and Sex, 1974

Place of Matai Title	Total	Percent for American Samoa	Percent of Population by Residence	Number of Titles per 100 Residents
Western	8192	33.3	36.0	77.9
Central	8814	35.8	39.9	75.9
Eastern	4807	19.5	17.8	92.8
Manu'a	2806	11.4	6.3	152.3
American Samoa	24619	100.0	100.0	84.3
Western Samoa	1577			NA
Other Places	87			NA
Not Stated	281			NA
Total	26564			NA
No Matai	2626			NA
Total	29190			NA

Table VI.5 Numbers and Percentages of Matai per District, 1974

District	Number of Matai	Number of Residents Per Matai	Number of Persons With Titles in District Per Matai
Western	473	22.2	17.3
Central	462	25.2	19.1
Eastern	371	14.0	13.0
Manu'a	147	12.5	19.1
Total	1453	20.1	16.9

Central Districts under-represented. The latter districts have received many migrants from the former as well as many Western Samoans still having titles in Western Samoa and other migrants who are not part of the matai system. In fact, variation by district is reduced considerably when the distribution of title holdings by district is considered. By this measure there are 16.9 persons per matai with the smallest average in Eastern District and the largest in Manu'a and Central Districts.

In 1956, 817 matai were recorded in the population of 20,154, which means an average of one matai for every 24.7 persons. Data from 1974 show one matai for every 20.1 persons. This decline in the number per matai may have resulted from the emigration of many non-matai who nevertheless are considered to be part of the matai system.

Given the Samoan character of the matai system, it is not surprising that the 1974 census revealed 99 percent of the matai to be Samoan or part-Samoan. Between 1956 and 1974 the proportion of matai who were part-Samoan increased from 1.6 to 5.2 percent. This shows that not only are part-Samoans generally incorporated into the matai system, but that being of part non-Samoan ancestry does not appear to be a barrier to assuming a leadership role. This ability to absorb persons who under other social systems might be "outsiders" is one of the strengths of Samoan culture.

Summary

In this chapter two manifestations of Samoan culture, namely, religion and matai status, have been examined. In regard to religion, the Samoans are noted for their religiosity and although virtually all are Christians, the Protestant churches at least have been heavily influenced by Samoan cultural norms. The Congregational Church was the first to be established (by the London Missionary Society) and still has the allegiance of the

majority of the population, but the proportion who were adherents dropped between 1956 and 1974. Circumstantial evidence suggests the rapid growth of the LDS and Seventh Day Adventist denominations has resulted mostly from conversions, probably mainly at the expense of the Congregationalists. The Catholic and Methodist denominations have also grown numerically and proportionally, but probably mainly from immigration. Because of the proselytizing activities of fundamentalist denominations and immigration from Western Samoa, the United States and elsewhere, American Samoa is becoming religiously more diverse.

Data collected in the 1974 census testifies to the continuing strength of the matai system. The overwhelming proportion of ethnic Samoans still claim allegiance to it and most of the migrants from Western Samoa have been able to transfer their titles to American Samoa. This fact also suggests most expect their moves to be permanent. Furthermore, the part-Samoans also appear to be mostly absorbed into the system. There is some discrepancy between residence and place of matai title, with many more titles than residents in Manu'a and the opposite being most true of Central District. However, given the fact that aiga membership can be changed, migration is not an insurmountable barrier to the smooth maintenance of the matai system.

CHAPTER VII: MARITAL STATUS AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Marital Status

Current marital status as of census day was obtained from all residents. Only four classifications were coded: never married, married, widowed, or divorced. Persons were considered "never married" if they were not and had never been married prior to census day. "Married" applied to all persons currently married, who normally lived with a spouse. No distinctions were made between legal and traditional marriages. "Divorced" was used for persons divorced or separated, that is, persons who had had a legal or traditional divorce or separation and who no longer considered a former partner as a spouse. Persons temporarily separated from their spouses--i.e., the latter were away but intended to return--were recorded as married.

Marital status by age and sex was determined for each district and for American Samoa as a whole (Table 3). Out of 16,094 persons aged 15 years and older, 9,550, or 59.3 percent, were "married", and 64.5 percent were "ever married". There were only 94 married males for every 100 married females. Possible reasons for this discrepancy are as follows: some married males had emigrated to Hawaii or the United States mainland or had joined the military, many unmarried females with children were recorded as married, or separated males were more likely than females to report they were divorced. Table VII.1, however, gives no support to the last mentioned possibility.

The censuses of 1960 and 1970 conducted by the United States Census Bureau summarized distribution of marital status for persons 14 years and older, although only the former broke down the data by age group. Both censuses, however, combined separated persons with currently married persons. The 1956 Census reported marital status by age and sex for persons aged 15 years and older. The results of the 1974 census are compared

Table VII.1 Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Population Aged 15 Years of Age and Older Classified by Marital Status, Census, and Sex, 1956, 1970, and 1974

Marital Status		1956		1960		1974	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Never Married	M	2121	41.9	2318	40.7	3119	39.3
	F	1627	30.6	1779	29.2	2593	31.8
	T	3748	36.1	4097	34.9	5712	35.5
Married	M	2743	54.2	2667	53.5	4632	58.3
	F	2921	54.9	2736	53.3	4918	60.3
	T	5664	54.5	5403	53.4	9550	59.3
Widowed	M	108	2.1	129	2.6	64	.8
	F	539	10.1	494	9.6	447	5.5
	T	647	6.2	623	6.2	511	3.2
Divorced	M	92	1.8	160	3.2	115	1.4
	F	235	4.4	401	7.8	189	2.3
	T	327	3.1	561	5.6	304	1.9

with those of 1956 and 1960 in Table VII.1.

Between 1956 and 1974 the percentage of never married males declined slightly whereas that of never married females increased slightly. The number and percentages of currently married persons, however, increased substantially between 1960 and 1974, while the number and percentage of widowed persons declined considerably in the same period. The 1960 census showed a far greater proportion of divorced than either the 1956 or 1974 census. A comparison of the 1956 and 1974 censuses indicated that the percentage of divorced females declined substantially, but the decrease was much less among males. There is a large surplus of never married males, although the number of widows is much larger than the number of widowers, probably in part because widowed males are more likely to remarry than widowed females. The much greater number of females who are divorced suggest that males remarry much more quickly than females after divorces. High rates of widowed shown in the 1956 and 1960 census reflect much higher rates of mortality in the past.

Marital status in 1956 and 1974 by broad age group is the subject of Table VII.2. The proportions never married among persons aged 45 and over are quite low in both years, but there is evidence that higher percentages of both sexes in the latter year remain permanently unmarried (perhaps seven and three percent of males and females respectively, compared to maybe four and two percent in the former years). A slight decline in the proportions never married in the 15-29 age group in 1974 suggests that marriages were, at the least, not occurring at a later average age in 1974 than 1956. Perhaps the most significant change is the general increase in the proportions married when age is controlled. This increase occurred largely because declining mortality resulted in greatly reduced numbers who were widowed.

Table VII.2 Percent in Each Marital Status by Sex and Age Group, 15 Years of Age and Older, 1956 and 1974

Marital Status	Age Group									
	15-29		30-44		45-49		60+		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<u>1956</u>										
Never Married	77.1	56.5	11.9	6.0	5.1	2.6	3.9	2.2	41.9	30.6
Married	22.0	38.7	84.8	83.0	88.3	70.1	75.8	35.3	54.2	54.9
Widowed	.2	1.3	1.0	5.4	3.5	21.2	15.8	59.1	2.1	10.1
Divorced	.7	3.4	2.3	5.6	3.1	6.1	4.4	3.4	1.8	4.4
Total	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>1974</u>										
Never Married	75.1	59.0	13.9	6.5	7.4	3.5	6.9	2.8	39.3	31.8
Married	24.1	39.1	83.6	88.2	89.6	83.1	83.2	53.9	58.3	60.3
Widowed	.1	.3	.3	2.7	1.0	4.5	6.7	40.2	.8	5.5
Divorced	.8	1.5	2.0	2.6	2.0	3.8	3.2	3.1	1.4	2.3
Total	100.1	99.9	99.8	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.9

There was also a decline in the proportions divorced when age was controlled. This may have occurred either because marriages were becoming more stable, or because remarriage became generally quicker after divorces. At any rate, the greatly decreased proportion of marriages broken by death or divorce undoubtedly resulted in a greater proportion of children living with both parents.

The suggestion from Table VII.2 that marriages in 1956 and 1974 seemed to take place at about the same ages can be tested with the Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM) measure. The SMAM as developed by Hajnal (1953) is based on an assumption of "marital stability"--unchanging age-patterns of marriage in the past several generations. Since there is no evidence that the patterns have changed drastically, the SMAM should give a fairly accurate approximation of the mean age of marriage. Table IV.3 shows an unchanged SMAM for males and a modest increase of .4 for females. The 1974 male and female SMAMs of 26.2 and 23.2, respectively, are quite "average" by United States standards. Although the trend towards delaying marriage in Western Samoa (Government of Western Samoa n.d.:15) does not appear to be occurring in American Samoa, it is nevertheless of note that the computed Western Samoa SMAMs of 25.3 and 21.8 for males and females, respectively in 1971 are lower than those of American Samoa. Table VII.3 also supports the earlier made surmise that the proportion who remain permanently unmarried seems to be increasing.

There is considerable variation in marital status by district (Table VII.4). Roughly speaking, there are similar patterns for Western and Central Districts that contrast with those of Eastern District and Manu'a, and the extremes are represented by Manu'a and Central Districts. Compared to the American Samoa averages Manu'a and Eastern Districts are

Table VII.3 Percentage of Persons "Never Married" by Sex and Age Group, and Singulate Mean Age at First Marriage by Sex for 1956 and 1974

Sex	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	Age Group				60-64	65+	T	Singulate	
						40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59				Mean Age at First Marriage	
<u>Males</u>														
	1956	99.3	78.1	34.5	15.6	12.7	5.6	5.6	5.3	4.0	4.7	3.5	41.9	26.28
	1974	97.6	78.5	38.3	19.5	11.2	9.4	7.9	8.1	5.7	8.9	5.5	39.3	26.22
<u>Females</u>														
	1956	93.6	47.6	14.6	7.9	6.0	2.8	2.6	4.0	1.3	2.9	1.4	30.6	22.86
	1974	91.0	53.4	16.5	9.0	5.0	4.9	2.9	3.8	4.5	3.4	2.4	31.8	23.24

$$SMAM = \sum_{0}^{50} si - 50 S_{50}$$

when S_{50} = proportion never married at exact age 50.

$$\frac{1 - S_{50}}$$

15.245
2
6-15-19

Table VII.4 Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Population 15 Years of Age and Older Classified by Marital Status, by Sex, and by District of Residence, 1974

Marital Status	M a l e s					F e m a l e s				
	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total
Never Married	1168	1315	507	129	3119	932	1167	380	114	2593
Currently Married	1655	1888	821	268	4632	1815	1949	871	283	4918
Widowed	24	20	11	9	64	122	191	94	40	447
Divorced	39	45	22	9	115	50	91	40	8	189
Not Stated	1	8	0	0	9	2	6	1	0	9
Total	2887	3276	1361	415	7939	2921	3404	1386	445	8156
Percent Never Married	40.6	40.1	37.2	31.1	39.3	31.9	34.2	27.4	25.6	31.8
Percent Currently Married	57.3	57.6	60.3	64.6	58.3	62.1	57.3	62.8	63.6	60.3
Percent Widowed	.8	.6	.8	2.2	.8	4.2	5.6	6.8	9.0	5.5
Percent Divorced	1.2	1.2	1.6	2.2	1.4	1.7	2.7	2.9	1.8	2.3
Total	99.9	99.5	99.9	100.1	99.8	99.9	99.8	99.9	100.0	99.9

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characterized by low proportions never married, relatively high proportions currently married, and high percentages who are widowed, whereas the other two districts represent the "other side of the coin". The differences in the proportions never married are not due to differing ages at first marriages as the computed 1974 SMAMs are almost identical for the four districts (Table VII.5). However, Table VII.5 does show that both males and females above age 30 are significantly more likely in Central District to have never married. In rural areas, the pressures to marry, especially for females, are intense. However, the urbanized Central District provides clerical and other employment for females wishing to remain single as well as a less "rural" social environment in regard to marital norms. More basically, however, the differences between the districts reflect differential age structures--the young adults who are most likely to be unmarried are underrepresented in rural out-migration areas where the opposite is true of the aged.

Household Characteristics

The census questionnaire did not contain a specific question about the size or composition of households. However, since the census was designed and conducted on a household basis, enumerators were required to identify each household. A household was defined as a "group of people who normally sleep in the same house and share their meals"; in the case of large families, however, the enumerator and the census supervisors had to determine whether and how to segregate them into smaller units for census purposes. Since a de facto census was taken, and all persons present in a household on census night were to be enumerated, visitors and servants living in the household were classified as members of the household.

Table VII.5 Percentage of Persons Never Married by Age Group and Sex, and Singulate Mean Age at First Marriage by District of Residence, 1974

Age Group	Western		Central		Eastern		Manu'a	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
15-19	97.1	89.4	97.4	92.4	98.6	89.4	100.0	96.4
20-24	78.8	52.5	77.9	54.3	81.1	52.9	73.1	53.1
25-29	40.0	15.8	37.7	18.8	35.0	12.1	46.4	15.0
30-34	17.2	9.9	21.9	10.2	17.6	4.3	20.5	8.0
35-39	9.8	3.4	11.5	7.1	12.3	2.4	16.7	7.9
40-44	8.3	5.0	11.7	5.6	6.5	4.6	8.3	2.1
45-49	8.7	1.0	8.9	5.3	4.4	0.9	8.3	4.4
50-54	5.2	2.5	12.3	5.8	5.2	2.6	4.8	2.8
Singulate Mean Age at First Marriage	26.35	23.38	25.78	23.20	26.65	22.85	27.17	23.39

Normally in de facto censuses, a distinction is made between private and collective households. Collective households usually include prisons, hospitals, dormitories, hotels and boarding houses, and ships. In this census, there were 115 persons in the three hotels (Americana, Malaeimi, and Herb and Sia's), but since they were vacationers from elsewhere they were not included in the census returns. Similarly, Koreans on fishing ships in Pago Pago harbor were also excluded from the census. The prison in Tafuna village, and the hospital and nurses quarters in Faga'alu were enumerated, but were considered as 'private' households. Apart from these a private household usually comprised a household head, the spouse, if present, and their children, the families of the married children, relatives, and visitors. Persons living in houses containing several families (e.g., contract workers in boarding houses) were enumerated by family unit, rather than collectively.

The number and size of households in each village and district are given in Table 51 in Volume I. Although data on the characteristic "relationship to household head" were coded, no tables were generated.

Most of heads of households in American Samoa were male (Table VII.6); only 546 of the 4260 (13 percent) household heads in 1974 were female. Samoan households were least likely to be headed by a male. The percentage of household heads who were male was somewhat higher among Part-Samoan and Other Pacific Islanders and highest among "Other" ethnic groups and Caucasians.

In the case of married couples, 93 percent of the household heads were males (Table VII.7). Wives apparently headed the household only when their husbands were not present. Males predominated among married and never-married heads of households, but were in a minority among widowed and divorced heads. Only a third of both divorced males and females were listed as

Table VII.6 Ethnicity and Sex of Household Heads, 1974

Ethnicity	Males	Females	Total	Percent Male	Percentages of all Male Heads	Percentages of all Female Heads
Samoa	2929	480	3409	85.9	78.9	87.9
Part-Samoa	230	25	255	90.2	6.2	4.5
Other Pacific	181	22	203	89.2	4.9	4.0
Caucasian	290	17	307	94.5	7.8	3.1
Other	84	2	86	97.7	2.3	0.4
Total	3714	546	4260	87.2	100.1	99.9

Table VII.7 Marital Status and Sex of Household Heads, 1974

Marital Status	Males	Females	Total	Percent Male	Percentage of all Male Heads	Percentage of all Female Heads
Never Married	189	48	237	79.7	5.1	8.8
Married	3454	250	3704	93.3	93.0	45.8
Widowed	33	184	217	15.2	.9	33.7
Divorced	38	62	100	38.0	1.0	11.4
Unknown	0	2	2	0.0	0.0	.4
Total	3714	546	4260	87.2	100.0	100.1

family heads. In the case of the widowed the percentages were 59 and 41 percent among males and females, respectively. These percentages indicate that a large proportion of those with marriages broken by divorce and death are absorbed into other family units.

There was very little variation among Tutuila districts in the proportions of male and female heads of households (Table VII.8). However, nearly a fifth of households in Manu'a were headed by females. Only 87 percent of the married heads are male on Manu'a (Table VII.9). This suggests a high rate of emigration in which males often leave their wives and children in Manu'a, at least for a while. Central District is distinct from the other Tutuila districts in having lower proportions of never married, widowed, and divorced household heads who are male. This may be related to its urban character; females with broken marriages in rural and undoubtedly face social pressures and find it physically easier to move in with other relatives. In this section on marital patterns it was also observed that Central District has a disproportionate share of females aged 30 and above who never married.

The average age of household heads was 44.7 years. The ages ranged from 45.3 for Samoans to 39.5 for "other" ethnic groups. The massive emigration of young Samoan adults contributed to the high average age of Samoan household heads. By contrast, many of the Caucasians and "others" are young adults who have recently moved to American Samoa to work on specific projects. Most leave when their contracts expire and are replaced by others of similar origins. Also a factor is the common pattern of living with parents (or in-laws) after marriage with the father remaining as head.

Table VII.8 Sex of Household Heads by District, 1974

District of Residence	Males	Females	Total	Percent Males
Western	1365	186	1551	88.0
Central	1438	211	1649	87.2
Eastern	679	95	774	87.7
Manu'a	232	54	286	81.1
Total	3714	546	4260	87.2

Table VII.9 Percentage of Household Heads Who Are Male by District, Classified by Marital Status, 1974

District	Marital Status				Total Percent Male Household Heads	Total Male Heads
	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced		
Western	82.6	92.8	17.4	48.3	88.0	1365
Central	77.9	94.4	11.0	26.7	87.2	1438
Eastern	83.3	94.2	16.7	37.5	87.7	679
Manu'a	71.4	86.9	22.2	60.0	81.1	232
Total	79.7	93.3	15.2	38.0	87.2	3714
Total Male Heads	189	3454	33	38	3714	

The average ages in Tutuila District were similar (44.1 for Eastern District, 43.9 for Central, and 45.2 for Eastern); they were lower than the average age in Manu'a (49.8 years). The latter reflects age selection among those moving away from Manu'a.

The average household size in 1974 was 6.85 persons (Table VII.10). Central District's households tended to be slightly larger, Western and Eastern District households were slightly smaller on the average, and those on Manu'a about .4 persons below the average.

Person 1 in each household was designated household head, so there was always exactly one head. The number of persons in each of the other categories varied among the districts. On the average a spouse was present 78 percent of the time; in Manu'a the figure was considerably below average. Although Manu'a households had the fewest children, on the average, they had more than twice the average number of grandchildren. The average number of siblings of the head was highest in Western District. There were few parents of the household head anywhere, because the parents living with married children are culturally esteemed and considered to have more status than their married children. The prominence of "other" relatives in Central District households accounts for most of the difference in total household sizes. Many of these relatives probably came from other districts and from Western Samoa to work in government and industry.

Approximately five-ninths (or 55 percent) of persons other than household heads were children. The second highest percentage were "other" relatives. Next in importance were the spouse and grandchildren of the head. These data illustrate the continued importance of the extended family in American Samoa.

Table VII.10 Average Number Per Household by District, Classified by Relationship to Household Head, 1974

Relationship	District of Residence				Average Total American Samoa	Percent of Total
	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a		
Head	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	14.6
Spouse	.79	.77	.80	.66	.78	11.4
Child	3.34	3.13	3.19	2.80	3.20	46.7
Grandchild	.48	.50	.50	1.09	.53	7.7
Sibling	.22	.15	.10	.10	.16	2.3
Parent	.05	.06	.04	.05	.05	.7
Other relative	.78	1.28	1.01	.65	1.00	14.6
No relation	.11	.17	.07	.07	.12	1.8
Not stated	.02	.01	.00	-	.01	.1
Population/household	6.78	7.06	6.70	6.44	6.85	99.9
Total households	1551	1649	774	286	4260	

The average household size had decreased steadily from 7.62 persons in 1960 to 7.14 persons in 1970, and to 6.85 persons in 1974. Overall, the decrease was 10 percent. Western District households decreased the most between 1960 and 1974 (8.20 to 6.78), and Manu'a the least (6.62 to 6.44); the combined Central-Eastern District which had 7.61 persons per household in 1960, had 6.95 in 1974.

The average size of households in the urban areas of Central District and Leone in 1974 was 7.02; the rural areas had an average of 6.72 persons per household. These figures reflect the presence of more "other" relatives in urban households, undoubtedly the result of rural to urban migration for jobs and education.

Household sizes varied considerably depending on the ethnicity of the household head (Table VII.11). Households with Part-Samoan heads typically had about two more persons than households with Samoan heads. Why families headed by part-Samoans tended to be so large is not altogether clear, but it may reflect a maintenance of traditional norms concerning the desirability of the extended family and greater than average financial ability to support assorted relatives in need. The other ethnic groups tended to have smaller households. Many of these included Caucasians who came to American Samoa under "contract" arrangements. They tended to be young people with nuclear families. Korean construction workers were present under conditions similar to the Caucasians; "other" Pacific Islanders, who are mostly in American Samoa to work, frequently did not have their families with them. These facts and the rapid growth of the non-Samoan population explain much of the decline in average household size observed and why Manu'a changed the least and Western District the most.

Table VII.11 Household Size by Ethnicity of Household Head and District of Residence, 1974

Ethnicity of Household Head	D i s t r i c t o f R e s i d e n c e									
	Western			Central			Eastern			Total
	Heads	Persons/ Household	Persons/ Household	Heads	Persons/ Households	Persons/ Households	Heads	Persons/ Households	Persons/ Household	
Samoan	1233	7.22	1195	710	7.79	6.75	271	6.51	3409	7.26
Part-Samoan	99	9.00	128	25	8.76	12.00	3	12.67	255	9.14
Other Pacific	56	4.45	127	16	4.83	3.12	4	4.50	203	4.58
Caucasian	141	2.78	142	16	2.71	2.25	8	2.75	307	2.72
Other	22	3.73	57	7	3.89	3.43	-	-	86	3.83
Total	1551	6.78	1649	774	7.06	6.70	286	6.44	4260	6.85

Summary

Marriage is almost universal in American Samoa, although there appears to be a trend towards a greater rate of permanent nonmarriage. The average age of marriage for both males and females is not uncommonly low by United States standards, but in contrast to the prevailing situation in the United States and Western Samoa, there is no evident trend of rising age at first marriage. The proportion of persons not married because of divorce or death of a spouse dropped markedly between 1956 and 1974. Variations in marital status by District are largely a result of differences in age structure, although the proportion never marrying appears to be significantly higher in Central District than elsewhere.

Data on household size and composition show the average household to be headed by a male and to contain an extended rather than a nuclear family. Average household size is large but has been declining since 1960. Contrary to normal expectation, households tend to be larger in urban than rural areas. This reflects the continuing strength of the traditional Samoan family structure and its ability to absorb relatives from elsewhere who migrate for employment.

CHAPTER VIII: EDUCATION

Three questions on school attendance and educational attainment were asked of all persons. They covered current school attendance, name and location of each school attended, duration of stay at each school, and highest level completed. Since most young people were still in school, there often was a difference of one year between the highest level completed and the sum of the time spent in different schools. Also, since many persons went to parochial "pastor" schools where grade levels were not always equivalent to public school grade-year systems, the highest level of attainment often had to be estimated. Where the schools were located indicated much about immigration from Western Samoa and other Pacific areas to American Samoa. Although all schools were recorded, only the schools of longest attendance were coded for primary and secondary education. This information (shown in Tables 25 and 26 in Volume I) was used in the analysis of migration patterns, which was discussed in Chapter Five.

The tables discussed here include district of residence, sex, single year of age, and school attendance (Table 20), level of education (Table 21), grade completed for persons attending school (Tables 22, 23, and 24), and persons not attending school by grade completed (Table 27).

Among all persons aged 25 and above, the median years of schooling completed by males and females were 9.3 and 8.6 years, respectively. The comparable means were 8.5 and 8.0, respectively. By United States standards, these are low levels. The fact that the means are well below the medians indicates that persons are much more likely to complete well below the median than well above it. On the average, males have at least half a year more education than the females.

However, Table VIII.1 shows that whereas persons aged 65 and over had a median of less than seven years of completed education, the medians for both males and females aged 25-29 were 10.8 years. Furthermore, the sex differentials which are so apparent in the older age groups disappear in the 25-29 age group. The 1970 Census showed that among persons 25 and over, the male and female medians were 8.9 and 8.4, respectively; they were 6.2 and 4.1, respectively in 1950. Educational opportunities have been greatly improving and have become equally accessible for both sexes. Differences in completed levels by district are minimal when age is controlled (data not shown: See Table 27 in Volume I), although one might expect educational levels to be highest in Central District because of the educational facilities and migration to job opportunities there.

Table VIII.2 shows that more than half of the 16,882 persons aged 4 to 29 were attending school in 1974; these figures included 59.5 percent of the males and 54.1 percent of the females in the age group. Manu'a had the largest percentage of students (72.0) and Central District had the smallest (47.6). Most persons move away from Manu'a (and other rural areas) after leaving school and migrate to Central District, which lowers the percentage attending school there. Furthermore, the large majority of young adult immigrants from Western Samoa have already left school and they tend to congregate in Central and Western Districts. The distributions by sex were similar to the distribution of men and women in the total population.

Table VIII.3 shows that although fewer than 50 percent of 5 years olds attended school, the percentages rise rapidly to more than 90 percent among 7 year olds, and remain over 90 percent until ages 16 and 15 for males and females, respectively. Attendance in Manu'a was generally higher than on Tutuila, where attendance tended to be highest in Eastern

Table VIII.I Median and Mean Years of Schooling Completed
by Age of Persons Aged 25+ by Age Group, 1974

Age Group	Median		Mean	
	M	F	M	F
25-29	10.8	10.8	9.4	9.6
30-34	9.8	9.6	9.4	9.1
35-39	9.4	8.9	9.1	8.3
40-44	9.1	8.5	8.7	8.0
45-49	9.0	7.7	8.4	7.3
50-54	8.8	7.0	8.3	7.1
55-59	8.6	6.6	8.2	6.3
60-64	8.3	6.7	7.9	6.4
65+	6.8	6.1	6.7	5.2
All Ages	9.3	8.5	8.6	8.0

Table VIII.2 Percentages of Population Aged 4 through 29 Attending School by District of Residence and Sex.

District	Percentages Attending School		
	M a l e s	F e m a l e s	Total
	All Grades	All Grades	All Grades
Western	58.6	54.3	56.4
Central	44.0	51.0	47.6
Eastern	64.4	55.2	59.8
Manu'a	73.0	71.0	72.0
Total	59.5	54.1	56.8

Table VIII.3 Percentage of the Population 5-19 Attending School at Each Age by District and Sex, 1974

Single Year of Age	M a l e s					F e m a l e s				
	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total
5	36.1	29.6	31.5	24.4	31.8	33.3	35.1	23.8	22.6	31.4
6	85.0	84.3	82.1	93.8	84.7	86.5	81.9	81.7	84.4	83.6
7	89.8	93.6	95.4	93.3	92.6	89.0	90.1	93.9	94.6	90.8
8	94.8	95.0	97.4	100.0	95.7	98.0	96.4	87.1	100.0	95.8
9	94.1	95.5	94.3	100.0	95.1	94.2	98.0	98.6	100.0	96.7
10	93.2	95.3	98.8	100.0	95.6	97.1	95.1	95.5	100.0	96.3
11	94.5	95.3	95.2	95.3	95.0	94.7	94.0	95.5	100.0	94.9
12	96.4	96.8	92.0	100.0	95.6	94.1	97.2	98.3	100.0	96.6
13	94.8	97.2	94.7	100.0	96.0	95.0	91.3	95.7	100.0	94.1
14	90.9	88.9	97.7	92.0	91.8	93.0	91.6	96.7	90.9	92.8
15	89.4	95.0	94.0	100.0	92.7	83.1	85.0	86.5	94.4	85.0
16	80.6	83.3	81.8	91.3	82.6	76.1	72.1	81.4	91.3	78.6
17	58.5	66.9	77.8	87.5	66.1	69.1	58.0	66.7	95.0	65.4
18	52.7	38.3	66.7	64.7	50.4	44.0	34.8	50.0	76.9	42.2
19	28.7	26.7	51.3	77.8	33.8	28.7	18.7	21.3	66.7	24.0

District. These differences appear to reflect the migration of those leaving school.

Although the figures for 1960 and 1974 are not strictly comparable, certain general tendencies can be seen in school attendance by sex and age from Table VIII.4. Persons tended to start and leave school earlier in 1974 than in 1960. In 1960, the usual age for entering first grade was seven, but this later changed to six. In both years, females started school at approximately the same age as males, but tended to leave school at a slightly earlier age. In the 8-14 age range, the proportions attending school were higher at every age in 1974. The total population aged 5 to 9 years increased by 40 percent between 1960 and 1974, but the number attending school doubled. Both the school-attending and total population aged 10 to 14 years grew about one-third during the period; the populations aged 15 to 19 grew faster than the population attending school (44.2 and 27.4 percent, respectively). This is due not only to persons beginning school one year later in the earlier year, but also to the fact that the 1960 Census was taken in April and the 1974 Census was taken in September. Since a school grade usually begins in September, an April census will generally show that students in a given grade are six months older than that shown by a September Census.

A comparison with the 1970 United States Census data on the percentages between the ages 7-19 who are attending school (Table VIII.5) show higher proportions in the 7-15 age group were attending school in 1974. The grade school dropout is becoming rare. A much smaller proportion of the 18-19 group in 1974 was enrolled in school, but this may be attributable to the 1974 census being taken in September instead of April. However, similar and rather low proportions of 16 and 17 year olds

Table VIII.4 Percentage of Population 5-24 Attending School
by Single Ages, 1960 and 1974

Age	Males		Females	
	1960	1974	1960	1974
5	5.8	31.8	4.9	31.4
6	21.6	84.7	19.0	83.6
7	74.3	92.6	76.5	90.8
8	89.7	95.7	89.5	95.8
9	92.6	95.1	91.0	96.7
10	92.4	95.6	89.4	96.3
11	94.0	95.0	93.3	94.9
12	94.1	96.6	93.1	96.6
13	89.7	96.0	93.6	94.1
14	88.0	91.8	90.7	92.8
15	89.3	92.7	91.2	85.0
16	85.6	82.6	82.0	78.6
17	74.6	66.1	67.1	65.4
18	69.1	50.4	51.7	42.2
19	54.0	33.8	34.2	24.0
20	37.2	19.7	21.9	16.8
21	25.4	8.7	14.0	10.0
22	22.1	3.6	12.0	6.7
23	13.1	4.0	3.6	3.1
24	8.9	2.2	5.7	2.8
Total 5-24	66.9	68.8	62.4	65.4

Table VIII.5 Percentages of Populations Aged 7-13, 14-15, 16-17, and 18-19 Attending School, 1970 and 1974

Age Group *	1970			1974		
	Number in School	Total Population	Percent in School	Number in School	Total Population	Percent in School
7-13	5103	5622	90.8	5542	5827	95.1
14-15	1147	1343	85.4	1335	1473	90.6
16-17	964	1299	74.2	960	1308	73.4
18-19	621	1096	56.7	414	1107	37.4
Total	7835	9360	83.7	8251	9795	84.2

* Age groups from 1970 U.S. Census Bureau report. Age group 5-6 excluded because nursery school and kindergarten counted as schooling in the 1970, but not the 1974 census.

attending school reflects a lack for progress in preventing "dropouts" in high school. The high school dropout is not in any danger of becoming an endangered species. Those who drop out and emigrate to the United States do not have bright job prospects there.

More than 60 percent of the males and nearly 60 percent of the females over 12 years of age who were no longer attending school had completed at least eight years of schooling (Table VIII.6). Similarly, almost one-third of the males and more than one-fourth of the females had graduated from high school. Comparison with the 1960 and 1970 figures shows a rapid increase in the proportions completing high school (Figure VIII.1). Among males 25 years and older, the proportion of the population with at least a high school diploma increased from 10.4 percent in 1960 to 30.1 percent in 1974, whereas among comparable females it increased from 2.6 to 21.6 percent (a 1200 percent numerical increase). The percent of college graduates increased from 2.0 to 7.4 percent for males and 0.7 to 3.0 percent for females during the period. However, most of the college graduates are undoubtedly from the United States. American Samoa does not have a four year college (although it does have a junior college) and most who go to the United States for higher education apparently do not return. Nevertheless, educational levels of the Samoan ethnic population are very high by the standards of the Pacific Islands.

Summary

Although the average level of educational attainment is low by United States standards, it has nevertheless increased greatly in recent years. Male-female differentials have been greatly reduced. Most of the adults have completed at least primary school and the average contemporary teenager

Table VIII.6 Educational Attainment of Persons 12 Years and Older and Not Attending School by Sex

Grade	Males		Cumulative Percent Completed up to Grade *	Females		Cumulative Percent Completed up to Grade *
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
0	347	5.1	99.3	280	3.9	99.6
1	22	.3	94.2	42	.6	95.7
2	115	1.7	93.9	144	2.0	95.1
3	183	2.7	92.2	228	3.2	93.1
4	396	5.8	89.5	395	5.6	89.9
5	277	4.0	83.7	319	4.5	84.3
6	852	12.4	79.7	1031	14.5	79.8
7	331	4.8	67.3	403	5.7	65.3
8	696	10.2	62.5	767	10.8	59.6
9	840	12.3	52.3	926	13.0	48.8
10	350	5.1	40.0	338	4.8	35.8
11	263	3.8	34.9	300	4.2	31.0
12	1242	18.1	31.1	1302	18.3	26.8
13	126	1.8	13.0	161	2.3	8.5
14	273	4.0	11.2	204	2.9	6.2
15	58	.8	7.2	60	.8	3.3
16	278	4.1	6.4	122	1.7	2.5
17	43	.6	2.3	20	.3	.8
18	79	1.2	1.7	24	.3	.5
19	15	.2	.5	4	.1	.2
20+	22	.3	.3	5	.1	.1
N.S.	49	.7	---	24	.3	---
Total	6857			7099		

* N.S. subtracted from 100% at beginning.

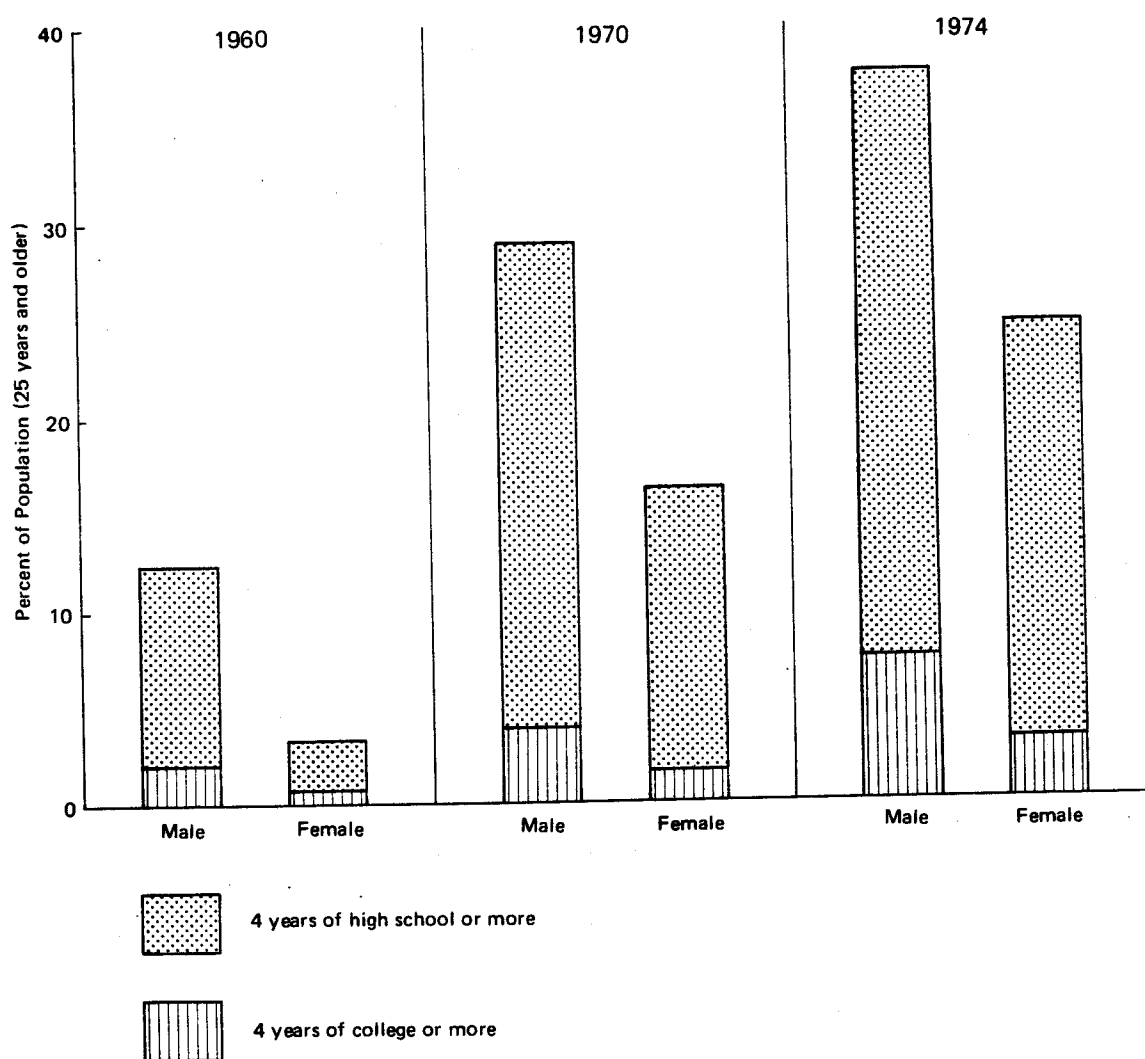


Figure VIII.1 Educational Attainment for American Samoa Residents 25 Years and Older by Sex, 1960-1974.

completes high school. However, there is room for considerable improvement. The proportion of college graduates is low and most are from the United States. Census data say nothing about the quality of education and although it has improved markedly, the average high school graduate from American Samoa has English reading and writing skills that are considerably below those of his/her counterpart in the United States.

Among the school aged population, the proportions attending school are highest in Manu'a and lowest in Central and Western districts. Many apparently leave the rural areas once schooling is completed, but the impact of Western Samoan immigrants not attending school is also undoubtedly a factor. Persons in rural areas appear to have about the same general educational levels as those in Central District.

CHAPTER IX: EMPLOYMENT

Approximately half the questions in the 1974 Census of American Samoa concerned employment. Information on employment was collected under five categories: employment in agricultures, paid employment in nonagricultural activities, receiving "Other" income, dependents and working in household, and "not working". The questions were asked of all respondents, but different combinations of categories were used, depending on the economic situation of the respondent.

"Economically active" persons included those with agricultural and other paid employment and others receiving "other" income, such as social security benefits and private income. Dependents were defined as economically inactive persons; these included persons in school, those doing housework, aged persons without any direct income, and others not in the work force. The "not working" questions were used to obtain data on unemployment and underemployment.

Tables 28 through 41 in Volume I show the data on employment collected in the census. Tables 28 and 29 show economic participation by five year age groups and level of education; Tables 30 through 33, participation in agriculture; Tables 34 through 39, paid employment; Table 40, persons receiving other income; and, Table 41, dependents.

The 1974 Census enumerated 16,094 persons aged 15 years and older, of whom 8396 were "economically active" (Table IX.1). Economically active persons were defined as persons who were not dependents, i.e., persons employed in agriculture, receiving wages for other work, or receiving some form of other income. Since some persons had several sources of income, they figure both in Tables 28 and 29. Non-dependent persons over 15 constituted 52.2 percent of the population (67.3 percent of males and 37.4 percent of females); non-dependent persons made up 61.8 percent of the population (80.6 percent of males and 43.3 percent of females) aged 20 and

Table IX.1 Refined Activity Rates for Population Aged 15+ and 20+, 1974

Age	Total			Males			Females		
	Total Population	Econ. Active	Percent Active	Total	Econ. Active	Percent Active	Total	Econ. Active	Percent Active
<u>Rates Including "Other" Income as Economically Active</u>									
15+	16094	8396	52.2	7939	5345	67.3	8155	3051	37.4
20+	12948	8002	61.8	6434	5185	80.6	6514	2817	43.2
<u>Rates, Excluding "Other" Income</u>									
15+	16094	7475	46.4	7939	4892	61.6	8155	2583	31.7
20+	12948	6625	51.2	6434	4381	68.1	6514	2244	34.4

above. Since the 15 and older group includes many persons still in school, the proportion employed is less than that in the 20 and over group. Excluding those receiving "other" income from among the economically active substantially lowers percentages of persons who would otherwise be considered as "economically active".

Almost 20 percent of the males and 57 percent of the females over 20 were economically inactive in 1974. Many of the females may have been housewives; many of the 1249 males dependents probably could have been employed but chose not to be.

Only one percent of the population was listed as unemployed, but this figure is grossly misleading. In the first place, it was defined as having no job for as much as one year preceding the census. This means that a person unemployed for more than a year was not counted as unemployed. In the second place, most who are without jobs have the option of farming communal land owned by the aiga of membership. Technically, a male who exercises that option is not unemployed, but as the financial returns are generally minimal as compared to wage labor, returning to agriculture is an unattractive option for most. In the summer of 1974 the canneries were operating only part time and they were shut down between early September to the middle of November in 1974. As a result many were not working when the census was taken on September 25. Officially, the unemployment rate was estimated at 18 percent for fiscal year 1975 (covering July 1, 1970 to June 30, 1975) and while this figure is debatable because of the labor elasticity of the aiga system, it is probably closer to how most persons really perceived the labor situation on census day than the one percent figure recorded by the census.

According to the census, 10 percent (including 7 percent of the males

and 14 percent of the females) of all persons aged 15 and above were "underemployed". For census purposes those who were dependent or were working on communal land but indicated they would "take paid employment if a suitable job became available" were underemployed. By most standards, this definition is incomplete because persons who work part-time when they wish full-time employment or are working at wage jobs far below the levels their educations and/or vocational skills qualify them for are also arguably underemployed. Furthermore, the term "suitable job" is vague. Nonetheless, the high percentage indicating "underemployment" is indicative that paid jobs are not nearly as plentiful as persons desiring them.

Almost twice as many males as females over 20 were economically active. Much of this difference was probably due to the traditional roles of men and women in Samoan society, and the fact that mainly men worked in agriculture and construction. In the 15 to 19 year age group, however, there were 234 female, but only 160 male wage earners. Most of these females were secretaries and clerks.

Table IX.2 shows the distribution of male workers aged 15-29 by activity, age group, and district. Only in Manu'a were a substantial number active in agriculture; the proportions were almost nil in Eastern and Central Districts, apparently because of greater monetary rewards of other types of employment and accessibility to them. (Manu'a and a few isolated villages in Western Samoa are inaccessible to the major centers of employment.) Even though the rate of economic activity is easily the highest in the 25-29 age group, more than 20 percent in that group were nevertheless classified as economically inactive. In the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups, Manu'a had the highest rate of males who were economically active.

Table IX.2 Economic Activity Rates of Males 15-29
Years of Age Classified by District and
by 5-Year Age Group, 1974

District	Percent of Age Group		
	15-19	20-24	25-29
<u>Economically[*]</u>			
<u>Active</u>			
Western	13.1	57.4	76.1
Central	11.1	62.2	80.1
Eastern	5.1	62.1	75.6
Manu'a	8.6	65.4	85.7
Total	10.6	60.5	78.2
<u>Active in¹</u>			
<u>Agriculture</u>			
Western	2.2	5.2	7.2
Central	-0-	-0-	.1
Eastern	0.3	1.5	-0-
Manu'a	7.1	34.6	35.7
Total	1.2	3.2	3.8
<u>Active in¹</u>			
<u>Paid Employ</u>			
Western	9.8	51.4	70.1
Central	10.7	60.8	78.3
Eastern	4.6	59.1	74.4
Manu'a	1.4	4.3	71.4
Total	8.8	56.5	74.7

* Includes persons receiving "other" income.

¹ Percentage of all persons in given age group. A person can be active both in agriculture and paid employment.

The percentages of economically active persons were similar for all Tutuila districts, but were highest for males and lowest for females in the economically retarded Manu'a District (Table IX.3). The age group 35 to 39 years had the largest percentage of economically active persons; percentages in the older age groups gradually diminish with increasing age. Only in the 15-19 age group is a higher proportion of females than males economically active.

Most persons who were economically active were wage earners (Table IX.4). The great majority, 85 percent, of non-dependents were wage earners and only about six percent were in agriculture; about 17 percent received other income. There was a positive relationship between the level of education and likelihood of being a wage earner. Agricultural workers and persons receiving other income were disproportionately found among persons completing between one and eight years of schooling.

Among the economically active who completed less than nine years of education, males were more likely than females to be wage earners. However, the proportions were equal among those with secondary school education, and among the economically active persons with a college education, females were more likely to be wage earners. This situation is partly explainable by the greater likelihood of men to be listed as engaged in agricultural activities. The percentage of economically active males at each educational level in agriculture is up to five times higher than for females (Table 29). The percentage of economically active females with less than nine years of education receiving "other" income was more than twice as high as for males in the same groups. Although the percentages for economically active persons with nine to 12 years of education were about the same, there was a considerably higher proportion of active males than females with more than 12 years of education receiving

Table IX.3 Economically Active Shares of the Population 15 Years of Age and Older, by District, Age and Sex, 1974

Districts	Sex	% Economically Active by Age Group											Total
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+		
Total	M	10.6	60.5	78.2	87.5	90.6	86.6	89.1	87.7	83.0	74.0	67.3	
	F	14.3	43.0	48.2	48.5	49.5	48.7	43.8	35.4	28.6	29.3	37.4	
	Total	12.5	50.2	62.8	69.5	71.2	68.6	65.9	61.7	58.8	51.4	52.2	
Western	M	13.1	57.4	76.1	87.5	91.2	85.0	88.8	87.5	82.0	68.9	65.5	
	F	13.2	42.3	68.4	47.9	50.2	48.9	48.0	32.7	29.0	33.5	37.8	
	Total	13.1	49.2	61.9	68.2	72.6	67.8	68.5	59.5	59.8	51.7	51.6	
Central	M	11.1	62.2	80.1	88.2	91.1	89.0	89.7	87.2	80.9	79.2	69.4	
	F	17.7	44.3	47.4	50.4	50.0	46.1	43.4	45.2	29.5	34.1	39.1	
	Total	14.7	51.9	63.8	71.4	71.4	69.3	65.8	67.7	57.4	55.2	54.0	
Eastern	M	5.1	62.1	75.6	84.2	87.7	85.5	86.7	81.0	81.6	64.0	63.6	
	F	11.8	43.1	51.4	47.8	52.4	55.0	40.2	26.3	21.9	12.7	36.1	
	Total	8.2	50.1	63.1	67.7	70.5	71.2	63.0	50.0	56.3	38.9	49.7	
Manu'a	M	8.5	65.4	85.7	92.3	91.7	83.3	94.4	100.0	100.0	89.2	75.9	
	F	0.0	12.5	35.0	32.0	31.6	45.8	35.6	25.0	35.0	25.9	25.6	
	Total	3.9	36.2	55.9	68.8	60.8	61.9	61.7	65.4	65.3	59.3	49.9	

Table IX.4 Economic Status of the Population 15 Years and Older by Educational Level and Sex, 1974

Educational Level	Number	Percent Dependent	Percent Economically Active [*]		
			Agriculture	Wage Earner	Other Income
<u>Total</u>					
None	601	59.5	6.9	75.7	21.1
Grades 1-8	4821	51.5	9.2	74.8	23.2
Grades 9-12	8995	49.9	5.0	88.2	14.4
Grades 13+	1594	21.4	2.6	95.1	11.9
Not Stated	74	(27.0)			
Total	16094	47.8	5.9	85.1	16.7
<u>Males</u>					
None	336	45.2	7.6	80.0	16.3
Grades 1-8	2238	32.8	12.1	79.5	17.0
Grades 9-12	4390	36.7	7.1	88.0	14.5
Grades 13+	925	9.5	3.5	94.5	14.3
Not Stated	50	(20.0)			
Total	7939	32.7	8.0	86.3	15.2
<u>Females</u>					
None	274	77.0	4.8	63.5	34.9
Grades 1-8	2583	67.6	3.9	66.4	34.4
Grades 9-12	4605	62.6	1.5	88.7	14.1
Grades 13+	669	37.8	.7	96.4	7.0
Not Stated	24	(41.7)			
Total	8155	62.6	2.2	83.1	19.2

* Percents add up to greater than 100 because a person may have more than one source of income.

other income. There is a positive correlation between the level of education received by a female and her likelihood of being a wage earner. Whereas only 15 percent of females who had no education were wage earners, the proportion was 60 percent for those who had attended college. The same relationship was true for males: 44 percent of those with no education were wage earners, but the proportion was 86 percent for those who had attended college.

A comparison of employment status and district of residence (Table IX.5) shows that the percentage of dependent persons was highest in Manu'a and Eastern Districts, with slightly more than half the population over 15 years economically inactive. In all the Tutuila districts the percentage classified as dependent decreased with educational attainment. In Manu'a, however, the percentage was highest in the group with secondary education; and lowest for all districts for college educated persons. There were, however, only 79 college educated persons on Manu'a; most persons with secondary educations had left the island for work on Tutuila or in the United States.

Generally a direct relationship held between participation in paid employment and educational attainment in each district. In all Tutuila districts over 80 percent of the work force was in the category of paid employment with the proportion close to 90 percent in the urbanized Central District. In Manu'a, there were no persons without education in paid employment; only one-third of the persons with primary education, and two-thirds with secondary education were in paid employment. The percentage for college educated persons was similar to the other districts.

In agricultural employment, Manu'a, of all the districts, did not show the expected inverse relationship between educational attainment and participation in agriculture. Instead, the percentage increased through

Table IX.5 Economic Status of the Population 15 Years and Older by District and Educational Level, 1974

District	Percent Dependent	Percent Economically Active *		
		Agriculture	Wage Employment	Other Income
<u>Western</u>				
None	68.7	19.2	75.0	13.5
Grades 1-8	50.7	15.6	70.5	22.4
Grades 9-12	51.1	6.9	85.9	16.9
Grades 13+	24.8	3.0	94.7	13.4
Total	48.4	9.1	82.7	17.8
<u>Central</u>				
None	54.5	---	85.3	15.9
Grades 1-8	50.0	1.1	82.9	18.0
Grades 9-12	48.1	.4	91.9	10.6
Grades 13+	19.0	.7	95.0	12.1
Total	46.0	.7	89.5	13.1
<u>Eastern</u>				
None	85.3	---	60.0	40.0
Grades 1-8	56.8	3.4	78.0	22.8
Grades 9-12	49.9	1.6	90.0	11.4
Grades 13+	20.8	.6	96.5	8.8
Total	50.3	2.0	87.4	14.3
<u>Manu'a</u>				
None	44.4	35.0	---	80.0
Grades 1-8	49.8	43.4	34.1	68.2
Grades 9-12	56.6	44.3	66.0	40.6
Grades 13+*	13.9	17.6	95.6	7.4
Total	50.1	39.4	58.0	45.5

* Percents add up to greater than 100 because a person may have more than one source of income.

secondary education. The fact that 80 percent of the economically active with no education received "other income" compared to 40 percent of those completing between nine and twelve years of education suggests the role of retirement in explaining this relationship.

The Manu'a commercial economy is heavily dependent on transfer payments, especially remittances from the outmigrants. In general, there was an inverse relationship between educational level and percentage of persons receiving "other" income. This is not unexpected, given the concentration of the poorly educated in the older age groups.

A breakdown of the population of wage earners by sex and ethnic group for 1956 and 1974 (Table IX.6) shows that during the 18 years between censuses the percentages of males and females who were wage earners doubled and tripled, respectively. Samoans and other Pacific Islanders of both sexes showed the greatest proportionate increases. Ignoring the numerically unimportant "others", the other extreme is represented by the male Part-Samoans and Caucasians of both sexes; all showed virtually no change in the proportions in paid employment.

In 1974, 78 percent of males in paid employment were Samoan, although they comprised 82 percent of males over 15 years of age. Part-Samoan males were also underrepresented, whereas males classified as Caucasian, Other Pacific Islander, and Other were overrepresented relative to their percentages of the male population aged 15 and above. Caucasian females were also overrepresented relative to all females 15 years of age and over. For other ethnic groups, representation in the work force was similar to their representation in the general adult population.

The disparity between representation in the work force and in the general community was less in 1974 than in 1956, particularly for

Table IX.6 Population in Paid Employment by Ethnicity and Sex, 1956 and 1974

	Ethnic Groups									
	Samoan		Part-Samoan		Caucasian		Other Pacific Islands		Others	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<u>1956</u>										
Persons Working	1168	392	173	64	71	24	43	9	189	1
Percent of Total Pop. ¹	13.2	4.3	22.2	8.7	67.0	35.8	28.1	5.7	99.5	50.0
Percent of Working, by sex	71.0	80.0	10.5	13.1	4.3	4.9	2.6	1.8	11.5	0.2
Percent of Pop. ²	87.8	90.4	7.7	7.3	1.0	.7	1.5	1.6	1.9	0.0
<u>1974</u>										
Persons Working	3582	2116	291	181	314	124	252	92	172	17
Percent of Total Pop. ¹	29.0	17.1	24.5	15.8	65.8	34.6	52.6	20.4	73.5	17.9
Percent Working	77.7	83.6	6.3	7.1	6.8	4.9	5.4	3.6	3.7	0.7
Percent of Pop. ²	83.9	85.8	8.0	7.9	3.2	2.5	3.3	3.2	1.6	0.6

¹Number of persons working of sex and ethnicity/total persons of sex and ethnicity.²Number of persons of sex and ethnicity/total persons of sex, without reference to work status.

Samoans and Part-Samoans. The percentage of working persons who were Samoan increased between 1956 and 1974; in contrast, the percentage of working persons who were Part-Samoan decreased considerably. The number of males in the "other" ethnicities group who were in paid employment decreased. The numbers and percentages of Caucasians and Other Pacific Islanders increased; the Caucasians composed 4.3 percent of the paid workers in 1956, but this figure rose to 6.1 percent in 1971, and the share for the Other Pacific Islanders doubled from 2.4 to 4.8 percent, with percentages of Other Pacific Islanders in the work force doubling. Since many of the Caucasians in American Samoa were on contract, their representation may eventually decrease unless they are replaced by others from the United States.

Tables 36 and 37 in Volume I show the breakdown of occupations at three major levels by sex, ethnicity, and district of residence. In analyzing the trends based only on the broadest categorization, it is important to remember the difficulty in assigning many occupations performed in the traditional Samoan aiga system, and in the modified system which is developing as a result of "Westernization".

Nearly 30 percent of both the male and female paid workers in 1974 were professional, managerial or technical workers (Table IX.7). These included most persons in education, and public administrators (including village mayors). For the males, the next largest percentage were construction workers, followed by service and clerical/sales. For females, the second largest category was clerical/sales, followed by industry (primarily the fish canneries) and service.

There was a positive relationship between age and percentage of paid workers in professional, technical or managerial employment (with

Table IX.7 Occupational Distribution of the Population in Paid Employment by Sex and Age Group, 1974

O C C U P A T I O N A L C A T E G O R I E S												
Age Group	Professional/ Technical/ Managerial	Clerical/ Sales	Service	Industry	Processing	Machine		Bench Work	Structural	Misc.	Total	
						Trades						
Males												
15-19	8.2	18.0	15.8	21.8	2.3	9.0		1.5	14.3	9.0	99.9	
20-24	23.1	19.7	12.5	10.8	.7	9.1		1.5	14.2	8.4	100.0	
25-29	28.6	14.9	12.5	9.3	.5	9.7		1.2	11.0	12.2	99.9	
30-34	28.4	13.0	11.2	8.9	.3	9.2		1.3	15.8	11.9	100.0	
35-44	29.3	8.7	10.9	8.7	.6	8.2		.8	23.5	9.2	99.9	
45-54	32.1	6.7	13.3	5.8	.1	9.5		2.3	21.4	8.8	100.0	
55-64	42.2	6.9	19.8	4.1	.3	5.7		1.5	13.4	6.2	100.1	
65+	73.5	6.1	12.2	2.0	---	---		---	6.1	---	99.9	
N.S.	9.5	23.8	9.5	23.8	---	4.8		---	14.3	14.3	100.0	
Total	29.6	11.6	12.7	8.6	.5	8.7		1.4	17.4	9.7	100.2	
Females												
15-19	8.5	50.2	19.7	15.7	---	.5		.9	---	4.5	100.0	
20-24	20.6	43.6	12.6	18.9	.2	.9		.9	---	2.2	99.9	
25-29	33.2	31.5	10.6	20.5	---	---		1.0	.2	2.9	99.9	
30-34	32.5	21.5	12.4	28.0	.5	1.1		.8	---	3.2	100.0	
35-44	33.0	11.7	13.8	36.3	.4	.5		.9	---	3.4	100.0	
45-54	34.6	9.3	22.1	31.1	.7	.4		.7	---	1.1	100.0	
55-64	50.0	9.3	22.2	9.3	1.9	1.9		5.6	---	---	100.2	
65+	66.7	16.7	16.7	---	---	---		---	---	---	100.1	
N.S.	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	---	---		---	---	---	100.0	
Total	28.9	26.8	14.4	25.2	.3	.6		1.0	---	2.8	100.0	

nearly three-fourths of the working males and two-thirds of the working females over 65 in this category). On the other hand, there was an inverse relationship between age and clerical/sales professions. Service occupations contained larger percentages of young and old than middle-aged workers. The proportion of workers in industry is inversely related with age, but for females, there was a positive relationship with age through the age group 35 to 44 years (36.3 percent of the age group). This latter relationship is similar for males in construction work.

The largest percentages of paid male and female workers were in the 30-34 and 20-24 age groups, respectively (Table IX.8). This was true for most occupational categories, although persons in clerical and sales (particularly females) tended to be younger than the average paid worker, and construction workers (virtually all male) were most likely to be older.

There was considerable differences in distribution of occupations among the districts (Table IX.9). Almost one-half the employed persons, including 84 percent of the females, on Manu'a were professionals. Another one-fourth were in structural occupations - in public works and construction. Proportions for professionals were similar for the three Tutuila districts: indeed the largest proportion in each district were classified as professional. Females in clerical/sales and in industry caused these to be the next largest categories. The second and third categories for males were structural and service occupations. In Central District, a third of the females were in clerical/sales occupations, and the plurality of males were professionals. Almost 40 percent of the employed females but only 11 percent of the males in Eastern District worked in industry.

Table IX.8 Age Distribution by Occupational Category of the Population in Paid Employment by Sex and Category, 1974

O C C U P A T I O N A L C A T E G O R I E S											
Age Group	Professional/ Technical/ Managerial	Clerical/ Sales	Service	Industry	Processing	Machine Trades	Bench Work	Structural	Misc.	Total	
Males											
15-19	.8	4.5	3.6	7.3	13.6	3.0	3.2	2.4	2.7	2.9	
20-24	9.1	19.9	11.5	14.6	18.2	12.3	12.9	9.5	10.1	11.6	
25-29	15.7	21.0	16.1	17.7	18.2	18.3	14.5	10.3	20.6	16.3	
30-34	16.3	19.1	15.0	17.7	9.1	18.0	16.1	15.5	20.9	17.0	
35-44	25.8	19.5	22.4	26.3	31.8	24.8	16.1	35.2	24.9	26.0	
45-54	17.6	9.4	16.9	10.9	4.5	17.8	27.4	20.0	14.8	16.2	
55-64	12.0	5.1	13.2	4.0	4.5	5.5	9.7	6.5	5.4	8.4	
65+	2.6	.6	1.0	.3	---	---	---	.4	---	1.1	
N.S.	.1	.9	.3	1.3	---	0.3	---	.4	.7	.5	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.2	100.1	100.0	
Females											
15-19	2.6	16.5	12.1	5.5	---	6.7	8.0	---	14.3	8.8	
20-24	15.2	34.6	18.7	16.0	12.5	33.3	20.0	---	17.1	21.3	
25-29	21.9	22.4	14.0	15.5	---	---	20.0	100.0	20.0	19.1	
30-34	16.6	11.8	12.6	16.3	25.0	26.7	12.0	---	17.1	14.7	
35-44	25.5	9.7	21.4	32.1	25.0	20.0	20.0	---	27.1	22.3	
45-54	13.3	3.8	17.0	13.6	25.0	6.7	8.0	---	4.3	11.1	
55-64	3.7	.7	3.3	.8	12.5	6.7	12.0	---	---	2.1	
65+	1.1	.3	.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	.5	
N.S.	.1	.1	.3	.2	---	---	---	---	---	.2	
Total	100.0	99.9	99.7	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	

Table IX.9 Occupational Distribution of Population in Paid Employment Classified by District of Residence and Sex, 1974

PERCENT IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES												
District	Sex	Professional	Clerical/ Sales		Service	Industry	Processing	Machine Trades		Bench Work	Structural	Misc.
Western	M	30.3	9.3	13.4	7.7	0.8	8.2	1.3	19.7	9.3		
	F	31.1	24.1	12.9	24.0	0.2	0.5	1.3	---	5.9		
	T	30.6	14.7	13.2	13.6	0.6	5.4	1.3	12.6	8.1		
Central	M	28.6	14.7	12.1	8.9	0.3	9.5	1.4	14.3	10.2		
	F	24.3	32.9	18.1	22.2	0.2	0.4	1.0	---	0.9		
	T	27.1	21.2	14.2	13.6	0.2	6.3	1.3	9.2	6.9		
Eastern	M	28.5	9.5	14.2	10.7	0.5	8.2	1.6	17.0	9.8		
	F	29.1	19.3	8.3	39.0	0.9	1.4	0.2	0.2	1.6		
	T	28.7	13.1	12.0	21.0	0.7	5.7	1.1	10.9	6.8		
Manu'a	M	39.4	4.1	7.3	4.1	---	5.2	0.5	32.6	6.7		
	F	83.9	5.4	10.7	---	---	---	---	---	---		
	T	49.4	4.4	8.0	3.2	---	4.0	0.4	25.3	5.2		
Total	M	29.6	11.6	12.7	8.6	0.5	8.7	1.3	17.4	9.7		
	F	28.9	26.8	14.4	25.2	0.3	0.6	1.0	---	2.8		
	T	29.4	17.0	13.3	14.5	0.4	5.8	1.2	11.2	7.2		

More than three-quarters of the wage employment is in the Central District (Table IX.10). Of the remainder, 71 percent are in Western District, with most of the jobs being located in Tafuna, which is adjacent to the airport and close to the border with Central District. This concentration of jobs means that many commute to the jobs. Indeed, the Eastern District can be regarded as a bedroom suburb of Central District and at least half of the wage earners in Western District commute to jobs in the Central District. No place in Tutuila which is served by a road is more than 15 highway miles from the Pago Pago area and only isolated villages on the northern coast have no direct highway access to where the jobs are concentrated. The remoteness of the Manu'a Islands make daily commuting impossible; this problem has been solved mainly by the outmigration of the able-bodied. General increasing affluence has enabled the purchase of private transportation and the road network on Tutuila has been expanded and improved. As a result, agriculture is a dying occupation on Tutuila and socio-economic differences among its three districts are undoubtedly becoming more blurred.

The population in paid employment was not spread evenly among the major occupational categories when considered by educational attainment (Table IX.11). The largest percentage of persons with no education were in industry (primarily the fish canneries), followed closely by service occupations. Relatively few (10 percent) were professionals. An even larger percentage of persons with primary school educations were in industry; the second largest number, however, were in structural work. More than a quarter of those with secondary school educations were professionals. An additional one-fourth of this group was in service occupations. Most persons with post-secondary educations were professionals. There was only

Table IX.10 Location of Wage Earners and Wage Jobs by Sex and District, 1974

District	Number of Wage Workers Living in District	Number of Wage Earners Working in District	Number of Wage Workers Per 100 Inhabitants Aged 15+	Number of Wage Jobs in Area Per 100 Inhabi- tants Aged 15+	Net Movement of Persons for Wage Jobs*
<u>Males</u>					
Western	1583	903	54.8	31.3	-680
Central	2077	3323	63.4	101.4	+1246
Eastern	758	180	55.7	13.2	-578
Manu'a	193	168	46.5	40.5	-25
<u>Females</u>					
Western	893	309	30.6	10.6	-584
Central	1145	2066	33.6	60.7	+921
Eastern	436	94	31.5	6.8	-342
Manu'a	56	53	12.6	11.9	-3
<u>Total</u>					
Western	2476	1212	42.6	20.9	-1264
Central	3222	5389	48.2	80.7	+2167
Eastern	1194	274	43.5	10.0	-920
Manu'a	249	221	29.0	25.7	-28

* 37 males and 8 females stated a workplace outside of American Samoa.

Table IX.11 Occupational Distribution of Population in Paid Employment by Educational Attainment, 1974

Percent in Occupational Categories	E D U C A T I O N A L A T T A I N M E N T					Total
	None	1-8 Yrs.	9-12 Yrs.	13-16 Yrs.	17+ Yrs.	
Professional	9.6	11.2	27.7	71.3	86.1	29.3
Clerical/Sales	13.4	10.2	24.1	13.2	4.6	17.0
Service	21.4	17.0	13.6	4.5	1.5	13.3
Industry	22.5	24.2	10.8	3.3	2.1	14.5
Processing	---	.6	.5	---	---	.4
Machine Trades	6.4	7.5	6.0	2.2	1.0	5.8
Bench Work	3.2	1.5	1.1	.8	---	1.2
Structural	13.9	18.5	9.1	2.6	---	11.2
Misc.	9.6	9.5	7.3	2.0	4.6	7.3
Total	100.0	100.2	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0

a small percentage of persons with 17 or more years of education in clerical/sales occupations.

More than forty percent of the professionals have at least some college training and an additional 44 percent attended high school (Table IX.12). Two-thirds of the clerical workers had between nine and 12 years of schooling. Comparable proportions in service, processing, machine trades, benchwork and miscellaneous occupations had primary and secondary school education. The highest percentages in industry and structural occupations are found among persons with primary education.

Tables 38 and 39 in Volume I show the distribution of persons by age and sex and government and private employers and self-employed persons in American Samoa in 1974. Approximately 45 percent of the females and 57 percent of the males were in government employment, compared to 52 percent and 39 percent, respectively, in private employment (Table IX.13). Comparatively few people were self-employed.

There was generally a positive relationship for males between age and government employment, with a corresponding negative relationship for private employment, perhaps because there were more jobs in private industry open to young men. There was no particular pattern by age for females, however.

The 1974 Census data on paid employment are compared with data from 1960 and 1970 in Table IX.14. (Unfortunately, the 1970 census data for agriculture are grossly in error, but the 1960 and 1974 figures on agricultural employment appear to be reasonable.) Paid employment data show continued expansion of both government and private sectors. Overall, employment in the government sector nearly tripled and that in the private and the small self-employed sectors doubled in the 14 year period.

Table IX.12 Educational Attainment of Population in Paid Employment by Occupational Category, 1974

Occupational Categories	PERCENT BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT					
	None	1-8 Yrs.	9-12 Yrs.	13-16 Yrs.	17+ Yrs.	N.S.
Professional	.9	12.8	43.9	33.9	8.0	.6
Clerical/Sales	2.1	20.1	66.0	10.9	.7	.2
Service	4.2	42.9	47.5	4.7	.3	.3
Industry	4.0	56.2	34.8	3.2	.4	1.6
Processing	---	46.7	53.3	---	---	---
Machine Trades	2.9	43.2	47.8	5.3	.5	.2
Bench Work	6.9	41.4	41.4	9.2	---	1.1
Structural	3.2	55.4	37.6	3.2	---	.5
Misc.	3.5	43.8	46.4	3.8	1.7	1.2
Total	2.6	33.6	46.5	14.0	2.7	.6

Table IX.13 Distribution of Wage Workers in the Government, Private, and Self-Employed Sectors by Age Group and Sex, 1974

Age Groups	M A L E S			F E M A L E S		
	Government	Private	Self- Employed	Government	Private	Self- Employed
15-19	39.1	57.9	3.0	46.2	52.5	1.3
20-24	48.6	49.2	2.2	45.8	52.7	1.5
25-29	54.0	41.6	4.4	51.5	46.3	2.3
30-34	50.8	43.6	7.7	43.5	54.8	1.6
35-44	57.8	37.2	2.4	39.7	57.6	2.7
45-54	65.5	30.7	3.9	45.4	51.8	2.8
55-64	76.1	21.6	2.3	61.1	33.3	5.5
65+	55.1	34.7	10.2	25.0	58.3	16.7
N.S.	33.3	66.7	---	---	75.0	25.0
Total	57.0	38.7	4.3	45.3	52.4	2.3

Table IX.14 Population in Agricultural and Paid Employment by Type of Employment and by Sex, 1960, 1970 and 1974*

Type of Employment	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1974</u>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
<u>Persons in Agriculture</u>						
Matai** (communal)	965	99	16	-0-	104	1
Family	696	1015	6	-0-	281	55
Money	47	18	16	14	38	5
Not Stated	-0-	-0-	39	-0-	5	4
Total	1708	1132	77	14	428	65
<u>Paid Employment</u>						
Government	1069	280	1868	792	2630	1147
Private	773	871	1372	1062	1981	1383
Self-Employed	79	56	86	21	196	57
Total	1842	1151	3240	1854	4611	2530

* Figures for 1960 and 1970 for persons 16 years and older.
Figures for 1974 for persons 15 years and older.

** U.S. Census Bureau categories.

The annual rate of increase for males in paid employment was 5.6 percent between 1960 and 1970, and 7.8 percent between 1970 and 1974; figures for females were 4.8 and 6.9, respectively. Whereas there were nearly equal numbers of paid and agricultural workers in 1960, the former outnumbered the latter by nearly eight to one in 1974.

For "other" income, Table IX.15 shows the largest percentage of males receiving retirement benefits, followed closely by social security veteran's benefits and American Samoa aiga (i.e., related kin). Western District had the largest percentage of Tutuila males receiving support from aiga in American Samoa. In Central District, a larger percentage of males received social security benefits and lived on private means. The Manu'a percentages were radically different from those of Tutuila. More than one-half the males with other income indicating they received income from mainland United States aiga, (as only two possible sources were coded, the true proportion was undoubtedly higher) more than one-third indicated receiving income from American Samoa aiga, and more than one-quarter indicated receiving income from aiga elsewhere. Much smaller percentages of males on Manu'a than on Tutuila received other income from retirement benefits, social security, and private means. In short, Manu'a residents are especially dependent on earnings made by relatives living elsewhere.

More than a quarter each of females with "other" income stated they received social security and veteran's benefits. Central District females received disproportionate percentages of social security benefits, and half of Eastern District females received veteran's benefits. The percentages of aiga support for females on Manu'a were similar to those for males.

Table IX.15 Percentage Distribution of "Other" Income Sources by Persons Aged 15+ Receiving "Other" Income by Sex and District of Residence, 1974*

Percent Receiving Other Income From	Males					Females				
	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total
Retirement	22.8	29.5	25.9	11.2	23.5	10.0	3.9	11.2	19.7	9.0
Veteran's Benefits	20.1	19.7	27.6	14.9	20.2	25.1	29.0	49.8	11.5	27.6
Social Security	21.5	30.3	25.9	9.0	22.9	25.5	40.1	23.8	9.8	28.8
American Samoa Aiga	19.4	10.6	10.3	37.3	18.2	15.2	7.2	3.8	47.5	14.2
Hawaii Aiga	5.2	.8	4.3	6.7	3.9	8.2	2.4	5.0	3.3	5.2
Mainland Aiga	4.5	5.3	7.8	52.2	13.2	12.6	12.1	13.8	44.3	15.9
Aiga Elsewhere	6.9	1.5	5.2	27.6	8.3	10.0	5.3	1.2	29.5	9.2
Private Means	12.5	20.1	4.3	2.2	12.1	8.7	7.7	2.5	1.6	6.7
Not Stated	.3	1.1	---	---	.5	---	1.0	---	---	.3
Average Number	1.13	1.19	1.11	1.61	1.23	1.15	1.23	1.11	1.67	1.17

* Up to two income sources were coded for each person.

Persons on Manu'a had more sources of other income than persons on Tutuila. With a maximum of two possible sources coded for each person receiving other income, Manu'a persons averaged more than 1.6 sources. This average would have been even higher had more possible sources been coded.

More than 83 percent of the dependents received primary support from persons in paid employment (Table IX.16). The next largest category of support was from persons with Other Income. Few persons in American Samoa are supported primarily by agricultural workers. The distribution by district shows that Manu'a had the lowest percentage of dependents supported by paid employees, and the highest percentage by persons receiving Other Income (mainly remittances).

Vocational Education in American Samoa

The members of the American Samoa Advisory Council on Vocational Education are appointed to provide "the opportunity for every American Samoan to develop a skill or trade so that he (or she) can provide for the well-being of the individual and contribute as a progressive citizen to the betterment of American Samoa" (ASACVE, n.d.).

The employment tables in Part I and the previous text tables concerning education and migration have shown some of the areas for potential use of vocational education. Since 20 percent of the males and 57 percent of the females over 15 in American Samoa were fully dependent, the work force could be expanded considerably with persons now living there. In the economically active sector, agriculture provides few jobs, mainly because it is not nearly as remunerative as jobs in other paid employment.

Although there are more economically active males than females, distributions by age indicate that some employment problems already exist, and more are likely to develop in the not-too-distant future. Although

Table IX.16 Percentage Distribution of Primary Income Sources for Dependents Aged 15+ by District of Residence, 1974*

Source of Income	District of Residence				
	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total
Communal Agriculture	3.3	.3	.7	.2	1.5
Non-Communal Agriculture	1.0	.1	.2	---	.4
Paid Employment	78.4	88.9	90.1	57.8	83.5
Other Income	17.2	10.7	9.0	42.0	14.5
Not Stated	.1	.1	.1	---	.1

* Only one source coded.

90 percent of the males aged 35-39 are economically active, the older and younger age groups have lower percentages of economically active males; the situation among young males is particularly in need of the attention of policy makers. The Government of American Samoa, recently the largest employer of these young men, now seems to have fewer jobs available to them, causing them to seek employment in private industry. Young females do seem to be finding jobs in government and private industry, but more than half of their jobs are in clerical/sales work (as secretaries and clerks), positions that are not generally attractive to males. As a result, there are twice as many females as males aged 15 to 19 in paid employment. (This lack of employment opportunities helps explain why so many males emigrate or join the Armed Forces after leaving high school.)

The percentage of males over 15 in paid employment doubled and that of females tripled between 1956 and 1974; therefore, many young people in high school and at the Community College must have expectations of obtaining suitable paid employment after completing their educations. This hypothesis was substantiated by the 1974 data with Table IX.4 showing a strong positive correlation between educational attainment and the likelihood of holding paid employment; well-educated females, however, were underrepresented relative to males in the paid labor force. Although this underrepresentation could be partly due to household activities, it is also probably due partly to lack of employment opportunities for these females. Although education has thus far been a "ticket" to paid employment, this will cease to be the case if government growth ceases.

Vocation education may prove especially useful to two groups of American Samoans: those who are dependents or in communal agriculture who desire paid employment (defined earlier as "underemployed") and the

persons working only part time. Table VII.17 shows the percentages of persons underemployed and not in paid employment by sex and age group. More than 10 percent of all persons over 15 at the time of the census were underemployed by the definition used. Although a large proportion of the group 15-19 years old were still in school and therefore, by definition not underemployed, the percentage of underemployed in the 20-29 group was large. Similarly, a smaller percentage of persons 20-24 years old was in paid employment than in any older group under age 50. The figures for males and females separately showed similar trends, although more females were underemployed and fewer females were in paid employment.

Only 2 percent of the males and 5 percent of the females in paid employment were working part-time, i.e., less than 35 hours a week (Table IX.18). Although 9 percent of the males in the 15-19 group were part-time employees, few older males worked part-time. In contrast, with the exception of the 15-19 group, the proportion of female employees working part-time increased with age. Either the numbers of part-time workers in American Samoa were underemployed or very little part-time employment existed. It thus appears that underemployment as defined by persons working part-time who wish to work full time is almost nonexistent.

In general, there seem to be many well-educated, underemployed American Samoans who could benefit from vocational education. Existing education is strongly biased in favor of "academic" as opposed to "practical" skills. Most who graduate from high school appear to have ambitions in government clerical or managerial employment, but the government sector cannot grow forever; indeed, it could contract if a policy of making the territory self-sustaining is ever adopted. A balanced economy requires more persons with practical skills. As of now, only industries requiring

Table IX.17 Percent Underemployed and Not in Paid in Employment of Persons Aged 15+ by Age and Sex, 1974

Age Group	T o t a l		M a l e s		F e m a l e s	
	Percent Under-employed*	Percent Not In Paid Employment	Percent Under-employed*	Percent Not In Paid Employment	Percent Under-employed*	Percent Not In Paid Employment
15-19	6.4	88.7	5.5	91.2	7.2	86.3
20-24	17.0	53.0	14.2	43.5	18.9	59.7
25-29	15.0	40.4	8.1	25.2	21.6	54.7
30-34	11.5	34.3	5.2	17.5	19.0	54.0
35-39	9.5	33.8	4.1	15.0	15.5	54.8
40-44	8.8	39.3	6.4	21.1	11.5	59.5
45-49	7.9	45.7	5.3	22.7	10.5	67.7
50-54	8.9	53.6	5.3	28.3	12.4	79.1
55-59	7.8	60.9	6.7	47.6	9.2	89.9
60+	5.3	82.5	5.5	70.3	5.1	94.5
N.S.	3.4	66.7	.0	58.2	9.4	81.2
Total	10.3	55.6	6.8	41.9	13.7	68.9

* Defined as being a dependent or working in communal agriculture but desiring paid employment.

Table IX.18 Numbers and Percentages of Wage Earners in Full-Time and Part-Time Employment by Age and Sex, 1974

Age Group	M a l e				F e m a l e			
	Part Time	Full Time	Percent Part Time	Percent Full Time*	Part Time	Full Time	Percent Part Time	Percent Full Time*
15-19	12	120	9.0	90.2	8	214	3.5	96.0
20-24	13	522	2.2	97.2	15	522	2.8	96.8
25-29	14	737	1.9	98.0	21	460	4.4	95.4
30-34	15	766	1.9	97.8	16	356	4.3	95.7
35-44	26	1171	2.2	97.6	33	530	5.9	94.0
45-54	15	728	2.0	97.5	28	252	10.0	90.0
55-64	1	386	0.2	99.2	6	48	11.1	88.9
65+	0	49	0.0	100.0	2	10	16.7	83.3
N.S.	0	21	0.0	100.0	0	4	0.0	100.0
Total	96	4500	2.1	97.6	129	2396	5.1	94.7

*Percentages do not always sum to 100.0 because those not stating hours of work have been excluded.

large amounts of unskilled labor would have any reason to locate in the territory. Another reason to expand vocational education is that many if not most of the high school graduates emigrate to the United States. Many have aspirations of at least clerical employment, but most are seriously undereducated by the standards of American employers. Thus, many find they are not qualified for jobs they desire and, furthermore, have no other training to qualify for employment. The result is a high unemployment rate and many broken dreams among the emigrants. Therefore, vocational education appears a wise investment both for those who stay and the others who chose to emigrate.

Summary

In many respects, the 1974 census revealed a superficially healthy economy. The measured unemployment rate was only one percent and the large majority of paid employees were full time workers. Furthermore, the expansion of the paid work force between 1960 and 1974 was impressive. However, many weaknesses in the economy were also suggested. Underemployment as measured by the census was considerable and other justifiable measures would have revealed a higher rate. That more than half the paid workers are government employees is indicative of the extent to which the economy has become dependent on transfer payments from American taxpayers. The census also reveals many to be dependent on remittances from emigrants. The major employers (i.e., canneries) require mainly unskilled labor. The dramatic decline in the agricultural labor force is reflected in an economy where most of the food (even taro, the traditional staple) must now be imported.

The labor force could be considerably expanded by the addition of persons (especially females) presently classified as dependent. An expanded vocational education program would be beneficial both for the economy of the American Samoa and for the emigrants.

CHAPTER X: FERTILITY AND MORTALITY

Fertility information was collected from all females born in 1960 or earlier. Since many children are adopted in American Samoa, enumerators were cautioned to make certain that they recorded only a woman's biological or "own" children. Adopted children were to be counted by their "own" mothers. Each female was asked about total children ever born, children surviving to census day, age at first birth, and date of birth, sex, whether presently alive, and date of death (if dead), for last birth.

The tabulated census information for fertility is shown in Tables 42 through 50 in Volume I. Tables 42 and 43 show distributions of females over 14 years by district of residence, age, number of children ever born, and number of children surviving. Tables 44 and 45 show numbers of mothers aged 15 years and older, sex of last child, or last surviving, and years between the birth of that child and the census. Table 46 shows the numbers of last births by sex, year of birth, and age at death (if dead). Distribution of mothers by the age of first birth is shown in Table 47. Table 48 shows the distribution by village of birth for last children born within the last year, and Table 49 provides a distribution of these children by parity and age of mother. Table 50 gives age specific birth rates.

Information on mortality was available from the questions pertaining to children ever born and surviving and when the last-born child was born, whether he/she was still alive and if not, the age at death. Information on age of death for the last-born children is contained in Table 46. In this volume, life expectancies at birth are estimated from the children ever born and surviving data.

Age at First Birth

The mean and median ages at first birth for American Samoa females in 1974 were 22.0 and 21.5 years, respectively (Table 47). These figures are approximately the same for all age groups of females over 20-24 years. Approximately three percent (155 of 5089) of the females either did not give an age at first birth, gave an age at first birth that was older than that at the time of the census, or gave an age which was outside the limits of the table (less than 15 years or more than 50 years). Only 59 or 38 percent of these 156 females were in the reproductive ages (i.e., 15 to 49) at the time of the census.

The distribution of the percentages of mothers by age at first birth (Table X.1) shows that among females 25 through 59, the percentages having a first child between the ages of 15 and 19 years has remained relatively constant. The distribution for females aged 35 and over also suggests little recent change in the proportions having their first births at ages 20-24 and 25-29.

The median age at first birth was .6 years higher in 1974 than in 1956 (Table X.2). This is consistent with the earlier observation that the SMAM for females increased by .4 years between 1956 and 1974. Whereas 83.4 percent of mothers reported the first birth occurred before age 25 in 1956, this figure dropped to 78.6 percent in 1974. However, the means are only .2 years apart because a number of females in 1956 reported having their first births between ages 45-49. (The 1974 figure of one seems more plausible.) All in all, the change between 1956 and 1974 was modest, but in the direction of a later age at first childbirth.

There were 5563 "ever married" (that is, married, widowed, divorced, or separated) females in 1974, and 5089 mothers (Table X.3). If marriage

Table X.1 Percentage Distribution of Ages at First Birth by Current Age of Mother, 1974

Age at First Birth	C U R R E N T A G E O F M O T H E R S											Total
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65+	
15-19	100.0	42.5	27.8	24.2	28.1	24.2	27.6	27.1	27.8	31.6	16.1	29.0
20-24		57.4	57.9	51.5	47.7	45.1	49.7	48.4	45.4	40.3	48.0	49.6
25-29			14.3	21.5	18.4	23.8	16.4	16.1	21.5	20.4	24.5	16.9
30-34				2.9	5.1	5.5	4.3	5.8	2.8	6.6	7.0	3.5
35-39					.6	.9	1.5	2.1	2.5	1.0	3.4	.9
40-44						.4	.6	.5			1.0	.2
45+												
Total Mothers (excluding mothers whose age at first birth was unknown)	89	489	781	699	629	541	537	380	284	196	298	4934*

* Including 11 mothers whose ages were not stated. The lone female reporting she was at least 45 years of age at the time of first birth was in this group.

Table X.2 Number and Percent of Mothers by Age at First Birth, 1956 and 1974

Age at First Birth	1 9 5 6			1 9 7 4		
	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
15-19	1157	35.4	35.4	1432	29.0	29.0
20-24	1569	48.0	83.4	2445	49.6	78.6
25-29	417	12.8	96.2	832	16.9	95.5
30-34	82	2.5	98.7	170	3.5	98.9
35-39	31	.9	99.6	44	.9	99.8
40-44	6	.2	99.8	10	.2	100.0
45-49	5	.2	100.0	1	.0	100.0
Total	3267			4934		
Mean *	21.8			22.0		
Median *	20.9			21.5		

* Calculated from single-year data for both years.

Table X.3 Ratio of Childless Females to all Ever Married Females and Mothers by District, 1974

District	Ever Married Females	Mothers	Childless Females	Ratio of Childless Females to Mothers	Ratio of Childless Females to Ever-Married Females
Western	1989	1794	195	10.9: 100	9.8: 100
Central	2237	2032	205	10.1: 100	9.2: 100
Eastern	1006	948	58	6.1: 100	5.8: 100
Manu'a	331	315	16	5.1: 100	4.8: 100
Total	5563	5089	474	9.3: 100	8.5: 100

were assumed to be necessary for motherhood, 8.5 percent of the ever-married females would have been childless. The actual proportion of "ever-married" childless females was 12 percent since 200 unmarried females were mothers. The proportions of childless females in Western and Central Districts were about twice as high as in Eastern and Manu'a Districts. The former districts contained the bulk of Caucasians as well as much higher proportions of young females than the latter districts.

There were 25,744 children ever born to the mothers in American Samoa in 1974 - an average of 4.6 children per ever married female and 5.1 children per mother (Table X.4). Central District had the lowest number of children per ever married female and per mother. Western District averages were only slightly higher; the Manu'a average exceeded the others by more than 1.5 children. Standardizing the age specific rates by the American Samoa age distribution reduces the Manu'a average from 6.6 to 6.0, which nevertheless remains much higher than that of any other district. The figures in Tables X.3 and X.4 tend to show lower fertility in the more "urbanized" areas, although again these figures are affected by the age structure and ethnic considerations mentioned above.

Since there were 8135 females aged 15 years and older, and 5089 mothers, 62.4 percent of these females were mothers (Table X.5). Central District had the lowest proportion of females who were mothers; Manu'a, was the highest. However, standardization, using the American Samoa age structure by Manu'a age specific rates reduces the proportion from 70.8 to 64.7. The same standardization reduces the Eastern District proportion from 69.4 to 65.8 percent. Thus, most the differences reflect age distribution differentials although women in rural areas appear less likely to be childless at a given age.

Table X.4 Average Number of Children Ever Born Per Ever Married
Female and Per Mother by District, 1974

District	Ever Married Females	Mothers	Children Ever Born	Average No. Children per Ever Married Female	Average Number of Children Per Mother
Western	1989	1794	8999	4.5	5.0
Central	2237	2032	9690	4.3	4.8
Eastern	1006	948	4977	4.9	5.2
Manu'a	331	315	2078	6.3	6.6
Total	5563	5089	25744	4.6	5.1

Table X.5 Percentage of Females 15 Years of Age and Older Who Are Mothers by District, 1974

District	Females 15 and Older	Mothers	Percentage of Females Who Are Mothers
Western	2921	1794	61.4
Central	3403	2032	59.7
Eastern	1366	948	69.4
Manu'a	445	315	70.8
Total	8135	5089	62.6

Table X.6 Average Number of Children
Ever Born to Ever Married
Females by Age Group of
Females, 1960 and 1974

Age Group	Average No. of Children		Percent Change
	1960	1974	
15-19	1.07	.67	- 37.4
20-24	1.96	1.39	- 29.1
25-29	3.34	2.57	-23.1
30-34	4.78	3.89	-18.6
35-39	5.44	5.19	-4.6
40-44	6.11	6.37	+4.3
45-54	6.35	6.60	+3.9
55-64	5.67	6.87	+21.2
65+	5.27	6.05	+14.8
Average- all Ever Married Females	4.73	4.64	-1.1

The average number of children-ever-born to ever-married females declined by approximately .1 children between 1960 and 1974 (Table X.6). This very modest decrease masks the fact that a real fertility decline occurred between the two census dates. Evidence is in the increasing decline from five percent in the 30-34 age group to 37 percent in the 15-19 age group. Apparently, fertility rose just prior to World War II. Evidence is in the high number of children ever born to women 45-54 in 1960 and 55-64 in 1974, relative to older females in both years.

The average number of children ever born to all mothers by age and district is shown in Table X.7. The average number of children-ever-born to all mothers is about one-half child more than to ever-married females. Manu'a District had by far the largest average number of children-ever-born to mothers, whereas Central District had the smallest. The averages by age for Tutuila districts were generally considerably below the averages for Manu'a. Women 50 to 64 years old had most children; these females were in their reproductive years during the late 1940s and 1950s when birth rates were generally high and medical care was readily available.

The percentage of ever-married childless females increased for all age groups of females younger than 35, but decreased for females 35 and older between 1960 and 1974 (Table X.8). This change was substantial for the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups. A higher proportion of persons aged 25-29 and 30-34 had one and two children, respectively, in 1974. This is more evidence of a real fertility decline. A high percentage of women aged 65+ in 1960 who were childless or bore only one child suggests that at one time fertility may have been inhibited by involuntary causes.

Despite an average of .4 more children born per female aged 15+ in 1956, there were the same average number of surviving children per

Table X.7 Average Number of Children Born to Mothers,
by District and Age Group of Mother, 1974

Age Group	Western	Central	Eastern	Manu'a	Total
15-19	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.3
20-24	1.7	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.8
25-29	2.9	2.8	2.9	3.9	2.9
30-34	4.2	3.9	4.1	4.2	4.1
35-39	5.4	5.0	5.9	6.4	5.4
40-44	6.6	6.3	7.3	7.1	6.7
45-49	6.9	6.6	6.6	8.0	6.8
50-54	7.4	6.7	6.8	8.1	7.1
55-59	6.8	6.7	7.5	8.4	7.1
60-64	6.6	7.1	7.8	8.3	7.1
65-69	7.1	6.7	7.7	7.3	7.0
70-74	6.2	5.8	5.5	5.9	5.6
75+	5.4	6.5	6.3	6.5	6.2
Average	5.0	4.8	5.3	6.6	5.1

Table X.8 Numbers and Percentages of Ever Married Females, with No Children, One Child, and Two Children by Age, 1960 and 1974

Age Group		Childless		One Child		Two Children		Total* Ever Mar- ried Fe- males
		Number	Percent*	Number	Percent*	Number	Percent*	
15-19	1960	29	34.9	36	43.4	11	13.3	83
	1974	73	49.7	54	36.7	16	10.9	147
20-24	1960	47	12.9	118	32.6	91	25.1	362
	1974	163	26.3	198	31.9	150	24.2	620
25-29	1960	38	7.2	66	12.5	93	17.6	528
	1974	114	12.9	150	17.0	188	21.3	883
30-34	1960	20	3.7	42	7.7	45	8.3	544
	1974	43	5.9	58	7.9	107	14.6	733
35-39	1960	31	6.7	33	7.1	39	8.4	466
	1974	38	5.7	36	5.4	42	6.3	665
40-44	1960	22	6.3	16	4.6	26	7.4	351
	1974	31	5.4	25	4.4	33	5.7	574
45-54	1960	29	5.8	29	5.8	26	5.2	496
	1974	57	5.8	42	4.3	56	5.7	979
55-64	1960	23	7.9	23	7.9	22	7.6	290
	1974	32	5.9	36	6.7	27	5.0	539
65+	1960	28	11.9	28	11.9	17	7.3	234
	1974	23	6.6	17	4.8	14	4.0	351
Total	1960	243	7.2	391	11.7	370	11.0	3354
	1974	584	10.6	625	11.3	652	11.8	5508

* Number of children not stated excluded.

female in 1956 and 1974 (Table X.9). This reflects dramatically lowered infant and child mortality rates. This decline is highlighted by the fact that whereas only 84 percent of the reported children ever born to women aged 30-44 in 1956 were still alive at census time, this proportion increased to 96 percent in 1974 (Table X.9). This lowered mortality may have contributed to the recent increasing use of fertility control.

The distribution of mothers and children ever born and surviving by district shows Manu'a mothers had a considerably higher average number of children ever born than Tutuila mothers (Table X.10). Standardizing the age specific rates by the American Samoa age distribution reduces the Manu'a average from 6.6 to 6.0, which is nevertheless still much higher than that of any other district. Mothers in the relatively urbanized Central District had the lowest average number of children ever born. The percent surviving in the three Tutuila districts are similar to the overall average of 92.7, but only 88.7 percent were surviving in Manu'a. Standardization (See above) brings this percentage to 91.1, but it is nevertheless evident that mortality in the past has been higher on Manu'a than Tutuila.

The child-woman ratio (the number of children under 5 years of age per 1000 females in their reproductive period between 15 and 44) is a useful index for studying fertility trends in intercensal periods. This ratio, like other fertility ratios, is influenced by age misreporting, mortality, especially of infants and young children, and under-enumeration, factors which were apparently not pronounced in the 1974 Census. The child-woman ratios for census years 1950 through 1974 show an upward trend in fertility (and a decline in infant mortality) until 1960, followed by a rapid decline (Table X.11). Western District experienced

Table X.9 Average Number of Children Born and Still Living
Per Female Aged 15 and Over by Broad Age Group,
1956 and 1974

	A G E G R O U P					
	15-29	30-44	45-59	60-74	75+	Total
A. Average Number Born						
1956	1.2	5.2	6.4	5.7	6.1	3.4
1974	.7	4.7	6.4	6.2	5.7	3.0
B. Average Number Still Living						
1956	1.1	4.4	5.0	3.7	3.2	2.8
1974	.7	4.5	5.8	5.3	4.1	2.8
C. Percent Still Living						
1956	91.6	84.4	77.7	64.6	51.5	81.0
1974	98.0	96.2	91.0	84.3	71.0	92.7

Table X.10 Average Number of Children Ever Born and Currently Living Per Mother by District, 1974

District	Children Ever Born	Average Per Mother	Children Surviving	Average Per Mother	Ratio of Children Living to Children Ever Born
Western	8999	5.0	8433	4.7	93.8: 100
Central	9690	4.8	8965	4.4	92.5: 100
Eastern	4977	5.2	4615	4.9	92.8: 100
Manu'a	2078	6.6	1844	5.9	88.7: 100
Total	25744	5.1	23857	4.7	92.7: 100

Table X.11 Children 0-4 Years Per 1000 Females
15-44 by District 1950-1974

District	1950	1956	1960	1970	1974
Western	960	+	988	871	742
Eastern	857	+	903	858	732*
Manu'a	878	+	961	880	1124
Total	888	909	936	864	753

*Central = 691, Eastern = 838 in 1974.

+Not tabulated separately.

the smallest increase in fertility, and the sharpest subsequent decline. The child-woman ratio for Manu'a actually increased between 1970 and 1974, but the latter figure was influenced by the small numbers of persons and emigration. This figure may also be inflated by the outmigration of parents who leave small children with relatives remaining in the district.

Fertility Estimates Derived from Own Children Analysis

A reverse-survival technique has been developed to link biological children with their own mothers for fertility analysis (Grabill and Cho 1965, Cho 1973, Retherford and Cho 1976). A computer program package has been developed to obtain the tables for analysis (EWPI 1976). This "Own Children" package was used to estimate fertility trends between 1961 and 1974.

The estimated single-year central age-specific birth rates and total fertility rates for the 13 years preceding the 1974 Census show a generally consistent total fertility rate remaining above six children during the 1960s with a rather steep decline of approximately 25 percent from the 1961 figure during the five years preceding the census (Table X.12 and Figure X.1). With the exception of those aged 15-19, each of the five-year age groups of females showed a decline in age-specific fertility during the 13 years, with those aged 30 and over showing the greatest decline.

The declines in the age specific birth rates are more clearly seen in the age specific and total fertility rates for 1961-64, 1965-69, and 1970-74 (Table X.13). There was little total fertility change between 1961-64 and 1965-69. The group of females aged 25 through 34, however, had slightly lower rates during the second period than during the first. All groups of females except those 45-49 years old had lower age-specific

Table X.12 Age-Specific and Total Fertility Rates Determined by
Own-Children Technique, 1961-1974

Year	Age Group of Female							Total Fertility Rate
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	
1961	36.0	238.3	351.5	315.7	226.6	111.4	32.9	6562.3
1962	41.2	234.4	319.3	309.3	225.8	103.7	20.1	6269.3
1963	37.7	241.6	304.4	321.1	233.2	101.0	28.0	6334.8
1964	50.2	220.5	338.7	317.7	244.0	118.1	7.7	6483.7
1965	46.9	271.5	315.5	327.0	237.8	117.7	27.7	6720.9
1966	51.1	241.4	307.0	311.8	230.3	127.6	32.5	6508.3
1967	51.5	231.6	322.7	262.5	210.2	113.7	27.0	6096.3
1968	48.8	246.7	302.2	293.6	248.9	92.7	16.6	6247.7
1969	44.8	219.4	328.2	287.4	241.1	105.6	34.5	6304.8
1970	52.2	226.9	281.8	246.6	197.4	104.1	39.8	5774.4
1971	48.2	246.9	275.5	223.7	177.0	94.2	29.4	5474.6
1972	46.2	243.7	261.6	230.2	195.3	84.6	20.9	5412.1
1973	35.2	217.3	239.4	204.4	144.9	77.2	36.3	4773.2
1974	49.4	199.0	305.3	210.7	125.9	74.9	17.0	4911.8
% Dif- erence Between 1974 and 1961	+37.2	-8.4	-13.1	-33.3	-44.4	-32.8	-48.4	-25.2

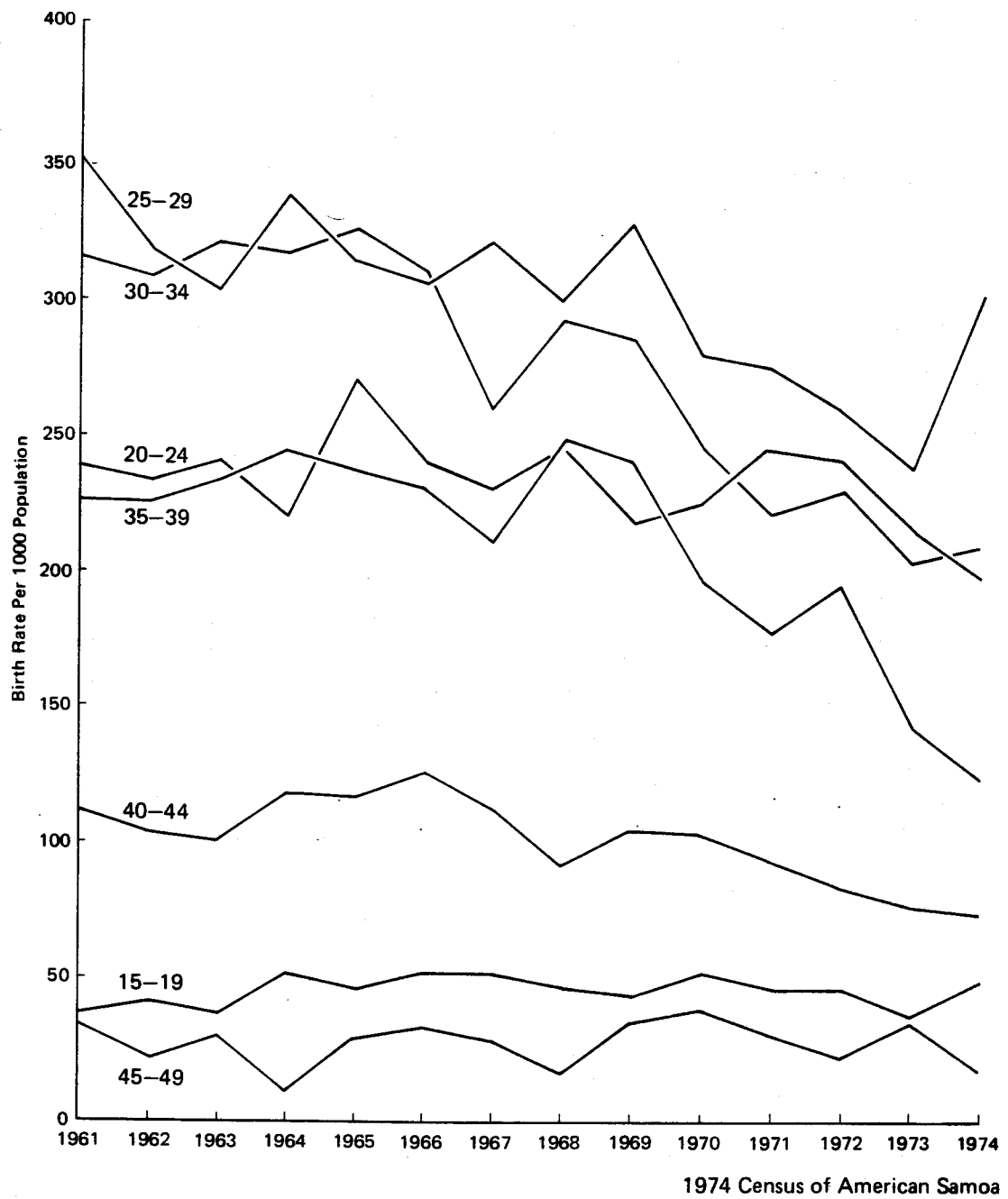


Figure X.1 Age-Specific Birth Rates for Women Determined by Own-Children Technique, 1961-1974

Table X.13 Age-Specific and Total Fertility Rates Determined by Own-Children Technique, 1961-1964, 1965-1969, and 1970-1974

Women's Age	1961- 1964	1965- 1969	% Change		% Change	
			1961-64 to 1965-69	1970- 1974	1965-69 to 1970-74	1961-64 to 1970-74
15-19	41.6	48.6	+16.8	46.1	-5.1	+10.8
20-24	233.6	241.0	+3.2	226.1	-6.2	-3.2
25-29	328.3	315.2	-4.0	272.8	-13.5	-16.9
30-34	315.9	296.0	-6.3	222.8	-24.7	-29.5
35-39	233.0	233.6	+.2	166.7	-28.6	-28.5
40-44	108.6	110.6	+1.8	87.0	-21.3	-19.9
45-49	21.6	27.7	+28.2	28.2	+1.8	+30.6
TFR	6412.6	6362.6	-.8	5247.9	-17.5	-18.2

fertility rates (Rates for 15-19 and especially 45-49 year olds are subject to considerable year-to-year random fluctuations, which complicate interpretation of five year trends.) Females aged 35-39 had the largest relative decrease, followed by the groups of females in adjacent groups. The decreases were small among females less than 25 years of age.

The declines in the total fertility rates have been similar for urban and rural residents (Tables X.14 and X.15). The estimated total fertility rates were approximately 15 percent higher in rural areas for all three time periods shown in Table X.15. It should be kept in mind that many females who were urban in 1974 were rural in 1961, even though they are treated as "urban" for the entire period. This may have resulted in an overestimation of urban fertility in the 1960s.

Females with more than 12 years of education in 1974 had the lowest total fertility throughout the period, while females with secondary school educations had the highest fertility (Tables X.16 and X.17). This is in contrast to the common finding that fertility is inversely proportional to education obtained. College educated females experienced a substantial decline between 1961-64 and 1965-69 that was nearly twice as great as the decline for the least educated females. In contrast, total fertility of females who attended secondary school increased during the period. Fertility for all three groups declined significantly between 1965-69 and 1970-74. During the 14-year period, the fertility rates increased among the youngest females with secondary education and all females aged 45-49, but declined among all other groups of females. Decreases were greatest among college educated females; the largest being 60 percent for college educated females in the 35-39 age group.

Table X.14 Total Fertility Rates Determined by Own-Children Technique, 1961-1974 by 1974 Urban/Rural Residence

Residence	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Urban	6099.0	6357.5	5199.5	6098.7	6540.0	6041.0	5687.7	5888.0	5683.2	5136.4	5111.3	5075.4	4365.4	4699.3
Rural	6968.9	6178.0	7315.5	6805.6	6994.5	6937.4	6477.0	6559.6	6834.7	6277.1	5840.0	5717.8	5133.9	5081.3
Total	6562.3	6269.3	6334.8	6483.7	6720.9	6508.3	6069.3	6247.7	6304.8	5774.4	5474.6	5412.1	4773.2	4911.8

Table X.15 Changes in Age-Specific and Total Fertility Rates Determined by Own-Children Technique for Urban-Rural Residence, 1961-1964, 1965-1969, and 1970-1974

Age Group	1961 - 1964		1965 - 1969		Change				Change			
					1961 - 1964		1965 - 1969		1970 - 1974		1965 - 1969	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
15-19	33.4	49.0	43.4	53.8	+29.9	+9.8	42.0	50.4	-3.2	-6.3	+25.7	+2.9
20-24	223.3	244.3	227.5	253.1	+1.9	+3.6	212.4	239.4	-6.6	-5.4	-4.9	-2.0
25-29	296.6	355.6	302.4	328.1	+2.0	-7.7	266.0	278.6	-12.0	-15.1	-10.3	-21.7
30-34	310.2	321.3	270.6	319.0	-12.8	-.7	208.2	236.4	-23.1	-25.9	-32.9	-26.4
35-39	211.9	251.0	218.6	245.9	+3.2	-2.0	146.6	184.5	-32.9	-25.0	-30.8	-26.5
40-44	84.0	126.5	99.3	120.3	18.2	-4.9	76.3	95.5	-23.2	-20.6	-9.2	-24.5
45-49	27.5	16.5	24.9	29.7	-9.5	+80.0	22.4	33.0	-10.0	+11.1	-18.5	+100.0
TFR	5934.0	6820.9	5933.2	6749.9	0.0	-1.0	4869.6	5589.2	-17.9	-17.2	-17.9	-18.1

Table X.16 Total Fertility Rates by Educational Level in 1974
Determined by Own-Children Technique, 1961-1974

Year	Education Less Than 7 Years	Education 7-12 Years	Education 13+years	Total for all Levels of Education
1961	6318.5	6791.2	5744.1	6562.3
1962	6165.2	6375.7	4099.1	6269.3
1963	5843.1	6766.0	6401.1	6334.8
1964	6753.4	6625.5	4351.9	6483.7
1965	6395.9	7126.6	4508.3	6720.9
1966	5971.0	7061.4	4364.6	6508.3
1967	5274.1	6903.5	3361.0	6069.3
1968	5195.1	7092.7	4229.7	6247.7
1969	5395.5	6844.8	4530.6	6304.8
1970	5048.5	6355.5	3246.5	5774.4
1971	4953.4	6099.8	3630.3	5474.6
1972	5202.2	5895.6	3599.3	5412.1
1973	4705.1	5111.0	3206.6	4773.2
1974	4625.0	5230.9	3971.3	4911.8
% Change 1961-74	-26.8	-23.0	-30.9	

Table X.17 Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Educational Level
Determined by Own-Children Technique, 1961-1974

Age	1961-1964			1965-1969			1970-1974		
	<7	7-12	13+	<7	7-12	13+	<7	7-12	13+
15-19	66.8	38.1	19.7	56.2	54.9	7.5	64.1	45.0	19.4
20-24	223.6	247.5	181.0	201.4	267.0	182.8	196.5	252.7	147.4
25-29	300.9	351.3	272.1	267.0	352.7	222.1	246.5	292.9	220.1
30-34	279.2	350.0	253.6	261.7	325.0	234.3	203.2	242.3	155.7
35-39	235.2	233.9	207.7	202.8	270.6	117.6	154.4	185.8	82.1
40-44	129.8	81.9	87.0	119.3	106.2	76.1	79.7	96.9	49.0
45-49	22.8	22.0	0.0	33.7	21.7	0.0	32.2	25.4	18.0
TFR	6291.4	6622.8	5105.1	5711.0	6989.8	4202.4	4883.2	5704.5	3458.6
	Changes Between			Changes Between			Changes Between		
	1961-1964 and 1965-1969			1965-1969 and 1970-1974			1961-1964 and 1970-1974		
15-19	-15.9	44.1	-61.9	14.1	-18.0	158.7	-4.0	18.1	-1.5
20-24	-9.9	7.9	1.0	-2.4	-5.4	-19.4	-12.1	2.1	-18.6
25-29	-11.3	0.4	-18.4	-7.7	-17.0	-.9	-18.1	-16.6	-19.1
30-34	-6.3	-7.1	-7.6	-22.4	-25.4	-33.5	-27.2	-30.8	-38.6
35-39	-13.8	15.7	-43.4	-23.9	-31.3	-30.2	-34.4	-20.6	-60.5
40-44	-8.1	29.7	-12.5	-33.2	-8.8	-35.6	-38.6	18.3	-43.7
45-49	47.8	-1.4	---	-4.5	17.1	---	41.2	15.5	---
TFR	-9.2	5.5	-17.7	-14.5	-18.4	-17.7	-22.4	-13.9	-32.3

Table X.18 Comparison of Birth Rates from Own-Children Estimates and Births Registered with the Government,
1962-1966

Age Group	<u>1962</u>		<u>1963</u>		<u>1964</u>		<u>1965</u>		<u>1966</u>	
	Regis.	Own- Child.	Regis.	Own- Child.	Regis.	Own- Child.	Regis.	Own- Child.	Regis.	Own- Child.
15-19	88.2	41.2	75.3	37.7	52.3	50.2	58.4	46.9	54.7	51.1
20-24	219.6	234.4	263.3	241.6	290.8	220.5	314.8	271.5	298.2	241.4
25-29	258.9	319.3	317.8	304.4	338.0	338.7	356.6	315.5	339.7	307.0
30-34	272.2	309.3	296.1	321.1	298.1	317.7	275.0	327.0	254.8	311.8
35-39	179.5	225.8	197.0	233.2	217.2	244.0	247.0	237.8	222.0	230.3
40-44	79.2	103.7	67.1	101.0	71.1	118.1	66.2	117.7	77.6	127.6
45-49	4.8	20.1	18.3	28.0	22.4	7.7	20.1	27.7	13.6	32.5
TFR	5512.0	6269.3	6174.5	6334.8	6449.5	6483.7	6690.5	6720.9	6303.0	6508.3

The possibility that some births are unregistered with the government was investigated by comparing annual birth rates obtained from the own-children analysis with birth rates obtained from registered births from annual reports and interpolated population estimates from 1960 and 1970 censuses (Table X.18) (GAS 1966-1974). Births by month were available from 1961 through 1966; births for "census" years were obtained by counting the births from September 26 of one year to September 25 of the following year, for each year. Annual interpolated change was obtained from the appropriate age groups in the 1960 and 1970 United States censuses taken on April 1, then adjusted for the 1974 Census (used for the own-children analysis) which was taken in September. The age specific birth rates were obtained by dividing the numbers of births by the mid-year populations on the basis of the 1974 data. "Underregistration" of births as estimated with the Own-Children Method was less than four percent for all years except 1962 (13.7 percent, based on the total fertility rates). Birth rates calculated from registration data tend to be higher than rates based on the censuses for the lower age groups, but lower for the older age groups.

At least two factors influence fertility: 1) the introduction of family planning programs; and 2) continued immigration from Western Samoa and emigration to Hawaii and the mainland United States. A comprehensive family planning program introduced into American Samoa in 1970 seems to have been successful. In the first year of the program, there were approximately 125 new acceptors at the clinic; by 1973 there were 700 new and 2200 continuing acceptors (Government of American Samoa 1974). The number of tubal ligations rose from nine in 1970 to 105 in 1973.

The effects of migration are more difficult to measure since emigration statistics were not obtainable. We do not know to what extent those who emigrate differ in fertility characteristics from those who stay or the fertility characteristics of persons immigrating from Western Samoa. If the most aspiring are disproportionately likely to immigrate and also to have the greatest motivation to practice family limitation; one would then expect the emigrants to be characterized by lower fertility than those who stay in American Samoa. On the other hand, very high fertility still characterizes Western Samoa (the 1976 census showed a childwoman ratio of 868, compared to 753 recorded for American Samoa in 1974) and emigration from there to American Samoa has been heavy. Without the confounding effects of immigration and emigration, it is likely that the total fertility rate would have declined by more than it actually did.

Expectation of Life at Birth

Except those pertaining to children ever born, no questions on mortality were asked in the 1974 Census. The questions on last birth were used to obtain age at death for all last births (Table 46), but there were too few cases to make any generalizations. The own-children computer package, however, was used to obtain mortality estimates.

The regional model life tables from the BRASS part of the own-children analysis gave life expectancies at birth of 74.3 and 70.4 years for females and males, respectively. Age specific death rates from 1969 through 1971 (Government of American Samoa 1971), and death rates determined from deaths by age for 1962 through 1965 with interpolated populations from 1960 and 1970 Censuses, were used as input to a program in the Demographic Computer Library (Shaw and Johnson 1971) to construct model life tables. In all cases the life expectancies at all ages were very close to the male

life expectancies determined by BRASS; all were several years less than the results for females. All life expectancies were determined from data for both sexes since death rates by sex were not available.

Life expectancy has greatly increased. Application of the BRASS technique to the 1956 census data for children ever born and surviving yielded life expectancies at birth of 65.3 and 61.4 for females and males, respectively. The mortality of children born to females aged 75+ reflect mortality conditions over the preceding 50 years. The BRASS technique applied to the 1956 census data gave expectations of life at birth of 44.5 and 41.6 for the females and males, respectively who were born to this group of women. The average child in this group was born around 1905. Thus, the rise in life expectancy since American Samoa became a possession of the United States has been impressive.

Life expectancy is unusually long and infant mortality is unusually low in American Samoa compared to other underdeveloped areas, mainly because of easily available and inexpensive health services. Few persons on Tutuila are further than one hour away by car or bus from Lyndon Johnson Hospital where medical care and medications are provided at cost.

Summary

As is typical with Third World countries, American Samoa is characterized by high fertility. Mortality levels are low, even by the standards of developed nations. Both fertility and mortality levels have dropped appreciably in recent years and the mortality decline may have been an important triggering factor in the recent fertility decline.

The average age at first birth for females is 22 years. This figure was slightly higher in 1974 than it had been in the past. Women in rural areas had a higher average number of children ever born than those in urban

areas, but the percentage declines in fertility between 1969 and 1974 were similar in both groups. The drop in the total fertility rate of more than 6.0 prior to 1970 to less than 5.0 by 1973 was attributable mainly to sharply reduced fertility in females 30 years of age and over. Fertility between 1961 and 1974 was highest among females with 7-12 years of schooling and lowest among females who had attended college, but declines after 1969 were marked among females of all educational levels.

Estimated life expectancies at birth in 1974 were estimated to be 74 and 70 years for females and males, respectively. These figures are much higher than those estimated for 1956, and the latter in turn are much higher than those that prevailed in the early part of this century. As a result, the females in 1956 reported an average of .4 more persons ever born than those in 1974, but the average number of surviving children in both groups was identical. Infant and child mortality are very low and further declines will have only a minimal impact on the natural growth of the population.

CHAPTER XI: SUMMARY

Although the population growth rate in American Samoa has been high during the twentieth century, it accelerated during the 1940s due mainly to the dissemination of Western medical practices and to some extent to an increased birth rate. It grew slowly during the 1970s mostly because of emigration to Hawaii and the United States mainland but also because fertility declined. Of the four districts defined for 1974 Census purposes, all three Tutuila Districts have grown throughout the century; Western and Central Districts continue to expand rapidly. Although the number of persons living in Manu'a in 1900 and 1974 were similar, the proportion dropped from 31 percent in 1900 to 6 percent in 1974. Industry, a greater variety of jobs, and better schools on Tutuila have induced many people to migrate from Manu'a.

Although there was a surplus of males at birth and for young ages, the large number of young men who leave American Samoa to study, work, or join the United States military resulted in a surplus of females in the 15-29 age group. Females also predominated among persons aged 70 and above. This is a consequence of differential mortality favoring females.

The rate of growth for the part of the population under 30 was much smaller than for older people between 1970 and 1974. To some extent, this was due to decreasing fertility, but more importantly, many young families emigrated and were only partially replaced by similarly aged immigrants. In the relatively impoverished Manu'a District, the age group 15-29 decreased by almost half for males and one-fourth for females between 1970 and 1974.

The changes in the age structure could affect the construction and use of educational facilities in American Samoa. Between 1970 and 1974,

for example, the age group under 15, essentially the present and future primary school population, declined from 47 to 45 percent of the population. If this decline continues, and the overall population stabilizes because of continued emigration, fewer teachers and school buildings, first at the primary school level, and eventually at the secondary school level, will be needed. On the other hand, since the age group 15-29 has not experienced a similar relative decline, the percentage of students in high school and in the Community College should not change much in the immediate future. Indeed, it may increase because an increasing proportion of young adults are completing high school and attending college. However, the decreasing birth rate and continued emigration could eventually result in a lesser demand for high school and community college facilities as well.

Almost 60 percent of the persons 15 years and older were married in 1974. This percentage increased in recent years, while percentages never married, divorced, and widowed decreased. The Singulate Mean Age at marriage measure suggests that the average age at marriage appears to be similar for all districts, but those in Central District appear least likely to marry.

More than half of the population claimed affiliation with the Congregational Church, making it by far the largest denomination. However, a comparison of the 1956 and 1974 census reveals the proportion affiliating with it has declined in recent years. The denominations experiencing greatest relative growth have been Seventh Day Adventists and Methodists. Mormons and Catholics have also been increasing both in numbers and percentages of the population. The growth of the Catholic and Methodist Churches appears

to have resulted mainly from immigration, whereas the Seventh Day Adventist and Mormon churches have grown largely through conversions.

More than nine-tenths of the residents were in the Matai System, and of this number, 93 percent had matai whose titles were in American Samoa, with the bulk of the remainder in Western Samoa. There was an average of 20 persons, or about three households per matai.

Since 1960 there has been a steady decline in the percentage of persons born and living in American Samoa while the percentage born outside of but living in American Samoa has increased steadily from 12 percent in 1960 to 36 percent in 1974. Immigration from Western Samoa has accounted for most of the increase. Although only 0.6 percent of the 1971 Western Samoa population was born in American Samoa, 25.3 percent of the American Samoa population in 1974 was born in Western Samoa. The percentage of Western Samoa-born residents remained relatively constant between 1956 and 1960, but it virtually doubled between 1960 and 1970, and increased again by half between 1970 and 1974. Between 1970 and 1974 the Western Samoa-born population increased by 63 percent, whereas the American Samoa-born population declined by 7 percent. More than one-half of all persons 30-44 years residing in American Samoa in 1974 were not born there.

The proportion of residents born in American Samoa ranged from 57 percent in Western District to 92 percent in Manu'a. Only Manu'a contained more persons reporting being born in than presently living in the district of residence; the largest inter-district migration occurred between Manu'a and Central District. This reflects a general population movement from the less to the more developed areas of American Samoa. In addition,

emigration from all parts of American Samoa to the United States continues at high levels.

American Samoa had one of the best educated populations in the Pacific in 1974. Persons tended to begin and to leave school at younger ages in 1974 than in 1960. Nearly a 50 percent greater share of 5-9 year olds, as well as a slightly greater share of 10-14 year olds attended in the latter year as compared with 1960, although a smaller percentage of persons aged 15-24 were attending school in 1974. The percentages of high school and college graduates more than tripled between 1960 and 1974.

The average household size in 1974 was 6.85 persons; the average age of the household head was 44.7 years. Households in Central District tended to have more "other" relatives; many of these relatives undoubtedly came from other districts and from Western Samoa to work in government and industry.

More than 52 percent of the population over 15 were economically non-dependent. Only one percent of those 15 and above were unemployed, but 10 percent were underemployed by the criteria used in the census. Although twice as many males as females were economically active, the trend in younger ages is toward equal rates of employment.

Fully 85 percent of the non-dependent population over 15 were in paid employment; 6 percent were in agriculture. There was a positive relationship between the level of educational attainment and the percentage in paid employment. Samoans and Part-Samoans were under-represented in the work force relative to their percentage of the total population. Nearly one-third of all paid employment was in professional and technical

activities. Approximately 45 percent of the female and 57 percent of the male wage-earners were in government employment, compared to 52 percent and 39 percent, respectively, in the private sector; overall, more than half the population in paid employment works for the government.

The fertility of women in American Samoa is characteristic of developing areas but has begun to decline. In 1974, there were 4.6 children ever born per ever married female and 5.1 per mother. The average age at first birth of 22 is slightly higher than in 1956. More than 62 percent of women 15 years and older were mothers. Total fertility has been decreasing; for ever-married females 15-34 years in 1974, there was a decrease of more than one child per woman from 1960. There were the same number of surviving children per female aged 15+ in 1974 and 1956, because decreased infant and child mortality offset the effects of declining fertility.

The own-children fertility technique was used to obtain past fertility estimates. The estimated single-year central age specific birth rates and total fertility rates for the 13 years preceding the 1974 Census show a generally consistent total fertility rate remaining above six children during the 1960s with a rather steep decline of approximately 25 percent from the 1961 figure during the last few years preceding the census. Comparison with vital registration showed that birth rates from registration tended to be higher than from the census information for lower age groups, but lower for older age groups.

Mortality levels in American Samoa are very low. The analysis of child survivorship gave life expectancies at birth of 74.3 years for females and 70.4 years for males. Considering American Samoa's semi-developed status, life expectancy is unusually long and infant mortality unusually low.

This reflects easily available and inexpensive health services and recently improved living standards.

In conclusion, the population of American Samoa relative to other Pacific populations is highly educated and shows many of the characteristics of nations experiencing rapid social and economic change -- very low mortality, decreasing fertility, migration for study and work, and increasing industrialization. The relatively high amount of mobility seems to allow for flexibility; as Samoan life continues to move from the traditional aiga system into the space age, this quality may prove increasingly important in adapting to scarce resource and dense populations.

