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Rural-born Fijians and Indo-Fijians in Suva
A study of movements and linkages

Shashikant Nair

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Summary

This monograph examines the movement experience of Fijians and Indo-Fijians resident in several areas of Suva, the largest urban centre in Fiji. The mobility patterns, existing linkages of the movers with places of origin, future residential intentions, family structure, commitment to the urban area and perceived advantages and disadvantages of areas of rural origin and urban destination are investigated, with the major objective of reaching some conclusion on the pattern of movement to Suva and identifying whether the moves are permanent and in one direction or impermanent and therefore circular in nature.

It is concluded that a total mobility continuum ranging from short-term circulation between rural areas and Suva to a permanent relocation in Suva is represented in the mobility behaviour of Fijians and Indo-Fijians. The author shows that while particular definitions chosen for the terms 'migration' and 'circulation' determine conclusions about the *dominant* form of movement, both circulation and migration co-exist, are to some extent contingent, and often substitute for each other. It is also shown that differences in movement behaviour and linkages exist between Fijians and Indo-Fijians, the former maintaining a greater variety of linkages with areas of origin and being more circulatory in movement than the latter.

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Shashikant Nair

Ba, Viti Levu
August 1980

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Field research on population movement in Melanesia has emphasized its impermanent character and in particular its circularity. In their studies of movement processes in Melanesia, various researchers from a number of academic disciplines have used different indices of movement and even adopted different definitions for terms like 'circulation', 'circular migration', and 'migration'. Regardless of the definitions and indices employed, there seems to be agreement that a move by a Melanesian does not necessarily result in the severance of all bonds with the place regarded as 'home' and that individuals who leave their 'home places' frequently return to live there (e.g. Bastin 1978; Bathgate 1978; Bedford 1973a; Bonnemaison 1978; Chapman 1976; Connell 1978; Frazer 1978; Young 1978).

A major objective of this study was to identify whether the dominant form of movement from rural areas to Suva is permanent and a one-way flow between places of origin and destination (migration) or impermanent and more circular in nature (circulation). Another objective was to report changes in the pattern of population movement over the past generation - whether, for example, circular forms are being replaced by more permanent kinds of relocation. The attainment of these objectives depends upon the adoption of satisfactory definitions for 'circulation' and 'migration', and is difficult to fulfill because there is no single, universally accepted definition of either term. Furthermore, at the time this research was done very little information on Fiji was available to permit investigation of changes in movement behaviour over time.

Circulation or migration?

A British sociologist, J. Clyde Mitchell, noted (1978:3) that the idea of population movement as circulation has its roots in the research Godfrey Wilson reported (1941-42) in his *Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern*

Rhodesia. In this essay, Wilson examined the movement of wage labourers on the Copperbelt and delineated the basic determinants of a system of labour circulation between rural villages and the industrial town of Broken Hill (now Kabwe). In the late fifties, Mitchell (1959, 1961) developed the understanding of circulation with his description of wage-labour mobility in south central Africa. Since then, the idea of population movement as circulation has been studied and commented upon by geographers such as Bedford (1971, 1973b), Chapman (1969, 1970, 1976), and Gould and Prothero (1975) and, with different terminology, by anthropologists (Salisbury and Salisbury 1972; Strathern 1975), demographers (Feindt and Browning 1972), economists (Elkan 1967), and sociologists (Breese 1966; Gugler 1961). Circulation has been defined by Zelinsky (1971: 225-6) as 'a great variety of movements, usually short-term, repetitive or cyclical in nature, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of permanent or long-lasting change of residence', and has been further defined by Young (1978:2) as 'a process whereby the migrant punctuates his periods of residence away from the village with periods of residence at home'. Circulation thus differs from migration, which is conventionally defined in demography as a permanent shift in place of residence across some specified boundary.

While such definitional distinctions appear to be simple, they are difficult to implement in field inquiries, with the result that research workers frequenly use similar terms for different processes or different terms for the same process. At the root of such confusion lies the problem of distinguishing between what is permanent and what impermanent in the act of movement, what time period to use to distinguish between long- and short-term absences, and the characteristics that identify the 'home place' of a mover. Also there is no agreement among scholars, when distinguishing between circulation and migration, about the emphasis to give to stated intentions or to the existence of linkages that movers initiate or maintain between places of origin and of destination.

Whereas in studies of Melanesian mobility Bedford (1973b), Bonnemaison (1978), and Young (1978) have described absences of three or more years as signs of emerging permanence and commitment to a particular place, Gould and Prothero (1975), Chapman (1976), Renard (1977), and Mitchell (1978) would be unprepared to accept an absence of even forty years or more if there was a declared intention to return and/or if the movers maintain links with their communities of origin. Although Chapman and Prothero (1977:8-10) have suggested

that migration occurs only when movers completely reject their places of origin, other fieldworkers like Bedford (1973b, 1978) and Young (1978) believe that it has occurred even if the movers continue to maintain socio-economic links with their places or communities of origin. This problem of defining migration and circulation reflects the great disadvantage of attempting to capture at one particular moment the movement of people through time. Mitchell (1978:10) commented: 'One of the awkward features about the study of migration is that,... like death, it exists only after it has happened'.

At an international seminar on the cross-cultural study of circulation, held in Hawaii in April 1978, a week of deliberations failed to bring any definitional consensus (Chapman 1978). It was suggested that universal definitions for circulation and migration are perhaps impractical, or even impossible, to formulate and that the categorization of people's movements ought to reflect the context and objectives of research undertaken. The need for comparability in movement data, both cross-country and cross-cultural, could be met by the presentation of research results in sufficient detail for others to apply alternative definitions. In fact, Chapman (1971:1) adopted some elements of this strategy during the mid-sixties with his study of population movement for two villages in the Solomon Islands. In this case he aimed 'to collect field data for which prior classification had been minimal' since 'concepts defined on the basis of Euro-American experience may not be transferred *a priori* to tribal populations ...' With the collection of field data completed, it was possible for village-based movements to be categorized in ways meaningful to their socio-cultural context.

Objectives of research

The aim of this study was to examine the movement experience of people resident in several areas of Suva, the capital and most important urban centre of Fiji (Fig.1). The actors are therefore captured in the movement process while they are away from their areas of origin, and their mobility patterns, existing links with places of origin, and future residential intentions are examined. To reach some broad conclusions about the nature of population movement, contextual information was also collected on family structure, commitment to the urban area, and perceived advantages and disadvantages of areas of both rural origin and urban destination. From the outset, major objectives were first to describe the patterns of movement from rural areas in Fiji

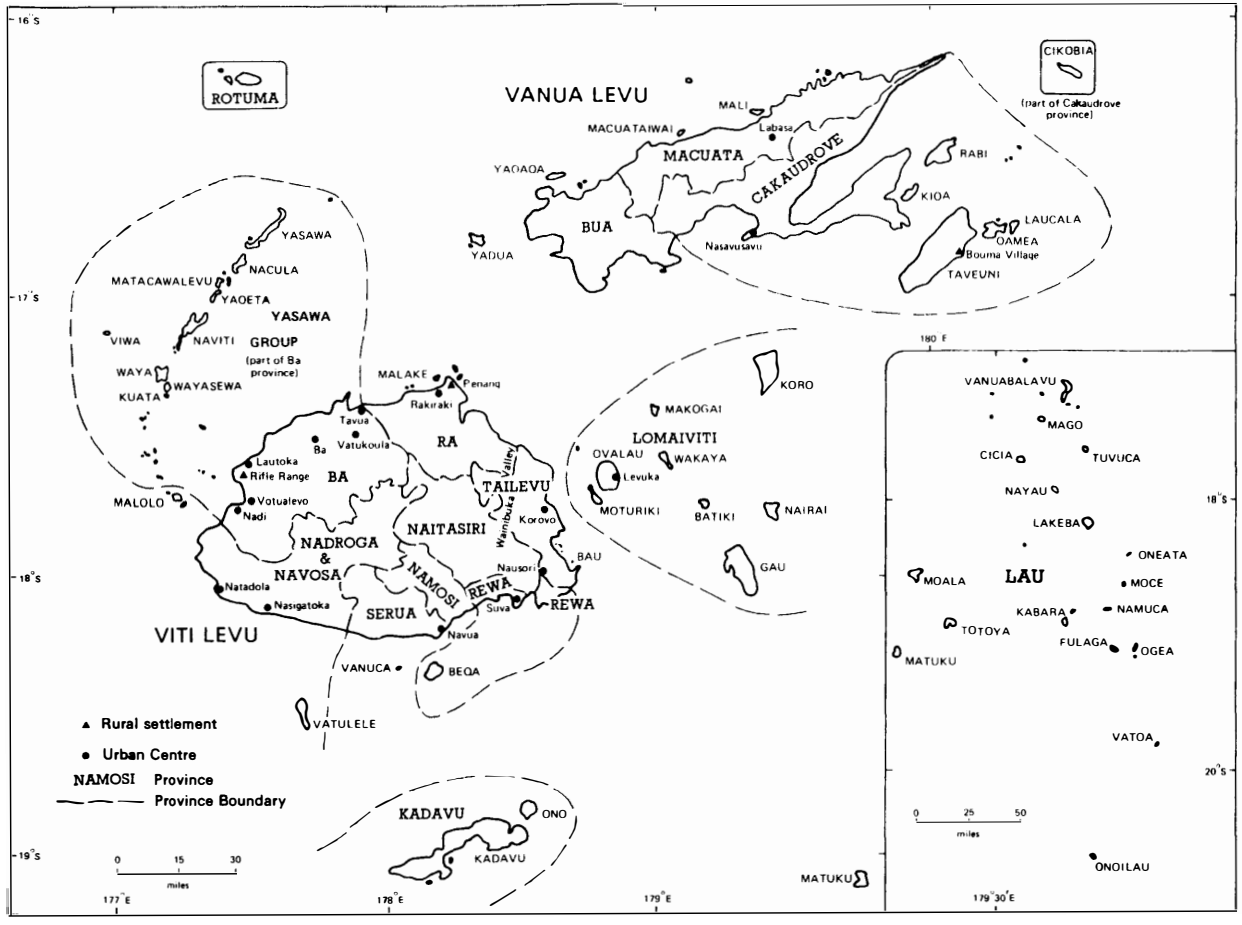

Figure 1. Fiji: provinces, islands, urban centres and place names mentioned in text.

to the urban centre of Suva and second to identify whether they were predominantly permanent and one-way in direction or impermanent and two-directional, or circular, in nature. Prior to field research, no temporal or spatial boundaries were suggested to differentiate between 'permanence' and 'impermanence', for the conclusions reached were to be based upon the degree and type of socio-economic linkages maintained between rural and urban places, the length of stay in Suva, and personal statements about future residential intentions. Other objectives of this research were to consider how the form of mobility has changed over time - whether, for example, circular forms of movement were being replaced by more permanent migration - and to investigate similarities and differences in the movement behaviour of the two major ethnic groups, the Fijians and Indo-Fijians.

Propositions

Five propositions were advanced to provide focus for field research:

1. That a majority of people who have moved to Suva intend ultimately to return to their rural areas of origin.
2. That, over the past generation, movers have been spending greater amounts of time in the urban area and have become increasingly committed to it through social and economic links.
3. That the movement of Indo-Fijians to Suva is more 'permanent' than that of Fijians.
4. That there is a relationship between the life-cycle of individuals and their movement behaviour, and changes in place of residence tend to occur at such critical life events as beginning school, changing from one level of school to another, taking a job, getting married and retirement.
5. That there is a direct, positive relationship between distance from the mover's place of origin and the length of time spent in Suva.

Before reporting the results of this inquiry some contextual information is necessary. This begins with a brief description of the history of population movement in Fiji. Details of the research design are then set out, together with the characteristics of the study areas selected in Suva,

and of the 400 heads of household who were interviewed between November 1977 and March 1978.

Chapter 2

The historical context of population movement in Fiji

Fijians have been as mobile a people as any other Melanesian society that has been described in detail (Bastin 1978; Bathgate 1978, Bonnemaison 1978; Chapman 1975, 1976, Hamnett 1978; Watson 1978). In pre-contact times, they lived in villages of up to several hundred people and had no towns or urban centres in the European sense, although writers such as Derrick (1946:27) sometimes referred to large villages as 'towns'.

Traditionally, the most common form of movement was probably short-term and short-distance - to gather food or to engage in warfare. Earliest reports of Western contact with Fijians reveal that an almost constant state of warfare existed amongst the various tribes (Derrick 1946). More recently, Bedford (1978:15-16) has described how, in pre-colonial days, short-term mobility resulted from warfare and accompanying feasts and how tribal fighting also stimulated long-distance movements. He goes on to quote Thomas Williams (a missionary resident in Taveuni (Fig.1) in 1843, who reports the voyages of the Tui Cakau (high chief, king) to Vanua Balavu and Bau [Williams, cited in Henderson 1931]), to demonstrate that such voyages in search of tribute, allies, or vassal states could last for more than a year (Bedford 1978:17-18). This wide range in the kinds of mobility has persisted to the present, although there have been major changes in the precise stimuli for people's moves, and also in the volume and relative importance of the various forms of movement.

Wars and changes of political alliance resulted in the continual dispersion of tribes and the relocation of groups from one area to another. The extent of such relocations can be assessed to some degree from the accounts of tribal movements upon which Fijians have based their claims to land. These accounts, known as 'The General Histories of the Native Lands Enquiries', are kept in the offices of the Native Lands Commission in Suva and have been described by Capell and

Lester (1941:313) as 'traditional but not legendary'. In these, the former place of tribes (*yavusa*) are referred to either as *koro natawa* (old village) or *yavutu* (place of origin of tribe). Gifford (1952:337) notes that 'of the total of more than 600 *yavusa* recorded for the island of Vitu Levu and small adjacent islands, such as Mbau, Malake, Serua, Yanuca, etc., there are only about seventy-five which have no recorded *yavutu*'. He also comments that the data presented 'show (a) considerable amount of movement from place to place. Few *yavusa* now live at their *yavutu*. Some *yavusa* have left their *yavutu* and others have moved in ...'.

Contact with the Western world, at first through sandalwood traders and missionaries and later through planters of cotton, copra, tobacco, coffee, and sugar, seems to have had little initial impact upon patterns of Fijian mobility. Very few Fijians left their villages to work on plantations. Planters relied on labourers from other Pacific islands such as the New Hebrides and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Gradually, however, the new contacts led to the introduction of cash and new concepts of the value of labour. The growth of large port settlements created opportunities for new forms of movement. The most obvious of these was the extension of commuting between home and garden to daily travel by road to more distant workplaces. Perhaps less obvious, but more noteworthy, was the circulation of wage labourers on short and long-term contracts. The acquired taste for Western consumer goods could usually be satisfied by working on the cotton and coconut plantations to obtain cash. Such labour required Fijians to be absent from their villages for various periods of time. Some areas, such as Ra, were favoured by labour recruiters more than others; in the 1860s, for instance, a large number of Ra Fijians left their villages 'to work for Europeans' (Frazer 1961:33).

With the cession of Fiji to Great Britain in 1874, labour recruitment decreased as the first governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, aimed to shield Fijians from rapid social change and to protect their local lifestyles. However, restrictions on labour recruiting in both Fiji and the other islands did not completely eliminate the movement of Fijians from their villages. Frazer describes how, in 1878, 'the Roku Tui[1] Ra complained of the evil effects of men working away and of his own difficult

[1]Roko Tui: a title given to a Fijian chief who is also the officially recognized head of a province.

position in trying to control recruiting' (Frazer 1961:34). The combination of difficulties in recruiting Fijians with the planters' demand for labour led to the importation of workers from India. The first Indians, throughout this study referred to as Indo-Fijians, arrived in 1879 and became an indentured workforce, almost exclusively on sugar plantations (Coulter 1942; Gillion 1962, 1977; A.C. Mayer 1961, 1963).

At first, Indo-Fijians were housed in barracks near the milling centres of Nausori, Navua, Penang, Ba, Savusavu, Dreketi, and later Labasa and Lautoka. Sugar milling at Nausori, Navua, Savusavu and Dreketi was found to be uneconomical and the mills there closed down. By 1926 the Colonial Sugar Refining Company of Australia owned and operated the remaining mills at Penang, Ba, Lautoka and Labasa (Fig.1). The Indo-Fijian labourers worked on land owned by the milling company but, as the indenture system gradually came to an end in 1920, most opted to remain in Fiji. Consequently, there was a gradual diffusion of Indo-Fijians to areas suited to cane cultivation - wherever Fijian-owned land could be leased or land purchased from European planters. On the two main islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, Indo-Fijian settlements spread up the river valleys to the foothills of the major mountain ranges. As better roads were built, settlements spread further from the cane crushing mills, although some Indo-Fijians remained nearby and worked in them or in the retail centres that developed in their vicinities. An independent movement of Indian businessmen from such states as Gujerat and Punjab enlarged these retail centres, which subsequently became the larger sugar towns of Lautoka, Ba, Rakiraki, Labasa, Nausori and Navua (Walsh 1977; Fig.1). As urban settlements increased in size and expanded their range of functions from retail to administrative and light industrial, there was an accompanying rise in opportunities for unpaid employment. Lautoka and Suva became major ports of entry and Suva, as capital after 1882, grew rapidly in both physical size and population (Whitelaw 1966:42-3).

Although, from the turn of the century, economic and political developments in Fiji reflected world-wide patterns, the impact of World War II was especially dramatic. Fiji became a major encampment for troops of the Allied Forces and the country was readied for possible attack. Restrictions (placed on Fijian movement from the time of Gordon, if none too successfully enforced), were relaxed completely in response to the need to recruit Fijians, either for battle or internal military preparedness. The comparatively large-scale movement of Fijians from villages to recruitment

centres, the journeys made to battle grounds in other Pacific countries, and the soldiers' experience of associating with 'outsiders', had lasting effects upon Fijian life. Thus Geddes (1945:5), writing soon after the war, observed: 'Previously the native was content with his village community because he knew no other. He had no ambition to go abroad, for countries alleged to lie beyond the coral reefs were vague and unsubstantial. Now, however, the horizon was widened and Fijians returned from overseas, as well as those whom their enthusiasm fires, suffer from social claustrophobia.' According to the 1936 census, as Geddes noted, 7450 Fijians were living in towns. Since then, the drift of Fijians and Indo-Fijians to urban centres has proceeded rapidly, and in the late fifties Ward (1961:260) estimated 'that one-third of all Fijians now live away from their home villages'.

Census information

Until 1956, the census of Fiji contained little information on population movement. In that year the census recorded, for Fijians, province of enumeration compared with the province in which land rights were held (McArthur 1958). These data can be used for broad estimates of rates of inter-provincial movement. The 1966 and 1976 censuses have obtained progressively more information on population movement for both Fijians and Indo-Fijians and permit comparison of province of enumeration with that of birth. Although census analyses do not meet the needs of this study, because they focus on interprovincial mobility and changes in movement patterns over ten-year periods, they nevertheless reveal both the general direction of such movements and overall changes in volume.

The 1956 and 1966 census data on interprovincial movements have been analysed by Frazer (1969) and Walsh (1976). Frazer focused on the Fijian population and calculated rates of inward and outward movements, along with age-sex differences, for the provinces. His analysis showed that, for Fijians, Rewa and Ba (Fig.1) were provinces of net in-migration; in the provinces of Ra and Serua net migration was in balance, and provinces of consistent out-migration were Kadavu, Lau, Lomaiviti, Bua, Cakaudrove, and Namosi (Fig.2, inset). The 1976 census figures, on Fijians resident outside their province of birth (Table 1), seem to indicate continuation of the same trends. The pattern for Indo-Fijians is similar. For both ethnic groups, the degree of out-movement has increased in every province except Naitasiri.

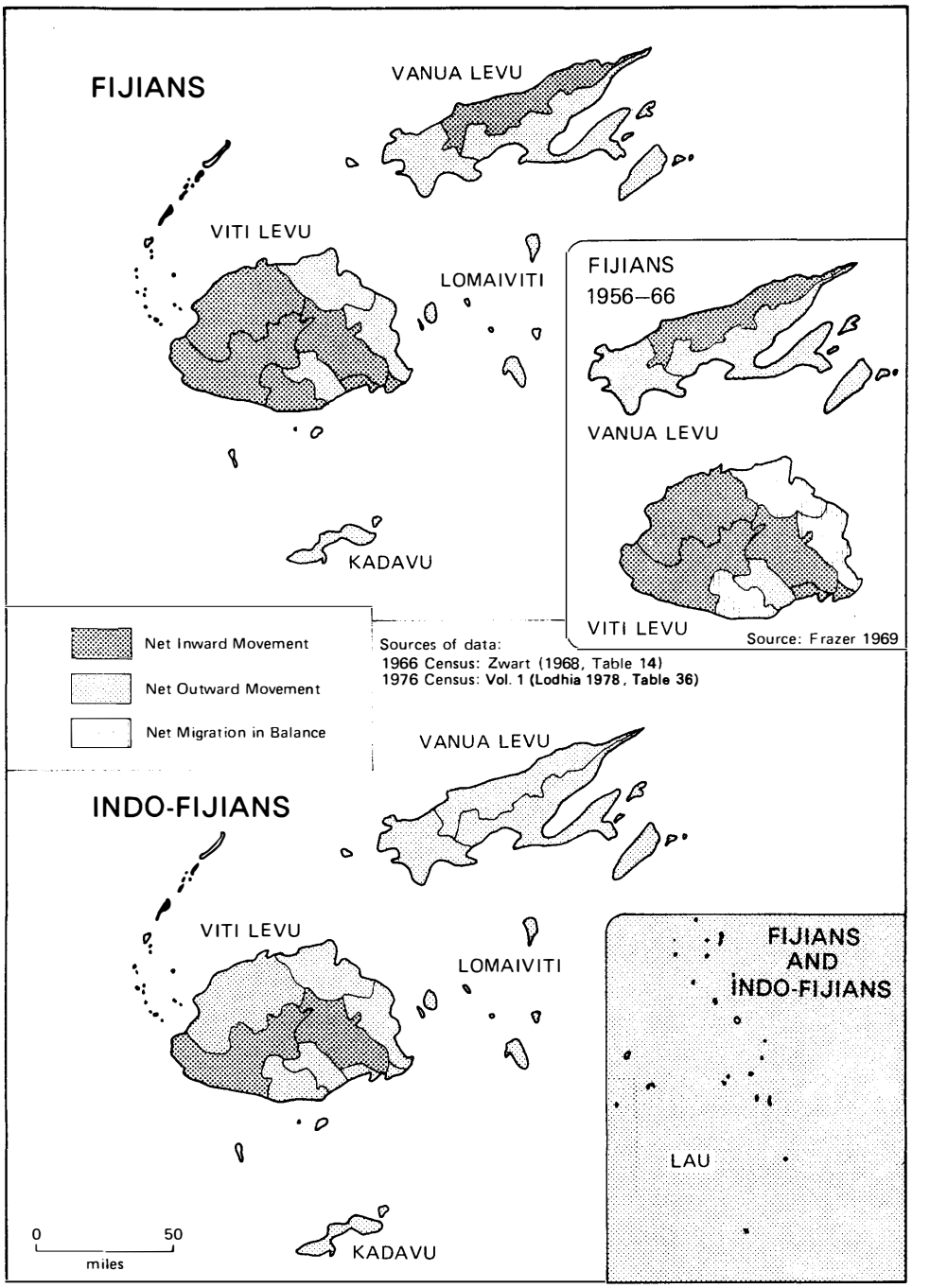

Figure 2. Inter-provincial population movement, Fiji 1966-76.

Table 1

Percentage of population resident outside province of birth, 1966 and 1976 censuses

Province of birth	Fijian		Indo-Fijian	
	1966	1976	1966	1976
Ba	14.8	18.2	11.0	12.3
Bua	26.2	31.4	22.5	30.5
Cakaudrove	20.0	26.0	25.7	33.7
Kadavu	35.6	43.8	100.0	98.6
Lau	32.4	46.5	46.6	71.6
Lomaiviti	30.1	38.4	54.4	64.7
Macuata	19.3	23.7	8.3	10.5
Nadroga/Navosa	17.6	19.4	21.1	24.0
Naitasiri	25.0	24.1	21.9	19.6
Namosi	25.2	32.2	80.5	84.2
Ra	27.6	28.9	27.0	34.3
Rewa	41.4	42.5	40.0	42.8
Serua	29.3	29.4	44.0	44.9
Tailevu	32.0	34.4	24.9	30.0
Per cent absent	26.2	41.0	19.4	21.6

Source: Zwart (1968, Table 14); Lodhia (1978, Table 36).

It is important to note that the city of Suva is located in Rewa province, for which there has been only a slight intercensal increase in outward movement, and that a large portion of the Suva urban area extends into Naitasiri province. Between 1966 and 1976, in other words, there has been an increase in the outward movement of both Fijians and Indo-Fijians from largely rural and island provinces (Lau, Kadavu, Lomaiviti; Fig.1), whereas those within which the main urban centres are located have registered small increases (Ba, Rewa) or an actual decrease (Naitasiri) in the percentage of people who are resident outside their province of birth (Table 1). This suggests that the inward

flow of migrants is balanced by the outward flow in the more urban provinces. In 1976, it was these and adjacent provinces (Nadroga/Navosa, Serua) that recorded a net inflow of people (Table 2; Fig.2). There was, however, a net loss of Indo-Fijians from Ba and Rewa, in the latter case perhaps resulting from movement away from the centre of Suva toward the residential suburbs located in Naitasiri province.

Table 2

Net movement amongst provinces of Fiji, 1966-76

Province of enumeration	Fijians	Indo-Fijians	Balance
Ba	+ 6,352	- 3,416	+ 2,936
Bua	- 1,619	- 138	- 1,757
Cakaudrove	- 3,797	- 482	- 4,279
Kadavu	- 4,150	- 132	- 4,282
Lau	- 9,467	- 293	- 9,760
Lomaiviti	- 3,378	- 332	- 3,710
Macuata	+ 537	- 1,812	- 1,275
Nadroga/Navosa	+ 166	+ 1,971	+ 2,137
Naitasiri	+12,878	+12,979	+25,856
Namosi	- 793	- 332	- 1,125
Ra	- 1,472	- 1,568	- 3,040
Rewa	+ 6,976	- 3,247	+ 3,729
Serua	+ 1,151	- 777	+ 374
Tailevu	- 3,538	- 2,361	- 5,899

Source: Zwart (1968, Table 14); Lodhia (1978, Table 36).

For the intercensal period 1966 to 1976, the provinces of Naitasiri, Rewa and Ba show the greatest proportion of net inward movement. Since these contain the main urban centres, it is reasonable to assume that such places constitute the primary destinations of migrants. Table 3 shows the percentage of people from various provinces who were enumerated in Suva city, Suva urban area, and Ba province,

Table 3

Proportion of population outside province of birth enumerated in Suva city and Suva urban area, and Ba province, 1966-76 (per cent)

	Suva city and Suva urban area				Ba province			
	Fijian		Indo-Fijian		Fijian		Indo-Fijian	
	1966	1976	1966	1976	1966	1976	1966	1976
Ba	22.1	28.0	20.3	31.8				
Bua	23.6	27.3	9.3	7.2	18.4	14.5	4.0	1.5
Cakaudrove	28.6	35.6	32.6	40.3	8.3	8.7	7.2	9.1
Kadavu	48.8	57.1	...	...	14.6	14.9	...	...
Lau	45.7	57.1	...	...	9.1	9.3	...	...
Lomaiviti	43.0	51.1	42.7	46.5	13.7	13.2	31.4	15.0
Macuata	21.4	26.6	21.1	35.4	14.3	12.2	10.2	12.0
Nadroga/ Navosa	18.5	24.0	15.8	18.6	54.8	45.8	72.2	67.7
Naitasiri[a]	51.7	109.6	279.3	268.4	33.3	27.0	8.2	8.9
Namosi	21.7	21.0	...	...	12.3	9.4	...	...
Ra	25.0	27.6	22.7	30.7	46.9	29.7	59.5	52.5
Rewa[a]	118.4	129.8	173.7	171.7	14.5	15.6	15.9	16.3
Serua	25.6	29.9	53.7	56.1	27.8	21.9	13.7	15.9
Tailevu	34.2	43.8	47.7	65.2	25.6	24.1	9.7	8.6

a Suva urban area is mainly within Rewa and Naitasiri provinces.

... Indo-Fijian numbers are too few for reliable comparison.

Source: Zwart (1968, Table 14); Lodhia (1978, Table 36).

in which are located the city of Lautoka, Nadi town and airport, Ba town, Tavua township, and the gold mining centre of Vatukoula (Fig.1). At least since 1966, the urban area of Suva has been the most important place of destination for both Fijians and Indo-Fijians. In the decade between

1966 and 1976, the number of households in Suva rose from 12,797 to 20,564 and the population from 80,269 to 117,827 (Lodhia 1978:Table 36). This represents an annual increase of 6.6 per cent in number of households and 4.7 per cent in population size. During the same period, the growth of rural population in Fiji averaged 1.5 per cent per year. Within Ba province, only the urban centre of Lautoka expanded its population at a rate greater than the national average. This indicates that none of the other towns or townships in Ba attracted more people than moved away from them. It is not surprising therefore that, between 1966 and 1976, Suva accounted for 71 per cent of the growth in urban population in Fiji, and Lautoka and Suva combined for 85 per cent (Walsh 1977:3).

Chapter 3

Field methods and characteristics of survey population

Field methodology

Mobility data were collected in Suva over five months (November 1977 to March 1978), mainly by means of a questionnaire survey and migration histories (Appendix). The main purpose of the formal questionnaire was to obtain information on the characteristics of movers, the residence places of other family members, the amount of visiting and other ties between places of origin and destination, the nature of investments in the rural areas and Suva, and intentions about future residence. Longitudinal data on population movement were collected by taking migration histories, using a matrix similar to that employed by Balán and his associates in their study of 1640 males in Monterrey, Mexico (Balán *et al.* 1969). This matrix has since been modified by Perlman (1976), in her research on urban dwellers in Rio de Janeiro, and has been used even more recently for studies of population mobility in Southeast Asia (Lauro 1977; Renard 1977).

A life-history matrix of movements was developed for those interviewed by relating all past moves to such critical events as schooling, work, marriage, and childbirth (Appendix). In compiling this matrix, interviewers followed through one aspect of an individual's life history (such as employment) and whenever possible tied every change in it to both mobility and other life events (cf. Balán *et al.* 1969:107). The advantage of this approach was that people found it easier to remember past movements if they were related to other important aspects of their lives. In the field a major problem resulted more from the structure of the particular matrix than with the method itself: since space on the matrix form was divided on a yearly basis, and there was no provision for movements of less than a year, short-term mobility was not recorded. This omission was not as serious as it might have been, since information on most short-term movements was obtained on the formal questionnaire. Another problem was that completion of the matrix was very tedious

for both respondents and interviewers. A longer period of field study than four months is desirable when using the life-history matrix since, without a sensitive understanding of the people being studied, this technique 'quickly reduces to a single-event chronology of long-term movement' (Chapman 1978:566).

The study areas

Areas surveyed in Suva were chosen to permit a fair representation of long-established and recent migrants, as well as a range of socio-economic groups within the Fijian and Indo-Fijian populations. Since the majority of urban movers belong to lower-income groups, most surveyed were drawn from such households. It was expected that early migrants would be concentrated within the longer-settled squatter settlements and that Housing Authority areas of low-income dwellings would contain most recent movers. In fact, no such clear-cut distinctions were found to exist within Suva because of the degree of residential change. The areas finally chosen for detailed investigation were two of planned housing, Nadera and Raiwaqa, two squatter settlements, Kalabo and Jittu Estate, and one of privately developed higher-income households, Samabula North (Fig.3).

The areas of planned housing, Raiwaqa and Nadera, are located about 5 and 10 km respectively from the central city. Both areas house Fijians and Indo-Fijians and both include units rented out to low-income tenants as well as 'purchase plan' houses offered for sale by the Housing Authority, a statutory government organization, to families with medium-low incomes. In Nadera fieldwork was concentrated on the medium-density units, each of which contained seven separate dwellings; in Raiwaqa individual houses were the focus.

Of the two squatter areas studied, Kalabo is about 11 km from central Suva and a similar distance from Nausori township. It is a Fijian settlement, located on native land belonging to the people of nearby Kalabo village, from which its name is taken. In accordance with traditional custom, most of the village owners were presented with gifts before settlement began. Figures extracted from the 1976 census[1] indicate that the Kalabo squatter area was made up entirely of 252 Fijian households.

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[1]Thanks to F. Khan, research officer, Housing Authority, Suva.

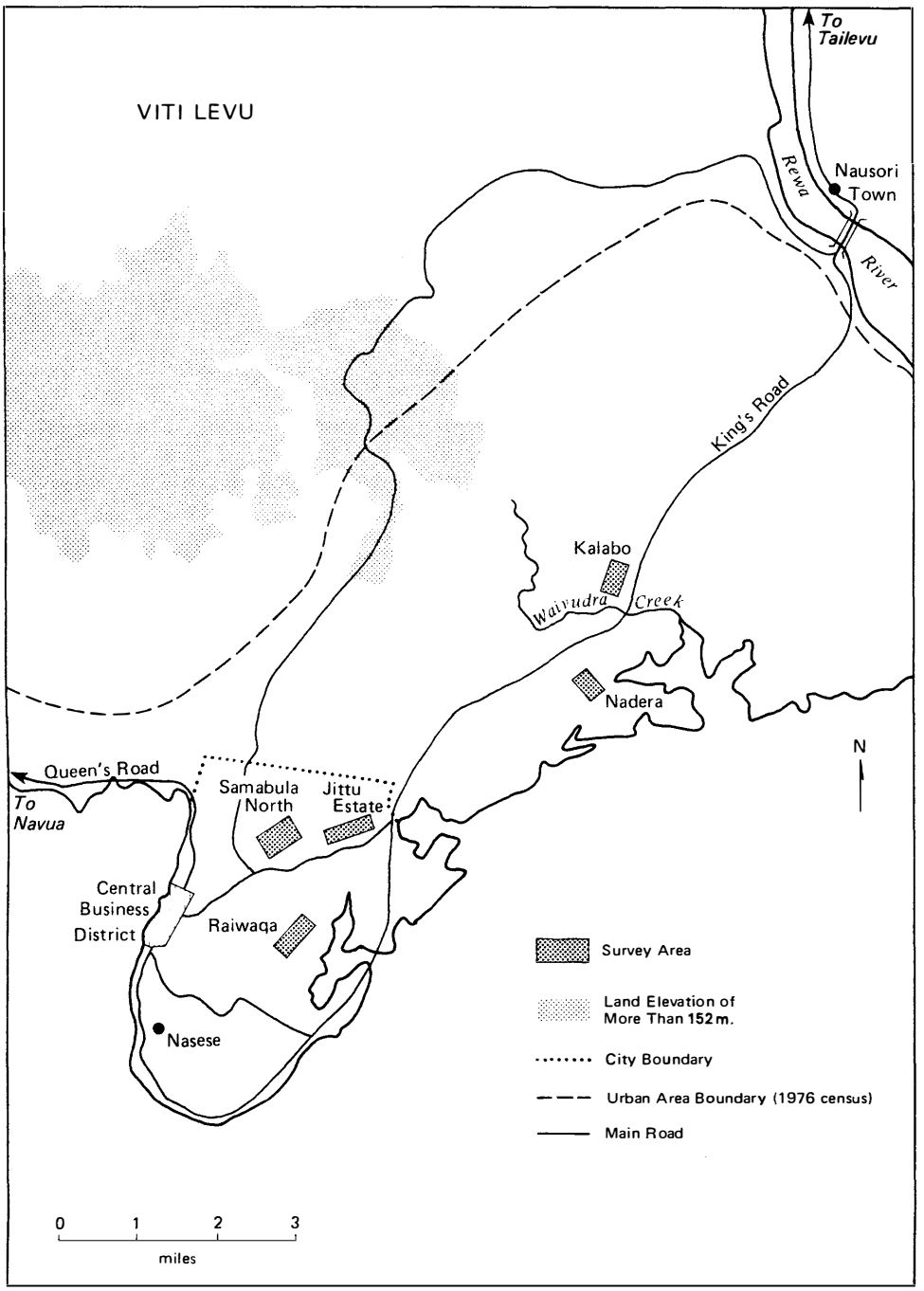


Figure 3. Suva urban area, 1977.

The Jittu Estate, situated about 5 km along the King's Road from the central business district, houses predominantly Indo-Fijian squatters. It is an area of freehold land owned by an individual who collects minimal yearly rents. Dwellings are built on ledges cut into the soapstone on the sides of a gully which runs parallel to the road for about a quarter of a mile. According to figures obtained by the Housing Authority, Suva, from the 1976 census, there are 280 Indo-Fijian households in Jittu Estate.

The fifth area chosen for study was Samabula North, a suburb less than 3 km from central Suva. This privately developed area consists of mostly single-family, concrete-block houses with corrugated-iron roofs, owned either through private mortgate financing or a government housing scheme. There are more than three times as many Indo-Fijian as Fijian households and this dominance is reflected by the location of a Sikh temple and a Muslim school in the area. Families may live above or behind their own shops, and many of them have cars. In addition to small-business owners, who are generally Indo-Fijians, and middle-level civil servants, who are predominantly Fijian, professional and commercial occupations are represented, and the income level is relatively high.

In planning this study, it was intended that 400 households of migrants would be surveyed and all persons who lived in them and were over the age of 15 would be interviewed. The households were to be divided equally between Fijians and Indo-Fijians and distributed evenly in the different housing areas selected. However, the time consumed during preliminary reconnaissance made it necessary to alter this design. It was decided to interview only the migrant household heads or, in their absence, either the spouse or oldest person present.

For the purposes of the field survey, a migrant was defined as someone born outside the Suva urban area who had lived there for at least six months. When persons other than the household head were interviewed, they were asked to give general information, such as the number of people in the household and the places of residence of family members, which the head normally would have provided. Attempts were made to visit survey households when the heads were most likely to be present so that, in most cases, household heads were interviewed. For convenience, those interviewed will be termed 'household heads' throughout this report. Seventy-

five heads of household were surveyed in the Indo-Fijian squatter settlement of Jittu Estate but only fifty Fijian heads in the squatter area of Kalabo, because as the interviewing proceeded in this area it was found that most of the household heads here were from Lau. In order to get a wider representation of Fijians from other areas of origin, an additional twenty-five interviews of heads of household were conducted at Raiwaka.

Table 4

Number of household heads surveyed, by study area and ethnic group, 1977

Area	Fijian	Indo-Fijian	Total
Nadera, Housing Authority rental apartments	52	51	103
Raiwaqa, Housing Authority 'purchase plan' houses	47	25	72
Kalabo, Fijian squatter area	50	-	50
Jittu Estate, Indo-Fijian squatter area	-	75	75
Samabula North, privately developed area	50	50	100
Total household heads	199	201	400

During fieldwork, interviewers entered each survey area through the most frequently used roads or paths and selected households in sequence, in one direction, until the specified number of household heads had been interviewed. These household heads thus do not consistute a representative sample of all those present in each settlement. In the survey areas, the majority of the Fijians had come from the distant island provinces of Lau (31.2 per cent), Kadavu (17.6 per cent), and Lomaiviti (9.5 per cent), or from Cakaudrove (13.6 per cent; Fig.1), where the problem of remoteness combines with scant resources to create an unfavourable economic environment. Most of the Indo-Fijian movers were from the provinces of Ba (25.4 per cent), Ra (16.4 per cent), and Rewa (14.9 per cent) on Viti Levu, and from Macuata province (12.1 per cent)

on Vanua Levu (Fig.4). In the rural sugarcane-growing areas of Ba and Ra provinces, the growing pressure of population and associated shrinkage of available land per capita, are problems exacerbated by the expiration of leases of native lands. In the urban centres of these provinces, secondary and tertiary industries provide employment for many people, but the demand for jobs is much higher than the availability.

The survey population

The median size of Fijian households surveyed, at 6.5 persons, was greater than for the Indo-Fijians (4.9 persons). Fijian households generally were larger because, in addition to the nuclear family, more than half (57 per cent) contained close relatives, most of whom were young, unmarried adults and children who either worked or attended school in Suva. Of the 113 Fijian households with extended families, 51 per cent contained people who were dependants, 21 per cent those who were wage earners, and 24 per cent contained some individuals in both categories. The remaining 4 per cent comprised short-term visitors. Of the 201 Indo-Fijian households, only 10 per cent consisted of extended families; half of the additional persons were short-term visitors and the rest were equally divided between wage earners and dependants. Overall, in about 60 per cent of both Fijian and Indo-Fijian households, at least one adult member other than the head was gainfully employed.

Of the Fijians interviewed, 66 per cent had been living in Suva for ten or more years and only 2 per cent for less than one year, whereas comparable figures for the Indo-Fijians were 48 per cent and 3 per cent respectively (Table 5). The information on length of residence of Fijians is consistent with that obtained in a social survey undertaken in Suva in 1959, in which 17 per cent of a sample of 528 Fijian households were found to have lived there for more than twenty-five years (Verrier, reported in Nayacakalou 1963:34; Table 5). The period of urban residence for both Fijian and Indo-Fijian household heads is higher than that reported for other Melanesian societies. For example, Garnaut, Wright and Curtain (1977:60) note that Rabaul had the longest-resident migrants out of fifteen urban centres surveyed in Papua New Guinea in 1973, but even there only 41 per cent of the sample had remained for up to ten years and 30 per cent for more than ten. Similarly, in 1973 Bonnemaison (1978:26) found in his study of New Hebrideans in Vila that the median time spent in town by labourers was

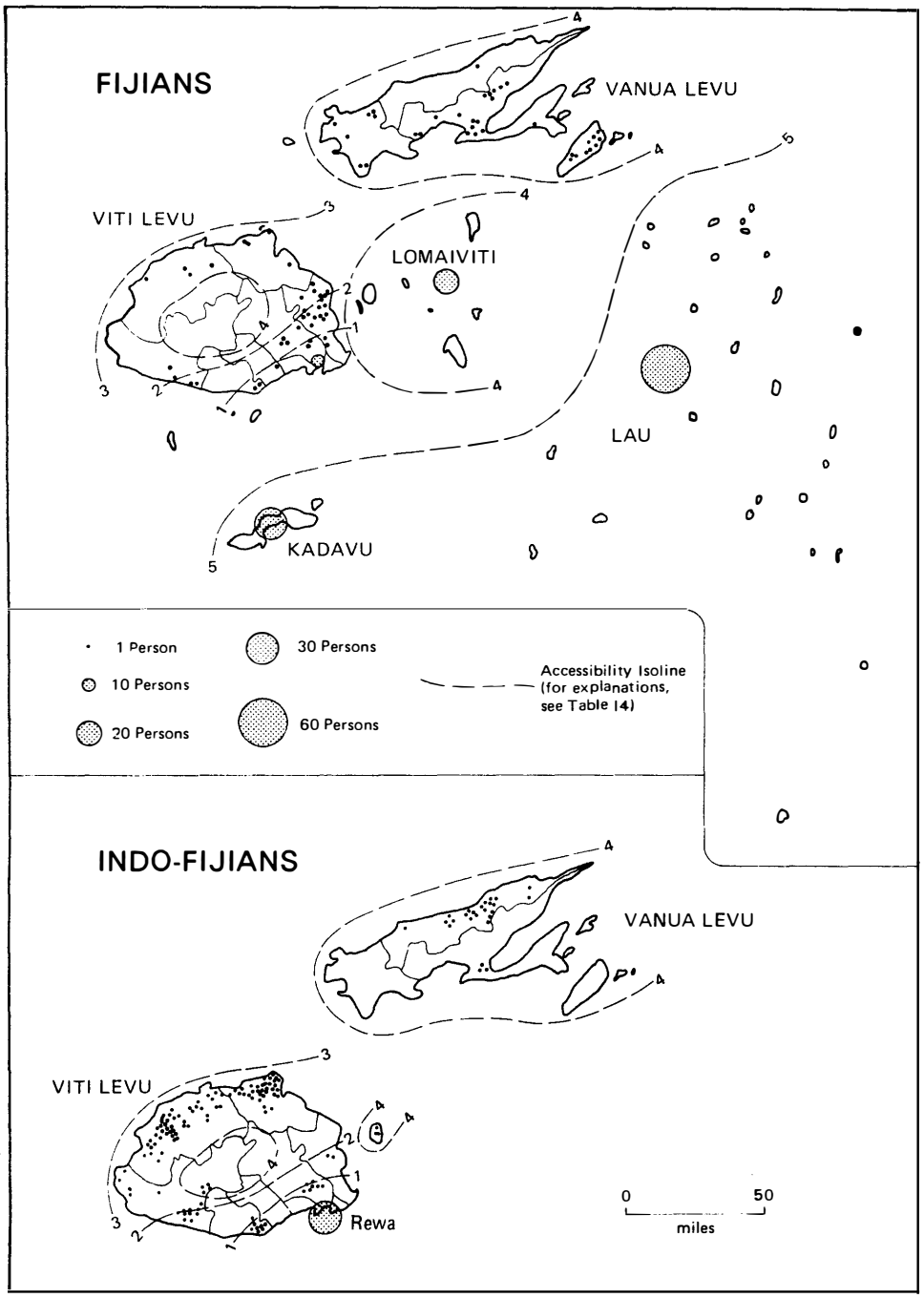


Figure 4. Place of birth of household heads interviewed and accessibility from Suva, November 1977-March 1978.

six months and for qualified workers ten years. Nevertheless, the Suva results for both Fijians and Indo-Fijians are consistent with a 1973 survey of urban households (Harré 1973) which showed that, while there was some variability amongst the urban areas studied, most adults who had been born outside Suva had lived in town for more than ten years.

Table 5

Length of stay in Suva for persons interviewed, November 1977 - March 1978

Period in years	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 1	4	2.0	6	3.0	10	2.5
1-4	26	13.1	45	22.6	71	17.8
5-9	37	18.6	54	26.7	91	22.8
Subtotal: 1-9 years	63	31.7	99	49.3	162	40.6
10-14	38	19.1	43	21.4	81	20.3
15-19	29	14.6	17	8.5	46	11.5
20-24	29	14.6	12	6.0	41	10.3
25-29	12	6.0	13	6.5	25	6.3
30-34	13	6.5	3	1.5	16	4.0
35-39	3	1.5	4	2.0	7	1.8
40+	8	4.0	4	2.0	12	3.0
Subtotal: 10+ years	132	66.3	96	47.9	228	57.2
Subtotal: 25+ years	36	18.0	24	12.0	60	15.1

Chapter 4

Residential intentions

To study the form of population movement with respect to a particular destination, such as Suva urban area, requires an examination of both the mobility history of individuals and their intentions about future places of residence. Mobility histories of persons who have resided in Suva for at least six months, but were born elsewhere, can reveal the extent to which they have remained continuously in the urban area since their arrival or whether there have been periods of residence in both Suva and other locations, particularly their places of origin. Similarly, a statement of residential intentions provides some indication of how likely a person is to move in future.

'Circulation' has often been distinguished from 'migration' on the grounds that it is intendedly impermanent. Thus Zelinsky (1971:225-6) has described circulation as a form of movement in which there is 'a lack of intention' on the part of participants to establish permanent or long-term residence. Gould and Prothero take the same position in presenting a typology of African movements based upon space and time, and suggest that 'if there is a specific desire on the part of the individual or group of individuals who are moving to return to their place of origin, and when before leaving in the first place this intention is clear, then the movement may be considered as circulation rather than migration' 'Gould and Prothero 1975:42). Because the study population had already moved to Suva, they were asked only about their future residential intentions and no attempt was made to reconstruct their earlier intentions.

Among students of population movement, there is some difference of opinion about the usefulness of statements of residential intentions. For example, Elkan (1976:705) considers them an unreliable indicator of future actions. However, intentions can be evaluated within the context of the links that movers maintain with areas of origin, the proportion of their working lives spent in the urban

destination, and the factors that either may influence individuals to remain, or reduce the likelihood of their departure from the urban place of residence. Comparable research in Sub-Saharan Africa (Caldwell 1969; Gugler 1961; Adepoju 1974; Odongo and Lea 1977; Ross and Weisner 1977) and Melanesia (Garnaut, Wright and Curtain 1977; Strathern 1972; West 1958) suggests that rural-urban linkages and various indices of urban commitment, such as length of stay, are the most appropriate criteria by which to assess residential intentions. Consequently this report first considers the residential intentions of people living in Suva, and follows with an examination of the linkages maintained between places of origin and destination, the length of residence in Suva, the perceived advantages and disadvantages of living in town, and whether these movers view themselves as villagers or townspeople. With this approach, patterns of movement between Suva and various places of origin are incorporated within rural-urban linkages.

Residential intentions

Generally, Indo-Fijians had a clearer idea than Fijians of their residential intentions, as indicated by statements about how long they intended to stay in Suva and whether they felt they would remain forever or return ultimately to live in the villages or rural settlements (Table 6 and 7). More Fijians than Indo-Fijians were unsure about their future intentions and, in total, 20 to 28 per cent felt unable to say whether they would remain in Suva and where would be their final place of residence (Tables 6 and 7). If this considerable degree of ambivalence is ignored, there is still a statistically significant difference between the intentions of Fijians and Indo-Fijians.[1] Whereas almost 40 per cent of the heads of Fijian households intend ultimately to live in their villages only 6 per cent of the Indo-Fijians expect to return to their former settlements. Most Indo-Fijians (66 per cent), and a considerably smaller but still substantial proportion of Fijians (29 per cent) said that they intend to remain in Suva for the rest of their lives.

The replies from Fijian household heads indicate no overwhelming intent to return permanently to their villages of origin and this contrasts somewhat with much African and

[1] Throughout this report, 'significance' is used only to indicate statistical significance, as measured by the chi-square test and accepted at the 95 per cent level of confidence.

Table 6

Intended length of stay in Suva of household heads interviewed, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijian		Indo-Fijian		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Forever	57	28.6	132	65.7	189	47.3
Up to 1 year	3	1.5	5	2.5	8	2.0
Up to 5 years	9	4.5	9	4.5	18	4.5
Up to 10 years	6	3.0	2	1.0	8	2.0
More than 10 years	6	3.0	0	0	6	1.5
Until retirement	29	14.6	2	1.0	31	7.8
Until children are educated	25	12.6	1	1.5	26	6.5
Until enough money	2	1.0	0	0	2	0.5
Unsure	62	31.2	50	24.9	112	28.0
Total	199		201		400	

Fijian/Indo-Fijian difference: Chi square = 98.9 with 8 d.f.
Significance = 0.0000

Melanesian research. According to Gugler (1961:407), in four of the five occupational groups he surveyed in Nigerian towns, 76 per cent intended to return to their villages. Similarly Rew (1974:182-4), in his study of Papua New Guineans, reported that only 7 per cent of his sample of 92 movers wished to remain and that many intended to return to their communities of origin within five years. Strathern (1975:402-3) found only 2 out of a sample of 29 Hageners in Port Moresby who wanted to stay permanently in town and, two years after they had been questioned, 10 of the 21 who were definite about returning to the village had indeed done so.

Most Papua New Guineans are reported to have specific aims for returning, either to set up some kind of *bisnis*

(Strathern 1975) or to fulfill various kinds of rural obligations. Such strategies have been termed 'rural-oriented' (Salisbury and Salisbury 1972) or 'peasant' (Bedford and Mamak 1976:180), in which much of the effort of mobile persons is directed toward ultimate success in rural areas. Comparable orientations seem not to exist for either Fijians or Indo-Fijians, neither does there seem to be any great pressure upon movers to expect to return, as is the case for the Hageners of Papua New Guinea (Strathern 1977). Indeed, especially in the case of Fijians from the small island areas of Lau and Lomaiviti (Fig.1), there is recognition of a *need* for people to move away because the 'land resources were not considered to be adequate to support all *mataqali*[2] members ...' (Bedford 1978:55). Similarly, there is no evidence to suggest that Fijians believe in the 'long-term eventuality', reported by Strathern (1977:264) for Hageners, 'that some time in the future the migrant will have to go back'.

Table 7

Intended place of final residence of household heads interviewed, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijian		Indo-Fijian		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Village	79	39.7	12	6.0	91	22.8
Suva	57	28.6	132	65.7	189	47.3
Elsewhere	15	7.5	23	11.4	38	9.5
Unsure	48	24.0	34	16.9	82	20.5
Total	199		201		400	

Fijian/Indo-Fijian difference: Chi square = 125.6 with 3 d.f.
Significance = 0.0000

Almost 30 per cent of the Fijian household heads who were interviewed intended to remain forever in Suva, but another 25 per cent were quite undecided (Table 7). Of those

[2] *Mataqali*: Fijian sub-tribe, the basic land-holding unit. See Chapter 6.

who expected to return, very few had immediate plans to do so. Most explained that they would leave Suva when they retire or when their children complete their formal education. The fact that events like retirement and completion of children's schooling loom larger than specific times for return suggest that position in the life cycle is more influential than elapsed time in the decision to move and that people do not declare residential intentions without an underlying rationale. That many Fijians come to town with the particular goal of providing a satisfactory educational environment for their children has also been demonstrated in a recent study of Lauans at Qauia, near Suva (Bedford 1978).

For Fijians, residential intentions are influenced to varying extents by areas of origin, present length of stay in town, household income, and ownership of property in Suva, but are far less affected by age than position in the life cycle. A higher proportion of Fijians from the small island provinces of Lau and Lomaiviti (Fig.1) either intended to stay permanently in Suva or were unsure about the future. Of all those who said they would remain forever, 60 per cent originated from Lau even though Lauans comprised only 32 per cent of all those interviewed. Bedford (1978:67) found the same pattern at the Lauan settlement of Qauia, where completion of children's education, the primary reason given for movement to Suva, was rarely followed by the return of parents to their villages. In fact, he comments, 'Not only have parents stayed on in Suva after their children left school, but quite a few elderly people have chosen to come and live with kin in the urban settlement' (Bedford 1978:67).

Number of years, and particularly the proportion of one's life already spent in Suva, also affect the residential intentions of Fijians. Of those who had spent less than half their lives in town 51 per cent intended to return permanently to the village, compared with 33 per cent of those who had been resident more than half their lives. Of the 65 Fijians resident for twenty years or more (Table 5), only 16 (25 per cent) thought they would ultimately live in their village; of the 168 who had been in town for less than twenty years, only 63 (38 per cent) felt the same way. Briefly, for Fijians the greater the proportion of the lifetime spent in Suva, the higher is the likelihood that residence will come to be considered permanent. Whereas two-thirds of those who said they would remain in Suva forever had been there for at least fifteen years, most of those who were uncertain had been there for less than ten.

Residential intentions are similarly influenced by income and ownership of high-value property. Fijians who are in the high income groups and earn $F60 or more a week were the least interested in returning to their village communities (Table 8). Only 8 out of 48 who earned at least this amount and 3 out of 25 with incomes of $F90 or more each week considered they would retire there. Conversely, the highest proportion of potential returnees are among people who earn less than $F60 each week.

Table 8

Weekly income of heads of household interviewed, November 1977 - March 1978

Income ($F)	Fijians		Indo-Fijians	
	No.	%	No.	%
More than 90	25	12.6	16	8.0
80-89	8	4.0	3	1.5
70-79	6	3.0	2	1.0
60-69	9	4.5	10	5.0
50-59	40	20.1	32	15.9
40-49	24	12.1	38	18.9
30-39	29	14.6	47	23.4
Less than 30	58	29.1	53	26.4
Total	199	100.0	201	100.1

Influence of property ownership

Between 73 and 80 per cent of household heads own property in Suva or rural areas (Table 9). More of the houses owned by Fijians are located in the village than in Suva, while nearly 29 per cent of Suva residents have houses in both places. Almost half of those who do not own a house intend to buy or build one in Suva, but 52 per cent are unsure or ambivalent (Table 10). More than 60 per cent of the houses owned by Indo-Fijians are in Suva. Some Indo-Fijians (21 out of 162) also have houses in both Suva and

Table 9

Location of property owned by household heads in Suva, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijian		Indo-Fijian		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Own house	132	66.3	162	80.6	294	73.5
Rural area/ village	55	41.7	42	25.9	97	33.0
Suva	39	29.5	99	61.1	138	46.9
Suva and rural area	38	28.8	21	13.0	59	20.1
Do not own house	76	33.7	39	19.4	106	26.5
Own land	192	96.5	128	63.7	320	80.0
Rural area/ village	156	81.3	54	42.2	210	65.6
Suva	2	1.0	53	41.4	55	17.2
Suva and rural area	34	17.7	21	16.4	55	17.2
Do not own land	7	3.5	73	36.3	80	20.0

rural areas, while almost 62 per cent of those without a house wish to acquire one in the city. Greater numbers of Suva residents own land than houses, but these figures are inflated by the Fijians, most of whom have title to *mataqali* land in the rural areas (Table 9). A lower proportion of Fijians than Indo-Fijians own land in Suva (18.7 per cent versus 57.8 per cent). There is also, in Suva, a significant number who neither own nor intend to acquire property (Table 10).

By itself, it is not the ownership of land or a house in either Suva or the rural areas that affects the residential intentions expressed by Fijians, but rather the individual ownership of such high-value property as concrete homes and freehold land to which there is secure title. Thus the proportion of those who intend to return to their origin places

Table 10

Preferred location of property desired for purchase by household heads in Suva, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijians				Indo-Fijians			
	House		Land		House		Land	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Preferences of non-owners:								
In rural area	4	5.9	0	0	3	7.7	1	1.4
In Suva	28	41.8	3	4.3	24	61.5	40	54.8
Unsure	14	20.9	1	1.4	8	20.5	15	10.5
No intention	21	31.3	3	4.3	4	10.3	18	24.7
Total	67		7		39		73	
Preferences of owners:								
In rural area	30	22.7	7	3.6	4	2.5	0	0
In Suva	38	28.8	60	31.3	53	32.7	29	22.6
Unsure	13	9.8	30	15.6	56	34.6	6	4.7
No intention	51	38.6	95	49.5	49	30.2	93	72.7
Total	132		192		162		128	

but who also own homes there (46.4 per cent) and in Suva (46.25 per cent) is virtually identical, whereas only three of those who have concrete homes sited on freehold land in Suva expect to do so.

These results indicate that area of origin, length of stay in Suva, income, and ownership of property have the most influence upon residential intentions. Although there are some Fijians who were born in the island provinces of Lau and Lomaiviti, have stayed in Suva for many years, earn high incomes, and still intend to return ultimately to their villages, there are many more such people who do not. There

is no clear relationship in the data between expressed intentions and economic groupings (by income and property ownership), except perhaps for elites with very high incomes and substantial houses sited on freehold land who declare with certainty that they intend to reside forever in the urban area. Only this group may be said to show a marked preference. By contrast, the most ambivalent, those who said they were 'not sure', were persons who had been in Suva for comparatively short periods or were from the relatively poor and isolated provinces of Lau, Lomaiviti, and Kadavu (Fig.1). It may therefore be inferred that expressed future residential preferences are largely a function of length of stay in Suva. Since 87 per cent of the Fijians think they will remain for at least ten years, it can be concluded that the longer heads of household live in Suva the more their preferences will tend toward permanent residence.

The number of Indo-Fijians who expect to return to the rural settlements from which they came is small (12 out of 201; Table 7). If those who prefer permanent residence in town are compared with those who are unsure or prefer locations elsewhere (132 versus 57), then length of stay, income, and ownership of property are most important. Among Indo-Fijians, the most certain about where they would live in future were those who had been in Suva for ten or more years, had weekly incomes of at least $F60, and owned concrete homes and freehold land. Conversely the least certain had lower incomes and had been resident there for less than ten years. Age has slightly more bearing upon Indo-Fijian than Fijian intentions, since progressively higher percentages of those in the older age groups considered they would remain in Suva forever. Perhaps the younger generation regard their longer life expectancy as providing the opportunity, as well as time, to search for alternative places of residence - a luxury in which older people feel they cannot indulge.

The clear contrast between the residential intentions of Fijians and Indo-Fijians is not adequately explained by parallel differences of income, length of time spent in Suva, or area of origin. Indo-Fijian heads of household come from rural settlements located in the more fertile parts of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu whereas more Fijians originate from the outer islands. Nevertheless, more Fijians stay longer in Suva and a greater proportion earn higher incomes. Can it be that such contrasts in residential preferences reflect basic differences in the cultural and political backgrounds of these two ethnic groups?

Chapter 5

Rural linkages

In addition to statements of residential intentions, the intensity with which links are maintained with the place of origin may be viewed as an indication of future actions. Visiting is the most obvious means by which urban residents acknowledge ties to their families, their villages, and their provinces of origin, but they may also remit cash, send food and other items, participate in traditional ceremonies, pay provincial taxes, host visitors from their birthplaces, and contribute to rural projects.

Visiting

Patterns of visiting rural areas are an important index of the degree to which migrants in Suva maintain an interest in their communities of origin and also help to establish whether those who say they will return act in ways that will facilitate this intention. Following research by Gugler (1961), Caldwell (1969), and Adepoju (1974) in West and East Africa, household heads were asked a number of questions about the incidence, length, and reasons for visiting their rural areas of origin (see Appendix). For the purposes of the survey, a visit had to be of at least six hours to be counted. The data show that almost all Fijians and Indo-Fijians resident in Suva do visit their places of origin. There are, however, some significant differences on the basis of ethnicity, for whereas the Indo-Fijians visit the rural communities more frequently than the Fijians, their absences from Suva are of shorter duration.

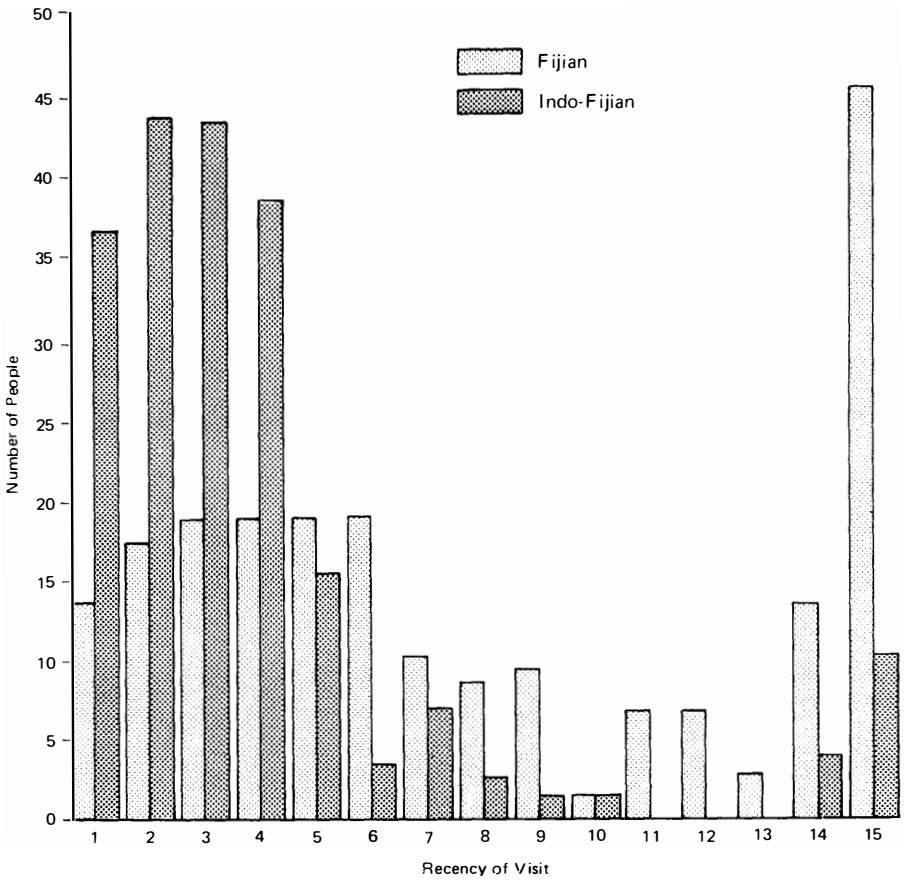
Of 199 Fijian heads of household, 77 per cent had visited their village at least once since arrival in Suva and 32 per cent within a year of being interviewed (Table 11; Fig.5). Of the 45 Fijians who had never returned to their village since living in Suva, 31 had resided there for more than five years. These figures are comparable with those reported by Bedford (1978:69) for Qauia, where about 46 per cent of the

Table 11

Recency of last visit to place of origin by household heads in Suva, November 1977 - March 1978

Time of visit	Fijians			Indo-Fijians			Total		
	No.	%	'Never visited' excluded %	No.	%	'Never visited' excluded %	No.	%	'Never visited' excluded %
Previous week	13	6.5	8.4	36	17.9	18.9	49	12.2	14.2
Previous month	16	8.0	10.4	43	21.4	22.5	59	14.8	17.1
1-6 months ago	17	8.5	11.0	43	21.4	22.5	60	15.0	17.4
6 months-1 year ago	17	8.5	11.0	38	18.9	19.9	55	13.8	15.9
1-2 years ago	17	8.5	11.0	15	7.5	7.9	32	8.0	9.3
2-3 years ago	17	8.5	11.0	3	1.5	1.6	20	5.0	5.8
3-4 years ago	10	5.0	6.5	6	3.0	3.1	16	4.0	4.6
4-5 years ago	7	3.5	4.6	2	1.0	1.0	9	2.2	2.6
5-6 years ago	9	4.5	5.8	1	0.5	0.5	10	2.5	2.9
6-7 years ago	1	0.5	0.6	1	0.5	0.5	2	0.5	0.6
7-8 years ago	7	3.5	4.6	0	0	0	7	1.8	2.0
8-9 years ago	7	3.5	4.6	0	0	0	7	1.8	2.0
9-10 years ago	2	1.0	1.3	0	0	0	2	0.5	0.6
More than 10 years ago	14	7.0	9.1	3	1.5	1.6	17	4.2	4.9
Total visitors	154	77.4		191	95.1		345	86.2	
Never visited village	45	22.6		10	5.0		55	13.8	
Total	199			201			400		

Fijian/Indo-Fijian difference ('Never visited' included): Chi square = 104.9 with 15d.f. Significance = 0.0000



1 Last week
2 Last month
3 1–6 months ago
4 6 months–1 year ago
5 1–2 years ago
6 2–3 years ago
7 3–4 years ago
8 4–5 years ago
9 5–6 years ago
10 6–7 years ago
11 7–8 years ago
12 8–9 years ago
13 9–10 years ago
14 More than 10 years ago
15 Never visited

Source of Data: Table 11

Figure 5. Recency of last village visit, November 1977-March 1978.

Fijians had been back to their rural villages within the five years preceding that survey. That even greater numbers of Indo-Fijians visit their settlements of origin is shown by the fact that 191 out of 201 had made at least one return since residing in Suva and for almost 80 per cent this visit had occurred within the previous year. Many more Indo-Fijians (73 per cent) than Fijians (28 per cent) regularly made annual visits.

This frequency of return visiting by both Fijians and Indo-Fijians is similar to that reported for many African and Papua New Guinean societies. According to Caldwell (1969:141), about 80 per cent of the rural-born Ghanaians he studied in urban areas had visited their villages at least once every year. Adepoju (1974:130) reports that only 5 per cent of those Nigerians questioned in urban centres had never visited their home villages. For Papua New Guinea, Garnaut, Wright and Curtain (1977:66) note that, in most urban centres, 90 per cent had visited the home village at least once in the ten years preceding their survey. Compared with these results, the frequency of visiting for Fijian (but not Indo-Fijian) heads of household seems to be low. This is probably because most Fijians interviewed came from islands that are difficult of access.

Length and purposes of visits

The median duration of visits by Indo-Fijians (1.3 weeks) is shorter than that of Fijians' (2.1 weeks) but the former make them more fequently. During their last rural visit, 16 per cent of the Indo-Fijians and 47 per cent of the Fijians stayed for more than a week (Table 12; Fig.6), while only 4 out of 33 who had returned for at least a month were Indo-Fijians. The migration history matrix makes it possible to identify absences from Suva that lasted a year or more. Altogether, 53 Fijians and 23 Indo-Fijians had made at least one such return move and a further 11 Fijians had averaged 2.4 between them. Only one Indo-Fijian had made two moves from Suva that entailed an absence of a year or more. Most of these year-long circuits resulted from people returning to their villages after being at school in Suva.

The dominant reasons for the majority of visits to villages and rural settlements are kin related: to spend holidays with relatives, to attend weddings or funerals, and to visit the sick (Table 13). Some Fijians (10 out of 154 during the most recent visit) also returned for customary

Table 12

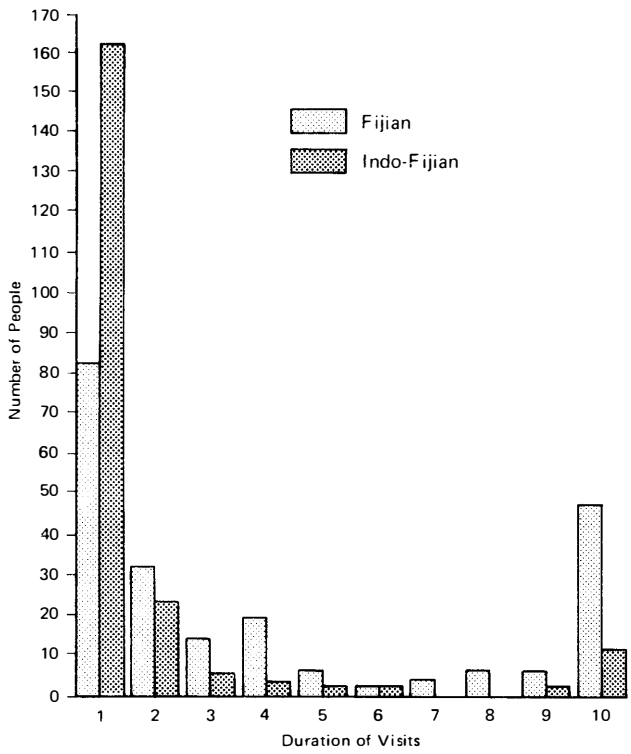
Duration of last visit to place of origin by household heads, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijians			Indo-Fijians			Total		
	No.	%	%*	No.	%	%*	No.	%	%*
1 day-1 week	82	41.2	53.2	160	79.6	83.8	242	60.5	70.1
1 wk-2 wks	31	15.6	20.1	23	11.4	12.0	54	13.5	15.7
2 wks-1 month	12	6.0	7.8	4	2.0	2.1	16	4.0	4.6
1-3 months	17	8.5	11.0	1	0.5	0.5	18	4.5	5.2
3-6 months	3	1.5	1.9	1	0.5	0.5	4	1.0	1.2
6 mths-1 year	1	0.5	0.6	1	0.5	0.5	2	0.5	0.6
1-2 years	2	1.0	1.3	0	0	0	2	0.5	0.6
2-3 years	3	1.5	1.9	0	0	0	3	0.8	0.9
3 years and longer	3	1.5	1.9	1	0.5	0.5	4	1.0	1.2
Never visited place of origin	45	22.6		10	5.0		55	13.8	
Total	199			201			400		

* Percentages based only on those who visited.

Fijian/Indo-Fijian difference: Chi square = 74.8, with 9d.f.
Significance = 0.0000

reasons, the most important of which is *mataniqone*: 'showing the face of a child'. This occurs when a new-born child is formally introduced to the father's village for the first time and is welcomed particularly by the *mataqali*. Other Fijians (twelve during the most recent visit) who came from areas close to Suva also returned to help with such village projects as building a church, or to tend their gardens. The long Christmas vacation is the most popular time for Fijians, and to a lesser extent Indo-Fijians, to make kin-related visits. Many Indo-Fijians also return for religious festivals like the Hindu *Diwali* or the Muslim *Eid*



1 1 day–1 week
2 1 week–2 weeks
3 2 weeks–1 month
4 1–3 months
5 3–6 months
6 6 months–1 year
7 1–2 years
8 2–3 years
9 3 years and longer
10 Never visited

Source of Data: Table 12

Figure 6. Duration of last village visit, November 1977-March 1978.

and in times of vacation from work. This pattern of visiting, especially at Christmas, exists throughout Melanesia. Thus Oram (1968:269) comments that 'At Christmas and Easter as many Hula [Port Moresby] people as possible return to the village where the *kwale* (corporate descent group) organize parties in the name of the church'.

Table 13

Primary reason for most recent rural visit from Suva, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spend holiday with kin	85	55.2	145	76.3	230	66.9
Attend wedding or funeral or see sick relative	22	14.3	33	17.4	55	16.0
Traditional ceremony	10	6.5	3	1.6	13	3.8
Food gardening	10	6.5	0	0	10	2.9
Contribute to *soli*	7	4.5	0	0	7	2.0
Unemployed in Suva	3	1.9	1	0.5	4	1.2
Farm work, such as harvesting cane, looking after cattle	2	1.3	2	1.0	4	1.2
Other	15	9.7	6	3.2	21	6.1
Total	154		190		344	

Note: Percentages are based on number who visited.

Visiting as a function of accessibility

Variations in the number, recency, and duration of return visits are best understood in terms of the distance and accessibility from Suva of the different settlements of origin. For purposes of analysis, the accessibility of household heads to their place of origin was assessed on both distance and regularity of transport links with Suva (Table 14; Figs 7, 4). Rural areas within two hours' bus

Table 14

Distribution of household heads according to accessibility of area of origin to Suva, November 1977 - March 1978

Degree of accessibility to Suva	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Within 2 hours' bus ride	35	17.6	69	34.3	104	26.0
Within 4 hours' bus ride	12	6.0	58	28.9	70	17.5
More than 4 hours' bus ride	5	2.5	42	20.8	47	11.8
Other Viti Levu without bus and islands with regular transport links[a]	30	15.1	28	13.9	58	14.5
Islands with irregular transport links[b]	117	58.8	4	2.0	121	30.3
Total	199		201		400	

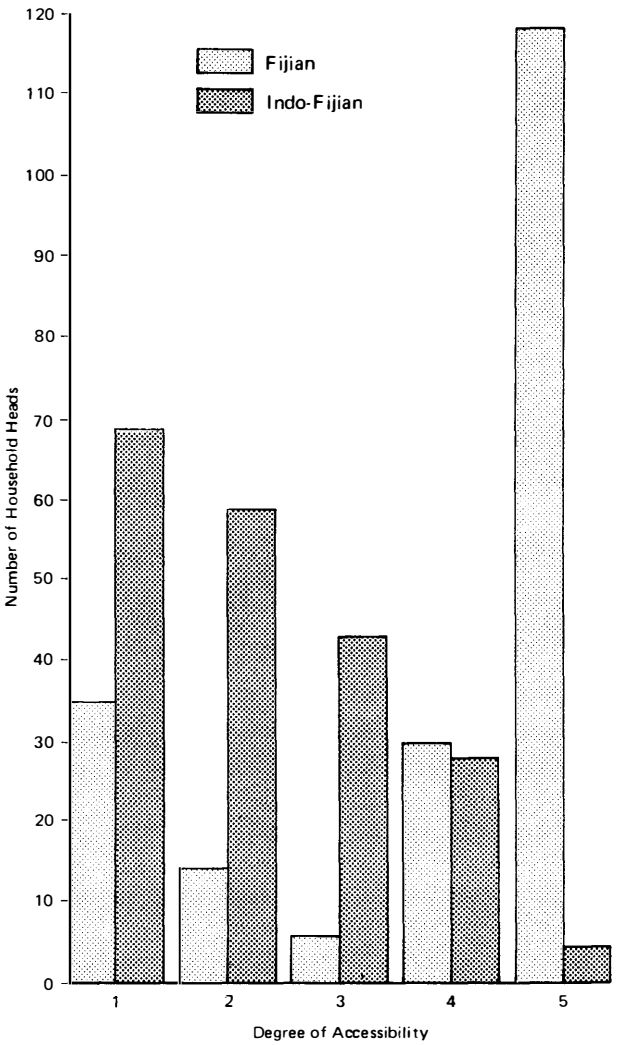
a Ovalau, Bau, Vanua Levu, Taveuni.

b Kadavu, Lau, Lomaiviti group excluding Ovalau.

Fijian/Indo-Fijian difference: Chi square = 173.6, with 4d.f.
Significance = 0.0000

ride from the city were considered to be the most accessible, and the islands of Lau, Kadavu and Lomaiviti (excluding Ovalau, to which there is regular transport) the least accessible (Fig.4). Although some of these islands now have air strips, high fares ensure that the most common means of travel is still by cargo boats which, however, only run when there is sufficient business.

Looking at both Suva and different settlements of origin reveals that many Fijians who came from less accessible areas made fewer return visits, whereas most Indo-Fijians originated from more accessible places and made more frequent visits.



1 Within two hours' bus ride of Suva.
2 Within four hours' bus ride of Suva.
3 More than four hours' bus ride of Suva.
4 Within Viti Levu but not accessible by bus and islands with regular transport links with Suva (Ovalau, Bau, Vanua Levu, Taveuni).
5 Far islands with irregular transport links with Suva (Kadavu, Lau, Lomaiviti; excluding Ovalau).

Source of Data: Table 14

Figure 7. Distribution of household heads according to accessibility of area of origin to Suva

Of the 45 Fijians who had not visited their village since arrival in Suva, 38 (83 per cent) were from the most distant locations compared with only 3 from settlements accessible by bus. Out of 143 Fijians who do not make yearly returns to their villages, 100 (70 per cent) came from least accessible and 21 (15 per cent) from less accessible places; conversely, 8 of the 12 who averaged more than ten annual visits had to travel by bus for only two hours. Similarly, 18 of the 53 Indo-Fijians (34 per cent) who do not make annual visits came from less accessible places, whereas 18 of the 28 (64 per cent) who averaged more than ten returns every year went to places very close to Suva. This positive relationship between accessibility and rate of return visiting has been found by other investigators, most notably Mitchell (1973) in his study of Zambians and their movement to the Copperbelt. Mitchell noted the influence of distance to be particularly strong among Zambians who had been away from their villages for more than twenty years and that much higher percentages of those who originated more than 400 miles from the Copperbelt had never paid a return visit compared with those from communities within 200 miles.

Accessibility also affects the duration of return visits, as is demonstrated by the Fijians, a higher proportion of whom were born in more isolated locations (Fig.4). Fijians who came from less accessible areas (Table 14) stayed longer away from Suva, perhaps because of problems with finding return transport. Such difficulties mean that those who originate from the outer islands are far less willing to leave town for a single visit, especially if they have a regular job in Suva, for long absences can result in termination.

Patterns of visiting are not related significantly to any variables other than accessibility. Most important, the data do not suggest that an increase in length of residence in Suva will lead to any reduction in the regularity of visits made by either Fijians or Indo-Fijians. On the contrary, it appears that the links maintained through visiting rural places of origin remain strong, irrespective of the number of years that people have lived in Suva.

Other linkages

Apart from visiting, many other links between places of origin and destination, such as have been shown to be important in previous research in Fiji (Nayacakalou 1975;

Spate 1959, Ward 1965), were found to exist for Suva households. As with residential intentions there is a basic difference between Fijian and Indo-Fijian heads of household, since the former are involved in eight kinds of interaction but the latter in only three (Table 15). For this reason, the two ethnic groups will be treated separately.

Reciprocal help to extended family by Fijians

Fijians interact with their places of origin at three different levels. The first is the extended family, defined as consanguineal relatives like parents, brothers and sisters, with whom there is the greatest degree of attachment and the most intense reciprocity. Most Fijians (161 out of 199) said they helped family members who remained in the village and that this assistance was reciprocated (147 out of 199). Cash remittances are the most important form of help originating from Suva residents, whereas gifts received from the village are of such traditional products as woven mats and baskets, scented coconut oil, and palm leaf brooms. The mutual exchange of food ranks next in importance. Manufactured products such as cooking oil, crackers, flour, salt and kerosene are sent from Suva while fresh produce like *yaqona* (kava), root crops (cassava, taro, yams), coconuts, smoked fish and mangoes flow in the opposite direction. Of those Fijians living in town who said they helped close village relatives, 44 per cent felt this usually occurred through cash remittances and 26 per cent by sending food or manufactured products. Of the 147 who received reciprocal assistance from village kin, 42 per cent declared it to be in the form of traditional Fijian materials while 27 per cent listed food items.

Interaction of Fijians with village

The second level of interaction for Fijians is the village, but with the difference that contributions received by villagers from urban residents are far greater than the reverse flow. Whereas 161 Fijians noted that they helped their village, only 71 said this was reciprocated. Although cash is the most common form of assistance to rural communities, it is not usually sent individually but collected from fund-raising activities in town and remitted later. Fund-raising takes the form of either direct donations, through the system known as *soli*, or participation in benefit games such as *kati* (138 out of 161). Yet others contribute labour or send cash directly to the local community.

Table 15

Forms of contribution to places of origin by Suva residents

Nature of contribution	Fijians (199)		Indo-Fijians (201)		Total (400)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Host people in Suva	159	79.9	75	37.3	234	58.5
Send food and materials	153	76.9	1	0.5	154	38.5
Help during weddings and funerals	153	76.9	54	26.9	207	51.8
Remit cash	152	76.4	71	35.3	223	55.8
Take part in *soli* (fund raising for specific project)	138	69.3	-	-	138	34.5
Take part in provincial festivals	135	67.8	0	0	135	33.8
Pay provincial tax	97	48.7	-	-	97	24.3
Pay land rate	28	14.1	-	-	28	7.0

Note: Includes all contributions made. Thus a person who did not make one form of contribution (such as hosting people in Suva) may have contributed in another way (like taking part in the *soli*).

Soli is a form of fund-raising in which Fijians from a particular village or province decide to collect money for some communal project from both individuals and various kinds of traditional groups. The *soli* occurs in a traditional atmosphere of feasting and ceremonies, such as the presentation of *tabua* (ceremonial whales' teeth) and the drinking of *yaqona*. The amount of money donated by various individuals and groups is announced and a competition often develops over the size of contributions made. The larger the amount given, the greater is the prestige gained for the individual or the group. *Kati* is a game of chance, or 'lottery', conducted with a deck of cards. People 'buy' cards, which are compared with the value of the card that is revealed when the deck is cut. The winner receives a small prize and the money

collected, usually a small amount, is used for either minor village projects or paying for the feasts associated with the larger fund-raising function of *soli*.

Help given Suva Fijians by rural Fijians

The most common form of reciprocal help received by Suva residents occurs during traditional ceremonies, especially before (*somate*) and after (*burua*) burial of the dead. Such assistance includes guidance on ceremonial procedures, provision of labour, and supplies of food and materials used in the feast for those who attend the funeral. A major part of *somate* is the contribution by participants of food, materials and cash, collectively known as *yau*. A few months after burial the ceremony of *burua* completes the reciprocal cycle and involves all such contributors, who are given back some food and materials, usually meat, cassava, taro and yams. When someone dies in the village and Suva residents cannot attend the burial, they usually congregate at the house of a close relative to present their *yau*, which is then taken back to the local community on their behalf. Similarly, during the *burua*, the Suva contributors are called together by a close relative who has attended the burial and presented with gifts from the family of the deceased.

The role of such traditional ceremonies in sustaining a wide range of socially important ties and providing opportunity for exchange has been described for other Melanesian societies. The funeral ceremonies of Fiji are remarkably similar in social function to those described by Ryan (1970:134-6) for the Toaripi of southeast New Guinea. Such ceremonies enable those absent from the natal village to acknowledge their ties to it.

Interaction of Fijians at the provincial level

The province is the largest administrative unit within the Fijian Administration and the third level at which Fijians interact with the rural areas. The Fijian Administration is responsible for native lands and other affairs, the jurisdiction of which is divided into fourteen provinces. Almost all operating funds are obtained from either provincial taxes or other kinds of levy. While most Fijians in town made financial payments to their provinces of origin, 57 out of 199 (28.6 per cent) said they did not, which is a far higher ratio than those who provided no assistance to either family or village.

The provincial head tax and land rates are the most common payments made by Suva residents (48.7 per cent and 14.1 per cent respectively). The former is an annual tax levied on Fijians by provincial councils, and the land rate a substitute that some councils have adopted, whereby each adult male registered as a land owner pays according to the amount held by his *mataqali*. Of those who pay neither provincial taxes nor land rates, some are not registered land owners, the contributions of some are made by kin, others are aged more than 60, and most of the remainder simply ignore these responsibilities. Apart from these official payments, about half the Fijians also contribute to provincial carnivals, at which charity drives are held. Since provincial funds, however obtained, are used chiefly to finance the Fijian Administration and for such projects as local area schools, the flow of contributions is mainly from town to village and thus contrasts with the reciprocal exchange that occurs at the level of the family and, to a lesser extent, the village.

This discussion of Fijian linkages at the three levels of the family, the village and the province not only describes the several kinds of assistance and the differing degrees of reciprocity involved, but also identifies variations in the level of spontaneity. Whereas links with the extended family in the village are primarily spontaneous, those with the larger village community are somewhat spontaneous but often sanctified by tradition, while most of those with the provinces are mandatory and may be enforced by administrative authority. Apart from these varying responses to their places of origin, most Fijian heads of household (159 out of 199) also host relatives and friends when they visit Suva, whether for a short visit or a prolonged stay such as for formal education.

Indo-Fijian ties to places of origin

Compared with the Fijians, the Indo-Fijians maintain fewer and less intense links with the rural areas (Table 15). This basic difference reflects the fact that Indo-Fijians have no residential unit of reference comparable to the Fijian village and that the provincial administration deals exclusively with the ethnically Melanesian. The links of Indo-Fijians to their areas of origin are consequently at the level of the extended family, but only 34.3 per cent (69 out of 201) said they assisted rural kin and a mere 6.5 per cent (13 out of 201) received any reciprocal help. Except for one Indo-Fijian who sent materials bought in Suva,

most assistance to rural families was through the remittance of cash. Of the 69 who helped kin, 54 also assisted with wedding, funeral, and religious ceremonies, while 37 per cent regularly hosted visitors to town.

These basic contrasts between Fijian and Indo-Fijian residents in Suva are not explained by their group characteristics but reflect differences of tradition and lifestyles, as well as administrative context. For both ethnic groups, the presence of parents or children in rural areas generally results in more intense linkages and a greater degree of mutual assistance. In addition, Fijians in the higher-income groups are expected to and do contribute slightly more to their extended family, natal community, and province of origin. Of the Fijians earning $F50 or more each week, 82 per cent maintained very intense links with rural places, in contrast with the lower but still substantial proportion (68 per cent) of those whose weekly incomes ranged from $F30 to $F50 (Table 8). Those Fijians who are economically the most successful, find that the combination of longer residence in Suva, increasing experience, and higher incomes are accompanied by correspondingly greater demands on them for help from relatives and rural communities. For these Fijians, in short, the greater their length of stay in the city the more intense their linkages with villages and provinces of origin are likely to be.

Chapter 6

Urban commitment

The concept of commitment, as used in this study, refers to the degree to which people are involved in urban living. Through such indices as proportion of lifetime spent in Suva, location of nuclear family unit and of property owned, personal images people have of themselves, and perceived advantages and disadvantages of life in both Suva and rural areas, an attempt is made to assess the extent to which movers are 'bound' to lengthy residence in Suva. Information on, for example, time lived in Suva and location of property outlines the actions of town residents versus their future intentions and their perception of themselves as belonging to the city or to a rural area. These indicators of urban commitment or involvement have been discussed in most detail by Mitchell (1969:485-93; 1973:300-12), who has defined urban commitment as 'an individual's subjectively experienced preference for living in town as against elsewhere'. Urban involvement, by comparison, is 'the individual's participation in social relationships which are centred in urban institutions' (Mitchell 1969:485).

Time spent in Suva

According to Mitchell (1973:300), three related attributes reflect the degree of involvement in town life: 'the length of time ... (people) ... have lived continuously in the town they were in at the time of the survey ...; the proportion of time they have spent in the urban areas as a whole since they turned fifteen years of age ...; and the attitude they have towards their continued residence in town.' By 'attitude towards continued residence', Mitchell is referring to residential intentions discussed in Chapter 4, upon the basis of which movers can be grouped into target workers, temporarily urbanized, and permanently urbanized. Briefly, 'target workers' are those who are likely to return to the rural areas as soon as possible; 'temporarily urbanized' are those who would return at some unspecified future date,

such as retirement; and 'permanently urbanized' are those who think they will always stay in town.

In Suva, most Indo-Fijians wish to remain in town forever and many Fijians for most of their lives, even though they might return ultimately to reside in rural areas. On the basis of Mitchell's definition, about two-thirds of the Indo-Fijian heads of household would be classified as permanently urbanized and about two-fifths of the Fijians as temporarily urbanized. If the number of years resident in Suva is expressed as a ratio of total and working lifetime, then many movers have already been in the city for a high proportion of their lives (Table 16). About 36 per cent of the Fijians and 25 per cent of the Indo-Fijians have spent more than half their total lifetime in Suva, and if it is assumed that gainful employment begins at the age of 18, then 47.2 per cent of the Fijians and 30.3 per cent of the Indo-Fijians have worked nowhere else (Table 16). Three-quarters of the Fijians and over two-thirds of the Indo-Fijians have spent more than half their working lives in Suva.

Similar results were reported for the Qauia survey, in which 'a surprisingly high proportion of the older men and women had spent more than half their lives in town' (Bedford 1978:68). These proportions of time spent or worked in Suva suggest a fairly high degree of commitment to urban residence by both Fijian and Indo-Fijian heads of household since, as Mitchell argues in his research with Zambians in urban areas, 'if a man has spent more time in urban than in rural areas since he turned 15, then he is more committed to urban life' than someone who has spent more time in rural areas, and 'if a person has spent a comparatively long time in one town (in this case, more than 5 years) then there is evidence that he has settled in that town' (Mitchell 1969:487).

To some extent, the total length of time as well as the proportion of working life spent by Fijians in Suva reflects place of origin rather than simple accessibility or distance. Fijians from the least accessible provinces of Lau and Lomaiviti had spent slightly longer periods in town, whereas those from other relatively inaccessible places like Vanua Levu and Taveuni had not, in comparison with household heads who originated from places more accessible to Suva. Amongst Indo-Fijians, there is no relation between accessibility of area of origin and length of time spent in Suva (Table 14; Fig.4). By contrast, Mitchell (1973) found that Zambians who came from the farthest places to work on the Copperbelt

Table 16

Percentage of time spent in Suva by household heads

Percentage	Total lifetime						Working life					
	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total		Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-9	15	7.5	23	11.4	38	9.5	9	4.5	6	3.0	15	3.7
10-19	27	13.6	38	18.9	65	16.3	5	2.5	11	5.5	16	4.0
20-29	34	17.1	37	18.4	71	17.8	13	6.5	14	7.0	27	6.7
30-39	17	8.5	39	19.4	56	14.0	6	3.0	19	9.5	25	6.3
40-49	35	17.6	13	6.4	48	12.0	14	7.0	12	6.0	26	6.5
50-59	32	16.1	20	10.0	52	13.0	11	5.5	22	10.9	33	8.3
60-69	22	11.1	12	6.0	34	8.5	8	4.0	14	7.0	22	5.5
70-79	7	3.5	6	3.0	13	3.3	10	5.0	17	8.5	27	6.7
80-89	9	4.5	11	5.5	20	5.0	17	8.5	18	9.0	35	8.7
90-99	1	0.5	2	0.9	3	0.8	12	6.0	7	3.5	19	4.7
100	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	47.2	61	30.3	155	38.7
More than half	71	35.7	51	25.4	122	30.6	152	76.2	139	69.2	291	72.6
Median	41.9%		32.0%				95.4%		71.5%			

spent the least amount of time in urban areas. For Fijians, it seems that physical resources and opportunities for such activities as wage employment at the place of origin have a greater bearing upon the amount of time spent in urban areas than the simple factors of distance or accessibility.

Location of the nuclear family

As Mitchell (1969:487) argues, the presence in town of a man's wife is another useful index of commitment to urban residence, since it indicates that his stay is likely to be lengthy. This contention has been demonstrated in the New Hebrides, where men who lived with their wives in Vila in 1970 had resided twice as long as those whose wives remained in the village (Bedford 1973b:113-14). For New Guinea, Garnaut, Wright, and Curtain (1977:61) report that 'once the men decide to bring their wives to town, then they are likely to remain in town for a relatively long time'. Most household heads in Suva had moved as part of a nuclear family; less than 10 per cent of either Fijians or Indo-Fijians interviewed had any members of the immediate nuclear family still resident in the community of origin. About 40 per cent of nuclear family households became established by means of either chain migration or marriage. In the former, a few family members settle in town and are subsequently followed by others; in the latter, young adults move from the rural areas, marry, and later have children. Such high percentages of mover households with nuclear families in Suva further suggest that most Fijians and Indo-Fijians are committed to lengthy residence in Suva.

This contrasts with many other Melanesian societies. The literature on New Guinean mobility suggests that the usual practice is for men to leave their families behind in the village and for wives to look after their property, except when there is some assurance that accommodation will be provided in the destination area, as in the case of educated and skilled workers (for example, Young 1978). Similarly, in a New Hebridean study of labourers on a construction site, Bonnemaison (1978:27) found 'a large predominance of young bachelors and single men who have left their family and village'.

Some explanation of this difference from other areas in Melanesia may lie in the much longer history of urban development in Fiji. Another reason for the higher proportion found by this study of nuclear families living in

Suva may be that household heads were interviewed; thus, single and married men whose families remained in the rural areas would tend to be excluded from the data. Further, the number of such persons who do not reach Suva, because of intervening employment opportunities in small towns or on sugar plantations, is not known.

Employment

'If a man has an occupation of a skilled type associated with industrial or other urban activities then he is more likely to be rooted in town life than in country life' (Mitchell 1969:487). In Suva, four out of every five heads of household have regular employment (Table 17). Of those gainfully-employed, 65 per cent of the Fijians and 70 per cent of the Indo-Fijians hold professional or skilled positions and are teachers, nurses, accountants, carpenters, electricians, motor mechanics, and machinists. The rest work at such semi- or unskilled jobs as driving buses and taxis, stevedoring, and general labouring. The rate of job change is low for semi- and unskilled workers of both ethnic groups; once a person secures employment, that job is usually only left for higher income and better working conditions.

Ownership of property

As Odongo and Lea (1977) have demonstrated in Uganda, actual or intended ownership of property in town and/or rural areas can indicate commitment to one locality or another. Those who have or intend to purchase a house or land in Suva may be regarded as demonstrating a visible commitment and thereby being oriented to a lengthy period, if not permanent residence, in an urban environment. Because many of those resident in Suva neither own nor intend to acquire property (Table 10), it is difficult to reach any firm conclusion about the relationship between the location of property owned and commitment to rural and/or urban places. Actual ownership of property in both rural and urban places by Suva residents suggests commitments to both.

With 99 per cent of Fijians owning land in rural areas, it is understandable that a high proportion (71 per cent) also own houses there. The ownership of title to *mataqali* land demonstrates a clear commitment to the rural area, rooted in the traditional culture; but it does not explain why a relatively high (58) percentage of those owning houses (Table 9) prefer Suva. Looked at in conjunction with those

Table 17

Employment status of household heads in Suva, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Type of employment						
Professional	12	7.5	16	9.3	28	8.4
Skilled	92	57.5	105	61.0	197	59.3
Unskilled or semi-skilled	56	35.0	51	29.7	107	32.2
Total employed	160	80.4	172	85.6	332	83.0
Not employed (housewives, students, retired, unemployed)	39	19.6	29	14.4	68	17.0

expressing an intent to purchase in Suva (Table 10), this figure could indicate an emergent commitment to the town on the part of Fijians.

Ownership of property by Indo-Fijians also shows a division between ownership of houses and of land, with about equal numbers having land in Suva and rural areas, but almost twice as many (74 per cent) owning houses in Suva as in the rural areas (39 per cent). Indo-Fijians expressing an intent to purchase and a preference for Suva form a clear majority whether or not they already own property, or will purchase land or houses. For Indo-Fijians then, the commitment to Suva appears to be stronger than for Fijians. Nevertheless, the relationship between property ownership and commitment to a place is not nearly as clear as has been demonstrated for Uganda (Odongo and Lea 1977).

Attitudes toward urban and rural living

As African studies have shown (P. Mayer 1961; Southall and Gutkind 1957), the degree of commitment to urban residence can be examined through the attitudes people have toward

urban and rural living, as well as in terms of whether they perceive themselves to be town or village persons. Household heads in Suva were asked what they considered to be the advantages and disadvantages of life in both the capital city and rural areas, and the two answers they considered most important were coded for analysis. For both ethnic groups, good public services such as schools, hospitals, shops, roads, parks and playgrounds are considered most important and Suva is viewed as the place where these needs are best met (Table 18). Availability of employment and an adequate livelihood is of almost equal importance and, again, Suva is where this need is most easily satisfied, even though this means a loss of 'free time'; also the cost of living is far higher than in rural areas. For Fijians in particular, maintenance of one's culture, customs and traditions is also considered important and far more easily achieved within the village, although this can lead to local obligations becoming a burden.

In revealing these attitudes toward urban and rural living, the Fijians are little different from Melanesian and African societies reported in other studies. Much of what P. Mayer describes for the School Xhosa migrants of East London, South Africa, could apply equally well to the Fijians (cf. Table 18):

> life in town ... may constitute a widening of opportunity: not only in terms of money to be earned, but in terms of friendships to be made, recreations to be enjoyed, and civilised tastes to be indulged. At the same time the School migrant cannot be insensible to its many uncertainties and unpleasantnesses .... The home is the blessedly cheap place 'where one can live without money', but in the eyes of many School men in town it also begins to seem 'boring', 'a place without pleasure' (P. Mayer 1961:224).

For the majority of Fijians and Indo-Fijians resident in Suva, life in an urban setting satisfies many more needs than that in rural areas. Attitudes toward both the advantages and disadvantages of living in Suva suggest that most are committed to lengthy residence there, despite the cost of subsistence, the disadvantages of crime and pollution, and the difficulty of obtaining jobs. For the Fijians, the village continues to satisfy important cultural and social needs, but these can be met by occasional short visits and the maintenance of reciprocal linkages.

Table 18

Advantages and disadvantages of life in Suva and village places, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total	
	No.	%[b]	No.	%[b]	No.	%[b]
LIFE IN SUVA						
Advantages[a]						
Availability of facilities	139	39.3	140	42.7	279	40.6
Availability of jobs and earning cash	126	35.6	138	42.1	264	38.7
More recreational opportunities	33	9.3	27	8.2	60	8.7
Better housing	12	3.4	5	1.4	17	2.5
Wise use of time	10	2.8	0	0	10	1.5
No obligations	3	0.8	0	0	3	0.4
Other	22	6.2	18	5.5	40	5.8
None	9	2.5	1	0.3	10	1.5
Total	354		329		683	
Disadvantages[a]						
High cost of living	131	38.6	134	53.4	265	44.9
Loss of customs	84	24.8	9	3.6	93	15.8
High crime rate	82	24.2	26	10.4	108	18.3
Pollution	14	4.1	54	21.5	68	11.5
Difficult to obtain jobs	14	4.1	8	3.2	22	3.7
Other	12	3.5	12	4.8	24	4.1
None	2	0.6	8	3.2	10	1.7
Total	339		251		590	
LIFE IN RURAL PLACES						
Advantages[a]						
Low cost of living	161	44.5	175	57.6	336	50.5
Much free time	88	24.3	71	23.4	159	23.9
Customs maintained	81	22.4	9	2.9	90	13.5
Mutual help	22	6.1	19	6.3	41	6.2
No worries	5	1.3	12	3.9	17	2.6
Other	9	2.5	13	4.2	22	3.3
None	1	0.3	5	1.6	6	0.9
Total	367		304		671	
Disadvantages[a]						
Poor facilities	123	39.3	116	45.5	239	42.1
Few opportunities to earn cash	98	31.3	107	42.0	205	36.1
Too many obligations	23	7.3	4	1.6	27	4.8
Witchcraft (sorcery)	15	4.8	5	2.0	20	3.5
Too dull	15	4.8	5	2.0	20	3.5
Other	21	6.7	11	4.3	32	5.6
None	18	5.8	6	2.4	24	4.2
Total	313		254		567	

a Up to two advantages or disadvantages were coded for each person interviewed.
b Percentages are based upon the total number of statements made.

Nevertheless, this result is not reflected in the personal images that Suva residents have of themselves. Their reactions appear to be most influenced by the emotional attachment of individuals to rural areas. In general, Fijians overwhelmingly view themselves as village people (165 out of 199), whereas almost half the Indo-Fijians (98 out of 201) feel they are townspeople and about a fifth are either ambivalent or unsure (Table 19). Many in both ethnic groups have lived in Suva for as long as thirty or forty years and intend to live there for the rest of their lives yet still regard themselves as rural people. Thus 42 out of 57 Fijians (74 per cent) and 36 out of 132 Indo-Fijians (27 per cent) who say they will remain permanently in town nevertheless consider themselves to be village persons. Many more Indo-Fijians (52 per cent) than Fijians (19 per cent), however, both intend to remain permanently in the capital and regard themselves as townspeople.

Table 19

Personal images of household heads in Suva, November 1977 - March 1978

	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Town person	20	10.1	98	48.8	118	29.5
Village person	165	82.9	61	30.3	226	56.5
Both town and village person	12	6.0	19	9.5	31	7.6
Unsure	2	1.0	23	11.4	25	6.3
Total	199		201		400	

Fijian/Indo-Fijian difference: Chi square = 122.4 with 3d.f.
Significance = 0.0000

Fijian and Indo-Fijian differences: an explanation

Before any attempt is made to conclude about patterns of movement to Suva, it is necessary to suggest reasons for the contrast in future residential intentions and rural-town

linkages among Fijian and Indo-Fijian heads of households. Since Fijians are indigenous Melanesian inhabitants and Indo-Fijians are an immigrant Asian people, their vastly different cultures and traditions are clearly critical to our understanding the strong bonds that Fijians appear to retain with their places of origin.

Traditionally, Fijian society is organized hierarchically into socio-political units of various sizes. The smallest such unit consists of a few families or lineages and is known as *i tokatoka*, several of which combine to form a *mataqali*, or subtribe. Several *mataqali* comprise a *yavusa*, or tribe, and several *yavusa* may form a *vanua*, or confederation with political control over large areas of land. Every Fijian has a specific position within this hierarchical system and cultural life is defined on this basis. In any traditional ceremony or cultural interaction amongst Fijians, the traditional position of the individuals involved is mentioned (Nayacakalou 1975:9-30; Racule 1978:39), and all Fijians regard this hierarchy and each individual's placement within it as the very backbone of their culture.

The structure of the Fijian village, or *koro*, reflects this socio-political system. Each village consists of several *mataqali*, the head of the largest *mataqali* and of the village usually being the same person. While production of food within the *koro* generally is organized on a family basis, exchange between families is common and often communally defined (Spate 1959:77). At times of traditional ceremonies and such major activities as building a church or road, all villagers act collectively under the direction of the village head. For provincial projects, people may group according to *vanua*, *koro*, or *mataqali* to contribute toward completion. A certain form of communalism thus exists throughout Fijian society and reciprocity is emphasized; both also are seen to be integral parts of what is commonly known as 'the Fijian way of life'.

All Fijians who wish to retain their group identity thus identify themselves strongly with the village, which is the hearth of all tradition, where their roots lie. Fijians who live in urban areas consequently must do far more than simply say they are of the village - their declarations have to be translated into such actions as contributing to village projects. Beyond this, Fijians are taught both formally and informally that their traditions and lifestyles must be retained at all costs, even though this often results in

conflicting ideals. An eminent Fijian, Rusiate Nayacakalou, in writing about the process of change in Fijian leadership, commented (1975:3): 'On the one hand there are expressions of disappointment that they (the Fijians) are not being helped enough to enter the modern world of competitive economic enterprise, while on the other, there is an emphatic demand that they must not alter their way of life'.

One demonstrable way for a Fijian living in Suva to reaffirm that urban residence implies no renouncement of the 'Fijian way of life' is to maintain contact with the natal village, to participate in various traditional ceremonies, and to reciprocate in the exchange of goods and labour. To refuse to contribute, especially when there is a request for help from the village, would be to demonstrate that one is becoming less Fijian, and could lead to ostracism. This is not to imply that all Fijians wish to contribute their money, labour and time to every event or situation, but rather that through habit, conditioning, or a genuine felt need to maintain the Fijian way of life, they consider that they have no option.

Although customary mechanisms account for a large proportion of the strong ties that urban Fijians maintain with their villages of origin, there are at least three other reasons. The first of these is the Fijian Administration which, as Nayacakalou (1975:83) noted, was initiated 'in the very first years of British rule in Fiji as a means of organizing native affairs' and aimed to provide Fijians an opportunity to participate in the jurisdiction of their own affairs. This Administration operates parallel to the central government and its structure is based largely upon the traditional socio-political units. Fiji was divided into twelve provinces (now fourteen) and the Administration, through its native and provincial courts, also was responsible for the Fijian Regulations - a set of rules by which the Fijian people were to be governed.

The Fijian Administration helped and continues to reinforce the links that Fijians residing in town and village locations have with their natal communities. In terms of the Fijian Regulations, everyone is immediately responsible to the village headman. The significance of this legal authority for villagers who move away has been reduced as these Regulations have been changed to allow more freedom of individual action, but for many years it meant that Fijians resident in Suva remained the responsibility of their village

headmen. Furthermore, until sweeping changes in the Regulations in the mid-1960s, all registered landowners aged from 18 to 60 were required to pay a provincial tax for the use and benefit of the province, and Fijians who wished to reside outside the village were levied a 'commutation tax' of two dollars per year, in lieu of communal work in which they otherwise would have participated. Even though the commutation tax was abolished and the provincial tax has been replaced in some provinces by a land rate dependent upon the area of land owned, many Fijians remain sensitive to what these legal ties to the village used to signify.

The system of land holding similarly underlies the strong links that Fijians maintain with their rural communities. Of the total land area of Fiji, about 84 per cent is native land owned communally by Fijians. Access to and use of native land by a Fijian depends upon membership in a *mataqali*. The fact that the Native Land Ordinances of 1880 and 1912 do not permit Fijians to sell their land creates a permanent bond to those rural areas in which *mataqali* land is located. Even though some *mataqali* may have too many members, too small a land area, or much land of poor quality, Fijians have a very strong and emotional attachment to their land. This feeling is very clear to any resident in Fiji and best summarized by one leader whom Spate (1959:10) quotes: 'The land is the people; break up the land and you break up the people'. Such vested interest in rural land makes it impossible for any Fijian to revoke all links with the natal village. A Fijian resident in Suva may have very few material possessions but lives confident in the knowledge that the *mataqali* land remains secure and is a birthright that cannot be revoked by law.

Finally, bonds of kinship reinforce all these factors. Although entire families may move to Suva, either together or through a sequence of chain movements, there always are some kin who remain in the village. Such kin, rather than being ignored or abandoned, receive cash, exchange goods, and are provided housing during visits to town. This fact led Nayacakalou (1975:99) to observe that kinship ties were 'the foremost' of all those he noted urban Fijians to maintain with rural areas. What these kinship ties can mean has been described vividly by one university student, who decided to leave Suva at the moment he should have taken an important exam rather than be absent from the funeral services for a relative in a distant village (Rika 1975:27-31).

The Indo-Fijians, by contrast, are descendants of people who immigrated to Fiji from different parts of India, mostly between 1879 and 1920. Within this period about 60,000 Indians entered Fiji, about 90 per cent as labourers indentured to work sugar plantations and the rest as free migrants. The former were recruited in the United Provinces of India, especially from the poor and densely populated districts, and after 1903 from the Madras Presidency. Smaller numbers also were recruited in Kerala and the northern provinces of India. By 1916, the flow of indentured labourers had dwindled and was gradually replaced by small numbers of free migrants drawn mostly from Gujarat and the Punjab. Most Indians who came to Fiji as indentured labourers belonged to the middle to low agricultural castes but some were high-caste villagers. Although virtually all the indentured labourers were poor, illiterate, and without specific skills, the free migrants were more educated and economically more independent tradesmen who began life in their adopted country as businessmen (shop-keepers, bus proprietors) or white-collar workers in government and commercial offices (Gillion 1977; Mayer 1963).

During the indenture period (1879-1920), most Indo-Fijians resided in barracks or 'lines' near the sugar mills but over the next few decades left to establish their own farms, mostly of sugar cane, wherever they could lease or purchase land. Thus Indo-Fijian settlements came to be dispersed throughout the rural areas of Viti and Vanua Levu, without the rigid code of caste behaviour and village organization that characterized their home country. Apart from ties of friendship and later of kinship, there was little social homogeneity within and between these scattered settlements. Nowadays, the bonds that unite Indo-Fijians of a particular settlement are those of common interest, such as existing schools and co-operation in cane-cutting 'gangs' during harvest, or result from marriage, the cumulative expansion of kinship, and the inheritance of land and property over generations.

For an Indo-Fijian living in a rural settlement, however, these bonds have none of the emotional base or administrative reinforcement that the *koro* has for the Fijian. Nor do Indo-Fijians necessarily identify their rural settlements with a cultural heritage or view them as the anchor of their whole existence. Above all, there is no traditionally sanctified system of exchange amongst kin and no conditioned expectation to contribute to settlement affairs. While Fijians cannot sell their land and thereby revoke natal ties, Indo-Fijians

can and often do make such sales preparatory to relocation to some other place. Some Indo-Fijians have no option but to move when the lease on the native land they cultivate expires and it becomes reserved for Fijian use. Once Indo-Fijians sell or lose access to land, they feel no attachment to that area other than those of kinship and friendship with people left behind.

In summary, there are many strong social, administrative and traditional reasons why Fijians retain close ties with their rural places of origin, whereas for Indo-Fijians only kinship and friendship are important. Fijians in Suva, as a result, not only visit their communities of origin but also remit cash, contribute to rural projects, send food and manufactured items to the village, and participate in traditional ceremonies at the various levels of the family, the village, and the province. Urban-resident Fijians also display a stronger desire to return to live in their natal places and, at heart, regard themselves as villagers. The Indo-Fijians, on the other hand, regularly visit relatives and friends in rural settlements but have no strong desire ultimately to live in local communities. After living in Suva for some years, it is therefore simpler for Indo-Fijians to regard themselves as townspeople.

Such basic contrasts indicate quite clearly that it would be easier for Fijians to leave town and live permanently in rural places, and conversely simpler for the Indo-Fijians to become more quickly and firmly committed to permanent residence in an urban area. Paradoxically, these differences are not readily detectable from proportion of total or working life in Suva, primary location of one's immediate family, or nature of employment. Of all the questions on degree of commitment to urban residence, only that on property ownership suggested the contradiction between what Fijians resident in Suva do and what kind of people they feel they are.

Chapter 7

The form of movement: some conclusions

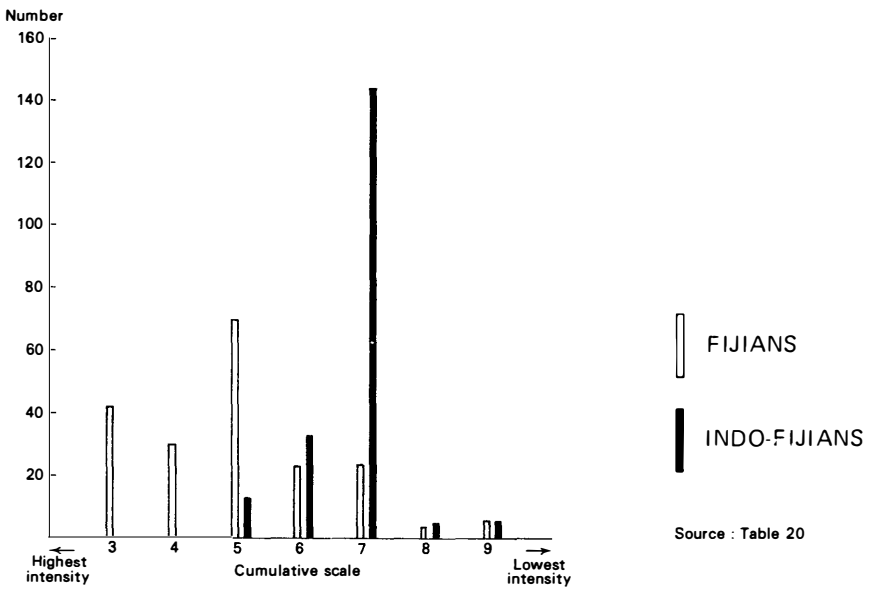
Most Fijian heads of household, who were born outside Suva but have resided there for six or more months, retain a variety of socio-economic links with their communities of origin and many stated that they intend to return ultimately to the village. Many Fijians, especially those who come from areas nearby or with regular transport connections, visit their villages at least once a year to have their holidays, be with relatives, and participate in local ceremonies. If migration is defined as a complete break of all links with one's area of origin, and if the existence of socio-economic linkages, short-term visiting, and stated intentions to return are accepted collectively as indicators of circulation, then most Fijian heads of household interviewed in Suva are circular migrants.

To examine this conclusion further, all Fijians and Indo-Fijians interviewed were ranked on a 'scale' to describe the nature of their movement. First, they were divided into three groups according to the number and recency of visits made to places of origin, the degree of linkages maintained with those communities, and their statements of future residential intentions. For visiting, those who had returned to their villages both recently and more than once were placed in group 1; those who had returned only once and not recently in group 2; and those who had made no such visits since arrival in Suva were defined as group 3. For linkages, those who helped and received help from the family and the origin community were placed in group 1; those who helped neither family nor origin community in group 3; and the remainder in group 2. Similarly, for residential intentions, those who thought to return constituted the first group, those who were unsure the second, and those who did not intend to return the third (Fig.8a).

Second, the separate ranks were tallied for every mover to obtain a cumulative ranking. A final score of 3 therefore

	Group 1 (1 point)	Group 2 (2 points)	Group 3 (3 points)
Visiting	Recent and more than one return to village	One visit, not recent	No visit since arrival in Suva
Linkages	Reciprocal help from family and village	Some help to family or village	No help to family or community of origin
Residential Intentions	Intent to return to village	Unsure	No intent to return to village

(a) RANKING HOUSEHOLD HEADS



(b) DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY INTENSITY OF ORIGIN-DESTINATION LINKAGES

Figure 8. A scale of movement for some Suva residents, 1977-78.

means that a person had been placed within the first group for each of the three criteria. The cumulative scores thus range from 3 to 9 and form a scale of movement, on which 3 represents the highest intensity of origin-destination linkages, along with an intention to return ultimately to the village, and 9 indicates no such contacts nor any intention to return (Table 20; Fig.8b). Viewed according to these criteria, most Fijians would have to be classified as circulators, although variations in visiting patterns, linkages maintained, and intention to return reveal them to range from high to moderate participants in circulation. About 70 per cent of Fijian heads of household fall in the upper half of the cumulative ranks (3-5), 11 per cent in the middle rank (6), and 17 per cent in the lower ranks (7-9).

Despite this conclusion, many Fijians have resided in Suva for more than half their lifetimes and even more for all their working lives. While many have visited their villages for short periods, few have remained away from Suva for more than a month or intended to stay in the village. Many Fijians declared they would return ultimately to live in their villages, but also stated that this would most likely be when they retire or when their children complete their formal education - that is, at the end of their working lives. Many Fijians now living in Suva are unsure of their residential intentions and others considered they would remain in town forever. If these facts become the deciding criteria, then most Fijians in this study would have to be classified as migrants. The degree of commitment to urban residence, as well as the balance of other factors, indicates a fair degree of 'permanence', providing however that it is not defined as remaining in Suva for one's entire lifetime.

It is important to emphasize that this conclusion does not preclude the possibility of some Fijians eventually returning 'permanently' to their villages. Evidence on the actual return of long-term Suva residents is inconclusive. Nayacakalou (1975:98), a Fijian conversant with his people's thinking and lifestyle, believed 'the assumption that Fijians would return to their villages is largely unfounded' and that Fijians living in Suva were 'destined to be permanently settled in Suva'. Yet studies exist that document such return, even after lengthy periods of residence in other places. Racule (1978) presents a movement biography of her father, in which he describes how his career as a doctor took him to many parts of Fiji until, after about fifty years, he returned to his village on the island of Lakeba. Tubuna (1978)

Table 20

A scale of movement, linkages, and future residential intentions of some Suva residents

Cumulative scores[a]	Fijians		Indo-Fijians		Total per rank	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
3	42	21.1	0	0	42	10.5
4	30	15.1	0	0	30	7.5
5	70	35.2	13	6.5	83	20.8
6	23	11.6	33	16.4	56	14.0
7	24	12.1	144	71.6	168	42.0
8	4	2.0	5	2.5	9	2.3
9	6	3.0	6	3.0	12	3.0
Number of persons interviewed	199		201		400	

a Based upon amount of visiting, degree of socio-economic linkages, and future residential intentions.

similarly provides case studies of people from the Wainibuka River valley of Viti Levu (Fig.1), who stayed for long periods in various urban centres but eventually returned once enough money had been earned for children's education or when the high costs of urban residence frustrated their attempts to accumulate capital.

Such case studies reveal that there are Fijians who regard returning to settle in one's village, even after lengthy periods of residence in town, as a fact of life. The studies also identify some of the factors involved: the availability of fertile, cultivable land and of some outlet for the sale of local produce to provide a small income for family necessities (in the case of Wainibuka returnees), and the strong emotional and cultural pull of the natal village that can impel even the highly educated to return, especially upon retirement from regular employment in urban places. The difficulty of generalization from such studies is that they are silent about the proportion of village-born who do

not return, just as the present inquiry was conducted in Suva and confined to those who had been resident for at least six months. Such constraints underline the observation of other field workers in Melanesia that 'when they were resident in villages circulation seemed more basic, but when in town migration appeared paramount' (Chapman 1978:563).

When summarizing the pattern of movement of Fijians to Suva, it is important to note that a disproportionately large number of household heads had come from the small island provinces of Lau, Lomaiviti and Kadavu (Table 3; Fig.4). Fijians from these areas not only stay longer in Suva but also have less intention of returning, even though the links with their natal communities are just as strong (except for visiting) as those maintained by Fijians who originated from other, less distant provinces. Could it be that the outer islands account for a higher-than-average ratio of long-term residents in Suva and that this explains why Fijians in town are more 'migrant' than 'circulator' in their mobility behaviour?

Conclusions about Indo-Fijian movement to Suva are less ambiguous since, by almost all criteria, it seems to be permanent. Most Indo-Fijians make brief visits to family and friends in their rural areas of origin but there are no other ties; very few remit cash and there is no custom of exchange, nor administrative encouragement to contribute to community projects. If, like Fijians, Indo-Fijians are grouped according to their visiting patterns, linkages, and residential intentions, then 77 per cent lie in the lower ranks (7-9) and consequently most would be classified as migrants (Table 20; Fig.8b). Unlike the Fijians, most stated that they intend to remain permanently in Suva, while their median duration of stay and perceptions about the advantages of city residence reveal a commitment that is no less strong than that of the Fijians. The fact that Indo-Fijians have none of the security of communal land nor a durable village society upon which to depend in case of eventual return means that those interviewed in Suva are likely to remain throughout their lifetimes. One of the basic conclusions of this study is that such a statement cannot be made with equivalent confidence for Fijian residents.

Generational change in pattern of movement

Previous studies of population in Fiji contain few detailed

observations about the mobility of the rural born.[1] Census results since 1936 show increasing numbers of Fijians and Indo-Fijians living in urban areas and thus support the information obtained during this research. For most Fijian and Indo-Fijian heads of households, the locus of movement seems to have transferred from the village or rural settlement to Suva. Just as at one time movements to town were for short periods (Spate 1959:70; Ward 1965:99), nowadays it is the return visits to rural places that are relatively short and the stay in town that is long.

Originally, it was hoped that use of the life-history matrix would yield information about past patterns of mobility for persons aged from 15 to 70, which in turn would have permitted the comparison of frequencies of movement for parallel age cohorts over time. This proved to be impossible, partly because of the size and age distribution of the study population. In addition, only year-long moves were recorded, relatively few of which had occurred between Suva and the various rural places of origin. When number of moves made were tallied for five-year cohorts, it was found that a few very mobile or immobile individuals could unduly influence the average. Nonetheless, case studies drawn from this life-history material do suggest the kinds of changes that have occurred in movement between the rural communities and Suva.

Sitiveni (Fijian): Aged 26, Sitiveni comes from the village of Bouma on Taveuni island, Cakaudrove province (Fig.1). He attended primary school near his village and, having passed his intermediate exam at the age of 13, was accepted as a secondary school student at Lelean Memorial School, Nausori, near Suva. He stayed with relatives in Suva for three years while attending secondary school. Sitiveni then sought employment in town and, although he soon found a job, was assigned to Nadi Airport where he worked for four years as a luggage clerk. At the age of 22 he was transferred to Suva and a year later married a city girl. He now lives at Raiwaqa Housing Estate and works as senior luggage clerk at Nausori airport, for which he receives about $F70 a week.

During his twelve years in Suva and Nadi, his single return to the village was for a week after his father had been reported to be very ill. However, money and food are

[1] At the time of writing, detailed reports by the UNESCO/UNFPA project (1976-1978) were not available (see UNESCO/UNFPA 1977).

sent quite regularly to his parents and he participates in *soli* to contribute to the village church and school. He also pays provincial taxes. During his wedding in Suva, his parents brought food and traditional gifts that Bouma villagers had furnished, and coconut oil and woven mats are supplied whenever they are needed. Asked if he intended to return to Bouma village, Sitiveni said he might when he retires but emphasized that he was rather unsure. He sees himself as a townsman and belongs to a sports club in Suva.

Setariki (Fijian): Born in the village of Ketei, on the island of Totoya, Lau Province, Setariki is 45 years old. He attended school on Totoya island until class (standard) 6, then worked in his parents' food gardens. In 1952, at the age of 17, he left 'to see what Suva was like', decided to remain, and worked for two years as a casual labourer. He then tired of town life, returned to Ketei, married soon after, subsisted on the produce from his garden, and used savings from his period of town employment to purchase salt, sugar and tea from the trade store. In 1959, after seven years back in the village, he decided to return once again to Suva for wage employment, and worked there for eleven years. During this second period (1959-71) he also accompanied a group of Ketei villagers to New Zealand, where he worked as a butcher for six months and contributed some of his earnings to village projects. Being without a satisfactory job upon return to Suva, he went back to Ketei for another three years, only to leave again in 1974 and find work as a butcher in the capital. Setariki is satisfied with his present job and said that he intends to remain in the city until his children have completed their formal education. Nevertheless, he feels himself to be a villager, states that he definitely will return to Ketei, and contributes regularly through *soli* to the village community.

These two examples of Fijians resident in Suva show some of the contrasts between people of younger and older generations. Sitiveni has not returned to live in his natal village since arrival in the city. As is increasingly typical of the younger generation, he left the village of advanced education, which in turn resulted in his acquiring a job that needed more formal skills and was better paid than those held by Setariki. Sitiveni has maintained contact with the village community and considers that he may return upon retirement, but is evasive about whether this will actually happen when the time comes. He regards himself as a townsman, his activities and orientations are more urban than those of

Setariki, who was educated and remained in his village until the age of 17. Setariki has acquired no specifically urban skills and has demonstrated his enduring interest in things rural by return trips and regular, substantial contributions to village projects. He regards himself as a village man, seems to participate in no distinctly urban activities or associations, and has a firmer intention than Setariki to return ultimately to his natal place. Neither Sitiveni nor Setariki can be viewed as typical, but their movement behaviour and orientations illustrate the differences between older- and younger-generation Fijians, even though by no means all of Setariki's age group ultimately return to settle in the village.

Narend (Indo-Fijian): Aged 28, Narend was born in a settlement called Rifle Range, near Lautoka city (Fig.1). Each day he travelled to Lautoka for primary and secondary schooling and upon graduation from Form 6 (pre-university), secured employment in Lautoka as a clerk in the civil service. After six years, at 24, he was promoted to tax officer and transferred to Suva. Since then he has lived at Samabula (Fig.3), where he now lives with his wife in a rented house. Narend has visited his parents and brothers at Rifle Range many times since coming to Suva and spends every holiday with them. Even so, he does not intend to return permanently to Rifle Range, but in time will try to purchase a house in Suva and 'settle down' there, even if his occupation means transfer to other places. On the other hand, he has lived for so long in Rifle Range and visits so frequently that he still perceives himself to be a village man.

Dhani (Indo-Fijian): Born forty-three years ago in Natadola settlement near Sigatoka, Nadroga province, Dhani was 5 when his father sold the family land at Natadola and moved to Votualevu, near Nadi, Ba province (Fig.1). From Votualevu, he attended Nadi primary school up to class (standard) 4 but left, partly because his parents had difficulty with the costs and partly because he was an average student. By 15, he was helping his father as a farm hand on his sugarcane holding and four years later went to visit some relatives in Suva. While there, he found employment and remained. First he lived at Nasese (Fig.3) and worked as a general labourer, then moved with friends to a small apartment at Samabula, and finally, when married in 1952 at age 27, relocated to Deo Dutt Estate (adjacent to Jittu Estate) and built a small dwelling of his own.

Dhani occasionally visits those brothers and sisters who remain at Votualevu, most recently in 1975 for the marriage of a sister. Relatives also visit him in Suva but Dhani retains no other visible links with his father's place of residence. He intends to remain permanently in town, especially since he enjoys life there and has regular employment as a taxi driver. Since his brothers have inherited the family land, none would be available for him to cultivate were he to return to Votualevu; in addition, it would be difficult for him to obtain paid employment there.

Although the two case studies of Indo-Fijians reveal some generational differences in mobility behaviour, they are not as marked as for Sitiveni and Setariki, the two Fijians. Narend, like most members of the younger generation, has more formal education and came to Suva at a slightly earlier age but neither he nor Dhani intends to return to their natal place. Both have married in Suva and find life there more satisfactory than in the rural settlements from which they originated.

The four movement histories also reveal ethnic contrasts. Compared with the Fijians, the Indo-Fijians left their rural communities at a slightly later age, especially since both school and employment were available either locally or in nearby towns. The Indo-Fijians were from Viti Levu, like most of those studied, just as the two Fijians came from the outer islands. These differences in island of birth underlie both the data and the subsequent conclusions reported here. The case of Dhani demonstrates that Indo-Fijians sell their farm land and as a result break all links with their natal place. This lack of land to which one might return is the critical reason which Dhani gives for not expecting to retire to Votualevu and can be contrasted with the confidence with which Setariki says he would return, since he has *mataqali* land to cultivate. The greater degree of attachment that Indo-Fijians have to Suva is emphasized by Narend, who has decided to build a house in Suva, and by the absence of significant links with the rural areas for both Indo-Fijians.

Circulation and migration as co-existing processes

A conclusion stated in terms of either circulation or migration perhaps disguises the fact that these two forms of movement are not distinct or mutually exclusive processes. Rather, they are part of a mobility continuum which, in terms of its different types, varies from short-term circulation

to permanent relocation. If any one, significant conclusion is to be reached from this study, it is that this entire continuum is represented by the mobility of Fijians and Indo-Fijians between their rural areas of origin and Suva as an urban destination. While the use of different definitions of 'circulation' and 'migration' may result in varying conclusions about the *dominant* form of movement, it remains that both co-exist, are to some extent contingent, and often substitute for each other (Chapman 1977:2).

It has been demonstrated that a certain complementarity exists between Suva and the rural areas and permits satisfaction of the perceived needs of the total population. Suva, as the capital city of a young independent country, fulfils many economic and social desires, whereas the rural communities meet most of the cultural and some of the social needs. In such a situation of territorial complementarity, the co-existence of circulation and migration is a logical outcome. Ullman (1956) has describe the complementarity of areas and the resultant interaction between them of people as well as goods and services. Although he was concerned largely with economic complementarity and spoke in terms of demand in one areas and supply from another, this notion has also been used to describe the movement of people: for example by Baxter (1972:211-13) for the Orokaiva people of Papua New Guinea and by Renard (1977) for the Mae Sa of Chiang Mai, northwest Thailand. According to Baxter (1972:212), migration for the Orokaiva 'has developed as complementary to village life ... The main reason that the village and urban areas have existed in a complementary fashion is that conditions have been so similar in each that movement between the two has been able to take place with few negative consequences for either the village or the individual.' Baxter further suggests that the social networks of movers are based around two focal points - the village and the destination area - in the same fashion as Ryan (1970) had previously described for the Toaripi of New Guinea.

For Fijians, the complementarity between rural places and Suva results more from differences in their social and economic condition and is perhaps emphasized, as for the Orokaiva and the Toaripi, through the bilocal focus of social networks upon both the village and the urban areas. This may be especially true for the Lauans, large numbers of whom are settled in Suva, but in general Fijians continue to make short-term rural visits despite lengthy residence in Suva. Migration (lengthy residence in Suva), and short-term circulation (rural visiting) thus co-exist.

As these examples imply, such co-existence varies according to ethnic group and place of origin. The rural areas offer less security for Indo-Fijians so long periods are spent in town and the prevailing pattern of movement is more readily classified as migration. Similarly, the natal villages of Fijians from the least accessible, resource-poor and hazard-prone islands of Lau, Lomaiviti and Kadavu are far more isolated and different from Suva than those of movers from Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. Hence their movements are generally of longer duration, fewer return visits are made, and the intent to return is less firm. Compared with Fijians from the main islands, the form of mobility for those from the outer islands is predominantly migration rather than circulation.

Many of those interviewed had not come to Suva intending to remain and many had made several return visits before finally deciding to live there. The Fijians especially observed that their first visits were for *gade*, or short-term holiday, but most stayed during one such trip and have now resided in town for many years. In these instances, it is clear that short-term circulation led ultimately to long periods in Suva, or that an intendedly impermanent stay (circulation) evolved into a fairly permanent residence (migration).

Finally, as forms of movement, circulation and migration may substitute for one another. Such a contingent relationship would be more evident had journey to work been included in this field study. Despite this, there was an under-representation in Suva of people who came from the provinces of Rewa and Naitasiri in which the urban area is located. Fijians and Indo-Fijians from these two provinces can commute daily or weekly rather than engage in longer-term circulation and have no need to establish permanent residence in Suva. The frequency of contact with rural places was far higher for those household heads who originated from communities within a few hours' bus journey of Suva, and declined as greater time and cost were needed to reach the less accessible parts of Viti Levu and the other islands. For people born in the most distant islands (Lau, Kadavu), long-term residence in Suva appears to be the only viable option, whereas those fortunate enough to live in nearby provinces often substitute circulation for prolonged or permanent residence in town.

Chapter 8

Summary and policy implications

Conclusions about the dominant form of population movement from rural to urban areas in Fiji depend greatly on the definition adopted for such terms as 'circulation' and 'migration', as well as which ethnic group is studied. If, by migration and permanent residence, is meant a stay in Suva of at least half one's working life, with no immediate intention to return to the place of origin, then most household heads interviewed in this research may be said to be permanently resident and therefore migrants. On the other hand if migration is defined as meaning to sever all linkages with natal places with no intent, immediate or distant, to return, then most Indo-Fijians but few Fijians can be said to be permanently resident in Suva. From this viewpoint, Fijians are predominantly circulators and Indo-Fijians primarily migrants. Yet regardless of the dominant form of movement, migration and circulation continue to co-exist. Many residents who have been in Suva most of their lives did not arrive intending to stay; conversely, many who intend to remain forever in town maintain close links with their rural areas of origin.

Propositions re-examined

The five propositions advanced at the beginning of this report may now be re-examined. The first was that most people who have moved to Suva intend to return ultimately to their rural areas of origin. Such a simple statement is not tenable. There are differences between Fijians and Indo-Fijians and many people are unsure about their future residential intentions. Many Indo-Fijians do not intend to live in their natal communities whereas many Fijians, but not the majority, consider they will eventually return. Overall, almost half the group interviewed intend to remain in Suva.

According to the second proposition, over the past generation movers have stayed longer in the urban area and as a result have become increasingly committed to it through

social and economic links. This proposition could not be examined fully since generational changes in mobility patterns could not be analysed in detail from the life-history material. Even so, most Fijians and Indo-Fijians have lived in Suva for long periods and many for most of their working lives. Most may also be said to be committed to lengthy residence in town because of such considerations as the location of nuclear families in the urban area, the need for wage employment, and the desire for modern amenities. As the case studies indicate, commitment to residence in Suva may be increasing with each generation through the greater acquisition of advanced education and urban-oriented skills.

The third proposition, that the movement to Suva of Indo-Fijians is more permanent than that of Fijians, is confirmed. Despite the difficulty of defining permanence, Indo-Fijians are more permanently resident in Suva than Fijians, whatever the indices examined. Not only did most state that they intend to remain forever in Suva, but also, unlike the Fijians, very few do more than pay periodic visits to their rural areas of origin. Fijians are culturally and socially motivated to maintain links with their natal communities; by contrast, most Indo-Fijians perceive themselves as townspeople. The movement of Indo-Fijians to Suva is consequently more permanent than that of Fijians.

The fourth proposition was difficult to examine explicitly; it suggested that changes in place of residence tend to occur at such critical life events as beginning school, changing from primary to junior or from junior to senior high school, taking up a job, and getting married. Case studies of individual movers reinforce the life-history material, which shows that more than half of the Fijians and over one-fifth of the Indo-Fijians who had attended school changed their domicile at least once because of formal education; most who had held a job moved at least once to either take up or change their employment; and almost a tenth of ever-married Fijians but somewhat less than half of Indo-Fijians moved either for or within one year of marriage. Change of residence for schooling and employment was much more common among Fijians than among Indo-Fijians, since the former originate from areas where there are fewer secondary schools or wage employment opportunities.

The final proposition was that there is a direct, positive relationship in the distance between places of origin and destination (Suva), and the length of residence

in the capital city. This proposition needs to be modified since length of time spent in Suva is related not simply to distance but also to the environmental resources and economic opportunities of the areas from which people moved. Thus Fijian and Indo-Fijian household heads who came from moderately distant islands like Taveuni and Vanua Levu had not spent significantly more time in Suva than those from neighbouring localities. By contrast, Fijians from the most distant islands of Lau and Lomaiviti, which are also poor in natural resources, did spend significantly more time in Suva. Rather than simple distance, it is the combination of accessibility with environmental and economic characteristics of the origin places that determines the length of time movers spend in town.

Policy implications

This research, although not conducted with the aim of making policy statements, has identified several practical implications of the movement of people from rural areas in Fiji to the capital city. The most significant conclusion is the co-existence of circulation and migration, which is related to the complementary character of Suva and the rural areas. It is important, as a result, that planners should not conceptualize the movement of people from rural places as simply an exodus which creates problems of congestion in urban destinations and depression in places of rural origin. This seems to be the attitude reflected, for example, in Fiji's Seventh Development Plan (Central Planning Office 1975:19-20), which identifies a problem of rural-urban drift that needs to be stemmed.

As the results of this field research show, the movement of people born in rural communities should not be viewed as a unidirectional process, the only result of which is that they permanently forsake their natal places and cause problems in both rural and urban areas. Most movers maintain contact with and contribute to socio-economic activities in their communities of origin. Many do not see their residence in the city as being permanent. An alternative is to view rural-urban mobility as a complementary interaction between places of origin and destination. For the Fijians, in particular, urban centres are regarded as locations of employment and modern amenities, and rural communities primarily as locations that offer opportunities for a better social and cultural life and a chance for peaceful retirement. Consequently, people move between urban and rural places to

maximize their satisfactions and, as long as this complementarity exists, the forms of interaction revealed by this study will continue.

Rather than attempting to stop rural-urban movement, policy makers should acknowledge its complementary character. In countries such as Indonesia, elaborate legislation to stop or control people's mobility has had little success (Hugo 1977:35). Skeldon notes that in Papua New Guinea 'there is a growing realisation that there is a basic demand for education and that the products of the school system are not going to be satisfied with non-wage rural employment' (1977: 40). A similar situation exists in Fiji, especially in small islands like Lau and Lomaiviti where there are few opportunities for wage employment or other means of earning cash. People who have moved to Suva from such areas may return, but only upon retirement. These patterns of mobility call for policies that would help Suva residents maintain their rural interests and ultimately carry out their intent to return at, or even before retirement. Rural investment should aim to facilitiate and reinforce the links movers maintain with their rural communities and, at the same time, delay the outward movement of young people so that they experience the meaningful aspects of rural life and find their eventual return less burdensome.

There are several ways in which such a policy could be implemented. First is the need to establish an improved system of roads and shipping services to permit people to circulate more easily between urban and rural places. Better shipping services between Suva and the islands of Lau and Lomaiviti, for example, would enable those born in the outer islands but now resident in town to return more often and be more active in village affairs through on-the-spot participation. Several recent studies, in Indonesia (Hugo 1977; Mantra 1978) and Thailand (Renard 1977), have shown that the introduction of cheap and regular transportation leads to an increase in circulation and a decrease in changes in permanent places of residence. In Fiji, the availability of better roads and transport services between Suva, the Rewa River and its tributary valleys would give more people the option of commuting to Suva or circulating between Suva and their villages rather than having to settle in town for long periods to secure gainful employment.

Another vital area for government planning is the location of educational facilities. Many of the junior and

almost all Fiji's senior secondary schools are sited near urban centres, with the consequence that children move away from the rural areas at a very young age. This is particularly significant for students from the more remote interiors of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, and from the outer islands; in general, as the migration histories reveal, about half the Fijians and a quarter of the Indo-Fijians interviewed had been forced to move while very young to attend school. Junior and senior secondary schools strategically located in rural areas would help retain young and teenaged children, permitting them a fuller experience of rural life. Such prolonged early contact might also mean that people, after living in urban areas, would find a prospective return to rural communities more attractive.

Most Fijians resident in Suva not only have the viable alternative of living in rural communities, but also have retained this option by maintaining their linkages with such localities. There is need, therefore, to encourage those Fijians who wish ultimately to return to the village to translate such attitudes into reality, and also to create alternatives for the Indo-Fijians, most of whom feel that they have no legitimate place in the rural areas. Case studies presented both in this study and by Tubuna (1978) show that if cash-earning opportunities are available in or near village areas, Fijians do return even after spending long periods in townships or cities. People would retire to their villages if they could be guaranteed the dual advantages of a quiet life and possible sources of cash to meet their basic needs. Research is need to investigate what kinds of money-earning activities can be introduced to rural communities; production of high-value or off-season cash crops, or the establishment of suitable cottage industries may be viable, especially with the improvement of transport services. In this respect, such isolated and resource-poor islands as Lau and Lomaiviti would require special attention, but a recent field project on population and environment in eastern Fiji suggests various ways in which the inherent difficulties of these islands can be lessened and a more satisfactory social and economic environment created for their residents (UNESCO/UNFPA 1977).

For Indo-Fijians, the degree of complementarity between urban and rural areas is far less, as reflected in the permanence of their movement to Suva. It is conceivable that fewer Indo-Fijians would reside for long periods in the city and more would wish to return to rural settlements

if land were available for cash cropping, since many indicated that a lack of land was the reason they went to Suva. Policy changes that affect the status of and access to land are a very sensitive issue, since many Fijians regard the demands by Indo-Fijians for more land as threats to their security as land owners (Moynagh 1978). Nevertheless, there is need for some action by the Fiji government so that more land can be made available for cultivation by those Indo-Fijians and Fijians who do not have access to it. This could occur if the government were to sponsor reclamation projects in areas of forest and coastal swamp, and either lease or sell subdivisions of such areas to individual farmers. Government-sponsored schemes for land development have proved beneficial in, for example, Malaysia (Khera 1975; Wafa 1975), and within Fiji a scheme at Seqaqa (Vanua Levu) has shown early signs of success. In other parts of Fiji, land that is under- or unutilized could be farmed with a greater variety of cash crops. Increasing the amount and availability of agricultural land could help provide landless Indo-Fijians an opportunity to remain in the rural areas, and at the same time encourage more rural Fijians to enter the cash economy.

Acknowledgment and reinforcement of the linkages that people maintain between places of rural origin and urban residence also has important policy implications for urban development. The fact that increasing numbers of people are moving to urban areas implies a continued rise in the demand for urban services. Consequently it is important that the government continue to plan for these rather than over-emphasize rural and regional development at the expense of urban needs, as seems to be indicated in Fiji's Seventh Development Plan (Central Planning Office 1975). Nelson (1976), in an extensive survey of Third World conditions, emphasizes that people who say they intend to return to rural areas make different demands of their urban environment than those who are committed to reside there forever. In housing, for example, many Fijians and some Indo-Fijians want temporary quarters in town and prefer the low-cost alternatives of renting houses or living in squatter-type settlements rather than investing in permanent dwellings. Such preferences suggest that urban authorities ought to encourage the construction of more low-cost rental units and at the same time maintain a lenient attitude toward squatter settlements, which not only act as 'stepping stones' for those who wish to move eventually to better-quality houses but also enable many to live temporarily in urban centres without having to spend exorbitant sums of money on housing.

This field research has shown that although most people who moved wish to reside in Suva for most of their lives, there are many others, especially Fijians, who wish to return to and maintain firm links with their rural areas of origin. Planners, rather than attempting to stem the outward movement from rural areas, ought to concentrate on ways and means by which the rural-urban linkages of movers can be strengthened and their intent to return and live in rural communities realized. At the same time, there should be a concerted attempt to promote the more balanced development of both urban and rural areas, since the towns continue to support larger numbers of people, many of whom are sojourners but many others of whom are permanent residents and desire more and better facilities and services.

Appendix : Questionnaire

M.A. RESEARCH PROJECT - UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII/UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Interviewer _____ Date: 1st visit _____ 2nd visit _____

3rd visit _____

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

1. Area _____ 2. Household No. _____

3. People in household

Number	Name (optional)	Relation to Head of Household	Age	Employment
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.etc.				

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

4. Person No. _____ 5. Age _____ 6. Sex _____

7. Place of Birth: (i) Province/District _____ Island _____

(ii) Town _____

(iii) Village _____

8. Ethnic origin _____ 9. Marital status _____

10. Position in household _____ 11. Religion _____

12. Educational level _____ 13. Income level _____

RESIDENCE OF OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS

14. Are all your family members here in Suva? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (14) 15. Do you all live together? Yes _____ No _____

If no (14) 16. Which members of your family are still in the village or rural area? List 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

17. Did all of your family members who are here in Suva come together?

Yes _____ No _____

If no (17) 18. Who came first? _____

19. Who came later? List 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

20. Is there anybody who used to live or is living in this household, but has gone back to the village or rural area? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (20) 21. (i) Who was he/she/they? (Relationship) _____

(ii) What were the reasons for leaving? 1. _____

2. _____ 3. _____

(iii) What were they doing in Suva? _____

(iv) Did they have their family with them? _____

EMPLOYMENT

22. What is your present occupation? _____

23. How long have you been working at your present job? _____

24. Which other jobs have you done in the past in Suva?

Past jobs	Duration	Reason for change

25. Have you ever been unemployed? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (25) 26. What was the longest period of unemployment? _____

27. What did you do during this period of unemployment?

_____

28. Estimate what per cent of the time that you have been in Suva have you been unemployed? _____

29. Have you ever returned to your village (or other rural area) because of unemployment here in Suva? Yes _____

No _____

VISITS

30. When did you make your first trip to Suva? _____

31. What was the purpose of this visit? _____

32. How many trips did you make to Suva before deciding to stay in Suva?

_____

33. What was the average time for these visits? _____

34. Altogether, for how long have you been living in Suva?

35. When was the last time you visited your village? _____

36. Why? _____

37. How long did you stay there during that visit? _____

38. About how many times have you visited your village since you first came to stay in Suva? _____

39. How many visits did you make to your village this year? _____

40. What were these visits for?

Number of visits	Months away from Suva	Reasons for visit

41. How many visits do you usually make to your village in a year?

_____

42. For what reasons do you make these visits? 1. _____

2. _____ 3. _____

43. Is there any particular time of the year that you are more likely to make a visit (e.g. crop planting or harvesting time, Christmas time)?

Yes _____ If yes, then what time? _____

No _____

44. When was the last time you stayed in your village for more than one month? _____

45. What did you do during this stay? _____

46. Do you visit the village during any of these times?

(i) Weddings _____

(ii) Funerals _____

(iii) Religious or traditional ceremonies _____

(iv) Festivals (Christmas, Diwali, Eid) _____

(v) Crop planting and harvesting times _____

(vi) Weekends and public holidays _____

(vii) Other times: Describe _____

Fijians only 47. Do you participate in *Somate* or *Barua* in Suva when somebody dies in the village? Yes _____ No _____

48. If no, then why not? _____

OTHER RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

49. Do you help your family members or relatives in the village in any way? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (49) 50. How? List: 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____

51. Do you get any help from family members or relatives living in the village? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (51) 52. How? List: 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____

53. Do you get any help from your family members and relatives in town? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (53) 54. How? List: 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____

55. Do you contribute toward the affairs of your village in any way? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (55) 56. How? List: 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____

57. Do people from your village help you in any way? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (57) 58. How? List: 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____

59. Do people from your village here in Suva help you in any way? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (59) 60. How? List: 1. _____ 2 _____

3. _____

61. Do you contribute to the affairs of your province in any way?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes (61) 62. How? List: 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____

63. Do people from your province here in Suva help you in any way?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes (63) 64. How? List: 1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____

65. Do you contribute to or take part in any of these?

(a) Building/maintenance of school in village _____ in Suva _____

(b) Building/maintenance of church in village _____ in Suva _____

(c) Provincial festival _____ How? _____

(d) Provincial taxes _____

(e) Sending money back to village _____ To whom? _____

(f) Sending food/other material back to village _____ What? _____

(g) Helping in weddings and funerals in village _____ How? _____

(h) Hosting family members or others from village (or rural area)

_____

(i) Other village projects _____ List _____

66. Did you contribute to any of the above in the past, but do not do so now? Yes _____ When? _____

No _____

67. Do you have any person from your village or province staying with you now? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (67) 68.

Who	Length of stay	Occupation
1.		
2.		
3.		

OTHER COMMITMENTS IN THE CITY AND RURAL AREAS

69. Are you a member of any club, religious organization, sporting body, or any self-help organization in Suva? Yes _____ No _____

If yes (69) 70. Which ones?

Name _____ Function _____

Name _____ Function _____

Name _____ Function _____

71. Do you own any land in the village? _____ in Suva _____

If yes (71) 72. Type of land a. Freehold residential _____

b. Freehold farming _____

c. Leasehold (N.L.T.B., etc.) _____

d. *Mataqali* _____

If no (71) 73. Do you intend to buy any land in village? _____

in Suva? _____ Not sure _____

74. Do you own a house in village? _____ in Suva? _____

If yes (74) 75. What type of house?

a. Concrete _____

b. Timber _____

c. Iron (good quality) _____

d. Shack _____

e. Thatched (*bure*) _____

76. Do you intend to buy a house in village? _____ in Suva _____

Not sure _____

77. Can you tell me where you get these products from?

Product	Per cent from village	Per cent market or store	Per cent grown in Suva
Cassava			
Taro			
Greens			
Fruits			
Yaqona			
Spices			

Rice _____

Sugar _____

Meat _____

Fish _____

78. How much longer do you think you will stay in Suva? _____

79. Do you think you will (i) live in Suva forever _____

(ii) Return finally to live in village _____

(iii) Not sure _____

Explain what you think: _____

_____

81. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of city life?

Advantages	Disadvantages
a. _____	a. _____
b. _____	b. _____
c. _____	c. _____

82. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of village life?

Advantages	Disadvantages
a. _____	a. _____
b. _____	b. _____
c. _____	c. _____

83. If you were to have a wedding at your place, who do you think would help you? _____

MIGRATION HISTORY MATRIX

Area _____ Household number _____ Personal number _____

	MIGRATIONAL HISTORY			OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY			EDUCATION	FAMILY HISTORY
Age	Village, Settlement, Urban area	District, or province	Island	Reason for move	Type of work	Job Location	Reason for job change	Schooling (class location)	Marriages, Births, Deaths, etc.
01									
02									
03									
.									
.									
.									
42									
43									
44									
.									
.									
.									
61									
62									
.									

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