

**MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC**

**COUNTRY REPORT NO. 4
FIJI**

John Connell



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Preface

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

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

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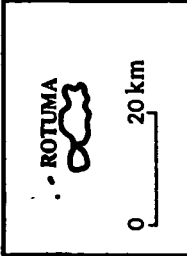
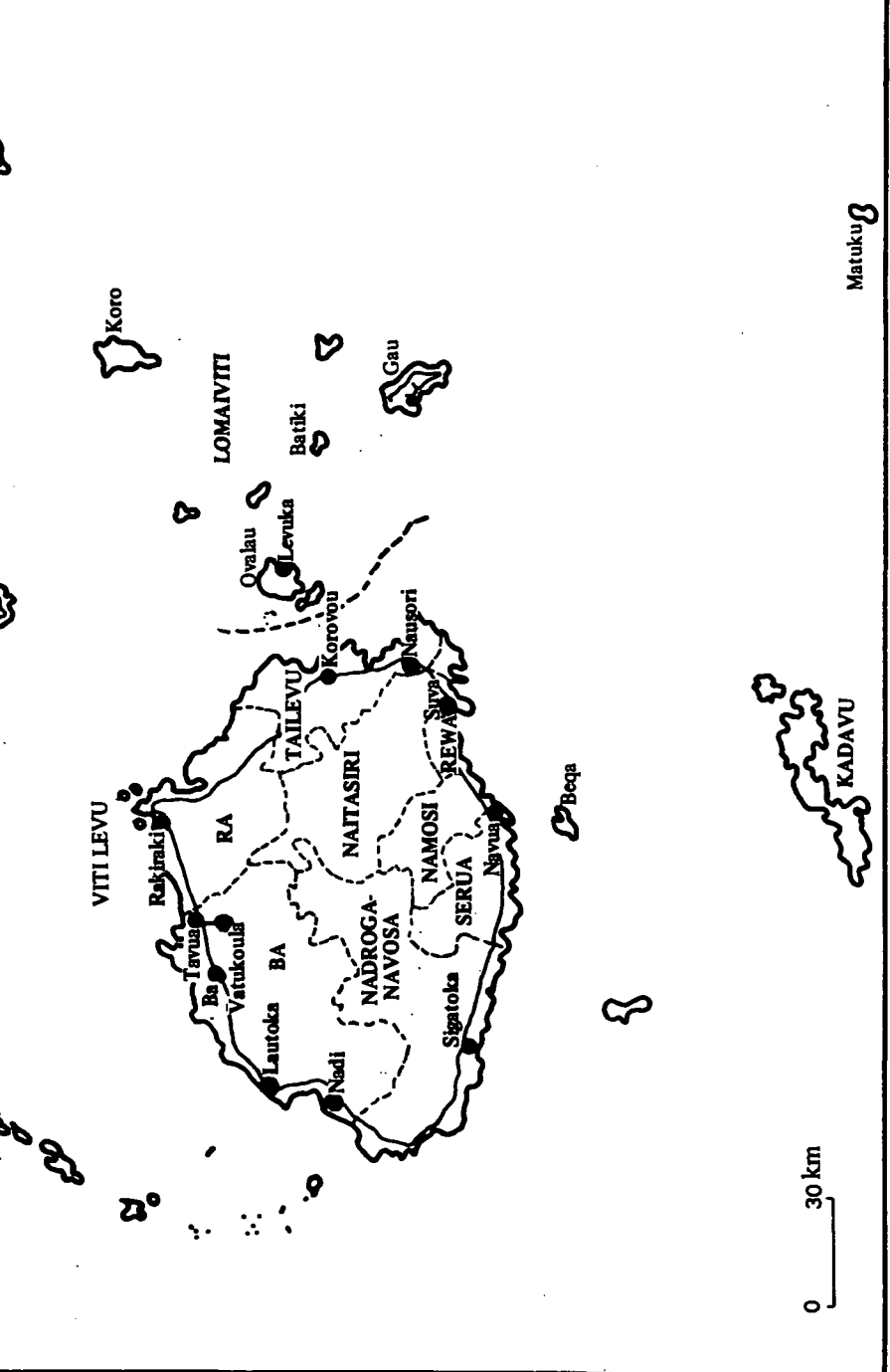
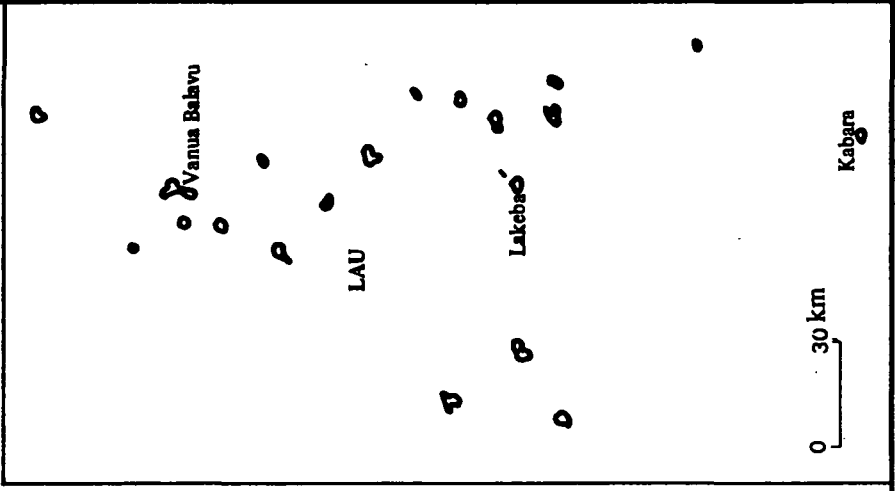
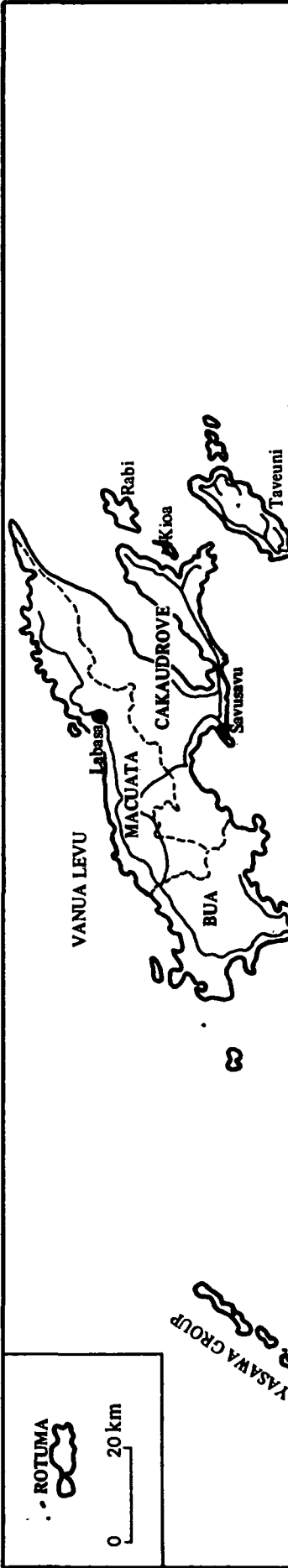
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Fiji is the second largest country in the South Pacific region, in terms of population, and consists of over 300 islands, about a hundred of which are inhabited. About 90% of the population live on the two main islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, which also have about 90% of the land area of Fiji. The population consists of two principal racial groups; the indigenous Melanesian population (subsequently referred to as Fijians) constitute about 44% of the total whilst 51% of the population are of Indian descent, almost all of whom have been born in Fiji. (In accordance with the procedure used in similar reports (e.g. UNFPA, 1981; Walsh, 1982) and customary usages in Fiji the population of Indian descent are subsequently referred to as Indians. In many other contexts however Fiji Indians or Indo-Fijians have been used, terms which may be regarded as attaching greater significance to the permanent status of the Indian population, an issue which is discussed below). The remainder of the population are of diverse origins with a significant Polynesian group on or from the outlying island of Rotuma, and the remainder primarily Europeans and Chinese. Fijians are Melanesians, and Fiji is the easternmost part of Melanesia, so that social organisation, especially in the Lau islands, is significantly influenced by Polynesian social structures, for example in the existence of hereditary chiefs. Genetically too Fiji can be regarded as truly intermediate between Melanesia and Polynesia (Serjeantson *et al*, 1982) and, linguistically, Fiji is exceptional in Melanesia in having only one indigenous language throughout the country (apart from Rotuma). Because of extensive contemporary and historical analysis of many aspects of development in Fiji, and the simultaneous presence of the Fiji Employment and Development Mission, this report has made less attempt to be comprehensive than those for most other countries in the South Pacific region, but has concentrated on a number of issues particularly relating to migration.

The large islands of Fiji are primarily volcanic, often mountainous and sometimes rising steeply from the coasts; the highest peak is Mount Victoria (1,424 metres). The four largest islands of Fiji (Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, Taveuni and Kadavu) are characterised by generally uninhabited central mountains, which take up a large proportion of the land areas. The small outer islands are usually hilly, including the limestone islands of the Lau group and the volcanic island of Rotuma, some 390 kms north of the main Fiji group. The two largest islands have distinctive wet and dry sides, the wet or windward side being in the southeast; on Viti Levu, for example, the rainfall in Suva is almost double that in the north-west of the island. These variations in rainfall have considerable implications for agricultural development (especially sugar cane cultivation) and also for tourism.

Hurricanes are not unusual. In 1979 Hurricane Meli devastated the country, especially in Lau and Kadavu, and claimed 21 lives as well as causing extensive damage. In 1980 Cyclones Tia and Wally caused losses of life and damage in Eastern and Central Divisions and Cyclone Oscar, early in 1983, caused further devastation. Both hurricanes and, less frequently, droughts are significant problems in Fiji, especially on the smaller limestone islands in the east. On these islands where diversity and the ability to resist hazard are more limited, then incomes, dependent almost entirely on copra production, may be severely reduced. 'All these hazards have been made more severe in one sense by social and economic change, for while the actual risk of famine is removed, dependence on copra, increased water use, and relocation of villages onto vulnerable shorelines have all increased both risk and dependency' (Brookfield, 1980a:26). As Cyclone

Oscar demonstrated early in 1983, and widespread drought in the following months, few bases of economic development (including tourism, agriculture and fisheries) are not at risk from severe hazards, partly because of the growing concentration of population and economic activity in coastal zones.

The earliest settlement in the Fijian islands was at least 3,000 years ago, since Lapita pottery has been dated back before that, and probably originated from the west. Pre-European contact times were marked by considerable internal warfare and external conflict, mainly with Polynesians, especially from Tonga,

'For long known to the world as the 'Cannibal Islands' the Fijian feudal native aristocracy practised customs which today seem cruel, callous and barbarous. In this tyrannical, medieval society people were buried alive under the posts of new houses, war canoes were launched over the living bodies of young girls and widows of chiefs were strangled to keep their masters company in the spirit world. These feudal islands were however guardians of one of the highest material cultures of the Pacific' (UNFPA, 1981:16).

The European discoverer of Fiji was the Dutch navigator Tasman in 1643 but it was not until 1789 that the main Fijian islands were seen. Sandalwood traders began operating in the early years of the Nineteenth Century but by 1814 most of the accessible wood had been cut out. In the 1820s beche-de-mer trade was established and some traders and a number of beachcombers began to settle in the islands (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981:114-5); at much the same time the first missionaries arrived but it was not until the conversion of Ratu Cakobau, the Chief of Bau, who then had considerable influence through a wide area of Fiji, that Christianity made significant progress. A British consul was appointed in 1858 and the first Governor of the colony, Sir Arthur Gordon, was established in Levuka in 1875, after Ratu Cakobau had ceded the islands to Great Britain in the previous year.

In the 1860s planters became established in Fiji, planting cotton on a large scale to meet the global demands that followed the American civil war. Since Fijians were not interested in plantation employment (Moynagh, 1981:19-20) labour recruiting was carried out elsewhere in the South Pacific, primarily in Melanesia and especially in Solomon Islands. Abuses in the labour trade resulted in Britain enforcing the Polynesian Islands Protection Act in 1874. The cotton boom ended in 1870 and within a few years sugar had effectively replaced it as the main plantation crop, centred around Rewa. Wages and conditions in Fiji were inferior to those in Queensland hence Fiji required a new source of labour; drawing specifically on the experience of Trinidad and Mauritius, Indians were proposed as a new source of labour. The first shipload of 498 labourers reached Fiji in 1879 and from then until 1916 there were about 2,000 immigrants each year, in conditions described as 'a new system of slavery' (Tinker, 1974) but nonetheless almost certainly better than conditions in India (see below). The establishment of Indian migrants in Fiji remains perhaps the most important event in Fiji's history, as the descendants of these migrants now outnumber the indigenous Fijian population.

In subsequent decades sugar established its dominance of the colonial economy, especially with the arrival of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) of Australia in 1881 and the steady movement of sugar cane operations from the east to the west of the island. In 1882 the capital was moved from

Levuka, where development possibilities were limited, to Suva. Although the dominance of sugar was growing the copra industry was also being established, then and now important principally in the smaller islands where there was no sugar cultivation. The long history of commercial and plantation development has given Fiji one of the most diversified economies in the South Pacific region although, on a global scale, it is a small country, with a restricted economic base dominated by the production of a single commodity, sugar, which involves about a quarter of the active labour force yet is subject to considerable price fluctuations.

Constitutional changes paralleled economic changes; in 1904 two Fijian chiefs were appointed to the Legislative Council and in 1916 the first Indian member was appointed. In the 1920s and 1930s further changes in the council resulted in some Indian members being elected to the Council. Post-war changes resulted in 1966 in a largely elected Legislative Council and in 1970 Fiji became independent, one of the first countries in the South Pacific region to achieve independence. Fiji is a constitutional democracy, with an elected House of Representatives and a nominated Senate; the electoral system is based on both national and communal rolls. The Great Council of Chiefs (which appoints members to the Senate) has considerable influence on more traditional issues concerning Fijians.

Economy

Within the South Pacific region Fiji has a relatively high GNP per capita and a very open economy; the country's development in the 1970s was closely linked to sugar production and tourism, and hence is highly dependent on the international economy. Relative to most other countries in the South Pacific Fiji has rich natural resources, including some mineral deposits of both gold and copper, and a well-educated population hence has a considerable population base for diversified development, especially in agriculture and fisheries. In the post-war years there has been a significant transition from reliance on the primary sector towards an expansion in secondary and particularly tertiary activity; in 1950 agriculture, fisheries and forestry contributed 44% of the GDP but by 1970 the primary sector contributed 29%. At the start of the 1970s the sugar industry was stagnant and tourism was developed at a faster rate, which enabled parallel growth in the construction industry, but both were hit by the 1974 recession in the international economy. In the second half of the decade the sugar industry revived, tourist numbers increased, forestry expanded, and tuna canning developed rapidly to the extent that, by 1979, canned fish became Fiji's third most important export (after sugar and gold) offsetting declines in the copra and mining sectors. Thus the second half of the 1970s was effectively a period of economic diversification.

During the last decade economic development has been impressive with a real GNP growth of about 7% per year and an increase in per capita income of about 4.5% per year. In the last decade there has been a significant structural change in the economy; the services sector grew at over 10% per year, much more rapidly than either industry or agriculture, so that by 1976 half of all employment (see below) was in commerce and services. At the same time the size of the civil service doubled and it was also significantly localised. Whilst a recent World Bank study has recorded that 'Fiji is one of the most import dependent countries in the world' (World Bank, 1977:2) it is one of the most self-reliant economies in the South Pacific region. However the trade balance deteriorated from about 8% of GDP in 1965 to a peak of 26% in 1973. In the early 1980s the economy stagnated with an average growth in 1981-82 of around 3% per year, a result of the

declining value of Fijian exports, especially sugar and tuna but also other commodities. Since independence the government has attracted considerable foreign investment to Fiji and Fiji will continue to be dependent on overseas capital for some time, although there has been little new foreign investment in the 1980s. To a great extent economic growth in Fiji depends on the economies of major trading partners like Australia and New Zealand, but also on an increase in earnings from major exports.

The current structure of the Fijian economy is dependent on a substantial level of foreign investment and the government has both emphasized the need for private foreign investment (in addition to aid commitments) and has continued to seek further overseas investment, whilst simultaneously stressing the need for greater local participation and control of the national economy (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:185). In December 1979 there were about 736 companies registered in Fiji that had some foreign equity participation although not all such firms were either important or in operation (Taylor, 1983:2). The highest proportion had 'Australian ties' but foreign investment in Fiji has become increasingly diversified. Foreign companies then accounted for 28.5% of the GDP and 18.3% of total employment and both of these proportions were declining in the 1970s (Carstairs and Prasad, 1981) although this is a very conservative view of foreign ownership (Taylor, 1983:11). In some areas, such as the construction industry, almost all enterprises are now locally owned, whereas there remains considerable foreign ownership in retail distribution. Profits were principally re-invested locally rather than transferred overseas and foreign companies made a substantial contribution to manpower training (Carstairs and Prasad, 1981). However there is much evidence that, in some areas especially, foreign investment has not brought about the kind of development that is required and tax concessions granted to foreign companies represent potential investment funds that might be used in other areas. Thus Gunasekera argues that 'there is an urgent need to reallocate resources in favour of the rural sector.. [but that] a rural reallocation of resources would not be attractive to foreign investment' (1981:3). However the widespread concern at the start of the 1970s, when Fiji was regarded as 'a developing Australian colony' where the present strategy of development could 'only lead to economic disaster' (Rokotuivuna, 1973), is now largely muted apart from a degree of concern over the impact of foreign investment in particular areas, such as tourism, retailing and more recently timber (Durutalo, 1982). More generally dependence on foreign investment may conflict with goals of self-reliance and economic diversification (*ibid*) because of some denial and removal of opportunities by foreign companies (Taylor, 1983:29). The impact of foreign investment in other areas, such as the opportunity cost of resources and the impact of the transfer of technology have not been examined in detail in Fiji. Although increasingly the disadvantages are being weighted more heavily than the advantages (Taylor, 1983; Anon, 1983) the dependence on foreign investment is likely to be undiminished in the immediate future.

Fiji has long had a substantial trade imbalance, which increased alarmingly in 1981 as a result of falling commodity prices and increasing prices of imported manufactured products and machinery. A fall in imports was however achieved in 1982, as a result of declining imports of equipment, and also food and vehicles; taxation of imported cars, liquor, petrol and tobacco may reduce this further. Exports are absolutely dominated by commodities, with sugar representing 68% of all exports in 1981 followed by canned fish (8.5%), gold (6%) and coconut oil (3.3%), whereas the biggest single component of imports is petroleum products (25%) followed by transport machinery and equipment (22%). Rapidly rising fuel prices have

reduced the proportional contribution of food imports to 14% but the cost has increased. The United Kingdom remains Fiji's principal trading partner, because of its sugar purchases, but other countries (especially Australia) are much more important as exporters to Fiji; trade within the South Pacific region is very small and the diversification of Fijian trade has principally been confined to metropolitan nations.

Aid is of continued importance to Fiji and the value of aid increased from \$27.3 million in 1982 to \$31.2 million in 1983. The principal sources of aid are Australia, New Zealand, the EEC, UK and increasingly Japan. Aid sources are not anticipated to decline in future years despite the ultimate goal of national self-reliance and the attempt to tie aid to projects directed towards self-reliance.

Fiji's economy and employment have to some extent benefited from Fiji's central location in the region and this has resulted in its becoming a centre for many regional institutions and has contributed to the growth of tourism. Thus the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC) and the University of the South Pacific (USP) are there as are the principal offices of the United Nations organisations. Developments in regional and local transport are likely to encourage further regional centralisation in Suva and a conference centre is now proposed to enable Fiji to expand in this area.

'Suva is rapidly emerging as the commercial and political hub of the South Pacific region. Its leaders would like to see it recognised as a sort of regional capital, though such talk is generally avoided because that is what leaders of other states in the region suspect...Suva is throbbing with the increasing energy of development within the region..Suva seems destined to solidify its position as the hub' (D.Topping, 1977; cited by Crocombe, 1983:208)

and there has even been discussion of a possible Pacific regional capital at Laucala Bay, Suva (op cit:210). It is partly Fiji's location that has resulted in an economy that, in most respects, is more developed and diversified than any other in the South Pacific region, although its vulnerability to outside influences remains considerable.

All available evidence in Fiji points to a relatively broadly-based national economy that, in the past decade, has largely survived the vicissitudes in the international economy and in a number of areas, ranging from parts of the agricultural sector to tourism, there is present and future potential for growth. With the rate of job creation declining the containment of average real wage and salary incomes is a considerable achievement, especially in comparison with countries such as Papua New Guinea (Country Report No.14). On the other hand Fiji is, in global terms, small and remote with a limited natural resource base, considerable problems of fragmentation, a lack of skilled manpower and some degree of ethnic tension, all contexts which limit the long-term possibilities of growth and diversification. Cameron's gentle conclusion that 'Fiji looks a nice place to live but not capable of going anywhere very fast' (1983a:20) may not only be accurate but true also of large parts of the country, to the extent that in most areas (outside the remote islands) migration is apparently quite limited (see below). Whilst the government faces difficult decisions in a number of crucial areas (such as wages policy) the potential for economic growth and development is nevertheless greater in Fiji than perhaps anywhere else in the South Pacific region.

Agriculture. Agriculture in Fiji bears considerable relationship to geographic regions; the west and north-west of the two main islands are the principal areas of export crop, mainly sugar, production where there is a marked dry season. These are the main areas of Indian settlement. The eastern sides of the main islands are wetter and without a dry season hence cultivation is more diversified and, around Suva, consists of market garden produce. The small volcanic and coral atolls of eastern Fiji produce more than half of Fiji's copra; some consist entirely of coconut plantations. There is a concentration of commercial agricultural production on the drier sides of the main islands, a concentration that has grown as sugar production has increased, pine potential expanded and copra production stagnated or declined elsewhere; this has been emphasized by an ethnic imbalance in commercial agriculture with recent developments in price trends favouring Indian rather than Fijian farmers.

The share of agriculture in GDP fell from about one-third in 1965 to 20% in 1975 and, in that decade, only rice of the four main crops (including bananas, sugar and coconuts) did not experience a decline in production. This decline has been partly due to limited investment resulting from the insecure land tenure of Indian farmers in the commercial sector, but has also followed migration of labour from the agricultural sector and other factors. About 83% of land in Fiji is owned, but not operated, on a communal basis by several hundred mataqalis (sub-clans) but operated on an individual basis; about a quarter of this is leased out. The remaining 17% of land is nationally owned or is freehold land; Indians own about 2% of the land but farm about half the agricultural land, most of which is leased from Fijians. The minimum period of agricultural lease has now been extended to 30 years in an attempt to increase security of tenure. The principal land authority in Fiji is the Native Lands Trust Board which determines the land that is to be kept for native reserves to take care of Fijian requirements, and administers all Fijian land that is surplus to Fijian requirements in order to provide land for settlement. In 1975 the Native Lands Trust Board set up a Native Land Development Corporation as a public company to develop Fijian land with the maximum involvement of Fijian landowners; the corporation also takes an interest in general business ventures and is managing the Seaqqa sugar cane settlement scheme on Vanua Levu. Land ownership is unevenly distributed and even on Taveuni, where the overall population density is only 28 persons per square km. of usable land, inequalities in land ownership are argued to be of Latin American proportions resulting in a 'severe land shortage in Taveuni and a large unsatisfied demand for land' (Brookfield, 1979b:45). In some areas there is evidence that increasing population pressure (alongside increasing commercialisation of production) has placed considerable pressure on resources to the extent that there are problems of access to land and, in some places, declining returns to labour inputs. In Beqa, for example, there are already signs of declining fish catches and of the decreasing size of both the fish and shellfish that are harvested. Almost all the wood required for construction must be imported to the island (Bigay et al, 1981:145-147) but how exceptional this kind of situation is, is not recorded. However land is not the only source of problems and conflict in Fiji and for agricultural development a variety of basic problems exist:

'..bad weather and natural disasters, disease, the availability of a great variety and assortment of imported food goods, insecure land tenure and an education system that has done little to engender an affinity for the land, have all exacerbated problems facing agriculture' (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1982:99).

The main aims of contemporary development policy are therefore to increase agricultural output (both of local foods and export crops), diversify export crops and, where possible, process these locally and also increase local participation in agricultural enterprises.

For almost a century sugar has been the backbone of the national economy and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future; in 1979 it represented 74% of the value of all domestic exports from Fiji and, in the absence of hazards, this proportion is unlikely to decline significantly in the future. Sugar production increased from 272,000 tonnes in 1975 (after a peak of 400,000 tonnes in 1968) to 475,000 tonnes in 1980 and was a record 487,000 tonnes in 1982. Present development policy is aimed at achieving further increases in cane and sugar production from within the existing cane perimeter and broadening the basis of the industry by diversification into the production of products derived from cane, sugar and molasses (including gin, vodka, rum and industrial alcohol). There are approximately 19,700 smallholders on average-sized farms of 4-5 hectares contracted with the Fiji Sugar Corporation (FSC) to grow cane; a further 18,500 persons are employed in the harvesting and transporting of cane to mills and FSC employs about 3,500 people. In the national context therefore the sugar industry employs nearly a quarter of Fiji's economically active population, and many others indirectly benefit from it (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:103). The sugar industry is highly concentrated in the coastal plains between Rakiraki and Sigatoka in Viti Levu and around Labasa in Vanua Levu. Significantly the structural organisation of the sugar industry is such that it induces an unusually wide diffusion of the income generated from external sugar sales, thus permitting a very large proportion of the population to participate either directly or indirectly in sugar-related economic activities, to the extent that the Fijian sugar industry differs greatly from the typical picture of export crop production in the Third World where the absence of secondary effects is regarded as a major disadvantage of export crops (Ellis, 1983a).

A real constraint to all future development is the world price of sugar, hence Fiji has concluded agreements with a number of countries to ensure guaranteed markets. However, despite record sugar production in 1982, falling prices had resulted in falling earnings from 1981 and increased unemployment amongst both Fijians and Indians to the extent that the FSC decided to restrict the issue of new cane contracts. Moreover the evidence suggests that future prospects for sugar in the world economy are extremely poor:

'The writing is on the wall for Third World sugar producers; brisk export growth is a thing of the past and prices may recover substantially only at the cost of sharp production setbacks in tropical growing areas. Smart developing countries should start planning now to get out of this declining industry by 1990' (Nations, 1982).

Prospects for the Fijian sugar economy are not encouraging and the decision to increase production within current boundaries is probably a prelude to a greater emphasis on diversification. Because the Fijian economy approximates to a monoculture, and copra production is also falling, the prospects for agricultural development are currently limited even if substantially better than in most other states in the South Pacific region.

A major settlement scheme exists at Seaqqa, west of Labasa, based on the production of sugar cane. Some 56% of the 762 Seaqqa settlers are Fijians and extension of the settlement scheme concept would probably result

in further Fijian migration; although the aim of the project was almost entirely to increase sugar cane production at a time when this was falling. As in the settlement schemes of Papua New Guinea (Country Report No.14) there appears to have been little evaluation of this scheme, either in terms of agricultural production or social welfare, despite the fact that many cash crop development schemes have tended to be in new areas and that at Seaqaqa was in an area of above-average unemployment. A smaller scheme is currently being established at Dreketi-Mataso near Rakiraki where the government planned to settle 200 farmers by the end of 1982 and a further 200 by the end of 1983. The Seaqaqa scheme is expected to contribute some 350,000 tonnes of cane per year, a figure considerably in excess of the original estimate (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:104), however there have been some constraints on development, with Indian farmers consistently producing greater quantities than Fijian farmers. Out of 448 Fijians only 148 had reached the minimum yield of 15 tonnes of sugar cane per acre compared with 260 out of 339 Indian farmers; at a recent meeting of Fijian cane farmers the Prime Minister commented that lack of drive, determination and courage were the main reasons for these differences (cf. Sevele, 1983:5) yet it is apparent that access to alternative areas of land and sources of income have also been major influences. Those who had migrated to the area were more committed (cf. Evans, 1982). The variable performance of Indian and Fijian farmers reflects not only a general ethnic difference in the approach to agricultural development (e.g. Watters, 1969b:162-4) but also wider problems of establishing new agricultural development opportunities.

Copra production has been declining steadily for some time as a result of low and unstable prices and periodic hurricanes, which have considerable effect in the Eastern Islands where there is essentially a monocultural cash crop economy. Current development strategies are aimed at replacement of old coconuts and interplanting rather than any expansion of coconut areas. However in the Eastern Islands soils are poor, markets are remote and the prospects for interplanting or substitution extremely limited. Further difficulties include irregular shipping, marketing and transport services and poor storage facilities. Thus whilst copra production is expected to be maintained, especially in the Eastern Islands, where it is vital to income generation, its overall significance in the economy is unlikely to increase and the present Development Plan is aimed at ensuring principally that there is no further significant decline, so that the processing industries can continue to operate. Copra production fell from 26,770 tonnes in 1976 to 20,520 tonnes in 1981; part of this decline is attributable to aging palms but cyclones caused considerable damage in 1979 and 1980 and prices have been low and fluctuating. Yields have declined, much replanting since 1963 has been a failure and overall the copra industry is extremely depressed although there are real possibilities for reducing the long-term decline, given a national will (Brookfield, 1983). Copra production is restricted primarily to Vanua Levu and the outer islands, initially because of disease on Viti Levu (although 1,000 tonnes were produced there in 1981) and, since 1975, when prices were extremely low, prices have been subsidised by the government. In general the future of the copra industry is bleak, policy has increasingly favoured diversification away from copra although the task of ensuring alternative incomes in outer islands is considerable.

Development strategies are aimed at expanding a number of cash crops such as cocoa and coffee, that are grown successfully elsewhere in Melanesia but currently have only small acreages in Fiji, in an attempt to diversify agricultural production. Of the relatively new crops cocoa may be the most important both because of generally high prices and its potential for

smaller and remoter islands although development is not without some problems (cf. Brookfield, 1983:38-9). Of the current area under cocoa more than half is in the Northern District. Citrus production is also concentrated in the Northern District at Batiri and is particularly important in Rotuma where an orange juice plant is planned to supply the national market. Coffee is aimed at Taveuni and upper Naitasiri. (By mid-1982 a 730 hectare coffee project had been established on Taveuni, which was expected to produce 500 tonnes of coffee by 1987 and the first exports were made in 1982. This represented the biggest single investment by the multi-national corporation, Carpenters, in Fijian agriculture). By contrast production of another relatively new crop, ginger, has been concentrated within 50 kms. of Suva to facilitate marketing and supervision by staff. (Because the export market is small the further potential of ginger development is limited). However if progress is made towards the production of ethanol from sugar at an economic cost the direction of agricultural development strategy may partially revert towards sugar but, more important, may turn to cassava (as a source of ethanol) which will enable the 'opening' of new regions to development and hence the improved distribution of cash income (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:32). In comparison with other parts of the South Pacific region the potential for diversification is considerable and the smallholder basis of the agricultural economy provides for flexibility.

Underlying agricultural development policy is an orientation towards greater self-reliance in basic food production through import substitution; although this has not been particularly successful in the past (even though the percentage of food imports has scarcely increased in the past decade) the increasing diversity of Fijian agriculture (including coffee, tea, mutton and goats) increases the likelihood of this occurring. This orientation has been combined with a direct drive to encourage the consumption of local food, and Fiji has one of the few national nutrition committees in the region, and one of the most effective, although malnutrition (see below) is not uncommon. Rice production has been expected to be one significant area of import substitution, since rice is a staple food for more than half the population, but there have been high costs in developing land for irrigated rice production and difficulties have been experienced in increasing rice output, which fell significantly from 1976 to 1980. However in 1982 rice production reached 20,302 tonnes, the highest since 1976, and was expected to continue to increase. Although there are no real prospects for achieving self-sufficiency in production in the near future, since only about 45 to 50 percent of rice consumed is currently produced in Fiji, increased rice production has now been given extremely high priority in national development. The main areas of production are at Navua and Rewa, close to Suva, and Dreketi on Vanua Levu. The present Development Plan proposes to encourage the production of root crops, such as cassava, dalo (taro), sweet potato and yams, to meet the demands of urban markets. (There is considerable, but unrealised, potential for the exporting of root crops). Import substitution in agriculture has received increased attention in the late 1970s, since food imports constituted 23% of all imports in 1978 and had previously risen from 10% to 25% in the decade before 1975, and there has been perhaps greater success in import substitution in Fiji than elsewhere in the South Pacific region.

One of the more important root crops is yaqona (kava) which is grown widely throughout Fiji and extensively marketed; local production however is currently inadequate for market supply and yaqona is imported from Tonga. The current Development Plan ignores yaqona (possibly because of its narcotic significance) but in a number of more remote areas, such as

Taveuni, Beqa (Bigay et al, 1981:109), inland Viti Levu (Watters, 1969b:63) and Koro (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:53), production is significant and expanding since its high value-low weight ratio makes it a valuable smallholder crop. On Taveuni there has been a substantial transition from copra to yaqona production in the past few years (Brookfield, 1979a:9), a transition that appears likely to have been maintained, especially since yaqona has a higher income-generating capacity than copra (Hardaker, 1980:106) and, despite some concern about the size of the market and about 'blight' in parts of northern Fiji, yaqona may increasingly prove to be one of the more important crops in the outer islands, especially as an alternative to copra.

Vegetable production is primarily a smallholder activity concentrated in the Sigatoka valley; production is so intensive in that small area that most urban markets, and especially Suva, can be effectively supplied from there alone. Whilst this constitutes a considerable success in vegetable marketing it reduces the opportunities for more distant areas to produce even high value crops for the urban market. Strategies aimed at increasing the production of high value crops for air-freighting from the eastern islands, proposed in the mid-1960s (Brookfield, 1977), have been overtaken by subsequent events (H.C. Brookfield, pers. comm. 1982). Since tobacco production is also concentrated in the Sigatoka valley, and there is considerable potential for expansion (although tobacco is also not discussed in the Development Plan) the Sigatoka Valley has become one of the principal agricultural centres in Fiji and its importance is likely to increase. In terms of employment generation and government revenue, tobacco ranks third after sugar and copra and the industry may be subsidising the expansion of other agricultural activities in Fiji (Sanday et al, 1981:1) despite its own potential. Again the present diversity of the agricultural economy and the prospects for future development are apparent.

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region livestock production plays only a limited role in the agricultural system, although there are current attempts to increase goat meat production, based on nucleus units at Sigatoka and Seaqaqa, achieve self-sufficiency in poultry production, and increase beef production. In the late 1970s both local beef production and beef imports rose but it is anticipated that the Yalavou project, in the Sigatoka valley, will eventually enable a cut-back in imports and these will subsequently further decline with the establishment of the similar Uluisaivou scheme (Kadavu), both undertaken using significant aid inputs from Australia and New Zealand respectively. The Yalavou project alone is expected to save Fiji nearly \$300,000 per annum in beef imports by 1985. Dairy production has not grown significantly in recent years and is mainly concentrated in the Rewa area, close to Suva; local production has had little impact on steadily increasing imports. Sheep production has been given increased priority in the current plan period, although previous attempts at a Fiji mutton industry has been unsuccessful because of administrative and climatic problems.

In Fiji, as throughout a large part of the region, it is in the primary sector (agriculture, fisheries and forestry) that there are the best opportunities for both economic growth and employment creation, but success is likely to depend on vigorous government assistance to almost all activities, through the provision of infrastructure, credit and advice. The current policy is therefore to favour a relatively small number of export crops to ensure that the agricultural sector is a source of revenue (through direct exports and the provision of raw materials for processing) rather than a receiver of grants and subsidies (Fiji, Central Planning Office,

1980:24). However, whilst sugar production is still anticipated to continue to increase, there is expected to be a decline in copra production and increasing emphasis on diversification into areas like cocoa, ginger and citrus production.

Forestry. Large pine forest schemes have recently been introduced in Fiji, especially in the west of Viti Levu, aimed in part towards increased income generation for rural Fijians. The Fiji Pine Commission was established in 1976 and has attempted to develop a viable forest industry in cooperation with traditional land owners. Potential for import substitution and export is considerable but the scheme has not been without considerable political problems, primarily involving land rights (Lal, 1983). The principal pine scheme began in 1972, with New Zealand aid assistance, and initial success resulted in further areas being planned for pine plantations. Log production increased from 120,000 cubic metres in 1976 to 190,000 cubic metres in 1979, so that imports of sawn timber were negligible by the end of 1980; by this time the timber industry had become a moderate foreign exchange earner, gave better access to some interior villages and employed 1,800 people (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:133). Major emphasis is placed on forestry as a means of achieving economic growth and Plan proposals favour further plantation development and the encouragement of private planting; the six largest sawmills are all controlled by overseas corporations, with local participation ranging from 5-50% of shareholdings, hence greater local participation is required. A proposed wood chip factory would satisfy Fijian demand for sawn timber but the development of overseas markets may constrain the overall development of the timber industry.

Fisheries. As a country of many small islands Fiji has perhaps the most important fisheries of any country in the South Pacific region, whilst the recent declaration of a 200 mile Exclusive Economic Zone gives fisheries much greater potential importance. Not only is fisheries an important resource for local subsistence, especially on the smaller islands, but it ranks third, after sugar and tourism, as a source of foreign exchange earnings. During 1981 \$15.47 million of canned tuna was exported and other important export products included beche-de-mer, mother of pearl, trochus and sharkfins. The annual per capita consumption of fresh fish is around 28 kgs. and, with imported frozen and canned fish, is around 47-60 kgs. so that not only is Fiji one of the world's greatest consumers of fish (Lal and Slatter, 1982:20) but there is a considerable domestic market open to import substitution. Subsistence fishing is predominantly both a Fijian and a women's activity and, especially in more remote areas such as the Yasawas, fishing makes the most important contribution to local incomes (see below). Its domestic significance is at least as important as its export significance.

There is enormous potential for fisheries development in Fiji, and also localisation (which has been constrained by the need to train local skilled crew and shore-based workers), although Fiji is already one of the largest exporters of fish products in the South Pacific region. Much of this is canned tuna fish produced in partnership with the Japanese at the freezing and canning factory on Levuka; until 1975 there were no fish exports from Fiji but exports have risen from 1,866 tonnes in 1977 to 5,440 tonnes in 1981, and the value of those exports has gone up fourfold in the same period. This has made a significant contribution to the national economy since in 1981 canned fish imports were less than half the value of exports, and the proportion is still falling. The Levuka factory is supplied by Korean and Taiwanese fishermen along with the Ika Corporation of Fiji, established in 1975. In 1981 57% of the fish landed at Levuka were fished

by Ika, compared with 27% and 6% by Taiwanese and Korean fishing vessels respectively. Thus a steadily growing proportion of the fishing industry is owned by Fiji, and the Ika Corporation is intended to grow much further as local ownership of the industry increases. Moreover available evidence suggests that the skipjack tuna resources of Fiji are capable of supporting catches of at least several times the present levels (Kearney, 1982:39). Consequently this potential, and the success of fisheries expansion in the 1970s, has given it high priority for economic growth in the 1980s; the major objective in the current plan period is to consolidate and expand, as rapidly as is economically feasible, the tuna fishing operations in the exclusive economic zone.

Alongside the large-scale tuna fishing industry, Fiji has a comparatively large fleet of fishing boats owned and operated by local fishermen, and this operation is gradually becoming more commercialised with the Suva market well-supplied and an increasing volume of domestic sales through the 1970s. In 1981 there was a large increase (34% by volume and 50% by value) in local marketing of fish in Fiji. In 1979 some 3,346 people were registered as commercial fishermen, although not all were full-time (alongside 197 employed by the Ika Corporation and a further 250 to 350 people employed in the canning industry). The main focus of current artisanal fisheries policy is aimed at the more remote, semi-subsistence fisheries sectors, such as in the Yasawas, Kadavu, Lau, Lomaiviti and other areas (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:148) with an emphasis on improving both infrastructure (especially freezers), the supply of locally-made low-cost fishing vessels and the development of fisheries aggregation devices. In areas closer to towns, some fishing grounds are over-exploited, hence larger fishing vessels are intended to be supplied to enable fishermen to fish outside those areas.

Mining. Minerals were known to exist in Fiji since the 1860s but it was not until the 1930s that commercial exploitation began from the Yanawai gold mine (Cakaudrove), where mining operations continued to 1943, and in 1935 and 1936 there was a small-scale gold rush in Fiji. By 1936 most prospectors had withdrawn leaving only one major mining field at Vatukoula, where the Emperor mine began in 1934 (Whitelaw, 1967:2-3). Between 1932 and 1940 gold exports rose from 1% of all exports to 40% and in both 1941 and 1945 exceeded the value of sugar; since then the proportion of gold exports has declined steadily stabilising at around 10% through the 1960s (op cit:6). After sugar and fish it is the most important export in Fiji. The gold mining industry went through a long period of uncertainty in the 1970s, marked by a decline in exports from 2,364 grams in 1972 to 875 grams in 1981 (although the export value increased from \$4 million to \$11.9 million in the same period), associated with fluctuating gold prices, labour unrest and higher wages, considerations of nationalisation and, in January 1978, the dismissal of 600 of the 1,300 workers employed at Vatukoula. Thus the gold mining industry has not expanded in recent years and the volatility of gold prices and the declining quality of accessible and known ore give the future of gold mining considerable uncertainty.

In the 1970s a variety of international mining companies were prospecting in Fiji since there appeared considerable potential for mineral exploitation and, around the 1950s, there had been some mining and export of manganese. Bauxite mining was planned at Wainunu (Vanua Levu) in 1974 by a Japanese consortium but this fell through. There are possibilities of marble production. Copper mining at Namosi has been under consideration for many years but costs of establishment and the present low level of copper prices have prevented any decision in favour of its construction, the

implications of the establishment of a copper mine at Namosi have been reviewed in detail elsewhere (Rizer et al, 1982). The potential of the mining industry is almost entirely dependent on world prices, which at the moment are generally very unfavourable to new development. Thus whilst exploration continues there is currently very limited potential for a substantial Fijian mining industry.

Until relatively recently Fiji has been almost wholly dependent on imported petroleum products for energy requirements (apart from a significant use of wood products for domestic use in many areas) so that rising oil costs in the 1970s prompted both increased emphasis on the use of alternative indigenous energy sources and tax concessions to encourage conservation of electricity. In 1977 work began on a major hydro-electric power project at Monasavu on the Nadrau plateau in central Viti Levu, which will result in substantial reductions in the national cost of energy provision, but this is unlikely to occur before the mid-1980s. The local production of ethanol from 1984 onwards is likely to reduce these costs further and new emphasis is being placed on solar energy to the extent that in 1982 tax deductions were offered for all solar appliances. In the rural areas, where wood fuel remains extremely important, there are likely to be critical problems in the next decade as wood supplies become exhausted, especially on the smallest islands (Siwatibau, 1981), and such areas may become increasingly dependent on imported fuels. On balance therefore, whilst the national energy cost and supply situation is likely to have improved by the end of the decade, this improvement may not be true of the more remote rural areas.

Manufacturing. Fiji's manufacturing industry is primarily based on the processing of agricultural commodities; sugar processing alone accounts for half the value added in the manufacturing sector. The small size and fragmented nature of the market, high transport costs and wages limit the potential for expansion of the manufacturing sector, other than through diversification of processing for exports, for example into furniture. Apart from sugar processing most of Fiji's industries are located in and around Suva, are expanding out towards Nausori, and are based largely on import substitution which has only modest scope for further expansion due to the small size of the domestic market, relatively low average income levels and the difficulty of finding new areas for substitution; nevertheless, by contrast with other countries in the region, Fiji has already made substantial achievements. Import substitution, assisted by bans on some foreign imports, has to a considerable extent been successful in Fiji; between 1970 and 1979 the number of manufacturing firms increased from 311 to 472 and employment in manufacturing rose from 8,300 to over 14,000. The former Minister for Commerce argued at the end of 1981 that 'we have been so successful in this policy of promoting import substitution that we have almost reached saturation point in terms of creation of industries that can be viable to replace imports' (South Pacific Islands Business News, 7(12), December 1981:24). Current emphasis in industrial development is nevertheless on the further processing of local primary resources, and the decentralisation of industry to urban centres regarded as having significant potential for expansion, such as Nadi, Sigatoka, Ba, Labasa and Savusavu. Because of past achievements in import substitution and the lack of raw materials available for significant export orientation the potential of future industrial development in Fiji is limited, despite the current policy of establishing an Industrial Free Zone near Lautoka for export orientated manufacturing production, which would diversify exports and broaden the domestic manufacturing base.

Tourism. Of all the countries in the South Pacific region Fiji has been the most successful in establishing a tourist economy which has been able to make a substantial contribution to the national economy. The Fijian tourist industry demonstrated very rapid growth in the late 1960s and early 1970s despite its increasing dependence on the relatively small Australian market. Since 1974 there has been a very slow increase in the annual number of tourists visiting Fiji and since 1979 the annual number of tourists has been around 189,000 until 1982 when the number exceeded 200,000 for the first time, plus around 57,000 short-term visitors on cruise ships. In recent years Australian tourists have constituted over 40% of all tourists and more than half in 1982; Japanese tourists now represent almost 10% of all tourists, although Japanese tourism was virtually non-existent before 1977. The limited growth of tourism in recent years, despite the expansion of the Japanese market, has restricted the impact of tourism on other sectors of the economy, notably the construction industry, although several new hotels have been opened since 1977. Development favours the expansion of tourism alongside greater local participation in the industry to maximise its contribution to domestic economic growth. An important contribution of tourism to the national economy is through the provision of employment since the industry has created perhaps 10,000 jobs (Britton, 1983:198).

Much discussion has revolved around the role of tourism in national development primarily because of the high degree of foreign ownership in the tourist industry (and its components, such as airlines), the restricted direct benefits to the national economy, the impact of tourism on social change and its dependence on an overseas market subject to fluctuating economic conditions (cf. Britton, 1982). Because of the overwhelming dominance of foreign investors and the limited use of domestic foods and manufactured products, it has been estimated in the Seventh Development Plan that more than 55% of tourist spending is lost to the economy, a leakage regarded by the World Bank as 'excessively high by international standards', and more recent estimates confirm this estimate (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:196). Approximately 60% of all hotel accommodation is owned by foreign interests and a large proportion of the commodities (especially food and drinks) consumed by tourists are imported; because of the capital costs involved in tourist development, and despite policies directed towards local ownership, especially in ancillary areas (such as handicrafts, tours and cruises), 'it is not anticipated that significant advances will be made in the plan period toward achieving the objective of increasing the retained value of tourism' (op cit:197) hence the future contribution of tourism to the national economy is primarily dependent on an increase in the number of tourists. However since there is concern over the social and cultural impact of tourism (ibid; Samy, 1980; Vusoniwailala, 1980) increases in number may have harmful social effects and even reduce the attractiveness of tourism in Fiji (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:197). The tourist industry is also highly localised, principally in the south-west of Viti Levu, and especially the Coral Coast; it has therefore some of the characteristics of an enclave economy with restricted impact on much of the country, but a substantial impact on one area.

Compared with other leading sectors of the economy (notably sugar and gold production) tourism has been a relatively stable source of employment and foreign exchange and its expansion in 1982, at a time when many other sectors of the economy were experiencing difficult times, has increased the significance attached to the tourism industry. Consequently, to some extent, 'Fiji seeks tourism-led recovery' (Hubbard, 1983) through further expansion of tourism from Australia and Japan and greater concentration on the North American market. Optimism over the future of tourism has reduced

concern over its negative effects but has not further stimulated policies directed towards increasing local participation at all levels or decentralising the tourist economy; until this is achieved the contribution of tourism to the national economy will continue to remain well below its potential.

Transport. In a country of a hundred populated islands transport, and especially sea transport, is critically important for both economic growth and the provision of welfare services. As a result of shipping services not being maintained at as high a level of frequency or reliability as is desirable, because of rising fuel and labour costs, 'there has been marginalization, in terms of access, of many of the outer islands and out-migration from these islands has been steady' (Ward and Proctor, 1980:426). Since most inter-island shipping services were owned by private companies until the mid-1970s the government launched a major vessel construction programme in an effort to ensure that services could be maintained at a reasonable frequency to remote islands and is currently undertaking the nationalisation of inter-island shipping services.

In other areas of transport the available services are more appropriate to the needs of the country; on the two main islands, and other large islands like Taveuni, few villages are away from roads and there is constant construction and redevelopment of feeder roads (some in association with forestry development). Few roads are sealed outside the urban areas with the exception of large parts of the Suva-Lautoka road and a few other roads. Moreover Fiji is well supplied with public transport in both urban and rural areas. In a few areas, notably on the Rewa and Navua rivers, there is riverine access to villages and the combination of roads and rivers has provided most villages and settlements on the two main islands with good access to markets. Air transport gives passenger and freight access to the international economy and the Fiji government has a majority shareholding in the national carrier Air Pacific which currently flies to a number of countries in the region, plus New Zealand, Australia and Hawaii. There are about twenty airstrips in Fiji, most of which are served by Fiji Air, in which the government has a 16% share. The Rotuma airfield was completed in 1981 and airstrips are currently being built at Kadavu and Moala. The cargo-carrying capacity of Fiji Air is particularly important for some of the smaller islands but the government has given greater priority to sea rather than air transport in the present plan period because of its potential contribution to balanced development and the greater national ownership of shipping services.

Development Planning and Welfare. Development Planning began in Fiji shortly after the end of the Second World War, and the current Development Plan is the eighth (DP8), so that Fiji's experience of development planning is considerably greater than that of any other country in the region. The principal national development objectives of the current plan are,

- a) to strengthen and further diversify the economic base of the nation,
- b) to promote a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development,
- c) to ensure that opportunity for productive and rewarding social or economic activity is available as far as possible for those who want it,
- d) to promote policies and attitudes to increase self-reliance,
- e) to promote a greater sense of national unity within the framework of a multi-ethnic society,
- f) to promote regional and international cooperation.

These objectives have been elaborated in more detail in DP8 (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:17-19) and can be summarised as 'provision of enough socially productive jobs with sufficient income for a reasonable standard of living for the majority of people throughout Fiji' (op cit:21). In general DP8 emphasized the earlier focus of DP7 on the decentralisation of economic activity and the provision of basic needs, and went beyond this to develop a more comprehensive approach to regional development planning but, as with the previous plans, attempted to produce an integrated approach towards economic growth, distribution and equity directed towards the primary sector, and supplemented by tourism and necessarily limited manufacturing.

Although earlier development plans stressed the need for regional development, to ameliorate imbalances in economic activity between regions, they did not indicate means of achieving this. The current plan aims to locate development activity in areas of unrealised potential and specifically to develop a network of regional urban centres and rural infrastructure, decentralise regional decision-making and establish a regional industrial policy (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:25, 334-339). Major elements of this regional approach are the desire to promote development outside the 'Suva-Nausori corridor' and hence to slow migration to this area and reduce disparities in regional income distribution by creating growth centres elsewhere in the country; this policy has been elaborated in detail throughout a second volume of the current Eighth Development Plan which is entirely devoted to 'Policies and Programmes for Regional Development'. It follows an earlier report on Regional Planning in Fiji (United Nations Development Programme, 1977), which identified some sixty locations with potential for growth, and combines the decentralisation of infrastructure and decision-making with financial incentives for rural and industrial development in outlying areas, although industrial development is intended primarily for Nadi-Lautoka and Savusavu. The extent to which decentralisation of decision-making is possible is limited and 'During DP8 Government will be extremely cautious in handling the rate of change to a more decentralised system of decision-making and regional administration' (Fiji, Central Planning Office, Volume 2; 1980:31). Moreover a shortage of skilled manpower is likely to slow, or minimise the effectiveness of, administrative decentralisation. Thus the regional development policy is essentially directed towards a comprehensive redirection of economic change in Fiji, in spatial location and in terms of distribution rather than growth, which is a culmination of a period of movement away from a focus on macro-economic and sectoral planning. However a situation where a significant proportion of the urban population are effectively permanent (see below) and where it is argued that a dispersal strategy cannot generate as much as half the new jobs which need to be generated in Fiji in future years (UNDP, 1977:52) has suggested that 'the major job-creation role must continue to be located in the existing urban areas' (ibid). Whilst this situation would severely reduce the possibility of achieving substantial changes in the structure of regional development it has been argued that this perception reflects a strong urban-industrial bias, which may in itself be invalid and also be inappropriate for Fiji (cf. Brookfield with Bedford, 1977:318). These issues are discussed further below.

Regional development poses particular problems in a country where there are two large islands, around a hundred other occupied islands, a scatter of very small, remote islands in the east and the Polynesian outlier of Rotuma. Recent development has been uneven with rapid growth being concentrated in the southern, western and north western coastal areas of Viti Levu and the

northern part of Vanua Levu, with population migration to those areas. The extent to which a more balanced regional development is possible has thus always posed problems for planners in Fiji and has now been given particular attention.

The eastern islands exemplify some of the problems of smallness, remoteness and relative poverty of natural resources (including water) that are typical of other parts of the South Pacific. The population of the eastern islands is around 40,000, some 6% of the total population of Fiji (but half the proportion in pre-war years since out-migration has been considerable) and they are dependent on copra production and remittances. Two general approaches have been considered for the development of the region. Firstly, there is the view that to create employment opportunities in the islands, sufficient to reverse or stop present emigration levels, would require too heavy an investment to be realistic so that only minimal investment should be made in the eastern islands during the transition to virtually depopulated islands following almost total out-migration. This kind of strategy for the development problems of small islands is, of course, only possible in relatively large South Pacific countries where substantial internal migration is a possibility. This limited approach to development in the eastern islands was apparent in the approach of UN regional planners in the mid-1960s who saw little prospect for improving the economic conditions and living standards of the inhabitants of many small islands. They commented, with reference to eastern Fiji, that investment in social welfare facilities and employment generating activity should be concentrated on the two main islands except for a certain basic level of services that needed to be supplied to the outer islands for equity reasons (cf. Bedford, 1977:11). This bias towards a centre-dominated, urban-industrial and tourism-oriented development essentially neglected the income-generating, employment-creating and basic needs satisfying effects of agricultural development. It could also be argued that the depopulation of the eastern islands, although cheaper in the short-term, would constitute a waste of resources at a time when urban unemployment is increasing and productive land will become increasingly valuable (cf. Brookfield with Bedford, 1977). Agricultural development should therefore be concentrated and encouraged on a limited number of the larger eastern islands although the extent to which this might grow into more integrated development is limited. Thus, in the context of one particular region, there remain quite different perceptions of the appropriate strategy of development planning, perceptions which occur at a national political level and which tend to inhibit effective economic and regional planning.

Fiji has had the longest-established Development Bank in the South Pacific region, which was established in 1967 to stimulate economic development, especially in the rural and agricultural sectors of the economy, in line with government priorities such as employment generation, import reduction, economic diversification and the reduction of income disparities. In 1981-82 some 51% of the value of all loans went into the agricultural and fisheries sector, and 38% into industry; this was a record level of loans into that sector, and fishing loans doubled in size, and a switch towards the rural sector from a previous situation favouring industrial and commercial loans. A major area of loans was into the new Dreketi-Mataso Cane Development Project near Rakiraki but most agricultural loans went into a variety of mixed crop projects, several undertaken by cooperatives; few loans were made in areas where Fiji has achieved self-sufficiency, such as poultry, pigs and egg production and, significantly, there have been few loan enquiries for the development of rice and coconuts, despite their potential (Fiji Development Bank, 1982:9).

Fisheries loans have primarily been for large new fishing vessels to help phase out the Japanese vessels chartered by the Ika Corporation. Loans to industries were mainly concentrated on manufacturing industries and most of the industries supported were in the Suva-Nausori corridor. The available published information on the spatial distribution of loans is poor (since the Bank loan areas are unusual, for example grouping Taveuni, Lau, Navua and Suva into one area) but it suggests that more remote rural areas, such as eastern Vanua Levu and probably the small islands, where copra and fishing activities are virtually the total of economic activity, have not generated as many loans as in urban areas, and especially Suva-Nausori, and those rural areas such as Sigatoka where significant economic activity already exists. Nevertheless the extent of lending to the rural sector, even though much appears to be relatively large loans to large farms and cooperatives, does demonstrate the ability of the Fiji Development Bank to encourage rural development to a greater extent than has been achieved by many other banks in the region, a situation which almost certainly reflects the availability of opportunities in the Fiji rural sector. In addition to the Development Bank Fiji also has a Business Opportunity and Management Advisory Service (BOMAS), set up in 1975 as part of the Ministry of Fijian Affairs and Rural Development to offer management advice, financial and technical services to Fijians. Little information was available on the effectiveness of BOMAS; it assisted over 700 clients in 1980 of whom almost 50% sought loans with the Development Bank.

Education in Fiji is almost universal (98% in primary education in 1979) and the literacy rate is very high (about 80%). However the national economy experiences a shortage of both middle and higher level skills, indicated in civil service vacancies and insufficient technical services which are partly met by the recruitment of expatriates. There is a surplus of unskilled manpower, indicated in the high unemployment rates of those with little or no education and without work experience. Secondary education now extends to over 60% of those in the relevant age groups, with a lower proportion for Fijians, but provides minimal vocational training thus tending to increase the surplus of urban, white-collar job-seekers. At primary level there was no appreciable difference in school attendance between rural and urban areas or between Indian and Fijian children which suggests equitable access to primary education; at secondary level urban attendance rates are higher and 'a major problem is the location of most secondary schools in urban areas and the highly academic curricula of most schools' (Walsh, 1982:39). Fiji has a range of tertiary education institutions giving the population greater access to tertiary education than elsewhere in the South Pacific region; these include the University of the South Pacific (and the Fiji School of Medicine), the Fiji Institute of Technology, the Fiji College of Agriculture and three teachers colleges. With one exception they are in Suva. Current educational policy is aimed at extending the coverage of education to those rural and urban poor, whose needs are not currently being met; a survey in Suva in 1970 revealed that in 11% of all households some children were not at school especially those from poor households who were predominantly Fijian (Austin and Harre, 1970). There is also a policy emphasis on increasing the content of the syllabus that focuses on the utilisation of domestic resources and is therefore more appropriate to traditional concerns in Fiji.

Relative to most other countries in the South Pacific region the standard of health of the population in Fiji is generally good. The most common diseases are influenza, infantile diarrhoea, measles and chicken-pox; of the more serious diseases there is some tuberculosis in older age groups and a high incidence of sexually transmitted diseases amongst the young.

The main causes of death in Fiji are similar to those seen in the more developed countries, that is diseases of the heart or circulatory system, diseases of the lungs and respiratory system and metabolic diseases, such as diabetes and other nutritional deficiencies, various forms of cancer, cerebro-vascular diseases and accidents. Average life expectancy at birth is now estimated to be around 70 years (Fiji, Ministry of Health, 1982:2). In part because of the size of the country the distribution of health services in Fiji is relatively equitable, and outlying areas such as Lau (Jones and Chisholm, 1978) are well served by staff and services. Nevertheless Central Division (including Suva) is much better supplied with medical personnel than other parts of Fiji and between 1970-78 the urban-rural gap in the distribution of services increased, despite lower rates of rural population growth and an intended strategy of decentralisation (Walsh, 1982:36). Current proposals are oriented at emphasizing primary health care and decentralising health services from urban areas (op cit:14) and there is both a perceived manpower shortage, which has resulted in the in-migration of some doctors (see below), and a shortage of hospital beds (UNFPA, 1981:32). In the mid-1970s the Fiji School of Medicine established a two-year course to equip medical assistants for limited roles in rural areas; these 'barefoot doctors', the first of whom graduated in 1977, were intended to extend the coverage of medical cure and relieve pressure on general practitioners.

Malnutrition occurs in Fiji, and appears to have been increasing in the 1970s; it is more evident among low income earners, the destitute and the unemployed, mainly in the urban and semi-urban areas, and to a lesser extent in rural areas. Women, infants and pre-school children seem to be the most vulnerable. Worsening infant nutrition reflects, in part, a decline in breast-feeding (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:84; Hudson, 1981). The overwhelming proportion of cases of malnutrition (507 out of 573 between 1971 and 1977) are amongst Fijians (Fiji, Bureau of Statistics, 1979:19) and a high incidence of malnutrition has been found in children aged under five, especially those who have been bottle-fed (Johnson and Lambert, 1982:18). In urban areas malnutrition is most likely to be combined with low incomes and small garden plots (Lucas, 1978b:332) whilst rural malnutrition, as in Namosi, was a result of low socio-economic status alongside the unavailability of some protein and fat-rich foods (op cit:333). A lack of land and low incomes were critical for many families (Johnson and Lambert, 1982). Whilst these trends are relatively recent it is apparent, firstly, that some parts of Fiji and notably the small islands of Lau, such as Ogea, Fulaga and Kabara, have long been known as 'famine islands' (Thompson, 1972:3) whilst, secondly, as early as 1929 there had been a considerable regression in food status amongst Fijians who leased their land and lived on store-purchased food (Manning and Thaman, 1980:49). Moreover when people are effectively forced back to subsistence production, as cash incomes effectively decline, dietary dependence also declines and nutrition levels improve (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:51). In addition to malnutrition, there is also a problem of overconsumption, especially in urban areas where 'circulatory diseases' have become increasingly common; as Manning and Thaman observe, some upper-income Fijians and Indians are 'eating ourselves to death in paradise' (op cit:49). Dietary patterns of Fijians and Indians are different in both rural and, to a lesser extent, urban areas. The main staple foods of rural Fijians are cassava, sweet potatoes, taro and yams whereas for rural Indians they are rice, pulses, potatoes, egg plants and green beans; the main additional purchased foods are flour for Indians and rice and biscuits for Fijians. Surveys of food consumption of the two groups in the Sigatoka valley indicate that not only does the adult Fijian consume 54% more food than the adult Indian but that the Fijian diet is 21%

more expensive, because of the greater Fijian dependence on store-purchased food (Chandra, 1981:35). Fijians spent more than twice as much as Indians on food although their cash income was only half that of Indians (op cit:40). It is partly this greater dependence on purchased foods that explained the often inferior nutritional status of rural Fijians compared with rural Indians.

Throughout Fiji, as elsewhere in the South Pacific region, in recent decades there has been a significant decline in the significance of the extended family and the corresponding increase in importance of independent nuclear families, a situation that has been widely documented in Fiji (Bayliss-Smith, 1977; Chandra, 1980) both for Fijians and Indians (e.g. Sahlins, 1962). One of the factors influencing this change has been the migration of young men to urban areas and the consequent disruption of traditional marriage patterns (Sahlins, 1962), a trend which is only now being experienced, in countries such as Papua New Guinea (see Country Report No.14). One result of this change has been the reduced significance of the mataqali as a land-owning unit as access to land has become more individualised; there is therefore some evidence that in many parts of Fiji individual households are not only tending to become the owners and users of particular tracts of land but are unwilling to lease or lend out parts of that land (R.G. Ward, pers. comm. 1983). Close kinship structures, with their emphasis on reciprocity, inherited social status and rank, are being replaced by individualism and egalitarianism. This is apparent in the increased emphasis being placed on universal education, and access to wage employment, and the gradual replacement of the traditional authority system by a modern democratic system. These social and political changes are paralleled by economic changes, and especially the decline in the subsistence sector, increased population pressure on resources, the increasing extent of cash crop cultivation, market orientation and therefore monetisation. Concepts of property and ownership have shifted from a group to an individual orientation and emigration and wage employment have disrupted ritual obligations and communal activities (cf. Chao, 1980:515-6). These trends are similar to those elsewhere in the South Pacific region.

By contrast to the Fijian population the Indian population is quite diverse, both because of different geographical origins (and hence linguistic divisions) within India and because of differences between Hindus and Muslims. While there is considerable effective residential segregation between Indians and Fijians in rural areas the processes of social and economic change within the Indian communities are not fundamentally different from those in Fijian villages, although in most Indian communities the egalitarian ethos has been much stronger than in Fijian areas. Indian tenure of land, through leasehold rather than ownership, has assisted in producing a stronger Indian orientation towards participation in the cash economy, both through agricultural development and business development, which has resulted in a minimal retained significance of a subsistence economy. Moreover in areas like the Lau islands, where remoteness and isolation give the subsistence economy particular importance for Fijians, there are no Indians other than civil servants. Social changes have, in some respects, paralleled social changes amongst Fijians; traditional authority has declined, age is held in less respect, extended kinship ties are of declining importance, women have higher status and the caste system has disintegrated (cf. Jayawardena, 1971; Chandra, 1980:33-35). Both in Fijian and Indian communities the growing movement towards market

participation and away from traditional values suggests that 'the modern trend of uneven distribution of wealth in the village will intensify' (Chao, 1980:541) whilst status will increasingly be marked by achievement rather than inheritance.

Employment

The structure of employment and economic activity is characterised by the predominance of work in the agricultural sector, as the majority of the population continue to live and work outside the urban areas, where employment outside agriculture is relatively limited. As elsewhere in the region there has been a steady post-war movement away from agricultural employment, combined with migration away from rural areas, a relatively small increase in employment in the manufacturing sector and a substantial increase in employment in the service sector. Data on paid employment, though incomplete, indicate that the growth in formal sector employment has slowed since 1975. Wage and salary employment increased from 57,000 in 1971 to 70,000 in 1975 and 80,000 in 1980 giving annual growth rates of 5.3% for 1971-75 and 2.5% for 1975-80. Since an estimated 10,000 students leave the school system and join the labour force each year the magnitude of the task of generating employment is increasingly apparent.

The most detailed recent published data on employment in Fiji were those assembled in the course of the 1976 census and subsequently analysed in some detail (Henry, 1978). This has been partially updated in quarterly and annual employment surveys (which collect data from establishments rather than individuals) and, most recently, by the 1982 national employment and unemployment survey. These data provide a more comprehensive picture of the employment and unemployment situation than exists in most other parts of the South Pacific region.

In 1976 the 'economically active' population were defined as 'those who worked at all in the previous week or were only temporarily absent from work because of illness, vacation, industrial action and so on. The category also includes those who were "unemployed", defined in this case as those who had not worked at all in the past week but were actively looking for work' (Henry, 1978:1). Despite some problems of definition (ibid) this appears to have given a relatively accurate picture of the economically active population (Table One) although excluding men and women working in largely subsistence agricultural activities. Between 1956 and 1976 the proportion of the population that was economically active increased at a rate somewhat greater than that for the total population (aged over fifteen) primarily because of a marked growth in the number of economically active females and a slight decline in the participation of males (due to an increase in the proportion of full-time students). However the proportion of the population aged 15 or over that was economically active has remained relatively stable (50% in 1956 and 51% in 1976). Female participation in the labour force is correlated with urban location and educational achievement (Henry, 1976:4) and female workers were likely to be younger (op cit:7). Male participation in the labour force varied little by ethnic group; for females, 12% of Indians were in the labour force, 21% of Fijians and 51% of Rotumans, mainly as unpaid family agricultural workers (op cit:5). A more detailed analysis of this data is given in the census tables.

The size of the economically active workforce increased substantially between 1966 and 1976, and the size of the workforce in all economic categories, other than mining and quarrying, also increased (Table Two).

Table 1. Economically Active Population, 1976.

	Population Aged 15 Years and Over					
	TOTAL		Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL	346,091	100.0	174,036	100.0	172,055	100.0
Economically Active	175,785	50.8	146,315	84.1	29,470	17.1
Working	163,965	47.4	138,263	79.5	25,702	14.9
Unemployed	11,820	3.4	8,052	4.6	3,768	2.2
Not Economically Active	168,446	48.7	26,656	15.3	141,790	82.4
Unpaid home duties	118,232	34.2	562	0.3	117,670	68.4
Students	30,486	8.8	15,455	8.9	15,031	8.7
Retired, too old to work	11,642	3.3	5,267	3.0	6,375	3.7
Disabled, unable to work	2,949	0.8	1,967	1.1	982	0.6
Resting	3,040	0.9	1,700	1.0	1,340	0.8
Immates, patients in institutions	1,369	0.4	1,096	0.6	273	0.2
Armed Forces and Others	537	0.2	508	0.3	29	0.0
Tourists in private households	191	0.1	101	0.1	90	0.1
Economic Activity Not Stated	1,860	0.5	1,065	0.6	795	0.5

Source: Henry, 1978:2.

After the decline in mining the slowest rate of growth was in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, whose total share of the workforce fell steadily, from 58% in 1956 to 44% in 1976. Of the 76,886 workers recorded in agriculture, forestry and fisheries in 1976 only 769 were in forestry and 1,298 in fisheries, together only 2% of this sector. Between 1966 and 1976 the main increases in employment in the agricultural sector have been, for males, in cane growing and harvesting (and also fishing) and, for females, in subsistence farming (especially the growing of root crops) (Table Three). Mixed subsistence-type farming was almost exclusively reported by Fijians; only in the growing and harvesting of sugar cane and rice and in dairy-farming did Indians outnumber Fijians. The majority of paid employment in this sector was also in sugar-cane growing and harvesting.

Table 2. Labour Force, Employment and Unemployment, 1966-1976.

	Number (Thousands)		Percentage		
	1966	1976	1956	1966	1976
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	68.1	76.9	58	54	44
Mining and Quarrying	1.9	1.6	2	2	1
Manufacturing	8.8	13.0	7	7	7
Construction	7.3	11.1	7	6	6
Transportation & Utilities	7.4	10.6	5	6	6
Commerce and Services	27.1	50.0	18	20	29
EMPLOYED	120.6	163.2			
UNEMPLOYED	5.2	11.8)		
Not classified	1.3	0.5	) 3	5	7
Economically Active	125.4	175.8)		
			100	100	100

Source: Henry, 1978:18.

The greatest proportion of agricultural employment is in sugar cultivation which has 'a unique system of egalitarian peasant farming, relying predominantly on farm labour' (Lee, 1983:2) and supplemented by the contracting of labour for cane-cutting operations. Cane harvesting and transport are therefore a major source of seasonal agricultural wage-employment although evidence on labour productivity in the semi-subsistence sector suggests that 'employment in subsistence farming yields higher returns than rural wage-employment' (op cit:9). By 1981 23% of all growers and nearly 30% of non-grower members of harvesting gangs were Fijian (Ellis, 1983a:15). Various calculations and estimates of the number of cane-cutters have been made which suggest an annual contemporary harvesting strength of at least 24,000, and possibly as high as 35,000. This situation indicates both that there is no general shortage of cane-cutters but, on the contrary, that large numbers of people are prepared to cut cane, so that the availability of cane-cutting prevents substantial overt unemployment (Ellis, 1983b:5). Over the past three years there have been an average of 10,900 hired members of harvesting gangs, of whom 6,800 are Indians and a large proportion of these, perhaps 5,000 or so, are landless labourers for whom cane harvesting really is the basic means of survival (op cit:8). Nearly 40% of all Fijian cane-cutters are employed in

Table 3. Structure of Employment in Primary Industry 1966-1976.

	1976		1966	
	Males Number	Females Percent	Males Number	Females Number
TOTAL	70,037	100	67,373	749
Mixed, subsistence farming	26,823	38	26,198	86
Sugar cane	29,620	42	26,162	411
Dairy or Livestock farming	1,251	2	1,349	24
Growing fruits, vegetables, other crops	10,422	15	11,272	190
Coconuts, copra	2,067	3	3,685	30
Root crops	5,585	8	-	-
Agricultural services	90	-	588	33
Forestry and Logging	719	1	1,373	5
Fishing	1,112	2	431	-

Source: Henry, 1978:28.

the new sugar development area of Seaqaqa on Vanua Levu; they originate from a large part of the Northern and Eastern Division of Fiji, including the distant islands of southern Lau (op cit:10; see below). In addition to wage labourers involved in cane-cutting operations there are also a number of hired workers on cattle ranches and plantations, perhaps more than 900 (ILO, 1982:6) but not as many as 3,000 (Young, 1983:19). Part-time agricultural workers are also hired in a variety of activities, including rice-planting and harvesting and copra plantation work (op cit: 20). There has been some movement away from the plantation sector into cane-cutting employment as cane-cutting wages have improved relative to plantation wages. In general those employed as wage labourers in the agricultural sector have no other means of earning income and include many of the poorest groups (see below) in Fiji.

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region attitudes are increasingly directed against employment in agriculture; youths 'are educated to value white collar occupations and detest farming' (Naidu, 1981:8) and, amongst the rice fields of the Navua plain, 'while most farmers state they do not want their sons to be farmers, they nevertheless teach them rice farming skills, but hope they will do well enough at school to avoid the necessity of using these skills later in life' (Thomas, 1981:14). Such attitudes are as common amongst Indians as Fijians. In areas where agriculture is more of a marginal economic activity, as in Lau, aspirations are even more strongly directed outwards. By contrast jobs in the tourism area (Samy, 1980), and in government services, are regarded much more favourably by both Fijians and Indians, both in terms of prestige and anticipated incomes. One effect of this, evident now for more than a decade, is that school leavers are usually willing to wait longer without taking up formal employment to increase the chance of getting a job with higher pay; that is 'the cost of unemployment is an investment that yields an income stream later in the form of higher pay' (Desai, 1973:1). However the continued increase in the numbers of cane-cutters indicates that workers are willing to take up employment in one of the poorest-paid sectors in the country and, moreover, there is evidence of growing rural 'unemployment'. 'This situation is in part due to the fact that the capacity of the sugar industry to absorb labour either in farming, cutting or milling is now levelling off' (Young, 1983:20). The evidence therefore suggests that although aspirations are increasingly directed towards urban office employment many individuals are willing to take up cane-cutting (and demand for cane-cutters is satisfied) as these aspirations cannot be satisfied.

The growth of employment in the manufacturing sector has done little more than keep pace with the increase in the total economically active population, whilst the service sector, especially the fairly small finance, insurance and real estate sector, has grown the most rapidly (Henry, 1978:17). The manufacturing sector is dominated by sugar manufacturing, with 28% of all jobs in that sector; although the number of jobs in sugar manufacturing increased between 1966 and 1976 the proportion actually fell as the manufacturing sector expanded and diversified. The growing workforce in the tourist sub-sector of the service sector is characterised by an unusual division of labour with Fijians dominating jobs with direct contact with Europeans and Indians dominating in most other areas (Samy, 1980:70). The Civil Service is proportionately fairly well distributed between racial groups. In June 1982 46.5% of employees were Fijians and 47% Indians (Parliament of Fiji, 1982b:13); although the breakdown at different levels in the Service is not given the Public Service Commission has found it hard to maintain a racial balance at higher levels since there are relatively few

Fijians with formal qualifications (South Seas Digest, 17, 20 November 1981). The general trends in the structure of employment in Fiji, which have largely been maintained since 1976 (see below), are similar to those occurring elsewhere in the South Pacific region although the extent of that transition, and the size of the tertiary sector, is much greater than in most other states.

There was a disproportionate age distribution of the labour force in the agricultural sector, in the sense that the young (15-19) or the old (60 years plus) were mainly working in agriculture. Fijians were disproportionately employed in agriculture (especially in sugar-cane farming) compared with Indians who were more likely to be employed in manufacturing and trading. Some 40% of all Chinese workers were engaged in trade, restaurants or hotels (Henry, 1978:20). The declining mining sector (with a labour force of only 1,602 in 1976) was unsurprisingly predominantly male; Fijians made up 62% of the labour force, Indians 21% and Rotumans 8%. This unusually high Rotuman component is a legacy of early Rotuman migration to work in the Vātukoula mine and Vātukoula is one of the significant Rotuman centres in Fiji.

One area of economic activity that is not recorded in any formal surveys of employment is the 'informal sector', that area of economic activity where cash incomes are earned but outside a formally recorded system. The marketing of agricultural produce is such an example, where substantial incomes may be earned from almost full-time marketing activity; thus the information on wage and salary employment excludes a substantial proportion of the population who were earning incomes but not necessarily on a regular wage or salary basis and whose participation in the cash economy is unrecorded in most employment surveys. The informal sector of the economy in Fiji is probably greater in its extent and significance than in any other country in the region, through agricultural marketing, handicraft production, shoe-polishing and in some other areas (cf. Waqa, 1977:27). In some localised areas the informal sector is highly important; in Suvavou village, just outside Suva, almost all households regularly make and sell handicrafts (Niukula, 1980:83) and sword selling is a visible, and sometimes profitable activity, which has occasionally achieved notoriety (Sikivou, 1980; Durutalo and Sanday, 1981) but has positive economic benefits:

'The majority of the sword sellers are young men from Suvavou and the other Fijian settlements who through their own ingenuity and hard work have been able to create jobs for themselves without Government help or waiting for handouts. Unlike the big boys in the tourist industry..the tourist dollars earned by these young men are all retained here in Fiji and are not "leaked" back overseas' (Durutalo and Sanday, 1981).

The 'shoe-shine boys' (Oliver, 1975) and other groups have similarly been able to develop new sub-sectors of the economy, redistribute income from richer to poorer groups and reduce the extent of overt unemployment. Between 1974 and 1975 the number of shoe-shine boys in Suva doubled when there were about forty workers and the number was still growing; about 80% were Fijian. Ten out of eighteen boys interviewed in 1975 were migrants from rural areas although usually with their parents (Oliver, 1975). Casual empiricism suggests both that this, and some other parts of the informal sector (such as canvassing for the duty-free trade), are largely confined to Suva and have not expanded significantly since the mid-1970s. The extent to which this indicates that opportunities in the informal sector are fully

taken up, that there are legalistic constraints to the expansion of the sector, that the urban unemployment situation (see below) is better than anticipated or that other factors are involved in its stability is not clear.

Employment in some sectors was located primarily in the urban areas; thus in 1976 over half of all persons employed in government services were in Suva as were more than half of those persons employed in domestic services. High proportions of those working in the education and medical fields and in motor-vehicle repairs also worked and resided in Suva (Henry, 1978:21). Thus a very high proportion of the better paid and more prestigious jobs, especially in the government sector, were in Suva and smaller proportions in the other urban centres. The sugar industry is overwhelmingly dominant in some towns; thus Lautoka, Ba, Labasa and Rakiraki are sometimes regarded as "sugar" towns although, by 1976, only in Rakiraki did the sugar industry (growing, harvesting and manufacturing) actually predominate as the major source of employment (Henry, 1978:23). Although sugar remained important in the other three towns alternative manufacturing opportunities have been developed, the commercial sector has grown, and diversification has reduced the dominance of sugar. Gold mining and processing remained dominant in Vatukoula in 1976, employing 59% of the economically active population (op cit:24); since then its dominance has been reduced because of the substantial decline in the mine labour force (but accompanied by out-migration). The only other town with an unusual distribution of the economically active population was Levuka, where 21% of the workforce were engaged in the fishing industry.

From the 1976 data on employment it is possible to distinguish three different groups of provinces: those mainly oriented to a more traditional agricultural system, those where the sugar industry predominates and those with more mixed economies. Firstly, there are seven provinces characterised by more traditional agricultural activities, with very high proportions of the economically active population engaged in agriculture; these are Bua (85%), Cakaudrove (68%), Kadavu (87%), Lau (77%), Lomaiviti (64%), Namosi (70%) and Rotuma (83%) (Henry, 1978:24). Only one of these provinces (Namosi) is on Viti Levu and only one province outside Viti Levu (Macuata) is not in this group. The two provinces with a very high reliance on the sugar industry are Macuata and Ra; in both these provinces 47% of the economically active population were engaged in the sugar industry. In Ra 72% of the population were engaged in some part of the agricultural economy. A third group of provinces were those with more mixed economies. The sugar industry was of particular importance to Ba (providing employment for 38% of the economically active population); indeed 54% of all persons working in the sugar industry lived in Ba province (Henry, 1978:25). The sugar industry was also important in Nadroga and Navosa, while the tourist industry was significant both there and in Serua. The other three provinces (Rewa, Naitasiri and Tailevu) all included some parts of the Greater Suva-Nausori area with its diverse formal employment sector. Rewa, which is dominated by Suva, had only 8% of its economically active population engaged in agriculture, and Naitasiri had 26%. No other province had less than 39% of its economically active population engaged in agriculture. This regional distribution of economic activity can be summarised for 1976 by sector (Table Four) and indicates that economic activities 'are by no means equitably distributed by region' (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:312). If examination of economic activity is restricted to paid employment then there is an even more uneven distribution; approximately 52% of all paid employment is in the Suva-Nausori urban area (see below). Consequently 'the

Table 4. Distribution of Population by Economic Activity, 1976.

	Primary Industry Number	Primary Industry %	Secondary Industry Number	Secondary Industry %	Tertiary Industry Number	Tertiary Industry %	Unemployment Number	Unemployment %	Economically Active	Total
Tailevu	5,087	44.8	1,707	15.0	3,453	30.4	1,128	9.9	11,356	
Naitasiri	5,432	27.2	4,115	20.6	7,939	39.8	2,461	12.3	19,963	
Rewa	2,656	8.6	6,081	19.8	18,834	61.2	3,273	10.6	10,768	
Namosi	577	73.9	117	15.1	55	7.1	34	4.4	780	
Serua	1,312	41.8	455	14.9	1,159	36.9	278	8.9	3,141	
CENTRAL	15,064	22.8	12,475	18.9	31,440	47.6	7,174	10.9	66,008	
Ra	5,152	72.3	639	9.0	1,028	14.4	269	3.8	7,128	
Ba	22,561	46.1	7,899	16.2	15,170	31.0	2,947	6.0	48,899	
Nadroga										
Navosa	10,023	68.7	798	5.5	3,304	22.7	363	2.5	14,580	
WESTERN	37,736	53.4	9,336	13.2	19,502	27.6	3,579	5.1	70,607	
Bua	2,467	85.6	97	3.4	270	9.4	32	1.1	2,883	
Macuata	9,154	59.8	2,441	15.9	3,104	20.3	500	3.3	15,320	
Cakaudrove	6,322	68.7	760	8.3	1,798	19.5	229	2.5	9,203	
NORTHERN	17,943	65.5	3,298	12.0	5,172	18.9	761	2.8	27,406	
Lau	2,752	76.7	246	6.9	534	14.9	56	1.6	3,586	
Lomaiviti	2,500	63.9	502	12.8	788	20.2	209	5.3	3,910	
Kadavu	2,612	86.8	35	1.2	279	9.3	39	1.3	3,008	
Rotuma	1,050	83.3	43	3.4	157	12.5	2	0.1	1,260	
EASTERN	8,914	75.8	826	7.0	1,758	14.9	306	2.6	11,764	
TOTAL	79,657	45.3	25,935	14.8	57,872	32.9	11,820	6.7	175,785	

Note: (a) Percentage totals sum horizontally. Totals do not sum to 100% because those 'not stated' have been excluded.

Source: Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:313.

opportunity for access to paid employment is very unevenly distributed, and is no doubt one of the major causes of rural-urban migration' (op cit:313); moreover it also results in parallel regional income differentials and hence inter-regional migration.

Changes in the structure of employment since 1976 can be assessed from the quarterly surveys of employment carried out by the Bureau of Statistics. These surveys are not as comprehensive as the census analysis and exclude people working on their own account, domestic workers and unpaid family workers; they therefore relate only to the formal sector. Seasonal and casual workers are also excluded and the coverage rate has never been complete because of some degree of non-response; thus in September 1980 some 675 (12.5%) of all establishments, employing approximately 2,600 workers, about 3.3% of the total number of employees in regular employment, did not respond (Fiji, Bureau of Statistics, 1980:1). Nevertheless by comparing the evolution of the employment structure between 1976 and 1980 indications of employment trends are apparent. These are likely to be supplemented in the near future by comprehensive data emerging from the detailed 1982 employment/unemployment survey.

Table 5. Employment Structure, 1976-1980.

	September 1976	%	September 1980	%
Agriculture, fishing and Forestry	5,039	7	2,894	4
Mining and Quarrying	1,546	2	926	1
Manufacturing	11,304	16	14,302	18
Electricity, Gas and Water	1,861	3	2,224	3
Construction	7,365	10	9,010	11
Wholesale and retail trades, restaurants and hotels	12,266	17	13,696	17
Transport and Communication	6,629	9	7,911	10
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate and Business	3,768	5	4,425	6
Community, social and personal services	21,705	30	24,338	31
TOTAL	71,483		79,726	

Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 1976:5; 1980:2.

In the four-year period from September 1976 there was a continued slow growth in overall formal sector employment (Table Five) primarily in the service sector but also in manufacturing. By contrast the primary sector, agriculture, forestry, fisheries and mining, experienced an overall decline although in both areas there was an increase in employment from 1979. The construction industry which experienced significant growth in the first part of the period was declining in 1980 and in both these two sectors this decline continued until the end of the year. Overall there was a substantial increase in employment through the 1970s of around 29,000 people, giving an impressive growth rate of around 4.5% p.a. in a decade that was marked by considerable global economic problems. However the rate of expansion declined after 1975, especially following the freeze on the growth of the public sector, and there has been no new growth in the 1980s.

The Central Division accounted for some 52% (41,802) of all formal sector employees in 1981; of these, 36,870 (46% of the total) were in the Greater Suva area, extending from Lami to Nasinu, thus not much less than half of the formal sector employment was in the area around the capital city. In September 1976 the corresponding figure was 33,604 (47% of the total) hence the dominance of the capital has not grown in that period (Table Six). Formal sector employment actually grew most rapidly in the Western Division, which increased its share of all employment, especially in comparison with both the Northern and Eastern Divisions (which includes Levuka), where both the totals and proportions fell. In both these Divisions the decline was quite substantial and represents a marked imbalance between Viti Levu and other parts of the country.

Table 6. Regional Distribution of Employment, 1976-1980.

	September 1976		September 1980		December 1981	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Central	37,601	53	41,411	52	41,802	52
Suva	33,604	47	36,255	46	36,870	46
other Central	3,997	6	5,156	7	4,932	6
Western	23,435	33	27,684	35	27,901	35
Northern	7,420	10	8,485	11	8,116	10
Eastern	3,027	4	2,146	3	2,113	3
TOTAL	71,483		79,726		79,932	

Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 1976:2; 1980:5; 1982:5.

The economically active population was estimated to have increased from 176,000 in 1976 to 203,000 in 1980; of these, 79,300 (39%) were estimated to be in paid wage and salary employment (discussed above), 100,700 (50%) engaged in other non-wage activity and the remaining 23,000 (11%) were estimated to be unemployed (Fiji, Ministry of Labour, 1981:2). The economically active population is growing at a greater rate than the number employed for wages and salaries.

Although unemployment is difficult to measure precisely in a country like Fiji, where unpaid family workers are a significant proportion of the labour force, it has definitely increased in recent years. There are two main sources of information on employment: population censuses and annual and quarterly employment surveys (which cover only those in paid employment, and therefore exclude employers, the self-employed - including farmers - and many of those who are active in the subsistence sector). The census data on unemployment relates to persons who did not work in the week preceding enumeration but were actively looking for work; between 1956 and 1976 the unemployment rate rose from 1% to 4% in 1966 and to 7% in 1976. Only in 1976 was any female unemployment recorded. This may have underestimated the extent of unemployment, which has subsequently increased; unemployment may have been around 14% in 1981 and on the basis of the current growth of the labour force the growth rate could reach nearly 18-20% by 1986 (UNFPA, 1981:56). Whilst there has been an increase in the number of unemployed in the early 1980s, raising concern over its impact and the parallel increase in poverty (see below) there are no reliable estimates of the actual number and distribution of the unemployed. Relatively recently it has been estimated that as many as 20,000 people, some 10% of the labour force, were

unemployed, and that this total was increasing by 6,000 per year (Karunaratne, 1982:6). Whilst this estimate must be regarded as high, although the 1981 Ministry of Labour figure (see above) was higher and there is also no real evidence for rapidly increasing unemployment, it does indicate the perceived gravity of a worsening situation.

Table 7. Economically Active Population Seeking Employment, 1976. (%)

	Total	Males	Females
TOTAL FIJI	7	6	13
AGE			
15 - 19 years	21	17	39
20 - 24 years	10	8	15
25 - 29 years	5	4	7
30 - 39 years	2	2	3
40 - 49 years	2	2	2
50 - 59 years	2	2	2
60 years and over	2	2	3
LOCATION			
Living in urban areas	11	10	14
Suva	13	12	15
Nausori	15	13	24
Vatukoula	12	9	25
Living in rural areas	4	3	11
ETHNIC ORIGIN			
Chinese and Part-Chinese	4	4	3
Europeans	2	1	4
Fijians	7	5	12
Indians	7	6	16
Part-Europeans	9	8	12
Rotumans	6	7	4
Other Pacific Islanders	10	9	17
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT			
No education or primary school only	6	5	13
Secondary School	10	9	15
Post-secondary education	2	2	2

Source: Henry, 1978:10.

Some of the characteristics of the unemployed are of considerable importance. Firstly, of the 12,000 persons recorded as unemployed in 1976, about half were between 15-19 years of age and three-quarters were between 15 and 24 (Tables Seven, Eight and Nine); three-quarters of the unemployed were inexperienced and were looking for their first job. Secondly, two-thirds of the unemployed lived in urban areas, mainly in Suva but also Nausori and Vatukoula. The urban unemployment situation is broken down in greater detail in Table Ten which reveals unsurprisingly that the smaller towns have the lowest unemployment rates. Thirdly, one-third of those unemployed had at least some secondary education. Fourthly, the lowest rates of recorded unemployment were in those provinces with the highest proportions of subsistence economic activity (Fiji, Central Planning Office,

Table 8. Employment and Unemployment, 1976.

	Number			Percentage Distribution		
	Total	Unemployed Inexperienced	Total Working	Total	Unemployed % Inexperienced	Total Working
TOTAL	11,820	7,685	163,965	100	100	100
Sex						
Male	8,052	4,746	138,263	68	62	84
Female	3,768	2,939	25,702	32	38	16
Age						
15 - 19 years	5,598	4,586	20,810	47	60	13
20 - 24 years	3,084	1,902	29,368	26	25	18
25 - 29 years	1,196	555	24,911	10	7	15
30 - 39 years	945	331	38,929	8	4	24
40 - 49 years	491	145	26,269	4	2	16
50 - 59 years	293	90	15,614	3	1	9
60 years and over	187	56	7,790	2	1	5
Age not stated	26	20	274	0	0	0
Location						
Urban	7,859	4,767	63,563	66	62	39
Rural	3,961	2,918	100,402	34	38	61
Selected Urban						
Suva	5,036	3,030	35,092	43	39	21
Ba	137	85	2,561	1	1	2
Labasa	212	133	3,419	2	2	2
Lautoka	784	447	8,229	7	6	5
Nadi	455	224	3,917	4	3	2
Nausori	630	501	3,563	5	7	2
Vatukoula	230	139	1,721	2	2	1
Educational Attainment						
No education or primary only	7,553	4,862	120,216	64	63	73
Secondary Education	4,134	2,766	36,355	35	36	22
Post-secondary education	133	57	7,394	1	1	5
Ethnic Origin						
Fijian	5,394	3,617	75,726	46	47	46
Indian	5,619	3,620	76,447	47	47	47
All Others	807	448	11,792	7	6	7

Source: Henry, 1978:12.

Table 9. Recorded Provincial Unemployment, 1976.

	Fijian			Indian			Other			TOTAL			Unemployment Rate
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
	Tailevu	305	163	467	179	8	187	79	6	85	780	348		1,128	9.9
Naitasiri	718	315	989	321	39	360	255	121	376	1,786	675	2,461	12.3
Rewa	1,215	590	785	307	0	307	0	0	0	2,255	1,018	3,273	10.6
Namosi	27	6	1	0	0	1	21	6	27	28	6	34	4.4
Serua	87	15	138	11	0	11	0	0	0	246	32	278	8.8
CENTRAL	2,352	1,089	2,380	818	363	1,181	363	172	535	5,095	2,079	7,174	10.9
Ra	22	10	97	136	2	138	2	2	4	121	148	269	3.8
Ba	762	468	1,059	499	95	594	95	64	159	1,916	1,031	2,947	6.0
Nadroga	87	94	106	59	13	72	13	4	17	206	157	363	2.5
Navosa													
WESTERN	871	572	1,262	694	110	804	110	70	180	2,243	1,336	3,579	5.3
Bua	13	4	15	0	0	15	0	0	0	28	4	32	1.1
Macuata	82	15	293	101	7	108	7	2	9	382	118	500	3.3
Cakaudrove	94	70	28	4	28	32	28	5	33	150	79	229	2.5
NORTHERN	189	89	336	105	35	140	35	7	42	560	201	761	2.8
Lau	21	31	0	0	1	31	1	3	4	22	34	56	1.8
Lomaiviti	66	75	7	15	31	15	31	15	46	104	105	209	5.3
Kadavu	26	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	13	39	1.3
Rotuma	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	0.2
EASTERN	113	119	7	15	34	18	34	18	52	154	152	306	2.6
TOTAL	3,525	1,869	3,985	1,632	542	2,674	542	267	809	8,052	3,768	11,820	6.7

Source: Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:314.

Table 10. Recorded Urban Unemployment, 1976.

	Number Unemployed		Unemploy- ment Rate	% of Urban Unemp.	% of National Unemp.	% of National Population
	M	F	T			
Suva	3,536	1,500	5,036	12.5%	42.6	20.0
Lautoka	530	254	784	8.7%	6.6	4.9
Ba	122	15	137	5.1%	1.2	1.6
Labasa	175	37	212	5.8%	1.8	2.2
Levuka	81	66	147	15.2%	1.2	0.5
Nadi	303	152	455	10.4%	3.8	2.2
Sigatoka	26	32	58	4.6%	0.5	0.6
Nausori	418	212	630	15.0%	5.3	2.2
Korovou	2	0	2	2.2%	-	-
Savusavu	32	0	32	4.9%	0.3	0.4
Navua	63	5	68	9.2%	0.6	0.4
Rakiraki	31	12	43	4.0%	0.4	0.6
Tavua	21	4	25	3.8%	0.2	0.4
Vatukoula	149	81	230	11.8%	1.9	1.1
TOTAL URBAN	5,489	2,370	7,859	11.0%	66.4%	37.1%

Note: (a) Percentage totals may not sum due to rounding errors.

Source: Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:315.

1980:314-315). Fifthly, two-thirds were looking for their first job (a proportion which rises for the 15-24 age group). This therefore presents a picture of a youthful, urban, relatively-educated group seeking out their first job, probably outside the agricultural sector. This furthermore excludes the probability that some of those recorded as 'unpaid family workers' would have sought paid employment if they believed it were available (Henry, 1978:13); similarly the 1973 survey of unemployment suggested that 1.5% of the labour would have preferred full-time to part-time employment (op cit:14). Sixthly, Fijians had a slightly higher level of unemployment than Indians; 10% of all urban Fijian men (7% Indians) and 5% of all Fijian women (3% Indians) were classified as unemployed in 1976 (Walsh, 1982:40). The unavailability of data on the duration of unemployment prevents a more comprehensive understanding of the gravity of the problem; the 1973 survey revealed that nearly a third of those who were unemployed had been unemployed for fifteen weeks or longer. A decade later the situation is likely to be quite different. But overall the same kind of structure of unemployment that exists elsewhere in the South Pacific region exists in Fiji.

A proportion of the unemployed labour force is formally registered at various labour offices; thus between January and September 1981 some 2,641 job seekers were registered as seeking employment, compared with 1,611 in the same period of 1980 (Table Eleven). This is obviously an incomplete record, both because no returns were recorded from two offices, but because in many areas, especially rural areas, those seeking work do not register, either because of their location or because they believe there is little point since opportunities are unavailable. Not surprisingly the number of registered unemployed is highest in Suva where almost all job vacancies in Fiji are notified. In 1981, for example, of the 495 vacancies notified to employment offices 460 (93%) were in Suva; in 1980 the proportion was the same. Relatively few vacancies were notified in Lautoka where registered unemployment was lower than might have been expected for a town of that size. These official figures are no more than guidelines but demonstrate a very rapidly increasing number of registered unemployed. This increase in numbers is likely to have been more rapid than the 'real' increase in unemployment which has principally followed a decline in the rate of expansion of wage and salary employment and also of employment in sugar-related activities as the area under sugar became consolidated.

Table 11. Numbers Registering for Employment.

	Number of Job Seekers		
	1979	1980	1981 (January-September only)
Suva	1,623	1,596	2,131
Lautoka	115	120	195
Ba	144	83	163
Labasa	133	145	152
Savusavu	...	...	...
Levuka	...	...	...
TOTAL	2,015	1,944	2,641

Source: Fiji, Ministry of Labour, 1981:3.

It is estimated that during the 1980s it will be necessary to generate about 5,000 jobs per year to maintain the employment levels that existed in the mid-1970s; however over the past five years only 3,000 to 3,800 jobs have been created annually and there seems only limited prospects of this improving in the 1980s (UNFPA, 1981:57) and the rate of job creation was slowing at the end of the 1980s. Consequently a critical aim of employment and development policy will be that of generating income-earning opportunities outside the formal sector, essentially therefore in rural agricultural and fishing activities. In accordance with the maintenance of jobs in the rural sector there has been strong opposition to the introduction of cane-cutting machinery, at the highest government levels, although the more rapid transfer of cane to the mill that would ensue would increase the sugar content and hence profitability (D. Evans, pers. comm. 1983). As Ellis argues 'the premature introduction of mechanised harvesting, which would considerably more than double output per person, could be little short of catastrophic' (1983b:6, 14-15). More generally the Minister of Employment has recently commented that a major issue in the present plan period is 'too rapid mechanisation of productive processes using imported machinery and displacing local labour' (Fiji Focus, 2(2), February 1983:15). As elsewhere in Melanesia, and more generally in the South Pacific region, the task of increasing formal sector employment, usually in urban areas, has proved increasingly difficult and resulted in attention being necessarily shifted to rural development.

Incomes and Equality. In recent Fijian development plans, and related publications and pronouncements, considerable attention has been given to the distribution of development; the present plan lists 'a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development' as one of the six national goals. In global terms income distribution in Fiji is in the middle range of those countries for which data exists (Stavenuiter, 1983:3), which indicates significant inequalities and these inequalities have attracted particular attention in Fiji. More than a decade ago one analysis of the economy of Fiji recorded,

'The main economic problem requiring massive and urgent government intervention in Fiji is not the size of the national income but its distribution' (Fisk, 1970:59).

In the early 1970s it was noted that urban and rural cash income differentials were increasing and that this is a particular, if exceptional, problem in the South Pacific region since the relative rural distribution of Fijians means that this process 'tends to increase the income differential between Fijians and the other ethnic groups' (Ward, 1973:365) and also explains the relative increase of recent Fijian rural-urban migration (see below). Thus the distribution of income is not only important at an inter-personal level, but also in an ethnic and spatial context.

On average urban per capita incomes are more than twice as high as rural per capita incomes (Stavenuiter, 1983; Lee, 1983) but there are enormous differences within urban areas. Moreover these averages disguise quite substantial variations between particular areas and particular groups; thus in 1974 the average industrial worker in Suva received an income of \$1,404 whilst the median cash income of Taveuni district households was \$528 (Brookfield with Bedford, 1977:224) and median incomes in villages on several outer islands were below this (op cit:226-230). However differences are smaller if allowance is made for cost of living variations between rural and urban areas and disappear altogether if the average rural wage is compared with the lower end of the distribution of wage earners (Lee, 1983:9). In 1977 the top 20% of urban households were estimated to receive

average incomes that were more than twelve times the average incomes of the bottom 20% of urban households. In the rural areas there are similar differences (Stavenuiter, 1983:3-5) and these differences recur at a regional level, indicating that in provinces where there is substantial urbanisation, and especially Central Division, incomes are significantly higher (op cit:6). Again, within provinces, the inequalities are much greater than between provinces; this is even more apparent on relatively small islands such as Taveuni where there were quite striking inequalities within the island (Brookfield with Bedford, 1977:218-224), and the small island of Batiki had greater income inequalities than on any comparable island for which data existed (Bayliss-Smith, 1978:106). Income differences within the two ethnic groups are much greater than differences between the groups and much of the inter-ethnic differences appears to be closely related to the extent of urbanisation of the groups. In a sense this is reflected at the local level since the principal differentiations in income level between the eastern islands of Fiji are a function of the extent of wage and salary-employment on those islands (Brookfield with Bedford, 1977:213-4); the same may well be true in the Yasawas (cf. Lal and Slatter, 1982:67-68). Thus the Indian community includes both wealthy cane farmers and virtually landless labourers, successful businessmen and a high proportion of squatter settlers; in the circumstances Stavenuiter effectively concludes that Ward's earlier conclusion, that income differentials between Fijians and others were increasing, is no longer valid and that 'disparities within the main ethnic groups might thus receive more policy emphasis relative to the positive discrimination policies that are presently designed to favour the Fijian community as a whole' (op cit:7), such as in education and business development. This has been elaborated elsewhere (op cit:179-183).

A significant proportion of all households appear to have a standard of living that indicates that they must be regarded as being in a state of poverty. In 1977 about 8% to 9% of all households in Fiji would appear to have consumed less than the minimum that seemed absolutely desirable and the incidence of poverty was markedly higher in Fijian villages than in other areas; however, although poor households were less frequent in Indian rural settlements, their average expenditure shortfall appeared to be more acute as was also the case for poor urban households especially in squatter settlements (Stavenuiter, 1983:8-9). This poverty is reflected in inadequate nutrition (see above), housing (see below) and, to a lesser extent, in access to health and education services; this is described graphically elsewhere (Keith-Hart, 1983). Since 1975 it appears that the differentials between wage-earning households and those without wages and salaries have increased (Stavenuiter, 1983:134) which suggests both that relative deprivation is likely to have increased and that the establishment of new employment opportunities is likely to have a greater effect on equality than egalitarian wages policies.

The incomes of those, mostly Fijians, in subsistence agriculture are substantially lower than those in commercial agriculture, mainly Indians, and those in paid employment. In parallel, the earnings of unionised workers (who consist of about 50-60% of all workers in paid employment) are higher than those of non-unionised workers (a higher proportion of whom are in rural areas or smaller towns). Thirdly, both these differentials are increasing rather than decreasing. The poorest group in Fiji are landless Indian labourers, although the size of this group is probably very small; many experience almost permanent indebtedness, have limited opportunity to

earn incomes in other contexts and have little effective access to land (Ellis, 1983b:9). Thus within Fiji the most deprived groups, both rural and urban, are most likely to be Indians.

Traditional Fijian society was hierarchically organised and nowhere more so than in the eastern islands of Lau where there were elements of a caste system. Subsequently the traditional bases of inequality - descent group status, rank and control of manpower within a chiefly system of ceremonial exchange - have been eroded by externally induced socio-economic change (Knapman and Walter, 1980:206) and, in the course of these changes, elements of a modern inequality have emerged that were often historically compensated by the operation of various redistribution schemes. A detailed study of household incomes in Fijian villages concluded that 'the degree of income inequality among village households was found to be much higher than is commonly assumed and implied by those who idealise village ways of life and praise traditional Fijian society for its presumed inherent communal egalitarianism' (Stavenuiter, 1983:161). The top 20% of households in Fijian villages reported average incomes that were nine times those reported by the poorest 20% of households (*ibid*) and a number of village-level studies reflect the same kinds of differential.

The basis of income inequality, at least in rural areas but its impact may spread into urban areas, is inequality of access to land, and this is considerable in Fiji, not only between ethnic groups, since Indian access is restricted primarily to particular tenure arrangements, but between mataqali in particular areas. More than two decades ago Spate commented on this in the context of Taveuni (1959:12-13) and a decade later Brookfield commented that the inequality of access to land on Taveuni had almost reached Latin American proportions (see above). As cash cropping has increased its extent so pressures on land have increased. In Lau historic inequalities were unimportant until after 1950 when coconut production increased considerably; these inequalities in access to land have resulted in inequalities in both cash income and subsistence production (Knapman and Walter, 1980), the consciousness of a future land shortage is increasing (*op cit*:207) and hence there is a growing orientation to education for migration. Yet those families who are short of land are therefore short of copra and hence cash income and consequently short of education a situation which 'may enable the relatively rich to consolidate their position, but it produces its own dilemma for the many villages whose income is already, or close to, inadequate for subsistence in a cash-dominated economy' (*op cit*:211). Thus, they conclude, for one not untypical village in Lau that 'the new economic inequality in Mavana is inextricably linked with the control and use of land' (Knapman and Walter, 1980:222) and therefore that these income and land inequalities prevent assumptions of homogeneity in the rural sector and hence point to necessarily more complex rural development strategies.

A major indication of the changing structure of Fijian society is the direct provision of technical assistance to destitute families. By the start of the 1970s the problem of poverty, especially urban poverty, was widely recognised. At the start of 1971 some 4,420 people per month were receiving destitute allowances. Many urban residents had incomes of less than \$10 per week and hence could not qualify for Housing Authority assistance (see below). A limited examination of urban poverty then indicated that the majority of the urban poor and shantytown residents were Indians, for whom housing and land ownership had always been a problem, but also that increasing numbers of the urban poor were urban-born Fijians (Wendt, 1971:55). In 1979 there were an average 3,458 recipients each month of the Family Assistance Allowance paid by the Department of Social Welfare.

Two-thirds of the recipients were women, with Indian females constituting a slight majority; of the male recipients Fijians constituted a majority, so that overall the number of Fijian recipients was greater than the number of Indian recipients (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:92). By mid-1982 the number of claimants was around 4,000 but this number is much below that of households that could be considered in a state of poverty (Stavenuiter, 1983:45). To some extent this indicates the decline of the traditional extended family as a means of social and economic support, and the increase in individualism that characterises the relatively early onset of 'modernisation' in Fiji.

Cameron has concluded that overall inequality in Fiji 'is not a matter of life or death but a mixture of experiences' (1983a:1) which may be perceived in different ways to the extent that both Indian and Fijian politicians 'now frequently stress inequalities based on ethnicity and express reasons why both groups are disadvantaged overall, though none would dispute that, in aggregate, Fijians own more land and Indo-Fijians earn more money' (op cit:2). The evidence produced in the national 1977 survey does however point to significant income equalities within Fiji, and moreover suggests that those inequalities may still be growing, whilst almost all the information available from village-level studies suggests not only considerable inequality within even small communities but much more substantial rural-urban income differences than are revealed in national and provincial generalisations.

Population

Ethnic variations within Fiji have produced a demographic situation that is relatively complicated compared with that of many other countries in the region. However the availability of data on aspects of population change is also relatively detailed, hence some demographic variations have been recorded in detail for the two principal ethnic groups. The first censuses were carried out in 1879, 1891 and 1901 and in the present century decennial censuses were carried out until 1921 and again from 1936 to the present. Indians are the largest ethnic group in the country, representing half the population, but recent changes in patterns of fertility and emigration have resulted in the Fijian component of the population, around 45% of the total, having a faster growth rate (Table Twelve). Differences in the location of the Fijian and Indian population are considerable, with the Indian population being concentrated on the two main islands and in urban areas; consequently many issues relating to regional development have strong ethnic implications (Walsh, 1982:19). Fiji's other ethnic groups comprise more than 5% of the total population; Rotumans had a growth pattern similar to Fijians and are characterised by emigration from Rotuma since, in 1976, some 61% of Rotumans were elsewhere in Fiji.

Evidence from the Nineteenth Century settlement pattern in the Rewa delta indicates that this region supported a larger population than it does at the moment with a more intensive agricultural system (Parry, 1977) and this decline in both population and intensive agricultural systems almost certainly occurred in several other parts of Fiji (Brookfield, 1980a:18). In Batiki, for example, an estimated population of 500 in 1840 had declined to 319 in 1966 and was still declining (Bayliss-Smith, 1980:77) and on Koro introduced diseases caused a significant decline in the late Nineteenth Century (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:13). A few areas, such as Kabara,

do not appear to have experienced a continuing decline in population during the early colonial period (Bedford, McLean and Mcpherson, 1978:47). Historical changes are evaluated in detail elsewhere (McArthur, 1967) and are not discussed here.

Table 12. Population Change and Ethnic Composition, 1956-1976.

	1956	Annual %	1966	Annual %	1976
Indian	169,403	3.6	240,960	2.0	292,896
Fijian	148,134	3.2	202,176	2.5	259,932
Part-European	7,810	2.2	9,687	0.6	10,276
Rotuman	4,422	2.7	5,797	2.3	7,291
Other Pacific Islander	5,320	1.4	6,095	1.1	6,822
European	6,402	0.3	6,590	-2.9	4,929
Chinese/part-Chinese	4,155	2.2	5,149	-1.0	4,652

Source: Walsh, 1982:17

From around 1900 onwards the total population of Fiji began to grow after a period of decline, but the growth was a result of the rapid increase in the Indian population over the first two decades of the century following continued immigration. By contrast the Fijian population continued to decline into the 1920s; since the Indian population was concentrated almost entirely on the two main islands this resulted in significant regional differences in population growth rates. The Fijian increase was a result of rapidly declining mortality since the fertility level remained around the same. After 1921 the rate of Indian population growth was very rapid by global and regional standards, and remained higher than the Fijian growth rate, to the extent that in 1944 the Indian component of the population first passed the Fijian component. This event had been feared by Fijians as long ago as 1881 when the Council of Chiefs discussed the topic. Between 1921 and 1952 the population situation was primarily viewed as a racial problem with Fijians concerned that there were inadequate resources for the rapidly expanding Indian population and Indians concerned that there were inadequate people to make the resources productive (Bakker, 1977; cf. Belshaw, 1964:13). The year 1952 however marked a turning point in the way in which population problems were perceived in Fiji since in the ensuing decade many people from both racial groups became concerned about rapid population growth and there was consideration of the introduction of a family planning programme. In 1952 the Burns Commission was established, amongst other things to advise the Government on population issues and to ensure that 'the Colony will not suffer from overpopulation to the detriment of the standard of living of all races' (cited by Bakker, 1977:14). About a decade later a Family Planning Association was established in Fiji, at an earlier date than anywhere else in the South Pacific region (see below).

Population growth in Fiji continued to be rapid until the 1960s (Table Thirteen); however, between 1966 and 1976, the population increased at an annual rate of 2.1%, a lower rate than any recorded since 1936, a result of declining fertility after 1960 and also significant emigration (see below). The 1976 census indicated a net migration loss of 23,764; all ethnic groups, other than Fijians, had net losses and Indians accounted for 57.4% of the total loss (Walsh, 1982:17) whilst inter-censal growth rates decreased for

each ethnic component of the total population other than the very small group of Other Pacific Islanders. Both Fijians (2.5%) and Rotumans (2.3%) experienced growth rates in excess of the national average (*ibid*). At the time of the 1976 census there were therefore indications that Fijians were gaining population relative to Indians to the extent that, if both the rate of natural increase and migration had been maintained, the two groups would have again had equal populations in 1997 (Bakker, 1977:35-6). The social, economic and political implications of population growth and population policy in Fiji are therefore considerable and have scarcely diminished in the post-war years.

Table 13. Population Growth.

	Fijians	Indians	Others	Total
C 1881	115,000	1,000	11,000	127,000
C 1901	94,000	17,000	9,000	120,000
C 1921	84,000	61,000	12,000	157,000
C 1936	98,000	85,000	15,000	198,000
C 1946	118,000	120,000	22,000	260,000
C 1956	148,000	169,000	29,000	346,000
C 1966	202,000	241,000	34,000	477,000
C 1976	260,000	293,000	35,000	588,000
1980	287,000	321,000	35,000	642,000 (estimates)

There are substantial differences in population density and ethnic distribution within Fiji (Table Fourteen) and significant changes in population distribution occurred between 1966 and 1976, most of which continued trends apparent in earlier census periods. Population densities, which increased from 26 people per sq.km. in 1966 to 32 in 1976 (the highest national population density in Melanesia), provide only crude indications of population pressure due to the extensive areas of rugged and uncultivable land in most provinces. Relatively heavy rural population densities occur in the Rewa valley and delta, the sugar growing areas of Ba and western Macuata, the Sigatoka valley and in discrete concentrations in several coastal districts. At a provincial level, the lowest population densities are in those provinces, Cakaudrove, Bua and Namosi, that have small or non-existent urban centres. Relative to their resource base, the Lau islands and Rotuma continue to have high population densities that are hardly relieved by out-migration (Walsh, 1982:21) although emigration has prevented increased population densities.

The ethnic distribution of the population is of considerable importance in a wide range of contexts in a plural society such as that of Fiji, although discussion is primarily concerned only with the two principal ethnic groups. There is a major contrast between the highly localised pattern of Indian settlement and the much more dispersed Fijian pattern; as Walsh notes, the provincial population distribution (Table Fourteen) does not adequately demonstrate the degree of segregation that exists within provinces, localities and towns, although it does convey the relative access of the two groups to resources in Fiji (Walsh, 1982:21). Indians are predominantly located in the three most developed regions, Central, Western and Northern; in these regions in 1976 there were 87% of the Indian population but only 60% of the Fijian population. By contrast, in the Island provinces (Table Fourteen) there were 13% of the Fijian population and only 1% of the Indian population, a heritage of the historic links

Table 14. Provincial and Regional Population, 1966-1976, Land Area and Population Densities 1976*.

Province/Region	1966		1976		Annual % Change		1976 Population		% Change Fijian Indian	% Change 1966-1976 Indian	Land Area (km ²)	Population Density 1976
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Fijian	Indian	Fijian	Indian				
Naitasiri/Rewa												
CENTRAL	109,386	22.9	152,368	25.9	3.4	70,961	64,171	59.9	26.5	1,938	79	
Ba	135,968	28.5	167,095	28.4	2.1	45,328	116,464	34.6	21.1	2,634	63	
Nadroga/Navosa	37,494	7.9	45,929	7.8	2.0	20,003	25,267	26.0	20.4	2,384	19	
Serua	8,181	1.7	11,263	1.9	3.2	5,558	5,170	37.1	17.9	830	14	
WESTERN	181,643	38.1	224,287	38.1	2.1	70,889	146,901	33.6	20.8	5,848	39	
Macuata												
NORTHERN	44,433	9.3	57,414	9.8	2.6	13,384	42,891	36.2	28.0	2,004	29	
Ra	22,298	4.7	25,523	4.3	1.4	12,215	13,000	24.2	6.9	1,341	19	
Tailevu	34,141	7.2	39,952	6.8	1.6	23,338	15,742	18.9	15.7	955	42	
Namosi	2,721	0.6	3,292	0.6	1.9	3,072	174	22.7	13.7	570	6	
EASTERN	59,160	12.4	68,767	11.7	1.5	38,625	28,916	20.8	11.6	2,866	24	
Bua	9,758	2.0	11,457	1.9	1.6	7,507	3,601	16.7	24.3	1,379	8	
Cakaudrove	30,053	6.3	34,251	5.8	1.3	23,723	5,589	15.9	6.6	2,816	12	
SOUTHERN	39,811	8.4	45,708	7.8	1.4	31,230	9,190	16.1	12.9	4,195	11	
Kadavu	8,631	1.8	8,699	1.5	0.1	8,537	7	1.3	-	478	18	
Lau	15,988	3.4	14,452	2.5	-1.0	14,159	180	-9.0	-34.3	487	30	
Lomaliviti	13,264	2.8	13,568	2.3	0.2	12,093	634	7.6	-17.7	411	33	
Rotuma	3,365	0.7	2,805	0.5	-1.8	54	6	-	-	46	62	
ISLANDS	41,248	8.7	39,524	6.7	-0.4	34,843	827	-1.2	-22.9	1,422	35	
FIJI	476,727	99.8	588,068	100.0	2.1	259,932	292,896	28.6	21.6	18,274	32	

*Sub-totals exclude 'Not Stated' and those on ships.

Source: after Walsh, 1982:20, 22.

between Indians and cane farming. The eastern islands are the most characteristically Fijian in ethnic structure and this is becoming increasingly so; in the case of Lakeba, for example,

'The population of the villages on Lakeba has become almost entirely ethnic Fijian since 1956. All expatriate traders and missionaries, and Fiji-born Indian and Chinese traders (with one exception) have left the island, although some have left their names behind them' (Bedford and Brookfield, 1979:202).

The sub-divisions of Kabara and Ono-i-Lau were both wholly Fijian in 1980 as was the island of Beqa. By contrast Fijians are found throughout the country and only in the urban centres of the main cane growing regions, such as Labasa and Lautoka, are Fijians heavily outnumbered by Indians.

In the last inter-censal decade 1966-1976 there have been some changes in the ethnic distribution of population:

'Firstly, in the more developed regions, Central, Western and Northern, Fijians significantly increased their share of the population. Secondly, the Indian populations in all provinces in the Western region including Ba, in many ways the Indian cultural hearth of Fiji, grew at rates less than the Indian national average. This suggests significant Indian movement to other regions and, possibly, overseas. Thirdly, growth in the Central region far outstripped that of other regions with an increasing proportion of the population living in the Suva urban area. The major contributors to this growth were Fijians who came to outnumber the Indian population for the first time. In 1966 the ethnic ratio was 88; in 1976 it was 111. Fourthly, the less developed regions, and especially the Islands region, grew at rates much below the national average for both ethnic groups. These regions became even more Fijian than they were in 1966. The regions constitute a massive reservoir for further Fijian growth in other regions should present trends continue' (Walsh, 1982:21-2).

Thus in the past decade there has been a reversal of earlier trends in which Indians had, through migration, become increasingly concentrated in the more developed regions, accentuating the spatial imbalance between Indians and Fijians. Recent trends have resulted in growing proportions of Fijians in the more developed areas 'where they are more able to participate directly in the modern economy' (Walsh, 1982:21). The extent to which this trend has been maintained since 1976 is unclear.

The crude birth rate in Fiji decreased from 39.3 per thousand in 1960 to 28.0 in 1976 but has since shown marginal increases to 30.4 in 1977, 32.1 in 1978, 32.4 in 1979 and 32.6 in 1980 (Fiji, Ministry of Health, 1982:1) and 31.7 in 1981. In 1980 the rate for Fijians was highest at 33.0 whilst for Indians and Others the rates were 31.5 and 31.4 respectively (op cit:15). The infant mortality rate has improved from 41.4 per thousand live births in 1972 to 28.7 in 1979 and although it increased again to 32.7 in 1980 it fell to 28.8 in 1981. The crude death rates, on the other hand, have remained steady around 5.7 per thousand in 1976, 5.3 in 1978 and 5.7 in both 1979 and 1980 falling again to 5.5 in 1981. The crude death rates were highest for Others (7.1) and Fijians (6.5) but relatively low for Indians

(5.1) (op cit:15) although there is a high neo-natal mortality rate amongst the Indian population. Thus the annual rates of natural increase of the population have gone up from 2.4% in 1976 to 2.6% from 1978 to 1981 (op cit:2). Calculations of crude birth and death rates from the 1976 census data give slightly different figures for birth rates of 27.0 for Fijians and 29.4 for Indians and death rates of 3.9 and 4.7 respectively (UNFPA, 1981:49, 52). Further versions of these rates occur elsewhere (Walsh, 1976:23) and it is not clear which figures are currently considered to be the most reliable.

The age distribution of the population has changed significantly in the past two decades as the population has aged; in 1960 some 44% of the population were under 15 years of age but this had decreased to 38% by 1979. Similarly the population who were aged over 65 increased between 1960 and 1979 (Fiji, Ministry of Health, 1982:2). Changes in regional age and sex structures and dependency rates have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Walsh, 1982:23-24), and indicate primarily that although dependency rates are not high they are greatest in the least developed Islands region where they increased between 1966 and 1976 (op cit:24) but no region appeared to be excessively deficient in males of working age. Available evidence from recent village surveys in a number of parts of Fiji suggests that this remains true (J. Cameron, pers. comm. 1983).

Fiji's family planning programme has earlier been described by international authorities as (alongside Singapore) one of the world's two most successful programmes, since it cut the birth rate from 41.78 in 1959 to 27.81 in 1972, but the birth rate then increased to 32.6 in 1980 with a slight decline in 1981. The first family planning facilities were established in 1951 and in 1957 the first clinics were established. The initial emphasis was on child spacing and only since 1963 was there a full-scale family planning programme. Within a decade the annual population growth rate in Fiji fell from 3.3% in 1966 to 2.1% in 1976 and is now less than 2%. The decline has been primarily due to falling fertility, assisted by the introduction of a successful family planning programme in 1962, but also to a consistent balance of out-migration, around 0.7% of the population per year during the 1970s. The strong historic emphasis that Fiji has attached to family planning has resulted in greater absolute numbers of women currently receiving some form of family planning than in any country in the region. There are significant differences between the races in acceptance of family planning; in 1974 some 15% of Fijian women in the 15-44 age group were acceptors compared with 28% of Indian women and in 1980 the comparative proportions were 17% and 34%. There is little information on the spatial distribution of family planning; although acceptance rates were relatively high in the eastern islands (Bedford and Brookfield, 1979:213) it is probable that for both Indians and Fijians the proportion of acceptors is much greater in urban areas. On the other hand the 1974 Fiji Fertility Study showed that amongst both Indians and Fijians the period of breast-feeding in Suva was two months shorter than in rural areas (an urban-rural differential that may occur elsewhere in the South Pacific region), a situation which not only reduces infant health levels but is also likely to result in slightly increased fertility levels. In 1979 some 29% of women in the 15-44 age group were receiving family planning services of some kind and in 1980 the proportion was 31%. However the total number of women attending Family Planning clinics has fallen from a peak of 79,549 in 1972 to 61,574 in 1980 (Fiji, Ministry of Health, 1982:19); this may however be partly a result of greater familiarity with the situation. Nevertheless the increase in the crude birth rate between 1977 and 1980 indicates that present targets are not being met and consequently the programme needs

re-appraisal: 'a new strategy of population control which involves community participation is urgently needed' (op cit:2). Current family planning policy is aimed at reducing the crude birth rate to 25 per thousand by 1985 (an increase on the mid-1970s target of 22 per thousand) by increasing the rate of family planning protection to 35% (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:270). For example in Kabara the number of acceptors of family planning halved between 1976 and 1983 (R. Bedford, pers. comm. 1983). Thus, after a very dramatic start to the family planning programme in Fiji, recent achievements have been limited to non-existent and there is no longer optimism about significant future reductions, although recent evidence indicates that 'a reduction in the average size of the family would do more than any other feasible measure to increase the standard of living of the people of Fiji' (Kaim-Caudle, cited by Anon, 1983:46). The apparent lessons of the Fijian experience of family planning, especially as demonstrated in the case of Lakeba, is that:

'Family planning programmes can draw readily on a minority 'market' of women - and less often men - determined to avoid further pregnancy. To advance the level of protection beyond this group requires, in a society without either wealth or any welfare assured by large families, a very determined effort on the part of the medical or other authorities' (Bedford and Brookfield, 1979:215).

Without further changes in welfare and employment levels the potential for the increased acceptance of family planning is limited. Population growth rates appear likely to increase.

International Migration

'Our readiness to accept new people into our society, initially in small numbers has led to many changes in thinking and behaviour throughout the islands, without being too revolutionary. We've always been prepared to absorb people - sometimes literally!' (Mara, 1982:22).

The first significant international migration into Fiji was that of mainly Melanesian labour migrants to work in the early cotton plantations; despite being regarded as 'Polynesians' most of these were from Vanuatu and to a lesser extent from Solomon Islands, Kiribati and elsewhere. Between 1864 and 1911 as many as 27,000 Pacific islanders were brought to Fiji under the indenture system (Siegel, 1983). Most were contracted for short time periods and eventually returned to their home islands; a few settled in Fiji and their descendants, now virtually indistinguishable from Fijians, remained as initially distinct groups. Such for example was the case of Solomon Islands migrants, whose descendants in Fiji have been estimated to be as many as eight thousand (Kuva, 1974). Detailed analysis of the sources of Pacific Island labour in Fiji between 1865 and 1911 (Siegel, 1983) indicates that around half of all plantation labour recruits were from Vanuatu.

By far the most important population migration to Fiji was that of the Indians, who succeeded the Melanesians as plantation labourers. The first Indians came in 1879 and by 1881 there were about a thousand; ten years later there were 10,000 and since 1944 the Indian population has outnumbered the indigenous Fijians; in some areas of economic activity, such as in retailing, Indians are absolutely dominant. The Indian migrants were far

from homogenous, and linguistic and religious differences remain of considerable importance. The first Indian migrants were from the northern provinces, such as Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bihar, and later recruitment was from areas around Madras (Tamil Nadu) in the south. Between 1879 and 1916 over 60,000 indentured labourers had been brought from various parts of India and, at the end of that period, about 20,000 had exercised their option to return to India. The others remained as free workers and were joined by new migrants hoping to become involved in expanding commercial activity; these more recent migrants came predominantly from the states of Gujarat and Punjab. As early as the 1880s Indians moved away from the plantations at the end of their period of indenture, often migrating to Suva. To counter fears of vagrancy and a fall in property values if Indians settled near Europeans, in 1887 the government established an Indian settlement at Vatuwaqa outside Suva, to be followed soon after by another at Samabula and, rather later, in 1899 at Bulilaka, near Labasa (Moynagh, 1981:85). Since there were few urban job opportunities most Indians tended to settle around the plantations, becoming agricultural workers.

Chinese were first recorded in the 1911 census, when they numbered 305, with males outnumbering females by nearly 10 to 1; thus the migration of Chinese to Fiji occurred at much the same time as Chinese migration to Melanesia and other parts of the South Pacific region. By 1921 the Chinese population had increased threefold to 910 persons, following continued migration, and there had been a shift in distribution from the Sigatoka banana producing area to the towns and copra-producing areas. Some 343 of the Chinese were in Suva or its suburbs (Wong, 1963:123). This urbanisation has continued and the Chinese are now predominantly an urban population. Of the 4,652 Chinese recorded in the 1976 census, only 671 lived in rural areas (where they were mostly storekeepers or market gardeners) and, of the 4,127 on Viti Levu, 2,083 lived in Suva (where the majority of restaurants are run by Chinese). Thus, as elsewhere in the South Pacific region, the Chinese must be regarded as a settler rather than an immigrant population and migration within the Chinese community is either rural-urban or away from Fiji (see below).

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region the migration of Europeans is, in many respects, one of the most important elements in migration although, unlike other parts of Melanesia, its significance in Fiji is dwarfed by that of Indian migration. Again, as elsewhere in the region, there was a decline in the number of Europeans in the 1970s following emigration (see below) so that between 1966 and 1976 the number fell from 6,590 to 4,929. This decline appears to have now been more or less arrested although there has been a steady transition from an intendedly permanent settler population to a more transient population of 'experts' of various kinds. This kind of situation is common elsewhere in Melanesia, and other parts of the South Pacific region. Unlike other parts of Melanesia, there is a substantial part-European population in Fiji and, although this population too has experienced significant recent emigration, it has continued to increase slowly.

Of all the countries in the region Fiji has achieved the greatest success in the localisation of employment; as early as 1966 the Civil Service was 92.5% localised but by 1972 localisation had more or less stabilised at 96%. In addition to those employed in the Civil Service there were 1,866 expatriate work permit holders in 1978, most of whom were Europeans; this number fell to 1,767 in May 1980 and 1,502 in December 1981, thus there has been continued localisation and hence a continued decline in the European employed population. In the Civil Service 107 expatriates were

localised in the twelve months to June 1981. Of the 1,502 work permit holders in December 1981, 676 were professional, technical and related workers and 386 administrative and managerial workers, indicating that Fiji's demands for labour from overseas are similar to those elsewhere in the region, being primarily for highly skilled technical and managerial expertise. For example, there has been a shortage of doctors in Fiji for some years; in 1979 and 1980 the Ministry of Health had to extend the contracts of some doctors from India and the Philippines, and other consultants were provided from Australia. At the end of 1982 there was one government doctor per 2,778 people and one doctor per 2,064 people; eight doctors from India and three from the Philippines had just arrived and a further three were anticipated from the Philippines (South Seas Digest, 21(2), 28 January 1983). The shortage of doctors and hence the dependence on overseas doctors continues to be regarded as serious. Of the 341 expatriates in the Civil Service in June 1981, 140 were from Britain, 94 were from U.S.A., 32 were from New Zealand and 31 from Australia; this total includes 115 volunteers, many of whom were from the American Peace Corps (South Seas Digest, 17, 20 November 1981). Outside the civil service the expatriate work permit holders, whilst remaining predominantly European, are more likely to be from Australia, because of extensive Australian business interests in Fiji, rather than from Britain or America. The relative success of localisation in Fiji means that there is now limited potential for further localisation.

There is a range of other Pacific Islanders in Fiji, some of whom are effectively permanent residents and/or citizens (such as the Banabans of Rabi island and the Tuvaluans of Kioa) and some of whom are short-term migrants, such as the students at USP and other secondary and tertiary institutions. Probably the largest group of Pacific islanders in Fiji are Tongans, some of whom have been permanent residents in Fiji since the Nineteenth Century, for example at Sawana in the Lau islands (Lessin, 1971), but others are temporarily residents. There are smaller numbers of Polynesian migrants from Samoa, who tend to be temporary, and from Wallis and Futuna, who are more permanent. Two of the longer established Pacific islander groups are the Banabans and Tuvaluans on Rabi and Kioa islands respectively. This resettlement has been described in more detail in the reports on Kiribati (Country Report No.7) and Tuvalu (Country Report No.19); both groups can now be regarded as generally permanent settlers and in the process of becoming citizens of Fiji and both have now dispersed within Fiji, but primarily to Suva. In all cases the permanent settlement of other Pacific islanders in Fiji is now virtually impossible (other than through the marriage of migrant females to Fijian citizens) and current migration into Fiji from elsewhere in the region is either on short-term work permits (in relatively specialised categories) or for education. As elsewhere in the region therefore, labour migration and resettlement movement into Fiji from elsewhere in the region is either declining or disappearing as migration increasingly becomes confined within national boundaries. Recent discussions of citizenship and naturalisation in Fiji, indicate both that only around 40 to 50 individuals become Fijian citizens each year and that it is increasingly difficult for a migrant to become a citizen (Keith-Reid, 1982), a situation increasingly similar elsewhere in the region.

Of all the migrant groups in Fiji none have aroused more opposition than the Indians, dating from more than a century ago when the Council of Chiefs were concerned that Fijians would eventually become a minority in Fiji. Opposition to Indian migration was essentially latent in the colonial period and it is only in the post-Independence years, and especially the past decade, that there has been more concerted opposition to Indians in

Fiji. This opposition has been directed both to the absolute and growing number of Indians in Fiji and to their pre-eminence in a number of areas of commerce and the public service; resentment of this status has necessarily increased at times of relatively high unemployment. Only recently have there been some discussions over the possibility of forcing some or all of the Indian population to leave Fiji. Most official discussions, even after Independence, have been on the restriction of immigration such as during the Senate debate on immigration in 1971 (Bakker, 1977:47). As was observed in 1973, 'it is interesting to note that while there have been fairly frequent discussions linking immigration with expanding population, there has been little discussion on emigration as a population outlet' (Hull and Hull, 1973:210), although there had been occasional suggestions in the press on the restriction of Fiji's population growth by the repatriation of Indians or by sending them to Hawaii or the Marquesas (Bakker, 1977:47). In the mid-1970s the Fijian Nationalist Party, primarily in the person of the FNP Member of Parliament, Mr. S. Butadroka, advocated the removal of 100,000 Indians as a solution to the country's population problem; while formal support for such a policy was quite limited there was much informal support for this kind of approach to problems of population growth and unemployment. Although FNP opposition has since been more muted these issues recurred in November 1982 when the Great Council of Chiefs adopted a motion that two-thirds of parliamentary seats be reserved for Fijians and the posts of Governor General and Prime Minister be reserved for Fijians; in the course of debate on these issues the Deputy Prime Minister was reported to have referred to Indians as 'foreigners' (Fiji Times, 5 November 1982). Whilst there has been no serious discussion of Indian emigration, and there is unlikely to be, discussion and debate over the structure of immigration and the status of Indians in Fiji have necessarily resulted in a climate of some social insecurity and hence Indian concern over their present and future status within Fiji, with Burma and especially Uganda providing discouraging potential precedents. This has in turn prompted the consideration of a 'second wave' of emigration (see below) as a solution to possible economic and political problems. Debates over citizenship are unlikely to decline in the future and these issues cannot be discussed in detail here.

In the past decade immigration to Fiji has slowed as it has become impossible for most of those born outside Fiji to gain anything more than temporary residency status. The eras of Indian, Chinese, European and Pacific Islander migration have ended and localisation is continuing to reduce the European component of the population. By contrast, for rather more than a decade, emigration from Fiji has had enormous significance, and especially the migration of Indians, mainly to North America (primarily Canada). This, and the return migration of Europeans, are not the only out-migration movements; as elsewhere there are a number of short-term migration movements, including the movement of some for education overseas, labour migration to New Zealand under the work permit scheme and the rather exceptional case of the Fijian Army's role in peacekeeping in the Middle East.

The most important element in international migration from Fiji is the effectively permanent movement of migrants to North America and to a lesser extent New Zealand and Australia. Migration to North America was initially of Chinese, since in the 1960s there was a substantial migration of Chinese from Fiji to Canada and the west coast of the United States (Ward, 1971:20, 38), but Indians rapidly became the most important emigrant group. 'International migration from Fiji has always been regarded as a matter of concern, primarily because of the (presumed?) skill-drain and its impact on development' (Singh and de Wulf, 1982:1). The net emigration balance

increased significantly from 1968 onwards (Table Fifteen) when the net imbalance in Indian emigration became important, although in earlier years the actual flow of migrants was greater. The data on overall international migration, which includes 'others', is of limited validity since, although it includes departing Europeans, the figures are substantially inflated through the practice of reclassifying visitors who stay in Fiji for more than one month as residents. Further discussion of emigration from Fiji thus refers almost entirely to the Indian and Fijian population.

Table 15. Net International Migration of Fiji Residents.

	Fijians	Indians	Others	TOTAL
1962	-11	-528	+887	-248
1963	-46	-178	-325	-559
1964	+80	+320	+420	+820
1965	-60	-316	-358	-734
1966	-384	-112	-360	-856
1967	+902	+496	-1,719	-321
1968	+237	-826	-709	-1,298
1969	+102	-827	-252	-977
1970	-177	-1,143	-1,063	-2,383
1971	+437	-902	-1,566	-2,031
1972	+195	-1,076	-1,751	-2,632
1973	-298	-2,549	-2,024	-4,871
1974	-234	-2,116	-2,527	-4,877
1975	+65	-2,224	-2,023	-4,182
1976	-520	-2,198	-1,637	-4,355
1977	-255	-1,455	-1,020	-2,700
1978	-261	-1,740	-2,069	-4,070
1979	-161	-1,498	-2,200	-3,859
1980				-3,785
1981				-4,743
1982				-5,018

Notes: (a) There is some doubt over the component figures for 1962, 1965 and 1967 (see Jones, 1976:52). The totals recorded in the Development Plan for 1971 and 1974 are incorrect.

Source: Jones, 1976:52; Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:9.

During the 1960s the extent of international migration increased significantly, especially after 1968 (cf. Jones, 1976:52), but a very high proportion of this was return migration and, especially for the Fijian population, who migrated less, the migration balance was slight in most years. Emigration of Indians peaked in 1968, probably since forthcoming Independence was a significant influence on the decision to move (Jones, 1976:9), and remained at much the same level until 1972. From 1973 to 1976 there was a further substantial increase in the rate of emigration but, after 1976, the imbalance in migration more or less stabilised at a lower level, probably because of worsening unemployment in the principal destination countries and therefore more stringent controls over international migration. The extent to which changing social, economic and political conditions in Fiji slowed migration is not clear. By the early 1970s the migration of educated and skilled workers was increasingly

recognised as a problem, especially in the professional and top management category (Jones, 1976:16). Earlier analysis of emigration indicated 'severe losses of Fiji citizens in 1973 in many occupations of particular need for the country's development' (Bartsch, 1974:3), especially professional and technical occupations and specialised clerical occupations. By contrast, in occupations of general surplus, such as agricultural workers and labourers, migration accounted for a tiny proportion of the stock (ibid). This is discussed further below.

Analysis of emigration from Fiji in 1975 revealed, firstly, that the majority of migrants were young people, either young married couples, students or the children of older migrants and, secondly, that most emigrants were from Suva and its metropolitan area (including Nasinu, Nausori, Tamavua Heights and the Rewa-Tailevu rural area). The next most important areas of migration loss were Lautoka and Nadi, followed by Vatukoula and Ba rural area; thus emigrants 'would therefore appear to be predominantly urban dwellers or those whose lives are considerably influenced by urban values and aspirations' (Jones, 1976:22) and were from areas characterised by Indian settlement. Areas characterised by Fijian settlement, such as Nadroga and Lau, had conspicuously little emigration (op cit:26). In proportion to the total Indian population in the major towns Nausori had by far the largest number of Indian emigrants and Navua also had a high Indian migration rate even though the absolute number of migrants from Suva was higher than anywhere else (op cit:31-32). In each of the urban areas, with the exception of Sigatoka, professional and top management workers formed the largest category of migrants by occupation (op cit:36); although this was undoubtedly a partial result of there being substantial internal migration it is indicative of the substantial skill-drain involved in emigration.

Differentiating those migrants who in 1975 had specifically stated 'emigration' on their departure cards as the reason for leaving the country results in slightly different conclusions. Indians formed a higher proportion (72%) of intended emigrants than they did of all migrants especially when compared with Fijians, who constituted only 3% of intended emigrants (Jones, 1976:41). Moreover the loss of skills was much more pronounced for the intended emigrants than for all international migrants, and especially in the technical and semi-professional categories, rather than in management so that 'skill loss is greater and more diversified than previously thought after a study of net migration only' (op cit:44). The intended destinations of migrants indicates that just over half of all migrants, 2,256 (50%), were leaving for Canada, 819 (18%) for U.S.A., 608 (14%) for Australia, 466 (10%) for New Zealand, 131 (3%) for other Pacific islands, 118 (3%) for the United Kingdom and 71 (1%) elsewhere (op cit:60). Whilst Europeans cannot be differentiated from Indians and Fijians, (so that, for example, few natural citizens of Fiji emigrated to the United Kingdom), it is apparent that North America is much the most important destination of emigrants. In terms of emigration from the rest of the South Pacific region Canada is an almost unique but, in this case, extremely important destination for Pacific island migrants.

Since the 1975 study (Jones, 1976) is the only detailed study of emigration from Fiji and the data available then had some limitations the extent to which conclusions from that study are valid over a longer time period and especially in more recent years is essentially unknown. In the absence of other conflicting evidence however there is no reason to believe that this trend in origins, destinations and skill losses has not been maintained. However 1975 was a peak year for migration from Fiji to Canada

(Table Sixteen) thus, in volume at least, this was exceptional. Surveys of Indian migrants to Canada also indicate that migrants were relatively young (average age 22) and that 'even by Canadian standards Fijian immigrants command considerable education and skills' (Buchignani, 1979:269) and intended occupations in the period 1972-1974 show that migrants were highly skilled, to the extent that 'by Fijian standards these people are part of the small middle class Indian elite' (op cit:270) and 'the contrast between those who immigrate and those who do not is startling' (ibid). What limited alternative evidence there is (although there is little information on migration to other countries at other time periods, especially most recently) suggests that the basic conclusions of both Jones and Buchignani are valid over a much wider time period. No surveys of international migration from Fiji have examined the rationale of emigration. Whilst political factors are unusually important (see below) it is apparent that further influences may be social and economic; thus wage settlements in the early 1970s that greatly reduced the 'skill margin' between skilled and unskilled workers may have been a catalyst to out-migration and the income differentials for skilled workers between Fiji and Canada are readily apparent. Similarly no surveys appear to have examined the relative significance of Canada and other metropolitan countries and destinations. Whilst there have been well-known constraints on migration to Australia and, to a lesser extent, New Zealand, even the existence of earlier Asian migrants in Canada and the premium placed on skills in Canada does not explain the high proportion of Indian migrants in Canada rather than elsewhere. Only in the past two years has data consistently been recorded on the ethnic composition of Fijian citizens emigrating from Fiji (Table Seventeen); some 83% of all citizens migrating are Indians, a proportion which has therefore increased since 1975, whilst the number and proportion of Fijians has remained small.

Table 16. Immigration from Fiji into Canada.

pre-1962	about 50
1962-1964	209
1965	304
1966	271
1967	172
1968	253
1969	590
1970	776
1971	721
1972	636
1973	987
1974	1,530
1975	2,323
1976	1,081
1977	710
1978	552
1979	517

Source: Buchignani, 1979:267.

Evidence on migration from Fiji to Canada (Table Sixteen) demonstrates that by the end of 1978 over 11,000 people had migrated to Canada; since return migration has been minimal, emigration has continued and most migrants are young adults who are in their most productive child-bearing

Table 17. Fiji Citizens Emigrating by Race, March 1981 - March 1983.

	Fijian	Indian	Chinese	Rotuman	Other	Total
M 1981	4	186	2	0	2	194
A	14	171	10	0	16	211
M	13	186	16	1	16	232
J	9	210	4	2	11	236
J	11	191	9	4	8	223
A	21	175	3	2	14	215
S	11	226	7	1	12	257
O	16	168	3	1	11	199
N	201	136	19	3	12	190
D	20	147	8	8	15	198
	139	1,796	81	22	117	2,155
J 1982	33	283	12	-	17	345
F	25	184	12	2	15	238
M	4	179	7	2	6	198
A	9	196	5	1	11	222
M	13	194	2	1	15	225
J	14	202	6	1	9	232
J	22	219	-	6	7	254
A	7	125	8	5	14	159
S	5	120	15	1	8	149
O	5	107	7	4	11	134
N	5	129	1	3	9	147
D	20	148	4	5	16	193
	162	2,086	79	31	138	2,496
J 1983	35	247	18	1	28	329
F	22	166	7	2	22	219
M	6	191	5	3	9	214
	63	604	30	6	59	762
TOTAL	364	4,486	190	59	314	5,413

Source: Fiji, Bureau of Statistics, Statistical News.

ages in Canada, it is unlikely that the migrant population and its descendants is now less than 16,000 of whom the vast majority, certainly more than 95% (Buchignani, 1979:268), are Indians and most of the remainder are Chinese. Whilst another estimate suggests about 12,000 Fiji Indians in Canada, of whom 7,500 were in the Vancouver area (Buchignani, 1980:80) this figure probably excludes descendants. Whilst many migrants discuss the possibility of return, few Indians have returned to Fiji except as visitors (Buchignani, 1981) and, of all overseas communities from the South Pacific, there is perhaps less prospect of Fiji Indians returning than of most other identifiable groups. Estimates of the number of migrants from Fiji who are overseas elsewhere are difficult to make and the case of Indians in New Zealand can be singled out as one where estimation is particularly difficult (Connell, 1983:13) whilst it has been suggested that most of the settlers from Fiji in New Zealand have European blood or connections (McGill,

1982:150); nevertheless at the time of the 1981 New Zealand census there were around 3,900 people in New Zealand of Fijian origin, about half of whom were Fijian and half Indian, plus a small number of Rotumans. A similar number of migrants from Fiji are also in Australia but data is even more inadequate because of the lack of distinction between ethnic Fijians or Indians and those born in Fiji; thus in 1971 there were 3,646 Fiji-born migrants resident in Australia and in 1981 there were 9,357. Aspects of Fijian migration to Sydney (which has about half of all migrants from Fiji) have been analysed elsewhere (Munro, 1977) but the data were unavailable at the time of writing. The ethnic structure of the Fijian population in Australia is not known. In 1978-79 some 422 Fijian citizens were granted settler status in Australia; in 1979-80 this was 348 and in 1980-81 reached 508. There may therefore be as many as 18,000 migrants from Fiji in Australia. Data on emigration to U.S.A. is equally elusive; in 1976, 557 visas were issued to Fijians, in 1980 there were 591 and for seven months of 1981 there were 643. There is no reason to believe that these are atypical figures or that migration to the U.S.A. is now at a level that is much different from that to Canada. It is likely therefore that there are at least 6,000 migrants from Fiji in U.S.A. and consequently that there are around 33,000 non-European migrants from Fiji elsewhere in the world. Finally there is a small but significant migration of Indians to India although there is very little information available on this particularly interesting form of return migration. Indians are entitled to financial assistance from the Fijian government towards their passage to India and in 1980 eight Indians received grants. The extent to which this constitutes the total return migration to India, and how it has changed over previous years, is not known. There was an increase in emigration from Fiji in 1981 and 1982 when the number of stated emigrants reached 2,764 and 2,672 (Table Eighteen), figures previously exceeded only in 1975 and 1977 in the recent past (and these years are probably peaks of emigration in the past two decades). This therefore suggests that in the past two years, if the structure of migration has remained the same (and there is no reason to believe otherwise), the number of overseas migrants has increased significantly.

Table 18. Emigration from Fiji.

1975	4,461
1976	2,527
1977	3,809
1978	2,062
1979	1,683
1980	1,878
1981	2,754
1982	2,672
1983	811 (3 months only)

The most striking conclusion on the impact of international migration from Fiji is that it constitutes a very substantial skill and brain drain; in the case of Indian migration to Canada this is abundantly clear,

'It is not hard to show that a significant proportion of Fiji's skilled labour force has emigrated to Canada. Neither is it difficult to develop a rough quantitative assessment of this flow....only 21,714 Fijian Indians were skilled paid employees in 1972. The criteria used by the

Fijian government to assess skills and expertise are extremely liberal, so that by Canadian standards the number of actually skilled workers would be substantially less than this figure. At the same time, virtually all immigrant household heads are skilled workers. Considering that about one-third of Fijian immigrants are immediately bound for the Canadian work force, 3,700 would be a reasonable estimate of the number of skilled individuals lost to Fiji through Canadian immigration over the past fifteen years. If we accept the inflated figure of 22,000 skilled Indians in the Fijian work force, this would imply that 17% of all skilled, working Fijian Indians have come to Canada. Put in more concrete terms, at least one out of every six of these people is now in Canada. Most of them are forever lost to the Fijian economy' (Buchignani, 1979:271).

This loss of skilled labour has not been evenly distributed within occupational groups in Fiji and there have been particularly significant losses of vehicle maintenance engineers, which 'puts a severe load on the capabilities of Fiji to train their replacements' (op cit:272), and also of metal workers, wood workers, accountants and semi-skilled white collar office workers (ibid). However there had not been a significant loss of professionals or top management personnel, principally since there were then few senior Fijian or Indian professionals in Fiji (ibid); it is possible if unlikely then that this may subsequently have changed. Whilst there is no comparably detailed data available to test this assumption, the most recent data that is available on the occupational groups of Fiji citizens emigrating (Table Nineteen) suggests that the broad occupational structure of emigration has remained consistent for some time (cf. Singh and de Wulf, 1982). Within the professional and technical category, which has accounted for 7% of all emigrants in the past two years, the majority have been teachers; the major groups of migrants were in senior clerical occupations (10%) and production/machinery workers (12%). However, of all emigrants, as many as 3,262 (60%) out of 5,413 were unclassifiable by occupation (Table Nineteen) hence any conclusions on a skill drain based on official statistics can only be tentative, although other data point to similar conclusions to those made earlier. For example, the Fiji Institute of Technology (Derrick Technical Institute), which offers courses in building trades, mechanics, electrical trades and hotel management, found in the mid-1970s that about 30% of all graduates emigrate, after working in Fiji for the three-year period for which they were bonded (World Bank, 1977:30). The evidence that exists does generally point to a continuing skill drain that in some areas may only be replenished with great difficulty.

The direct financial impact of international migration is difficult to determine. There are no currency controls on Fijians permanently leaving Fiji (and overseas residents can also own property in Fiji) hence substantial sums may be taken out of the country. Remittances to Fiji are however normal and the fares of intended migrants and visitors are usually paid in Canada. Data on the actual level of remittances is almost non-existent; Buchignani simply notes that 'people in Canada often support relatives at home, but I believe that it is quite rare for a family to send relatives sums in excess of \$500 a year' (1979:274). The impact of remittances and the fact that emigrants tend to present their experiences in the most favourable light has contributed not only to a general feeling of economic deprivation amongst Indians in Fiji but has also contributed to an

increased demand for imported 'luxury' goods to the extent that this 'is currently one of the most serious problems facing the Fijian economy' (op cit: 275). The size of the emigrant population and its particularly high earning capacity suggests that remittances may be an important contribution to the Fijian economy.

Table 19. Fiji Citizen emigration by Race and Occupation, March 1981-March 1983.

	Fijian	Indian	(including all others)	Total
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	36	298	60	394
Administrative and Managerial Workers	6	97	24	127
Clerical Supervisors and Related Workers	45	426	71	542
Sales Workers	7	137	24	168
Service Workers	17	77	22	116
Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Forest Workers and Fishermen	4	139	4	147
Production Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers	39	582	36	657
Not classifiable	209	2,731	322	3,262
TOTAL	363	4,487	563	5,413

Source: Fiji, Bureau of Statistics, Statistical News.

The impact of the migration of a primarily Indian population group from Fiji to Canada is relatively complex. The primary beneficiaries are the migrants, whose wage levels in real terms may be several times what they were able to earn in Fiji, and their families who may also have improved income-earning opportunities. Benefits are obviously also experienced by Canadian employers through the supply of a relatively cheap group of skilled workers which reduces wage pressures.

Emigration has led to immediate manpower shortages in some sectors of the economy, which means that Fiji must use less qualified people and must bear the costs of training replacements (or importing replacements) and decreased productivity. Because so many migrants were employed in construction, manufacturing or blue collar service industries, any decrease in the efficiency if these industries may have resulted in a decrease in the efficiency of other related sectors of the economy. As early as 1971 it was noted that:

'There are long gestation periods involved in many types of professional, technical, and vocational skill training and in the short run the output of these skills cannot be radically changed. In the next few years, despite special and temporary government measures to circumvent or mitigate the problems the combination of the emigration of skilled and trained manpower, inadequate training

facilities and insufficient numbers of skilled people estimated to be in the pipeline, plus the increasing demands of economic growth and development, will together contribute to a deterioration in the skilled manpower situation with the most serious shortages occurring in the supply of technicians and qualified tradesmen particularly in the building and construction industry' (Ward, 1971:236).

By mid-1975 it was apparent that this had already occurred (Buchignani, 1979:273) although the relative decline in Indian emigration since 1975 may have weakened the effects on the economy.

There are strong political overtones to Indian emigration from Fiji in the sense that, as Buchignani notes, 'Most Fijian Indian immigrants to Canada are firmly convinced that native Fijians (and hence, the government of Fiji) are not altogether sorry to see them go. It is true that the Government of Fiji has done nothing to impede them going' (1979:274). In this context then a second benefit for the migrants themselves is an opportunity to live in what may be a more congenial and acceptable political climate. The migration of Indians has an obvious effect on Fijians:

'Vacancies resulting from the emigration of Indians thus generate increased opportunities for Fijian natives to secure work commensurate with their training. This is especially true of government service and those businesses not run by Indians. This process is pregnant with political consequences, for already Indians have become sensitive to it out of proportion to reality' (op cit:275).

There are other political implications of migration. Firstly, migration is at least in part a response to beliefs that the situation of Indians in Fiji may deteriorate in the future; secondly, selective out-migration of Indians, which has reduced the Indian percentage of the population by 7%, has benefited the Alliance Party and, thirdly, 'emigration also defuses the Fijian political scene, in the sense that it provides an out for those Indians who are disenchanted with things as they presently are...On the whole those people who come to Canada are also the type of Indians most likely to be a political threat to the present government. They are educated and articulate and have a fair idea of the way the Fijian political system works' (op cit:278). Their potential leadership ability is a substantial loss (cf. Bartsch, 1974:5). Moreover 'these immigrants are resourceful people, and they would not have sat idly by and seen their political and economic situation degraded. By leaving they do not contribute to a solution of this political problem but they delay the eventual outcome. Many immigrant Fijian Indians firmly believe that this is the intention of the government, for any such delay is to the government's benefit' (Buchignani, 1979). Thus the international emigration of Indians, whilst of considerable economic cost to the country, provides considerable short-term social and political advantages.

Despite Buchignani's view 'that the Government of Fiji has done nothing to impede them going' (1979:274) there have been attempts to reduce emigration from Fiji. For many years the government has attempted to introduce more appropriate education and training courses. In 1974 recommendations were made on providing more appropriate, and cheaper, training courses in Fiji that would not meet international criteria, the introduction of bonding for students, the payment of an 'emigration tax' and

the repayment of the public costs of post-primary education (Bartsch, 1974:7). Inadvertently the training provided at the Fiji School of Medicine has provided exactly the appropriate training required for doctors in the South Pacific, but at a level that was not internationally recognised, hence trained doctors practised in Fiji and elsewhere in the region but did not have the qualifications to migrate to metropolitan countries. It was a model that was not applied elsewhere although as early as 1975 the government was considering a series of related measures to reduce the 'brain drain', including bilateral negotiations with receiving countries and the introduction of training courses, where appropriate to Fijian needs and obligatory service in Fiji (Fiji, 1975), but little came of these considerations and, in the following year, a Parliamentary Select Committee on Immigration concluded,

'The Committee categorically rejects the suggestion that the Fiji government place restrictions on skilled people migrating to other countries for it feels that this would be a severe and unjustified restriction on the liberty and the freedom of movement of its citizens to settle wherever they wish. The Committee further recommends that Australia and New Zealand should also open their doors to some of our unskilled people who have the capacity to be good labourers, farm workers and factory hands' (Parliament of Fiji, 1976:8).

A wage policy that gave higher rewards to more skilled workers (whilst contributing to substantial inequality) may have been a major reason for a decline in emigration since 1975, although it was not principally directed towards that aim (Stavenuiter, 1983:123). Thus there have been no real internal constraints over emigration from Fiji although at many different times this has been a source of some concern; according to the United Nations Population Inquiry of 1979 emigration was still regarded as too high and a policy of curbing it was to be introduced in the future. This has not occurred and there is no indication that policies will change in the future; the economic losses from migration are minimised by political gains.

The second principal area of out-migration for migrants from Fiji is New Zealand; although permanent entry to New Zealand has always been difficult Fiji is the one Melanesian country with a 'special relationship' with New Zealand. Unlike most Polynesian migrants in New Zealand Fijians tend to have come predominantly from rural areas, tend to work in New Zealand rural areas and are less likely to become permanent migrants. Thus work bands may consist of thirty or more men from a single village or church group who will be assisted by the Ministry of Fijian Affairs or the Ministry of Labour to negotiate contracts with New Zealand employers. Much of the work in New Zealand is short-term and seasonal so that the four-month duration of the visa usually fits in well with agricultural seasons. Most migrants to New Zealand are Fijians rather than Indians. The Fiji scheme was established early in 1976 and in the five following years Fiji has sent between 418 and 551 workers in each year to correspond with vacancies notified from New Zealand; of these usually more than 90% have gone to work in rural areas. Applications for labour migration far exceed the availability of work; in March 1981 a total of 6,986 applications were received for temporary employment in New Zealand compared with 492 workers who actually went (Labour News, 3(10), 1981:4). Thus,

'Kabarans from all villages were waiting in Suva in October 1975 for an opportunity to earn the 'big money' overseas [under the New Zealand work permit scheme]...Group work was actively being encouraged

in the village... it was found that the Naikeleyaga community had recently paid the fares to Suva of ten men who hoped to get work permits to work in New Zealand.... village reconstruction programmes had high priority as a reason for working in New Zealand' (Bedford, McLean and Macpherson, 1978:44-5).

About a third of all applications are from individuals and two-thirds from community groups, church groups, rural villages and settlements. Attempts are made to ensure that 'maximum benefits for the purpose of rural development are derived by people finding temporary employment in New Zealand' (Labour News, 1981:4) by the Employment Services Division of the Fiji Ministry of Labour which screens all applications. Full details of this procedure are not known, although it is intended that workers, where possible, are drawn from areas where specific rural development projects are in progress and they must be between 21 and 45 years of age, in good health and with the ability to speak and understand simple English (P. Lister, pers. comm. 1983). If the screening procedure is applied successfully and priority given to groups there is therefore some probability that short-term, regulated labour migration can encourage rural development. The extent to which groups predominate in migration to New Zealand is not known. However in the village of Naila (near Nausori) 41 men and one woman had worked in New Zealand at least once and some several times; but only once, in the mid-1960s, was the migratory work organised as a village project when seven men went to raise money to build the minister's house (Ponter, 1976:47). If this is typical the contribution to rural development is slight. However the jobs filled by migrant workers are relatively low-paid and unpleasant (such as scrub-clearing and tussock grass eradication), conditions of work are poor (and cash taken back may therefore be small) and accommodation and food may be inadequate, to the extent that the scheme may benefit New Zealand to a greater extent than Fiji (P. Lister, pers. comm. 1983). Whilst the number of Fijians able to benefit from the scheme has remained more or less stable over the past five years (and the first three months of 1982), primarily because the jobs are so unattractive by New Zealand standards that fluctuations in the employment level in New Zealand have little bearing on their availability, there must nevertheless be some doubt over the long-term future of temporary employment opportunities overseas. More than a decade ago Ward commented,

'In the past both Australia and New Zealand used to accept fairly large numbers of temporary agricultural and forestry workers from Fiji and it is felt by many that these two richer countries could do more to help Fiji in easing her unemployment problem than they do at present. Australia in particular could probably afford a more liberal policy and allow in unskilled workers from Fiji' (1971:223).

While these issues may not have achieved recent prominence in Fiji, at both the 1979 and 1983 South Pacific Labour Ministers' Conferences the Fijian Minister strongly pressed the claims of Fiji for some short-term employment opportunities in Australia. There is no reason to believe that these pressures will not recur in the future.

The relatively formal New Zealand work permit scheme established in 1976 followed slightly less formal temporary movement of workers from Fiji to New Zealand. Early labour migration to New Zealand began in the 1950s; nevertheless in 1959 in the Indian settlement of Delanikoro (near Nausori) only a few men had been overseas and this was regarded as a novelty (Mayer,

1973:212). In the mid-1950s it was estimated that movement to New Zealand averaged less than 300 annually but the number grew to 2,913 permits in 1963 and 10,446 in 1966 and the movement until 1964 was predominantly of Indians (Anderson, 1968:19). The number fell after 1967 as New Zealand introduced more rigorous controls and economic conditions there worsened (op cit:20). Nevertheless by 1971 there were hardly any adult men from Delanikoro who had not been there, often several times, and work in New Zealand was seen as an increasing standby. Some also worked in Vanuatu. In three months it was then usually possible to save and bring back a substantial sum (Mayer, 1973:212). Towards the mid-1960s it became harder to obtain work in New Zealand but, by then, for Delanikoro at least, Suva provided better job opportunities (ibid) so that short-term labour migration tended to benefit more distant rural areas. However in 1966 some 42% of a sample of households in the Rewa delta area were receiving income from household members working in New Zealand, while from a Macuata-Bua sample no-one was working there (Anderson, 1968:19) so that the diffusion of opportunities to more remote areas may not have been great.

In the 1950s and 1960s Fijians and Indians migrated for employment to many other parts of the South Pacific region, partly because many possessed technical skills that were often in short supply elsewhere in the region. To a much greater extent than for any other social group in the South Pacific region Fijians can be found throughout the region, even including Micronesia. Where the overseas Fijian or Indian communities are unusually large, relative to that of other local migrant groups, their migration and its impact has been discussed in other relevant reports, as in the case of Vanuatu (Country Report No.20) and Solomon Islands (Country Report No.16). Opportunities for migration of Fijians within the Pacific are declining and, as in the case of New Caledonia (where there are perhaps 50 Fijians mainly working as technicians or in the hotel industry), many must now be regarded as permanent settlers rather than migrants. Nevertheless a small number of Fijians are employed overseas, usually on short-term contracts, and a proportion of these are officially notified to the Ministry of Labour. In 1980, for example, twenty-four workers from Fiji were contracted to work in Solomon Islands (8), Vanuatu (15) and New Zealand (1). Between January and September 1981 twelve contracts were issued for, amongst other places, Kiribati (4), Solomon Islands (2), Vanuatu (2), New Zealand (1) and Tonga (1), (Fiji, Ministry of Labour, 1981:4). This represents only a small proportion of Fijians working overseas but does demonstrate the continued demand from countries within the region for skilled workers from Fiji.

There are two further temporary forms of emigration. One of these is for education although because of the range of secondary and tertiary education opportunities this is comparatively limited unlike in smaller South Pacific states. The extent to which this results in a 'brain drain' from Fiji has not been recorded. There are however examples of the problems attached to overseas education and training; thus agricultural students trained overseas on New Zealand dairy farms in the 1970s received student grants around three times the minimum wage in Fiji so that when they returned to Fiji few could settle for lower rural wages and many moved into town (G. Bamford, pers. comm. 1983). Because of the limited extent of overseas education and training Fiji has probably gained more from students overall participation in the education system than in smaller countries. The second form of temporary labour migration is the temporary employment of Fijians since 1978 in the UN peacekeeping force in the Middle East; whilst this has raised the status of Fiji internationally it can be regarded as

labour migration because of the significant overseas earnings that are generated by this employment. It follows a long tradition of Fijian military service in the British Army, a tradition which only ended late in 1983. More than a thousand Fijian forces, over half the national military strength, are stationed in the Middle East, in Sinai and especially in Lebanon where the First Fijian Infantry Regiment was formed as a peacekeeping unit of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). Whilst this dangerous and unusual form of labour migration is currently of national financial value the extent to which it will continue to be a source of income and prestige is unpredictable. As in other cases of labour migration from Fiji the future prospects appear to be more limited than present opportunities. More generally short-term labour migration overseas is of less importance in Fiji than future emigration.

Internal Migration

Perhaps of all the countries in the South Pacific region Fiji best exemplifies all the common trends of South Pacific internal migration, that is from outer islands to inner islands, from small islands to large islands, from mountains to coasts and from rural areas to urban areas. Migration from the island centres towards the coast occurred from the very earliest periods of colonisation and coincided with the period of Christian conversion, the decline in indigenous warfare and the establishment of trade. This movement was often accompanied by an increased centralisation of the population and hence an increase in village size (Frazer, 1973:82-83) and in later years resulted in increased population concentrations close to roads. Apart from this more systematic migration, warfare, social disputes, sickness and soil depletion were all causes of internal migration (Ward, 1961:259). Thus on the island of Koro it appears that movement to the coast began after 1860 and had been completed by 1890 (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:12). On Viti Levu the process is still continuing, and the process of community division and reformation goes on throughout Fiji. This has been described in detail in the case of Moala (Sahlins, 1962:72-9). Some small islands have experienced almost complete depopulation in the present century; for example Qelelevu, 100 kms. north-east of Taveuni, has a shifting population of around 20 to 25 people on the island with the majority of the population living as outsiders on Taveuni (Brookfield, 1983:24). A number of other islands in Lau, and probably elsewhere, do not have permanent populations but operate as occasional copra plantations for nearby populated islands. As a result of these long-standing trends some 60% of the total population now live within approximately 8 kms. of a town or service centre, hence most rural populations have reasonable access to markets and services; the principal exception is the Lau archipelago, but the same is true of other remote islands and island groups.

Migration from Rotuma, nearly 400 kms. from the main islands of Fiji, must be regarded as a special case of internal migration, because of the cultural differences between the Polynesian Rotumans and the Melanesian and Indian population of the principal islands. However Rotumans do not appear to have objected to their historic inclusion in Fiji, there have been no Rotuman secession movements and Rotumans regard themselves as Fijians. Many Rotumans migrated 'almost as soon as the opportunity was available to them early in the Nineteenth Century' (Howard, 1961:275) and Rotumans were employed in Queensland, in the Torres Strait pearling industry, in Hawaii, Samoa, Tahiti and even Peru. By the end of the century almost all adult Rotumans had worked overseas and the few who had not, experienced some degree of shame (Bryant, 1974). After 1881 labour recruitment there was

banned and all contact between Rotuma and the outside world was through Fiji where a small community developed; this grew so that by 1956 one-third of Rotumans were in Fiji (op cit:276-7) and this proportion has continued to increase.

The establishment of plantations in the Nineteenth Century was followed by labour migration, especially from the eastern islands where local trading networks which enabled regional self-reliance had been broken down relatively quickly resulting in increased dependence on the cash economy. By the early Twentieth Century there was already a 'tradition' of group migration from the eastern islands to plantations in Vanua Levu, Taveuni and northern Lau (Bedford, McLean and Macpherson, 1978:33). Most Fijian labourers were recruited from Ra, the Yasawas, Kadavu and Tailevu, and mainly signed on for one-year contracts rather than the three-year contracts of Indians (Siegel, 1983) but, as the Twentieth Century progressed, fewer and fewer Fijians signed on for plantation employment, preferring to undertake some cash cropping on their own land. Moreover group migration gradually gave way to individual migration, although group migration in Fiji is now probably more important than anywhere else in the South Pacific region.

The Fijian labour migration situation was very different from elsewhere in Melanesia. A migrant labour system was not set up to regulate the movement of villagers to the plantation and mining enclaves. Sir Arthur Gordon interpreted the Deed of Cession in 1874 to mean British responsibility for the conservation of Fijian society at all costs. To this end, he placed a strict prohibition on out-migration from the villages especially to work on plantations (Gillion, 1977:1-2). In contrast to New Guinea where head tax had to be paid in cash, and hence was used as an inducement to wage labour, Fijian villagers were asked to pay their tax in produce only. In part this difference resulted in the need for Indian indentured workers as an alternative source of low-cost labour. The colonial state's prohibition of Fijian labour on plantations meant that the village economy was not used to subsidise a temporarily absent migrant labour force. The state imported indentured labour and hence assumed responsibility for the full costs of reproduction of the migrant labour force. Acceptance of these costs for the Indian population allowed both a settled and permanent proletariat and a petty bourgeoisie to establish itself in Suva from the early 1920s (Mamak, 1978).

Although Fijian labour was used in the early days of Suva and settlements were established to accommodate migrants from various provinces, the colonial administration from early in the Twentieth Century imposed an absentee tax on all Fijians who were absent from their villages (Mamak, 1978:25). The tax was not lifted until 1966. This limitation on rural-urban migration for the Fijian population has been seen as partly responsible for restricting their general socio-economic advancement.

Wage employment opportunities however continued to attract Fijians, especially in the towns (see below); for example, at the Yanawai goldfield, in 1939, 295 of the workforce of 394 were Fijians and at Vatukoula, in the same year, 1,171 Fijians were employed out of a total of 1,493. Since then there has been greater difficulty in employing Fijians and the proportion of Indians has increased; in 1963 of 1,684 men employed at Vatukoula some 962 were Fijians, 233 Indians and 223 Rotumans. However, apart from banana growing and stevedoring labour at the docks, there were no other industries of comparable size in Fiji where Fijians were so overwhelmingly dominant (Whitelaw, 1967:7). Thus, with rare exceptions, until the 1960s there were

very few wage-earning activities dominated by Fijians rather than Indians. From the 1920s onwards the number of Fijians living outside their home villages and provinces increased steadily to the extent that by 1956 about a quarter of all Fijians were living outside their home province (Ward, 1961:260) a situation which was also true in 1966. Unfortunately data on Indians are inadequate to make comparisons.

Data on migration in the last three decades has been available in some form from the decennial census data. In the 1956 census Fijians were asked to name their mataqali which indicated the location of their land-holding rights but not necessarily their place of birth or residence. No comparable data on the Indian population existed. The 1966 census asked for province of birth from all ethnic components and the 1976 census included a question on previous place of residence at the time of Independence in 1970. The 1976 census report enables some analysis of lifetime and period migration by sex and broad age group, people aged 15 years and over being distinguished from the total population (Walsh, 1982:24). This analysis has previously been undertaken in some depth, both in the census analytical volume (Zwart, 1979), by Chandra (1981) and by Walsh (1982) hence the existence of these analyses, and the fact that the census analysis is now seven years old, enables this further account of contemporary internal migration to be relatively brief, other than in the attempt to detect post-1976 changes in the structure and impact of migration.

By the time of the 1956 census a number of provinces were recognised as the principal sources of Fijian migrants: Kadavu, Ra, Tailevu, Lau, Lomaiviti, Serua and Bua. Naitasiri was also significant. There were relatively few migrants from Ba, Namosi, Cakaudrove and Nadroga-Navosa. This differential was explained, firstly, by the presence or absence of wage-earning opportunities in the home province and, secondly, in the case of Namosi, by the 'tight, well-maintained traditional outlook of these mountain people' (Ward, 1961:262). However Rewa also had a high proportion of out-migrants and it is also possible to recognise a difference between more substantial migration in Viti Levu and the small islands and more limited migration on Vanua Levu. A similar pattern was true in 1966 with the main provinces of out-migration being Rewa, Kadavu, Lau, Tailevu, Lomaiviti and Ra; more than half the emigrant Fijians from Kadavu, Lau and Tailevu were enumerated in Rewa and Naitasiri provinces (which include Suva) and this destination was also important for Fijians born in Lomaiviti. The main provinces of Fijian in-migration were Rewa, Naitasiri, Serua and Ba. The areas of out-migration were then characterised as being areas with a relative paucity of money-earning opportunities, shortages of land and isolation from the two main urban centres of development (Watters, 1969a). For example, in the post-war years especially, villages in areas distant from wage-earning opportunities rapidly lost population; thus in the Rewa delta area,

'villages in the eastern half and the southern end of the delta were beyond the daily commuting route. As a result these areas have suffered a serious decline in population. In Naco and Kuiva areas, I saw villages which had been entirely depopulated. Often two or three houses were left standing on large empty village grounds. The people sadly told me that their relatives had all moved to Suva' (Chao, 1980:175-6; cf. Ward, 1965:292-4).

Subsequently improved bus transport within that area influenced return migration into the area (op cit:176) demonstrating the clear link between migration and accessibility. In the same way too it was apparent that

Indian migration in the 1960s was less frequent since the 'population is already highly concentrated within reasonable proximity to the main nodes of development' (Anderson, 1974:107). Thus the fundamentally economic rationale for migration (see below) was becoming readily apparent in contrast to earlier explanations which focussed on social issues.

Between 1966 and 1976 there were significant changes in the distribution of the population although these changes essentially continued earlier trends. One exception was in the province of Serua where higher than average growth occurred due to the expansion of the tourist industry. On the basis of changes in population growth Walsh has identified four regions of Fiji; firstly, there is the inner core Central region, containing the Suva urban area and the Suva-Nausori corridor of rapid population. This was a region of rapid and accelerating growth relative to other regions. Between 1966 and 1976 its share of the total population increased from 23% to 26% and it had the highest regional rate of annual increase (3.4%). The second region is the 'outer core' region of Western and Northern; both have significant urban populations, some manufacturing and extensive commercial agriculture and both maintained or slightly increased their proportion of the total population. The third 'core-adjacent' region is Eastern and Southern, which are agricultural regions for commercial and semi-subsistence production without significant urban centres; from both these areas there was out-migration and annual growth rates were below the national average. The fourth 'outer periphery' region consists of the smaller islands of Kadavu, Lomaiviti, Lau and Rotuma which together had a negative population growth rate (-0.4%) in the period between 1966 and 1976 (Chandra, 1981:335; Walsh, 1982:20-21). Broadly then the pattern of population growth and movement can be correlated with the regional distribution of economic growth.

Inter-provincial lifetime migration streams tend to define and emphasize these regions. Relative to their share of the population Central, Western and Northern had low out-migration rates; Central had an exceptionally high in-migration rate, but Western and Northern had lower in-migration rates than might have been expected in terms of the extent of economic development in those areas and their share of the total population (Walsh, 1982:25-26). The evidence on lifetime migration (Table Twenty) thus points to the strong significance of migration to the Suva-Nausori corridor which dominates most migration streams, and also the significance of extensive out-migration from the peripheral islands.

At the time of the 1976 census some 31% of the adult population were living outside their province of birth. By comparing the number of moves made before and after 1970 some indication of temporal changes in migration is possible. For Fiji as a whole, 35.4% of the population aged six years and over had moved since 1970; for Fijians the proportion was 38.4% and for Indians 31.8%. Somewhat higher proportions of Fijian and Indian males were 'recent movers' and regions with above average levels of recent migration were Northern (39.1%), Central (37.9%) and Southern (38.4%), (Walsh, 1982:25-26, 29). Despite the relatively long existence, by Melanesian standards, of towns in Fiji, almost half of the total urban population, aged over fifteen, is rural in origin (Chandra, 1981:331). The broad patterns of migration in the whole inter-censal period were broadly reflected in the 1970-76 period but there were changes when Fijian and Indian movements are considered separately. Ba and Serua in the Western region had net gains from Fijians resident in Central in 1970 and the movement of Indians

Table 20. Indices of migration in Fiji provinces, 1976.

Province	Population aged 15 yrs & over born in the province and residing in another province No.	%	Population aged 15 yrs & over residing in but born in another province No.	%	Net lifetime migration	Urban popula- tion as % of province population	Population density in km ²
Ba	15,768	17.4	21,025	22.0	+5,257	35.7	63
Bua	3,460	42.3	1,477	23.9	-1,983	0	8
Cakaudrove	8,388	37.1	3,807	21.1	-4,581	6.7	12
Kadavu	5,067	56.0	864	17.8	-4,203	0	18
Lau	9,936	59.5	788	10.4	-9,148	0	30
Lomaiviti	6,105	53.8	2,153	29.1	-3,952	20.4	33
Macuata	6,011	18.2	4,987	15.5	-1,024	22.6	29
Nadroga/Navosa	7,668	29.7	8,420	31.7	+752	7.9	19
Naitasiri	6,103	30.1	23,699	62.6	+17,596	67.7	39
Namosi	1,169	47.1	450	25.6	-719	0	6
Ra	7,377	42.3	4,133	29.2	+3,244	14.7	19
Rewa	16,530	44.3	30,171	59.2	+13,641	89.8	321
Serua	3,377	49.0	2,943	45.5	-434	22.8	14
Tailevu	12,990	45.6	7,238	31.8	-5,752	21.1	42
Rotuma	2,290	62.6	99	6.7	-2,191	0	61
FIJI TOTAL	112,239	33.7	112,254*	33.7	-	37.2	32

*There is a discrepancy of 15 in the Census Report.

Source: Chandra, 1981:233.

focussed much more heavily on Central. Thus Ba, which had a net migration gain of 570 Fijians lost 1,169 Indians to Central, and in Serua, with its recent tourism developments, there was a net gain of 299 Fijians and a net loss of 128 Indians (op cit:27).

Table 21. Numbers of males and females in the two major component populations and the total population enumerated in each province per 1000 born in that province, 1976.

Province of birth	Fijian			Indian			All component populations		
	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P
Ba	827	809	818	889	864	877	868	846	857
Bua	682	690	686	720	667	694	686	673	680
Cakaudrove	737	742	740	685	640	663	727	719	723
Kadavu	568	555	562	...	...	...	556	542	549
Lau	528	541	535	...	...	...	519	531	525
Lomaiviti	624	607	616	...	...	...	596	578	588
Macuata	779	747	763	895	894	895	865	855	860
Nadroga & Navosa	832	780	806	801	717	760	812	743	778
Naitasiri	764	754	759	841	766	804	798	756	778
Namosi	688	666	678	...	...	...	623	601	612
Ra	726	694	710	696	617	657	706	651	679
Rewa (incl. Suva)	576	575	575	597	548	572	596	575	585
Serua	727	683	706	613	489	551	661	572	617
Tailevu	671	641	656	660	560	610	663	606	635
Rotuma	...	...	...	...	...	...	509	482	496
TOTAL	697	683	690	805	762	783	747	718	733

Source: Zwart, 1979:29.

For the population as a whole, 27% of the population were enumerated outside their province of birth; there were significant differences between the principal racial groups with 31% of Fijians being outside their province of origin compared with 22% of Indians (Table Twenty-One). Moreover 51% of all Rotumans were outside Rotuma; this suggests not so much that Fijians and the Polynesian Rotumans are inherently more mobile than Indians but that their historic distribution was biased towards small outlying islands, which now have relatively limited economic opportunities, rather than the two main islands. The provinces that attracted lifetime migrants are apparent (Table Twenty-Two); for the Fijian component of the population the areas of extensive emigration were Lau, Cakaudrove, Kadavu and Bua (with a very small proportion born outside the province) and Lau, Kadavu, Cakaudrove and Lomaiviti (excluding nearby Rewa and Naitasiri) made the largest contribution to the population of the Suva urban area (Zwart, 1979:30). For both the Fijian and Indian populations, Rewa, Serua and Naitasiri were the main destination provinces, although for both groups, there has also been much migration out of Naitasiri.

At a more localised level sample surveys of parts of urban Suva reveal the same geographical distribution of migrants; at the start of 1978 a survey of 400 households in five different parts of Suva demonstrated that the majority of the Fijians had come from the distant island provinces of Lau (31.2%), Kadavu (17.6%) and Lomaiviti (9.5%) or from Cakaudrove (13.6%) whereas Indians came from the provinces of Ba (25.4%), Ra (16.4%), Rewa

(14.9%) and Macuata (12.1%), suggesting that, for Fijians, migration was a function of the relationship between remoteness and limited economic resources and to Indians growing population pressure on land resources (Nair, 1980:20-21). Since this survey concentrated on relatively well-established communities (although two were squatter settlements) the sample may be biased towards more established urban residents rather than being representative of a more fluid, migratory situation. Similarly, in the eastern islands, localised surveys indicated how in many islands migration has often been quite extensive; thus in Kabara, between 1966 and 1975, although many of those who had moved away from the island were regarded as 'temporarily' absent by their village kin, it was significant that all members of 33 of the 106 households present in 1966 had left by 1975 (Bedford, McLean and Macpherson, 1978:52). For Batiki, three times as many people now live away from the island as live on it (Bayliss-Smith, 1978:120). These situations recur in other eastern islands, such as Lakeba, and are likely to be broadly true of other outer island groups such as the Yasawas. As is apparent the outer island provinces send a majority of migrants to Suva, despite there being intervening urban areas.

Table 22. Numbers of males and females in the two major component populations and the total population born in each province per 1000 enumerated in that province, 1976.

Province of birth	Fijian			Indian			All component populations		
	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P
Ba	699	708	703	916	889	903	846	832	839
Bua	847	822	836	761	680	721	815	777	796
Cakaudrove	860	856	858	760	681	722	839	825	832
Kadavu	844	827	836	...	...	...	839	826	832
Lau	888	898	893	...	...	...	883	893	888
Lomaiviti	802	774	788	...	...	...	783	752	768
Macuata	720	747	732	941	924	933	881	880	881
Nadroga & Navosa	814	784	799	741	658	700	770	710	740
Naitasiri	451	436	444	491	434	463	460	425	443
Namosi	841	784	813	...	...	...	814	764	789
Ra	806	785	796	797	680	738	797	726	762
Rewa (incl. Suva)	481	466	474	637	626	631	554	538	546
Serua	592	526	559	688	580	636	631	549	591
Tailevu	780	731	756	764	644	704	769	693	731
Rotuma	...	...	...	...	...	...	913	900	907
TOTAL	697	683	690	805	762	783	747	718	733

Source: Zwart, 1979:31.

Overall the pattern of inter-provincial migration for the total population indicates, above all, the significance of migration to Rewa and Naitasiri, primarily reflected in urbanisation in the Greater Suva area (see below). Two-thirds of Rewa's and Naitasiri's immigrants were concentrated in the Suva urban area and the provinces that contributed most to this population were Tailevu, Ba, Lau, Cakaudrove, Lomaiviti and Kadavu; this was obviously a function of out-migration from those provinces, especially the island provinces of Lau, Lomaiviti and Kadavu (Zwart, 1979: 32-33) but also from Rotuma, although the Rotuman migrant population is too small to make a significant contribution to the population of the Suva urban area. Macuata

and Ba retained the highest proportions of population born there, although there was significant migration within both those provinces, each of which contain large towns.

Available evidence suggests that, for both lifetime and recent (1970-76) migrants, counterstreams were stronger between adjacent provinces. This was most evident for Indians, many of whom probably moved from one rural locality to another. In the 1970-1976 period Fijians were much more mobile than Indians and a larger proportion were return migrants. Males were more important among return migrants for Fijians and females were numerically (but not proportionately) more important than Indian men (Walsh, 1982:27, 29). The extent to which circular migration occurs cannot be determined from the census data alone, although Walsh suggests that it is much more important for Fijians rather than Indians (op cit:27), although the available evidence from census data does suggest substantial circular migration. In the 1966-76 period there were more Fijians moving to towns whereas, for Indians, rural-urban migration was stabilising.

The age-sex bias in migration in Fiji is similar to that elsewhere in the South Pacific region and, in some respects, is transitional between Melanesia and Polynesia. Thus as elsewhere migrants are generally young, predominantly between the ages of 15 and 30, but the sex distribution appears to be rather more biased towards males than in most parts of Polynesia but more biased towards females and families than in most parts of Melanesia (excluding seasonal migration). In the case of Nukutubu village (Rewa), for example, 49% of all emigrants were aged between 15 and 29 and 57% were male; relatively few migrants were children since most migrants were single (Chao, 1980:178-9). At a national level, based on migration in the last inter-censal decade, adults were more evident amongst migrants than in the nation as a whole and migrants also consisted of a slightly higher proportion of females, as the female population has become a more important component in migration streams.

'In sum, it appears that Fiji entered a female-dominated migrant phase in the recent inter-censal period compared with the period prior to 1966. While all streams were predominantly female, proportionately more males and adults moved to developed regions and more females and children in the reverse direction' (Walsh, 1982:26).

As elsewhere this suggests a stabilisation of the urban population.

The information on place of residence in 1970 enables some further assessment to be made of the most recent pattern and structure of migration for the 1970-76 period. For people aged six and over, some 32% had moved from their province of birth. One half (50%) of these had moved before 1970 compared with 28% after 1970; some 13% had moved both before and after 1970 and 9%, who were absent from their province of birth in 1970, had returned by 1976. The relative proportions of these types of moves for most provinces were broadly similar, although more migrants in Serua had moved before 1970 and both Bua and Rotuma had lower proportions of return movers. Generally, less economically developed regions (Eastern, Southern and Islands) had a higher proportion of people who had moved before 1970 and a significant number of them had also moved again after 1970 (possibly in search of employment). The same provinces also had a low proportion of return movers. By contrast more economically developed regions had proportionately more people moving in recent years (Walsh, 1982:27). Rewa had the smallest proportion of Fijians who were enumerated in the province in which they were resident in 1970 (indicating strong migration into that

area between 1970 and 1976) whilst Nadroga and Navosa had the highest proportion. Apart from Rewa the provinces of out-migration would seem to be Lau, Kadavu and Lomaiviti, and two-thirds of the absentees from each of these provinces were enumerated in Rewa and Naitasiri (Zwart, 1979:40-41). Overall in the 1970-76 period, for the Fijian component of the population, Ba and Rewa/Naitasiri showed the greatest migratory gain; conversely Kadavu, Lau, Lomaiviti, Cakaudrove and Tailevu had a net out-migration of Fijians, and this was especially marked for Kadavu. The Indian component showed a smaller volume of migration than the Fijian component but, again, Rewa/Naitasiri had a net in-migration and Ba a net out-migration of some importance. The most recent migration patterns are therefore, with some minor exceptions, very similar to those of lifetime migration (Zwart, 1979:44-46). The only migration data collected on a national scale since the 1976 census were those incorporated in the 1977 Household Income and Expenditure Survey (Tables Thirty-One and Thirty-Two below). This indicated that in the previous decade some 13% of all those aged over fourteen migrated but that 20% of the urban adult population had migrated, a relatively high level of migration in that decade. There was also a significant difference between the rate of migration of Fijians (14.5%) and Indians (10.7%), a difference that might be expected from casual observation and the evidence of a number of specific localised studies.

The national unemployment survey of 1973 (Kannagara, 1975) sampled a quarter of all households in Fiji and provided some information on very short-term mobility which, as elsewhere in the South Pacific region, is much more likely to be localised within provinces and therefore not detectable as migration in the census analysis. Less than 2% of the sample (1.7% Fijian, 1.1% Indian, 1.6% total) had been at their existing residence for under six months, and nearly 1% of those interviewed stated the intention of moving within the next three months. Of those who had moved, 82% had moved from rural areas. Among those in the labour force, however, the proportion moving from rural areas fell to 77% and among the unemployed to 63%. This suggests that movement to rural areas is more likely to be for social purposes while more urban-ward movement is employment-orientated, although these conclusions are far from obvious. Regions with the highest proportion of people having moved in the previous six months were Central (2.7%), Eastern (2.2%) and Islands (1.7%). Of those indicating that they would move within the next three months, 84% expressed the intention of moving next to urban places, and all of them were not currently employed. The information is limited in that it did not identify which class of respondents were then living in rural and urban areas, and questions concerning further intentions are always suspect (Walsh, 1982:27-8).

Thus in the mid-1970s a high degree of mobility in Fiji was apparent from the census data, and the volume, strength and direction of migration streams suggested significant, and possibly increasing, movement to more economically developed regions, most especially the Central region which includes the capital, Suva. The major source of such movement was the Islands region, despite its relatively small proportion of the total population. In terms of numbers, Fijians, and especially Fijian women, were more mobile than Indians, a trend counter to the situation in 1966. Fijian movement contained a higher proportion of adults which suggests greater movement of single people compared with Indian movement which appeared to involve more family movements. While the census provided little information on the employment and age characteristics of migration the 1973 unemployment survey indicated that most of the adult unemployed were migrants and the census data, which shows that most rural-urban migrants were young adults, emphasizes the probable economic context of migration (cf. Walsh, 1982:30).

Whilst the majority of internal migration within Fiji is between rural and urban areas there is also significant intra-rural migration although a considerable proportion of this, as in the case of eastern islands like Lau, is for marriage. Such movements are rarely detected in the census analysis since they are usually within census boundaries. In the case of Nukutubu village (Rewa), out of 250 emigrants in 1975, some 79 (32%), were in Suva and 31 (12%) in Lautoka; smaller groups were in Deuba (29) Kadavu (28), Sigatoka (21), Ra (12) and elsewhere in Fiji alongside 4 in Hawaii (Chao, 1980:178). Since migration to Kadavu followed from traditional social ties with that island this is a rather exceptional case although, even so, migration to other rural areas probably represents less than 20% of all migration from Nukutubu.

Seasonal labour migration in Fiji is more extensive (but little better documented) than in most parts of the South Pacific region, both within Fiji, where it is principally between rural areas, and to New Zealand. On Beqa, for example, small groups of men both cut sugar cane in the Nadi area for up to six months in the year and, from one village at least, have gone to work on tobacco plantations in New Zealand (Bigay *et al*, 1981:93). This reflects a general pattern of Fijian labour migration into the west of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu during the cane-cutting season, especially from the smaller islands where opportunities for wage employment are restricted (UNFPA, 1981:55). In 1982 nearly 2,000 seasonal cane-cutters were recruited for the Seaqqa scheme (Table Twenty-Three) a very high proportion coming from either the nearby area or from the eastern islands. A few of the smaller islands, notably Cicia, Moce and Nayau, sent a high proportion of their total male population (Ellis, 1983b:37) and, as Ellis notes,

'the Seaqqa sugar project offers significant opportunities for villages in some of the more disadvantaged Lau islands to obtain cash income which would otherwise simply not be feasible to generate because of their distance from markets and prohibitive transport costs' (*ibid*).

Even though there has been a shortage of cane-cutters at Seaqqa, the demand for seasonal employment in the smaller islands is considerable. There is also seasonal migration to the major tourist resorts of the coral coast, to major project sites, such as the Monasavu dam, and for the immediate needs of communities hit by hazard, such as in 1983 from many parts of Kadavu in the aftermath of Cyclone Oscar. Thus within Fiji there is seasonal migration, most obviously in accordance with the requirements of the sugar industry, and this balances with a seasonal migration to New Zealand, which occurs in the New Zealand summer, when demand there is greatest and least in Fiji. Beyond that there are a range of other seasonal movements each clearly reflecting the economic needs of particular individuals, households or communities at particular times.

Especially for a country of its size, and with the diversity of migration streams within and from the country, Fiji appears to have less of a 'migration problem' than almost any other country in the South Pacific region, even though some of the structural problems of urbanisation (such as shantytowns) suggest otherwise. Especially because of the permanence of many urban residents (see below) this 'problem' must be viewed in terms of the national economic situation rather than through the more limited perspective of rural-urban migration. The significance of migration is greatest in the relatively remote eastern islands and Rotuma, where migration has been relatively long-established; thus for the eastern islands, changes in natural trends due to declining mortality, the impact of

the family planning programme and fertility decline from other causes are overlain completely by migration' (Brookfield, 1980b:185). Even if the same were true of Rotuma or the Yasawas, and demographic analysis has not been undertaken there, these are exceptional situations within Fiji and it is perhaps significant that few socio-economic studies of other parts of Fiji have emphasized or even considered the significance of migration. Moreover even in the eastern islands there are few indications that relatively high rates of migration have had a significant and negative influence on social and economic life at households or village level. This situation will be examined further below.

Table 23. Number and Origin of Cane Cutters at Seaqaqa, Harvesting Season 1982.

	Location	Cane Cutters No.	Percentage Distribution %
A.	Northern Division (Mainland)	1,220	61.4
	1. Seaqaqa & Local	387	19.5
	2. Other Macuata	270	13.6
	3. Bua	392	19.7
	4. Cakaudrove	171	8.6
B.	Northern Division (Islands)	171	8.6
	5. Taveuni Island	148	7.4
	6. Qamea island	23	1.2
C.	Eastern Division (Islands)	532	26.8
	(a) Kadavu	18	0.9
	7. Kadavu Island	18	0.9
	(b) Lomaiviti Group	178	9.0
	8. Ovalau Island	12	0.6
	9. Koro Island	91	4.6
	10. Nairai Island	14	0.7
	11. Gau Island	61	3.1
	(c) Lau Group	336	16.9
	12. Vanua Balavu Island	41	2.1
	13. Cicia Island	93	4.7
	14. Nayau Island	17	0.9
	15. Moala Island	57	2.9
	16. Moce Island	25	1.3
	17. Komo Island	11	0.6
	18. Namuka-i-Lau Island	30	1.5
	19. Vatoa Island	10	0.5
	20. Not specified	52	2.6
D.	Central Division (Mainland)	65	3.3
	21. Tailevu	65	3.3
E.	GRAND TOTAL	1,988	100.0

- Notes: (a) There are some doubts about the total numbers, because of short-duration working, and about the specific origin of some workers.
- (b) Of the total workers 1,723 (87%) were Fijian and the remainder Indian. 234 of the Indian cutters were from Seaqaqa itself, 20 were from nearby locations and 11 were from Bua.

Source: Ellis, 1983b:35.

Urbanization

- Iva: But where can we go?
- Alama: We'll go to Suva. We'll start a better life there. I'll find a better job. It will be just the two of us Iva.
- Iva: But I can't leave my parents. They need me. It's cruel.
- Alama: Your father will get his pension. That's a lot of money. Enough for both of them. Besides, they can go back to the village [from Vatukoula]. Your relatives will take care of them. What do you think the extended family is for?

(V. Tausie, A Child for Iva, Auckland, 1981, p.14).

Of the countries in Melanesia Fiji has much the longest history of urbanization. By the 1850s Levuka had become a small urban centre and the centre of much Fijian trade; between 1852 and 1865 the foreign population there grew from about fifty to over eighty (Ralston, 1977:103, 164) and by 1871 the town had a population of around 350 but the restrictions of the site had already resulted in overcrowding (op cit:168-9). Nevertheless Levuka was the capital of Fiji from annexation in 1874 until 1882 when the first government offices were opened in the newly chosen site of Suva and, by the mid-1880s, this had become the administrative and commercial centre of Fiji. Suva was therefore unusual in the Nineteenth Century in being 'built exclusively at the dictates of a colonial government' (op cit:216) and commercial development was wholly secondary. The original town area of one square mile remained the official boundary of Suva until 1952 when it was extended to include Maunikau and Samabula wards. Suva had a population of 15,522 in 1936, 25,386 in 1946 and 37,371 in 1956 whilst Lautoka, the second largest town, had a population of 7,420 in 1956. The changed conditions of urban employment brought about by the rise of industrial unionism (after the war), a rise in wage levels, an increase in occupational mobility (through early localisation and superior education), expanding urban industries and a greater provision of family accommodation all accounted for the post-war urban growth (Curtain, 1982). Nevertheless it was not until 1966 that the official requirement that Fijians receive administrative permission to leave their villages was dispensed with.

Urban places in Fiji are classified as incorporated towns or cities and unincorporated towns for legal purposes but for census purposes, peri-urban areas are included with incorporated towns and cities to produce an urban area, and unincorporated towns also comprise urban areas. These revised definitions were established in 1966 so that, between 1966 and 1976, urban growth in most cases occurred within boundaries defined as urban in 1966 (Walsh, 1982:30). Estimates of urban growth prior to 1966 are of restricted value because of boundary changes although the 1956 census recorded an increased urban population (Table Twenty-Four) and an increase of Fijians in town relative to other groups. Lower Fijian sex ratios suggested that Fijians were more likely to be permanent urban residents (op cit:31).

Available evidence suggests both that the annual rate of growth declined in the period 1966 to 1976 and moreover that it was not great, and certainly not excessive by comparison with other countries in the region or with the Third World as a whole. These changes are summarised in Table

Twenty-Five which demonstrates that the urban population increased by 3.2% per annum between 1966 and 1976. Different estimates have been made of the relative growth rates of townships and peri-urban areas (Chandra, 1981:349; Walsh, 1982:31). The rate of growth for Fijians in the city dropped from 5.3% to 3.5% and for Indians by 3.7% and 0.7%, again demonstrating the growing importance of Fijians in the urban areas. The extent to which these trends have continued since 1976 is not clear.

Table 24. Population of Urban Areas, 1946 and 1956.

	1946	1956	% change	% Fijian change	% Indian change	% Fijian 1956	% Indian 1956
Suva	25,395	37,371	+47.2	+52.5	+51.8	26.1	51.7
Lautoka	-	7,420	-	-	-	25.6	52.7
Vatukoula	3,457	5,045	+45.9	+18.2	+675.0	57.5	16.8
Ba (a)	2,813	3,258	+15.8	+236.2	+0.9	12.0	70.8
Nadi (b)	1,230	2,412	+96.1	+17.6	+104.7	17.9	61.9
Nausori (a)	1,666	1,801	+8.1	-1.4	+3.3	12.1	67.1
Labasa (a)	1,479	2,202	+48.9	+100.0	+40.8	14.6	67.3
Levuka	1,944	1,535	-21.0	-26.4	+21.1	32.1	21.7
Sigatoka	964	1,315	+36.4	+41.6	+28.4	52.2	38.2
Tavua (c)	863	1,233	+42.9	+49.3	+44.4	47.4	47.3
Navua (d)	691	633	-8.6	-	-15.7	7.3	90.9

Notes: 1. Differences in the boundaries of several towns as defined in the two census reports make reconciliation of 1946 and 1956 figures difficult. Some of the figures given here differ from those in the census reports, since an attempt has been made to ensure that areas to which the above figures refer are the same for both years. This was impossible for Lautoka, and the 1946 figures are therefore omitted. However, it appears that in 1946 the population of Lautoka was less than that of Vatukoula, which would indicate an increase of more than 100 per cent.

(a) Including the respective C.S.R. settlements.

(b) Including Nadi airport.

(c) Including Tavualevu village.

(d) Navua Township is classed as an 'urban area' in the 1946 census, but not in that of 1956. There were no Fijians enumerated in Navua in 1946.

Source: Ward, 1966:108.

The bulk of the urban population increase between 1966 and 1976 occurred in Suva; its increase in population accounted for 63.4% of the total inter-censal urban population increase (Chandra, 1981:349). Moreover in the twenty years between 1956 and 1976 the town population (exclusive of the peri-urban area) increased 70%, from 37,371 to 63,628. The Fijian component increased from 26% to 36% of the town's total population and the Fijian sex ratio, which was 121 in 1966, had become 96 in 1976 (Walsh, 1982:31). The increasing primacy of Suva is further demonstrated in this most recent period of population change, although much of that increase was in the peri-urban area. Between 1966 and 1976 Suva grew from being 3.8 times larger than Lautoka to being 4.1 times larger than Lautoka; in 1966 it had 50% of Fiji's urban population and in 1976 it had 54% (Walsh, 1982:32).

Table 25. Urban Population changes in Fiji, 1966 and 1976.

Urban Place	Town			Peri-Urban			TOTAL (Urban)				
	Number 1966	Number 1976	Change % r%	Number 1966	Number 1976	Change % r%	Number 1966	Number 1976	Change % r%		
Cities											
Suva	54,157	63,628	17.5	26,112	54,199	107.3	80,269	117,827	37,558	46.8	3.9
Lautoka	11,287	22,672	100.9	9,934	6,175	-37.8	21,221	28,847	7,626	35.9	3.1
Towns (incorporated)											
Nadi	2,542	6,938	172.9	8,809	6,057	-31.2	11,351	12,995	1,644	14.5	1.4
Labasa	2,182	4,328	98.4	7,534	8,628	14.5	9,716	12,956	3,240	33.3	2.9
Nausori	1,944	5,262	170.7	7,675	7,559	-1.5	9,619	12,821	3,202	33.3	2.9
Ba	3,849	5,917	53.7	4,460	3,256	-27.0	8,309	9,173	864	10.4	1.0
Sigatoka	1,059	1,816	71.5	1,280	1,819	42.0	2,339	3,635	1,296	55.4	4.5
Levuka	1,685	1,397	-17.1	1,315	1,367	4.0	3,000	2,764	-236	-7.9	-0.8
Savusavu	1,861*	1,754	-5.7	-	541	541*	1,861	2,295	434	23.3	2.1
Unincorporated											
Towns											
Vatukoula	4,993	6,425	28.7	-	-	-	4,993	6,425	1,432	28.7	2.5
Rakiraki	2,708	3,755	38.7	-	-	-	2,708	3,755	1,047	38.7	3.3
Navua	1,595	2,568	61.0	-	-	-	1,595	2,568	973	61.0	4.9
Tavua	1,949	2,144	10.0	-	-	-	1,949	2,144	195	10.0	1.0
Korovou	329	290	11.9	-	-	-	329	290	-39	-11.9	-1.3
TOTAL	92,140	128,894	39.9	67,119	89,601	33.5	159,259	218,495	59,236	37.2	3.2

Note: *Savusavu was an unincorporated town in 1966.

Source: Chandra, 1981:30.

Combined with neighbouring Nausori the 'greater Suva' area accounted for nearly 70% of all the urban population increase and in 1976 accounted for 22% of the national population (Chandra, 1981:350-351). This area, often referred to as the 'Suva-Nausori corridor', has certainly significantly increased its share of the national population since 1976; the Development Plan estimated that in mid-1980 it had almost 24% of the population (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:312) and this has subsequently further increased. Consequently this growing urban agglomeration has become the central focus of concern over urbanization in Fiji. Based on the result of the 1976 census the Planning Office concluded: 'should such a pattern of growth be repeated over the 1976-85 decade, Suva-Nausori will contain almost two-thirds of the urban population of Fiji and over one-quarter of the total population' (op cit:308). Despite the fact that the 1976-85 decade is almost over it remains difficult to assess the extent to which that forecast has occurred. Aerial photographic evidence, alongside the belief that urban-rural income differentials have declined and discouraged migration in favour of smallholder development, suggest that the rate of urbanization has slowed (M. Bienefeld, pers. comm. 1983) and hence that the gloomy forecasts of the current plan have not yet been realised. However the evidence from aerial photographs and other limited sources is fragmentary, and the evidence scarcely yet enables the drawing of firm conclusions.

Combining the growth of Suva with that of the second largest city, Lautoka, the two Fijian cities together accounted for more than three-quarters of all the increase in the urban population in the inter-censal period. By contrast the unincorporated towns not only had an almost negligible component of the total urban population (6.9%) but accounted for only 6.1% of all the urban population increase. The incorporated towns were in an intermediate position; of these Labasa, Nausori and Sigatoka have been growing especially rapidly while Fiji's old capital, Levuka, has declined in population (Chandra, 1981:351). It has been suggested that, 'the most likely cause of this differential rate of increase is that employment opportunities varied between each type of town' (Walsh, 1982:31) with the relatively wide secondary and tertiary functions of Suva and Lautoka accounting for the more rapid growth there whilst less diversified towns experienced lower rates of growth. In this context Suva is particularly important; before 1976 Suva accounted for 56% of all Fiji's government and private services and 65% of its retail turnover (Britton, 1980) and a number of other features of Suva's urban economy are unusual. Suva has a relatively high proportion (60%) of people working in private, as distinct from government, employment indicating the extent to which private enterprises tend to be concentrated in the capital. Of all females working for wages or salaries in Fiji 63% were employed in Suva, where they comprise 25% of the total employed workforce. (By contrast Lautoka employed only 1,504 women who comprised only 18% of the workforce). Suva also had a relatively higher proportion (64%) of those classified as unemployed, who consisted of about 12.5% of the economically active population (Walsh, 1982:33-34). Thus Suva absolutely dominates the urban scene, not only in its growing proportion of the urban population, in its increasing control of particular 'modern' elements of the national economy but also in its role as a centre of the 'good life' of western culture (cf. Peet, 1980) and in its growing centrality as a transportation and regional centre.

In the 1966-76 inter-censal period the annual rate of urban growth of the Fijian population was 5.1%, a considerable difference from the average rate of growth of the Indian population (2.7%) and all others (0.6%), and marking a change in the ethnic composition of the urban areas (Table Twenty-Six). The most impressive rates of Fijian growth were in Suva (6.2%)

and nearby Nausori (6.0%) indicating the slowly growing Fijian proportion of the Suva-Nausori corridor's population. Among the smaller towns, those which experienced the least economic growth, such as Levuka and Korovou, became more Fijian primarily because of an out-migration of Indians and others (Walsh, 1982: 32). Moreover it is only in the smaller towns, Levuka, Sigatoka and Vatukoula, that Fijians both are more numerous than Indians and constitute a majority of the urban population. Overall Indians constitute 53% of the urban population and Fijians 36% of the population. The changing ethnic composition of the urban areas is a function of differences in the rate of natural increase, as Indian fertility is below that of Fijian, and a relative increase in Fijian migration to urban areas. There is also evidence (Table Twenty-Seven) to suggest 'that ethnic groups have clear preferences for particular urban areas, and, should this trend continue, rural to urban migration could reinforce the distinct ethnicity of various urban areas' (Chandra, 1981:343) a situation which applies to most towns.

Table 26. Urban Areas Ethnic Composition 1966-1976.
(Percentages)

	Fijian		Indian		All Others		Annual % Change	
	1966	1976	1966	1976	1966	1976	Fijian	Indian
Suva	32.9	41.0	50.1	45.1	17.0	13.9	6.2	2.8
Lautoka	24.5	27.9	64.9	64.5	10.6	7.6	4.5	3.1
Ba	14.2	17.8	76.2	76.2	9.6	6.0	3.3	1.0
Labasa	13.1	14.8	80.1	80.1	6.8	5.1	4.2	2.9
Levuka	47.7	56.7	19.6	17.9	32.7	25.4	-0.9	-1.7
Nadi	32.5	39.7	57.9	54.4	9.6	5.9	3.4	0.7
Sigatoka	49.3	55.4	45.1	40.9	5.6	3.7	5.7	3.5
Nausori	16.8	22.5	78.6	73.5	4.6	4.0	6.0	2.2
Savusavu	50.0	41.5	32.0	45.7	18.0	12.8	2.3	5.8
Korovou	36.2	44.1	51.1	43.8	12.7	12.1	0.7	-2.8
Navua	18.6	23.2	80.9	75.7	0.5	1.1	7.3	4.2
Rakiraki	23.4	22.5	69.6	73.7	7.0	3.8	2.9	3.9
Tavua	44.2	43.0	45.4	54.3	10.4	2.7	0.7	2.8
Vatukoula	68.0	67.5	5.7	14.7	26.3	17.8	2.5	12.7
All Urban Areas	30.3	36.3	55.9	52.9	13.8	10.8	5.1	2.7

Note: Boundary changes could have affected ethnic proportions.

Source: Walsh, 1983:33.

Migration has contributed a substantial proportion of the urban population. Despite the relatively long existence of towns in Fiji, especially in comparison with other Melanesian countries, almost half the total urban population aged over 15 in 1976 was of rural origin (Chandra, 1981:331; Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980, Volume 2:6). Of the major urban areas only Suva, Lautoka and Nausori had 50% or more of their current population born in urban areas; the highest proportion (57%) was in Lautoka. The peri-urban areas have even higher proportions of rural-born population, indicating that migrants are concentrated on the fringes of cities (op cit:334). Lifetime rural-urban migration (Table Twenty Eight) again demonstrates the importance of Suva as the destination of rural migrants, since it attracted almost 52% of all lifetime migrants. Apart from Lautoka other urban destinations are unimportant; this is especially true of the

unincorporated towns other than Vatukoula. Of all provinces Ba is much the most important source of rural-urban migrants, partly a function of the large number of towns in the province. More generally it is significant that the Viti Levu provinces account for only 58% of migrants whereas outlying island provinces account for 26%, although they contain only 6% of the national population (op cit: 335). Each of the four island provinces (Lomaiviti, Kadavu, Lau and Rotuma) all send an overwhelming majority of their migrants to Suva (61%, 81%, 84% and 72% respectively), a situation confirmed in the case of Lau by a number of small-scale studies, and true to a lesser extent of other provinces in Fiji (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980, Volume 2:8). Suva's economic importance, its centrality in transport networks and the lack of intervening opportunities maintain this situation.

Table 27. Rural to urban movements of population aged 15 years and over by ethnic groups, 1970-76.

Urban areas	Fijian	Indo-Fijian	Others
Suva	21,110	8,923	4,470
Lautoka	3,167	4,062	444
Ba	723	2,678	107
Labasa	902	2,915	151
Levuka	795	189	302
Nadi	2,143	2,339	158
Savusavu	394	284	103
Sigatoka	1,005	652	54
Nausori	1,292	1,579	161
Korovou	67	40	13
Navua	161	182	-102
Rakiraki	323	1,202	29
Tavua	202	394	22
Vatukoula	1,797	351	304
TOTAL	34,081	25,790	6,216
Per cent	52	39	9

Source: Chandra, 1981:344.

Lifetime rural-urban migration movements are paralleled by rural-urban migration since 1970. Between 1970 and 1976 49% of all urban residents (over 15) had moved into the town from rural areas, an indication that rural-urban migration had increased considerably in the post-independence period. Rewa and Ba were the main sources of migrants, followed by Naitasiri (Table Twenty-Nine). Suva was by far the dominant destination. A significant difference between lifetime migration and more recent movements is that in recent years over four-fifths of rural to urban migrants originated in Viti Levu and the number originating in the island provinces has fallen sharply (Chandra, 1981:339). The extent of rural-urban migration in the 1970-76 period and its concentration in the most urbanized provinces suggests that boundary changes may have influenced the situation, although out-migration from Suva (Rewa) is largely into adjoining Naitasiri, the most rapidly growing province.

Table 28. Lifetime rural to urban migration streams by provinces in Fiji, population aged 15 years and over, 1976.

Source Province	Urban Areas										TOTAL	% of total rural emigrants to urban areas	Share (%) of national population aged 15 years and over				
	Suva	Lautoka	Ba	Labasa	Levuka	Nadi	Savusavu	Sigatoka	Nausori	Korovou				Navua	Rakiraki	Tabua	Vatukoula
Ba	1,582	3,557	2,428	76	9	2,357	14	177	190	4	9	270	332	607	11,612	18.9	28.7
Bua	857	147	15	246	44	79	77	6	41	1	2	8	7	33	1,566	2.6	1.9
Cakaudrove	2,751	214	29	379	97	125	400	36	192	9	16	17	4	69	4,338	7.1	5.4
Kadavu	2,890	248	25	28	28	89	9	28	133	1	14	6	3	77	3,579	5.8	1.5
Lau	5,719	32,337	59	103	203	31	34	0	211	9	6	20	8	88	6,851	11.1	2.3
Lomaiviti	2,271	213	26	45	805	151	12	12	93	6	5	33	8	52	3,732	6.1	2.2
Macuata	682	93	37	2,757	11	79	110	11	158	2	6	11	7	33	3,997	6.5	9.6
Nadroga/Navosa	965	657	238	40	9	472	6	1,150	114	2	15	62	25	92	3,847	6.3	8.0
Naitasiri	3,023	139	38	20	7	83	10	20	619	7	9	24	13	373	4,385	7.1	11.3
Namosi	228	7	4	1	2	18	0	6	20	0	51	6	2	10	355	0.6	0.5
Ra	1,253	476	200	23	7	145	7	19	120	3	2	954	77	352	3,638	5.9	4.2
Rewa	2,795	162	51	47	17	111	11	29	281	4	15	20	6	42	3,591	5.8	15.3
Serua	549	129	17	5	6	33	0	36	20	1	46	11	1	17	871	1.4	1.9
Tailevu	4,756	641	115	58	55	287	25	45	625	52	9	50	30	361	7,109	11.6	6.8
Rotuma	1,421	156	4	22	36	56	20	7	44	1	0	4	10	205	1,986	3.2	0.4
TOTAL	31,742	7,162	3,264	3,809	1,236	4,288	732	1,616	2,861	102	205	1,496	533	2,411	61,457		100.0
Per cent	51.7	11.7	5.3	6.2	2.0	7.0	1.2	2.6	4.7	0.2	0.3	2.4	0.9	3.9			100.0

Source: Chandra, 1981:336-7.

Table 29. Rural to urban migration streams, from provinces to urban areas, population aged 15 years and over, 1970-76.

Source Province	Suva	Lautoka	Ba	Labasa	Levuka	Nadi	Savusavu	Nausori	Korovou	Navua	Rakiraki	Tavua	Vatukoula	Sigatoka	TOTAL	Per cent of total rural emigrants to urban areas
Ba	1,382	6,060	3,159	97	21	3,737	21	176	7	5	126	509	1,904	130	17,334	26
Bua	296	38	4	103	5	17	21	21	0	0	3	6	8	2	524	1
Cakaudrove	1,145	61	16	178	19	51	579	136	3	9	7	2	20	36	2,262	3
Kadavu	851	79	3	8	6	15	3	74	0	5	0	2	10	8	1,064	2
Lau	1,718	59	5	10	22	22	7	85	3	2	6	0	13	7	1,959	3
Lomaiviti	1,092	79	9	17	1,034	45	7	83	5	2	6	2	26	2	2,409	4
Macuata	500	71	28	3,278	10	62	71	122	2	7	11	2	6	7	4,177	6
Nadroga/Navosa	431	186	45	5	7	189	3	79	1	15	23	20	19	1,368	2,391	4
Naitasiri	5,957	39	23	14	12	60	4	991	17	3	17	7	103	15	7,262	11
Namosi	93	3	5	0	0	2	0	2	0	51	1	0	6	2	165	1
Ra	501	136	80	5	1	41	0	63	4	1	1,274	29	92	16	2,243	3
Rewa	18,141	573	100	216	110	293	52	339	15	37	49	34	126	85	20,170	31
Serua	196	44	1	2	1	8	2	13	2	100	7	0	4	10	390	1
Tailevu	1,727	214	28	30	21	81	9	831	61	4	21	4	102	23	3,156	5
Rotuma	473	31	2	5	17	17	2	17	0	0	3	1	13	0	581	1
FIJI TOTAL	34,503	7,673	3,508	3,968	1,286	4,640	781	3,032	120	241	1,554	618	2,452	1,711	66,087	101
Per cent	52	12	5	6	2	7	1	5	1	1	2	1	4	3	-	10

Source: Chandra, 1981:340-341.

During the pre-war years migration could, 'best be described as circular migration. It was customary for young men to go away from the village for relatively short periods (from a few weeks to a year) to earn money for tax or for a particular need of the family' (Chao, 1980:170).

Often men went in groups; in Nukutubu village (Rewa) men tended to find work as carpenters or in boatbuilding (op cit:171). Others found more permanent work in Suva and Lautoka; 'a few of these have remained at the ports ever since, but most of the men have made a few circular rounds, using the village as their home base between suitable jobs (as job opportunities fluctuated a great deal with the state of the national economy)' (op cit: 172). Although migration in the inter-war years was characterised by its circularity it was already apparent that there were a few effectively permanent urban migrants.

In the early post-war years migration increasingly became more permanent. Exposure to foreign goods, cash and value systems in the war years raised the attractiveness of wage employment whilst more rapid national economic development after the war resulted in a considerable increase in production and trade (especially of gold, sugar and copra), the rapid growth of Suva and a heavy demand for construction labour. Thus in villages like Nukutubu, where construction trades were common, 'the circular migration pattern which had characterised the pre-war migrations became less and less typical, as the migrants' desire to return to the village declined...For many of them who had a secure job, the town life, with its convenience and excitement, gradually became their way of life and that of their children' (Chao, 1980:174-5). By the 1950s it was becoming apparent that a number of Fijians were becoming apparently permanent urban residents; earlier than elsewhere in Melanesia this permanence was recorded,

'Previously the majority would return to their villages when they had obtained sufficient cash for the moment. But this is becoming less and less the normal pattern. Having made the break from the traditional system and its ties, which is implicit in the move from the village and the acceptance of paid employment, fewer Fijians are now willing to return to village life...Also, since a growing number of Fijians are living permanently in the towns, the newcomer is not entirely without the support of his fellows' (Ward, 1959:332).

In 1959 a survey of 528 Fijian households in Suva (a 30% sample of all Fijian households) revealed that 17% had been resident there for more than twenty-five years, half had been there more than ten years and 78% for more than five years (Verrier, cited by Nayacakalou, 1963:34; cf. Spate, 1959:75-76). At much the same time Nayacakalou found people who had lived with their families in Suva for more than forty years and that third generation Suva Fijians were not hard to find,

'And the assumption that Fijians will return to their village in old age is very largely unfounded. I found few people who definitely planned to return to the village on retirement. Others argued most strongly that their life's ambitions were wholly in Suva, and that they therefore had no intention of returning to the village in old age. Some of them gave lack of land and lack of opportunity in the home village as their reasons for not wanting to go back' (Nayacakalou, 1963:34).

Thus more than two decades ago there were clear indications of the establishment of a substantial permanent urban Fijian population, and even retirement within towns (cf. Watters, 1969b:186), whilst the evidence for this has generally been supported in later studies. For example a 1973 study of Suva households showed that most adults who had been born outside Suva had lived in town for more than ten years (Harre, 1973). A study of squatters in 1975 found that some had been in Suva, in the same settlement, for more than fifteen years (Reddy, 1976:9). Finlay, in his study of over-urbanization in Fiji, argued that few Indians can return to rural areas once they are in town and that Fijians, although possessing a secure communal village structure to return to, seldom do (Finlay, 1971:67). According to the 1976 census, among people aged six years and over, who stated their province of usual residence in 1970 and who had changed their province of residence, more than 90 per cent had not returned to their province of birth. This would not indicate a great deal of population circulation, and may reflect a high degree of commitment to initial destinations (Chandra, 1981:330). In 1978 a sample of 199 Fijian households in Suva revealed that 66% had been living in Suva for ten or more years, and only 2% for less than one year. Comparative figures from 200 Indian households were 48% and 3% respectively. This duration of Fijian urban residence is higher than reported from other Melanesian societies (Nair, 1980:21).

The extent of more permanent urban residence outside Suva has scarcely been investigated and is largely unknown. In the particular case of Vatukoula it was noted at the end of the 1950s that,

'Whereas a rapid turnover was a feature of the Vatukoula gold mines' labour force 10 or 20 years ago, today it is most unusual if more than 25 men leave the labour force of over 1,600 in any one month. The average employment period is probably at least five years, and many of the workers have lived and worked in Vatukoula virtually all their lives' (Ward, 1961:265).

By the mid-1960s it was apparent in the gold-mining industry that,

'There are now Fijians working in the mine who have been born on the field. For them Vatukoula is their home and to an increasing extent ties with the village are being reduced' (Whitelaw, 1967:7)

and, well before this time, a second generation of gold miners had become established (cf. Spate, 1959:71; Plange, 1983:11). More recent declines in the gold mining industry have tended to destroy this permanence but, although Vatukoula is atypical of other Fijian towns, the same tendency towards a permanent urban population did occur. In particular industries in Nadi and Lautoka the length of Fijian employment was often long (Ward, 1961:265) and at Vitogo-Drasa, a squatter settlement on the fringe of Lautoka, eight out of 73 households in 1971 had been there for over 25 years whilst the average household had been there some fourteen years or so (Samy, 1973:68). Otherwise there appears to be no data on the permanency or transience of urban populations elsewhere in Fiji, although the evidence from Vitogo-Drasa suggests that in the second largest city, Lautoka, the situation is not greatly different from Suva. This may also be true further down the urban hierarchy.

And yet, as late as 1970, it was still possible to make a strong case for the continued primary significance of Fijian circular migration; to some extent this was indicated in attitudes to migration, which emphasized short-term goals, and in the actual duration of absence from rural areas,

'For the Fijian who leaves his village to seek employment in the trade or industry of the advanced sector, motivation other than the maximisation of total income is often a major factor. For young men it may be a desire for adventure, to see the bright lights, to escape from the restrictions and obligations of his junior village status. Many, young and old, may need money, often a specific sum for a village project, such as building a church, or for the fulfilment of a personal ambition such as the acquisition of a bullock or a farm implement....within a year or two at the most, many young Fijians return to the village before they gain the experience and skills necessary to rise their earning power significantly. This is not because the Fijian is lazy or inherently less able but because he is rational. The subsistence affluence which led to the import of the first Indian labour to Fiji nearly a hundred years ago still operates to deter Fijians from long-term commitment as wage labour in the advanced sector of their economy' (Fisk, 1970:45-46).

Yet, whilst much of this remained true for the two main islands, it was no longer true of areas like the outer islands where 'subsistence affluence' was no longer considered adequate nor was it valid for sometimes rapidly growing populations. Whilst circulation continued to characterise much of Fijian migration, and was especially apparent in seasonal migration, there was a growing and increasingly important permanent urban population.

Viewing the urban population from the rural area the apparent permanence is even more dramatic. Of some 179 migrants from the eastern island of Kabara just under half had never returned since leaving, and for a further 30% no-one could recall when they last visited the island. Outside Kabara a number of 'Kabarans' were encountered who had never been home since childhood and had no expectation of returning; other 'Kabarans' had never been to the island yet still described themselves as Kabarans (Bedford, McLean and Macpherson, 1978:52). Despite their long absences outside Kabara such migrants, including those born outside Kabara, cannot be regarded as totally lost to Kabara in the sense that they send money and goods to Kabara and provide assistance and accommodations to Kabarans in town (op cit:54). For the village of Nacamaki (Koro) an unknown number of persons from that village never visited there between 1974 and 1976; Bayliss-Smith therefore concluded that 'some of these are truly permanent migrants, although they retain nominal rights in their mataqali land' (1977:31). Much the same situation was true of a more random sample of Fijians in Suva in 1978; some 45 out of 199 heads of household had never returned to their home village after living in Suva and, of these, 31 had been there more than five years (Nair, 1980:33). By contrast Indians made return visits much more regularly (op cit:36). Whilst accessibility affects the regularity of return migration it is apparent that in both these groups - those from Kabara and those from a variety of parts of Fiji (although mainly the eastern islands) - this lack of direct contact with the home area is indicative of some degree of commitment to urban residence. By contrast, within rural areas, especially on Viti Levu but even in Lau, there is evidence of substantial return migration to the extent that Tubuna (1984) suggests that this calls for a re-examination of Nayacakalou's conclusion on the permanence of Fijian urban migration. Nevertheless, despite the universal evidence of return migration, often to unexpected levels, there is unequivocal evidence that a

proportion of those leaving all rural areas, and especially the smaller islands, have become effectively permanent urban residents. In general urban commitment appears greater for migrants from the eastern islands of Fiji (Bedford, 1978), from Kadavu (Cook, 1975) and also from Rotuma. In each of these cases the contrasts in social and economic opportunities between Viti Levu and the home island are relatively great.

The most recent study of residential intentions of Suva urban residents, whilst indicating that Fijians were more ambivalent about their future residential intentions than Indians, shows that whereas almost 40% of the heads of Fijian households intend ultimately to live in their villages only 6% of the Indians expect to return to their former settlements. Most Indians (66%), and a smaller but still substantial proportion of Fijians (29%), intended to remain in Suva for the rest of their lives (Nair, 1980: 25). The Fijians who were least interested in returning to rural areas were those who had already been in Suva for a long time (over fifteen years), earned high incomes, owned property and came from the small islands of Lau and Lomaiviti (op cit:28-32). Apart from the difference that there was no correlation with area of origin, the same principles were true for Indians (op cit:32). A range of social, administrative and traditional reasons give Fijians close ties with their rural places of origin whereas for Indians only kinship and friendship are important, thus Indians tend to find it much simpler to regard themselves as townspeople whilst it is much easier for Fijians to leave town and live permanently in rural areas (op cit:61). These differences, essentially in attitudes, are not readily detectable in other ways: only property ownership 'suggested the contradiction between what Fijians resident in Suva do and what kind of people they feel they are' (ibid). Whilst intentions are not reality, the evidence of long periods of, especially Fijian, permanent residence in Suva suggests that many of these intentions will become reality and, moreover, that they constitute a much greater commitment to permanent urban residence than recorded elsewhere in Melanesia (and for much of the South Pacific region). For example, in 1975, half of a sample of residents in three squatter settlements intended to remain there (Reddy, 1976:10) a clear indication that even in relatively unfavourable urban conditions there is a strong commitment to permanence. Whilst the situation in Suva may not be true of other Fijian urban areas there is no reason to believe that it is fundamentally different.

Nonetheless there remains extensive circular migration even from the smaller island groups, where permanence may be more apparent, although it is more apparent in the two principal islands. Significantly, whilst it is possible to regard circulation as a means of risk minimisation, through combining rural and urban income-earning opportunities, it is 'quite apparent that a significant proportion of Fijians from the eastern islands are not endeavouring to utilise a wide range of options for economic activity in rural as well as urban areas' (Bedford, 1981:4). Yet, at the same time, a surprising number of even young educated men had returned to islands like Kabara (ibid). In general,

'a declining proportion of absentees from the eastern islands are choosing to exercise the options available for participation in two ways of life by circulating between town and village' (op cit:5).

As urban employment opportunities become more difficult to obtain, and retain, and as the economic prospects and accessibility of the eastern islands decline, both of which situations appear likely, then individuals and households are increasingly likely to be effectively forced to make a decision in favour of urban or rural residence and to find the opportunities

for circulation significantly reduced. This is occurring now for the eastern islands and is likely to become significant for other parts of Fiji also. As such choices are made the range of subsequent choices over mobility must decline, with the effect that the consolidation of a permanent urban population has resulted in the growth of both Indian and Fijian urban populations who are both poor and without real rural ties.

By the end of the 1950's unauthorised squatting was already apparent and urban inequalities became visible, as some shantytowns had begun to develop, especially around Suva. In 1964 there were substantial areas of squatter housing, especially in Raiwai and Samabula, to the extent that it was estimated that around one fifth of the urban population lived in such housing (Whitelaw, 1964:54). In an attempt to cater for lower-income workers and alleviate the housing situation the government set up a national Housing Authority in 1958 whose principal activity in its first six years of existence was to construct a 'low-cost' housing estate at Raiwaqa. The major problem encountered by the Authority was to bring the cost of housing down to a point where the lowest paid workers, earning less than \$10 per week, could afford the rents (*ibid*), although there were also other social problems (Mamak, 1973; Walsh, 1985). The problems experienced by the Housing Authority were therefore very similar to those experienced elsewhere, notably in Papua New Guinea (Report No.14) and, although not without limited success, have not reduced the housing problem.

By the start of the 1980s it was apparent that,
'migration finds its visible expression in the form of a vast, irregular network of squatter settlements, nested in open spaces from Lami almost to Nausori, in a broad arc' (Jones, 1982:77).

and, moreover, that there were squatter settlements within or adjoining most of the larger towns in Fiji. Housing needs have thus increased, principally in Suva and Lautoka, but at the end of the 1970s were also becoming apparent in rural areas,

'The need for provision of housing in rural areas is vital if urban drift is to be curbed but meeting these needs is virtually impossible until various provisions for a comfortable rural life are made in an integrated approach' (Parliament of Fiji, 1982a:7).

In 1980 the number of applications made to the Housing Authority reached a total of 1,852, the largest recorded in the history of the Authority and a 25% increase from 1979, however in 1981 it fell to 1,084 and was 1,085 in 1982 (Parliament of Fiji, 1983:13). In 1980, out of the applications 58% were from Suva and together with Nausori and Navua the Central Division received a little over 60% of all applications, the Western Division registered 31% and 9% were from the Northern and Eastern Divisions. In 1982 the number of applications from specific towns was not stated but only 50% of applications were from Central Division, 38% were from Western and the remainder from Northern (*ibid*). Of those applying for housing in 1980 723 were Fijians and 1,031 Indians. Of the Fijians 70% wanted housing assistance in Suva and 16% at Lautoka; the spatial distribution of Indian applications was wider, with about 50% of the Indians requiring assistance in Suva and the rest being spread over the Western (39%) and Northern (11%) Divisions (Parliament of Fiji, 1982a:7). No data were available for 1982. This does suggest that outside the two large cities the housing needs of Fijians are currently more generally satisfied through the traditional rural housing system. The ethnic and spatial breakdown of applications has been more or less unchanged in recent years. Overall the structure of

applications suggests that the main demand for housing assistance and therefore probably the more substantial housing problems, are concentrated in the Suva urban area, although the construction of housing schemes in particular areas tends to stimulate demand in those areas (cf. Parliament of Fiji, 1981a:5) although the recent decline in the total number of applications, and especially the number in Central Division, may indicate either decreased pressures on housing stock or an increased reality that the Authority cannot help low income earners (see below). In terms of their existing accommodation, some 30% of the applicants were occupying one room accommodation and sharing other facilities with other tenants or landlords, 15% were occupying flats and 30% were living in houses, a majority of which were illegal dwellings. Some 343 applicants were squatting, out of which 229 owned their 'shacks' and the rest were renting. The average weekly income of applicants for housing was \$57.59, an increase of 2% from 1979, but the cost of housing has increased faster than wages. Some 468 applicants (25%) received weekly incomes of less than \$45 and were unable to receive any form of assistance (*ibid*). By 1982 this situation had worsened in that 59% of all applicants had weekly incomes less than \$69 and for this group, any assistance was very difficult (Parliament of Fiji, 1983:13). Thus there is a substantial number of applicants for assistance with housing whose incomes are so low that they fall below the level that the Housing Authority can actively assist; this group is almost certainly still increasing and may account for a high proportion of the increase in the number of squatters.

Some 80% of applicants for housing in 1973 could not afford the cheapest Home Purchase Plan housing available, and the situation has not improved since then (Walsh, 1979b:3). In 1979 the housing units available were below the loan servicing capacity of about 86% of Fiji's workers, that is those earning less than \$70 per week (at a time when 23% of all applicants had incomes of less than \$44 per week), a situation which resulted in the Housing Authority attempting to find more appropriate techniques (Parliament of Fiji, 1981:2, 5). Inflation, heightened by the necessity to import construction materials and also by land speculation, has increased costs and also made it difficult for the Housing Authority to purchase suitable land for housing, that is land which is appropriate for housing and not located too far from work places (Walsh, 1979b:1, 8). Even in towns like Labasa it has recently been impossible for the Housing Authority to obtain land for housing development (Parliament of Fiji, 1982:5-6), and, by 1978, there was concern that the stock of land available for housing was rapidly being depleted (Parliament of Fiji, 1981:5). Overall therefore the Housing Authority has provided homes affordable only by middle income, rather than low-income, urban residents (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:232). Whilst the current Development Plan aims at providing cheaper forms of housing and greater security of tenure for 'squatters' who have built with the landowners consent these policies have been almost impossible to put into practice. There are few 'site and service' schemes in Suva and the gradual removal of squatter settlements from central city locations in the guise of rationalising land use has been viewed as no more than an attempt to organise 'urban space as an instrument for the perpetuation of class and other sectional interests' (Walsh, 1980:344). Inevitably this rationalisation is at the expense of the urban poor who are decentralised away from inner city employment opportunities, especially in the informal sector, and are denied centralised employment. Thus in Suva squatters constituted one-fifth of the labour force and made a significant contribution both to the city's food supply and to the production of tourist artefacts (Walsh, 1980:344-5). In the circumstances housing problems have effectively worsened in the urban areas, shantytowns

increased in extent and poverty and insecurity within the shantytowns become more apparent (e.g. Wendt, 1971; Samy, 1973; Reddy, 1976) and, although the Housing Authority had housed some 20,000 people by the late 1970s (Walsh, 1979b:2), the backlog of applications for assistance has continued to grow.

It is apparent that there is no simple correlation between poverty, shantytown residence and applications for housing assistance; in any case few of those who applied for assistance were actually in squatter settlements. However, in the mid-1970s, there were an estimated 3,800 squatter households in Suva; most of these were generally satisfied with their residential environment and most showed a strong dislike of public housing because they did not like renting, could not afford a mortgage and for a variety of social reasons (Walsh, 1980:342). They are unlikely to demand improved accommodation at a higher cost and thus would not apply to the Housing Association. Significantly, in the mid-1970s, Walsh found that the average Fijian weekly income in the squatter settlements was \$58.66 and the average Indian income was \$38.88 (Walsh, 1979a:1), an income, at least in the case of Fijians, already greater than that of applicants for housing five years later. This suggests not only that many households in squatter settlements are not poor but that the problems of urban poverty cut across housing groups. However squatters tend to be characterised by their poverty and Walsh found that only 7% of squatter houses were adequate in terms of shelter, size, density, water supply and sanitation (1979b:5) at least according to external criteria rather than the perceptions of the occupants.

The actual extent of squatter settlements in Fiji is partly unknown although various estimates have been made. In the mid-1970s there were an estimated 3,800 squatter households in Suva alone (Walsh, 1980). During 1978 the Housing Authority found some 1,000 unauthorised dwellings in the Suva area and a similar number, perhaps more, in Nasinu (Parliament of Fiji, 1979:7) and a health department survey (conceivably the same survey) recorded a Suva squatter population of more than 7,000 people (Keith-Reid, 1983:15). The Minister for Urban Development told Parliament that in July 1981 the number of squatter shacks counted throughout Fiji was 3,271; there were 1,063 in Suva and another 544 around the city, 378 in Lautoka, 137 at Ba, 125 at Nadi, 250 around Nausori, 300 at Nadroga, 103 at Navua and 295 in Macuata. The opposition suggested that there were many more (*ibid*) and data on the numbers of squatters in 1976 (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:232) suggest that this may be an underestimate. All data on the actual extent of squatter settlements must be considered suspect and depend on definitions. Similarly estimates of the growth of a squatter population must also be regarded critically. Recent Housing Authority estimates suggest that squatter populations, around Suva at least, are growing at an average rate of 12% per annum (Parliament of Fiji, 1982:7) an increase on the 10% per annum earlier suggested by Walsh (1980:343). The current Development Plan has based its estimates of the growth of the squatter population on changes between 1967 and 1976 which gave an annual increase of 12% per year (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:232) and this estimate appears to have been uncritically carried forward, even though problems of access to formal housing do suggest that this rate is not implausible (see below). For example the Housing Authority does not provide data to support its claim that the squatter population is growing so rapidly. There is certainly a general perception that there has recently been a "prolific growth of the city's squatter population" (Lakhan, 1982:8) but that perception may, as in this case, be partly a result of the establishment of a controversial settlement in a very visible location (cf. Keith-Reid, 1980a:15). Outside Suva, Ba's squatter population is reported to have doubled in the last two or three years (*ibid*) but apparently there is not

even crude comparable information on towns elsewhere. There is no doubt that the squatter population is growing; natural increase alone ensures a steady growth rate, but no good data exists on the location and speed of that growth or on the socio-economic structure, origin and length of residence of much of the squatter population.

Trends in urbanization in Fiji are similar in many respects to those elsewhere in Melanesia: a growing urban primacy with more distant migration streams being particularly concentrated on the capital city, the growth of a permanent urban population part of which, but not all, is housed in shantytowns and increasing urban poverty with the conspicuous lack of some basic needs (see below). The major distinctive feature of Fijian urbanization is the apparent permanence of a significant proportion of urban residents, who can no longer be regarded as migrants with the ability to return 'home' to rural areas. To a considerable extent they are 'trapped' or 'dispossessed' in town. It is in the context of this group in particular that development planning tends to become unusually complicated (see also Country Report No:14). A second, and in a sense conflicting, feature of Fijian urbanization is that the urban growth rate appears to be currently declining, although the evidence is scarcely conclusive, thus suggesting that the potential for rural development may be considerable in Fiji, a conclusion which is related to the rationale for migration, discussed below.

The Rationale of Migration

In a country extending over a substantial area of the South Pacific ocean, with at least three major ethnic groups, and encompassing a large number of populated islands of different sizes, resource potentials and degrees of remoteness, both the structure of migration (above) and its rationale are likely to be complex. Early studies of migration have tended to accept at face-value the reasons given by the migrants themselves although, in practice, many of the attempts to rationalise migration, such as those of Watters (1969a), Ward (1971), Walsh (1978) and Chandra (1979) have not been based on empirical studies of migrants themselves (Chandra, 1981:343). Indeed, in comparison with some other countries in the South Pacific, and most notably Papua New Guinea (Country Report No.14), there have been relatively few direct studies of migration in Fiji, and most observations of migration have derived indirectly from examinations of other socio-economic phenomena. Most recently, studies in the eastern islands of Fiji (e.g. Bedford, 1980, 1981) have related the level and type of migration to structural changes in the national economy as that economy becomes incorporated into the periphery of the world capitalist system. There has therefore been some transition from an analysis of migration primarily in terms of the explanations and beliefs of the migrants themselves to the examination of migration as a response to changes in the global economy, far removed from the influence of individual migrants.

As in most other parts of the South Pacific region the influence of economic factors has tended to be seen as the most important influence on migration in Fiji. By the mid-1960's the economic rationale for migration was increasingly apparent, in contrast to earlier explanations which had given greater prominence to social reasons. Thus, from the 1966 census, it was apparent that at the regional level migration was from provinces with limited income-earning opportunities towards provinces (and especially towns) with greater opportunities. At an individual level a variety of explanations were given, although it was argued that 'towns attract migrants primarily because of the cluster of goals that they offer, and particularly

because of the prospects of regular, frequent wages or "fast money" compared to "slow money" earned by cash cropping in the country' (Watters, 1969a; cf. Ponter, 1976:29), a situation previously recorded in Tahiti (see Country Report No.5) and typical of other parts of the region. Whilst cultural factors have been influential, and 'undoubtedly the stated desire for wage employment may be a symbol expressing a wider motivation for the many attractions of the town....these cultural factors have not been positively shown to be significant factors in migration' (Watters, 1969a). Later studies (e.g. Gunasekera, 1981; Sahadeo, 1973; Tubuna, 1985) have further emphasized economic rather than social factors.

The smaller islands of Fiji have experienced a very significant out-migration; for example in 1975 Batiki had a population of 277 and there were also about 900 people of Batiki origin (not all of them migrants) living off the island, mainly in Suva (Bayliss-Smith, 1980:77), a situation that was broadly true of most of the small islands in Lau and Lomaiviti and which demonstrates some of the economic correlates of migration. Whilst direct correlations have not been made it is apparent that emigration has coincided with some degree of economic decline, after a period in the 1950s which was 'perhaps the peak in colonial prosperity in eastern Fiji, with high copra prices and relatively cheap food' (Bayliss-Smith, 1980:80) and villages in islands like Batiki and Nacamaki (Koro) could be regarded as relatively prosperous (e.g. Watters, 1969). Since then there has been a long-term deterioration in the real returns from copra accompanied therefore by a long-term deterioration in the terms of trade (cf. Bayliss-Smith, 1977). Indeed, by 1975 on the island of Batiki, the population

'were well aware that Batiki island had become overpopulated relative to welfare standards elsewhere in Fiji, and several were making arrangements to migrate to Suva to live with relatives at least until the terms of trade showed some improvement (Bayliss-Smith, 1980:83).

At the same time as there was a long-term deterioration in the terms of trade, making the accumulation of any income increasingly difficult, it was also true that 'the whole ethos of Fijian culture still tends to discourage material accumulation or even conspicuous consumption by the individual' (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:46) and has therefore emphasized communal work activities and expenditure and, above all, social exchanges of production. Growing individualism, and opposition to social exchanges, may tend to encourage migration. In an earlier period it was noticeable that in Nacamaki village (Koro) migration was particularly low compared with some other Fijian villages because of 'the unusual money-earning potentialities of Koro soils' (Watters, 1969b:139).

In many of the smaller islands especially, hazards have resulted in both migration and the changing location of village sites. Indeed one recent government response to hazard is to encourage temporary movement to short-term employment in other parts of Fiji or in New Zealand with preference being given to hurricane-devastated areas (Bedford, 1977b:42). At different times in Kabara a major response to hurricanes has been migration to larger islands to work on plantations (Campbell, 1977:173). In Lakeba, following Hurricane Val early in 1975,

'..more and more farmers were thinking in terms of jobs with wages. Those men with paid employment in Government jobs, such as the Public Works Department, were very much envied their security,

but the number of such jobs was limited. Many men applied initially for permits to go to New Zealand for a few months' (Brookfield, M., 1977:138).

Thus hazard increased despondency about the future of agriculture and emphasized the continuity and security of wage employment, neither of which result would have been possible before the establishment of a commercial economy in Fiji. Young people too became especially disenchanting and bored with traditional life and its limitations.

'In this way, Hurricane Val could be said to have exacerbated a social process, or even a social problem, of the unemployed, ill-educated bored youth, with dreams of city wealth and living, but knowing only village customs, and with little chance of steady employment, certainly not locally' (op cit:139).

Thus, where employment and income-earning opportunities are available elsewhere, hazards, and especially recurrent hurricanes, are significant catalysts to migration and to the centralisation of population, not only in Fiji but in a number of other countries in the South Pacific region. Conditions that result in a quite sudden decline in rural incomes (or subsistence opportunities) tend to result in equally sudden increases in migration. Not all such conditions result from natural hazards. For example when Nausori sugar mill closed in 1959 it resulted in a serious decline in farm income and thus an important "push factor" in stimulating migration away from that area (Anderson, 1968:21). In this kind of context rural development strategies may both slow and reverse migration but cannot avert some effectively permanent rural-urban migration following the stimulus of catastrophic change.

Not only are absolute opportunity differentials between rural and urban areas important but they are influenced by 'the consciousness of the disadvantaged group of this inequality' (Chandra, 1981:345). The differentials between rural and urban areas have been summarised:

'Living standards in urban areas are very much higher than in rural areas in Fiji. The survey of urban household income and expenditure showed a per capita urban income in 1973 of \$F520 (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 1974:19). A more general estimate indicates that the per capita income of a rural province in Fiji, Bua (\$F341), is a quarter of that of the urban Suva/Nausori area (\$F1,368) (Savu 1978:2). Bedford (1981) also deals with this income inequality. He points out that in 1974 a Suva worker had an average income of around \$F1,400, while including imputed monetary value of subsistence production, less than 30% of Taveuni village households had this income in 1975. A recent survey of household income and expenditure found that the average weekly real income in Suva (\$F87.50) was about twice that of village households (\$F46.30) (Fiji, Central Planning Office 1980:317). Moreover, urban incomes are increasing much more rapidly than rural incomes. Between 1953 and 1970, for instance, average urban incomes grew more than six times faster than average rural incomes (McHarg, n.d.:2). McHarg employed a relatively crude computation of rural income per capita, where it was taken to be gross value added

in agriculture divided by the total rural population. Added to this rural-urban income differential, incomes in the two largest islands of Fiji, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, are much more than in the smaller islands (*ibid*). Incomes in urban areas are not only higher, but they are clearly seen and demonstrated to be high, and this prompts the rural populace to relocate themselves to urban areas to avail themselves of the same advantages and opportunities enjoyed by the urban population' (Chandra, 1981:345).

In view of earlier reservations on income data in Fiji (see above) doubt must be expressed over the value of much of these data and over the relatively mechanistic correlation between income levels and migration. Nevertheless there certainly 'exists a strong correlation between migration and provincial per capita GDP. Although correlation is no proof of causality we submit that inter-provincial migration is largely determined by inter-provincial income differences' (Stavenuiter, 1982:7). It is however also necessary to examine relative expectations of urban and rural incomes especially since, in opposition to Chandra's last statement, it is often more interesting and important to examine why people do not migrate, a situation as poorly understood in Fiji as it is elsewhere in the region. Whilst income, and welfare, differentials influence migration they do not determine it.

In part, underlying the demand for cash, and hence wage employment, is the demand for imported commodities; more than twenty years ago it was noted in Rotuma that

'access to European products over a span of nearly two centuries has completely altered the standard of living of the indigenous people and has resulted in Rotuma's overall economy becoming inextricably tied to that of Fiji. Many European products are now considered to be absolute necessities rather than luxuries, and if Rotuma were cut off from them for an extended period of time, it would suffer as much as most communities in rural Europe would suffer under comparable conditions...The result is an economic dependence on the urban commercial market' (Howard, 1961:285).

Whilst initially this dependence was achieved and maintained principally through the sale of copra this is now maintained as much through remittances; consequently any movement towards self-sufficiency through a reduction of remittances would be difficult and painful. Aspirations are firmly directed towards the acquisition of European goods so that 'with the prestige given to "foreign" goods, it is doubtful, therefore that Rotumans would want to be self-sufficient even if that were a possibility' (Plant, 1977:174). These kinds of attitudes are increasingly true of other parts of the country, the country as a whole and most parts of the South Pacific region; where natural resources and cash-earning opportunities are few then migration tends to follow.

It is not only the prestige of imported goods that is important but it is also the prestige of employment and occupational status. As elsewhere in the South Pacific agricultural employment is increasingly regarded as inferior to urban, bureaucratic employment, not only because it provides 'fast money', so that even if rural agricultural earnings are equivalent to those in urban, bureaucratic employment they may nonetheless be regarded as

inadequate compensation for remaining in rural areas. There is a general perception that 'Urban drift exists for a very real reason. Life out there in the dalo plantation is hard work, and yarning around the grog bowl most nights a week has its limitations as entertainment' (Martin, 1981:17). It is attitudes to employment and income that are almost as important as the employment opportunities and expectations of incomes elsewhere.

Lack of access to land for cash cropping is a major stimulant to out-migration, not only in the smaller, remoter islands of Lau and Lomaiviti, but also on islands like Taveuni where, although overall population density is very low,

'there is inequality of land holding of Latin American proportions, under which large estates hold a major share of the land...In some measure this inequality springs from the coconut economy, under which a premium is placed on the holding of large tracts of land, with the consequence that many people have insufficient land or no land. The inevitable response has been, and will continue to be, emigration to Viti Levu and elsewhere in search of opportunity denied at home. It follows, in turn, that measures to 'diversify out of coconuts' and to 'halt the rural-urban drift' would seem to imply some measure of land redistribution as a prerequisite' (Brookfield, 1977:35).

However the relationship between pressure on land and migration is not straightforward,

'..those still living in the eastern islands will argue persuasively that without the safety valve of emigration there would have been a considerable land shortage problem. However many with access to extensive tracts of land have been as migratory as the land-hungry villagers' (Bedford, 1981:3).

Moreover, especially in more densely populated areas such as the Rewa delta, there is unequal access to land between ethnic groups, to the extent that Indians are more likely to experience a 'rural push' (Ponter, 1976:29, 42; cf. Walsh, 1978:118). Insecurity over land tenure and other issues has prompted not only Indian emigration, but has actually encouraged many, especially Gujarati storekeepers, to repatriate some of their incomes to India and more recently Canada (Moynagh, 1981:251). Moreover, 'insecurity of tenure has made it very difficult for [Indian] farmers to feel that they belong to Fiji; yet unlike Gujarati migrants who dominate much of business and have close ties with India they have no other home' (op cit:257). The differences between the rationale for Indian and Fijian migration have been summarised,

'It is probable that Indian movement is primarily prompted by actual population pressure and insecurity in the rural areas....Fijian movement, on the other hand, is probably prompted not so much by actual land shortage as by limited opportunities to earn regular money, by the restrictions of the mataqali and chiefly system which has been fossilised by legislation and by social changes resulting in increased expectations which cannot be met in rural areas....Both movements are a consequence of negative institutional factors grounded in colonialism, and developments in contemporary Fiji which appear to be widening the

gap between rural and urban opportunities despite government efforts to make rural areas more attractive' (Walsh, 1978:118; cited by Chandra, 1979:24).

Thus Fijian migration may be a response to a real or perceived shortage of land whilst Indian migration may be a response to both shortage and insecurity of tenure, a situation which has tended to result in Indian urban migrants being apparently more permanent than Fijian migrants.

A range of social factors may also influence migration and these are well illustrated in the case of Rotuma. Firstly, many migrants make temporary visits to Fiji proper for occasions such as the birth of children and weddings (Howard, 1961:280); as elsewhere such visits not only increase familiarity with Fiji but may eventually result in long-term migration. The existence of extensive kin contacts, especially in urban areas, necessarily facilitates this kind of movement. Secondly, visits to Fiji may be stimulated by events in Rotuma, such as family quarrels, and such apparently trivial reasons may be important catalysts to migration. Again migrants must depend on relatives established elsewhere for their choice of destination and housing 'and any reasonably close relatives may be considered fair game' (op cit:281). In many places the extent of mobility and migration has increased considerably in recent decades; in the case of the village of Nacamaki (Koro) this has been documented (Table Thirty) to indicate the dramatic increase over a sixteen-year period between 1958 and 1974. Apart from underlying economic reasons for migration a major factor influencing this increase in migration is the presence of Koro people living in towns on a fairly permanent basis, which both encourages migration and enables people to live away from home for several weeks or months (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:29). Thirdly, migration may initially be motivated simply by the desire to see close friends and relatives in Fiji (Howard, 1961:281). Fourthly, many people leave for more specialised medical treatment in Suva (ibid). Fifthly,

'there is the eternal factor of human curiosity, the desire to see new things and have new experiences. This cannot be underestimated in the case of the Rotumans. They are romantically inclined and just as in the earliest days of contact...a returned traveller is never at a loss for a willing audience' (ibid).

Sixthly, social pressures in rural areas have, especially in earlier times, been a substantial influence on migration; at the end of the 1950s Ward argued that, for Fijians, the "burden of obligations" was a major factor encouraging rural-urban drift as increasingly was the desire to escape from the custom of kerekere (requested giving) and achieve independent economic status (Ward, 1961:264). Consequently social pressures restrict individual agricultural development to the extent that, if these (and shortages of capital and land) 'could be readily overcome it is possible that rural-urban drift might be slowed if not stopped' (ibid). Indeed a series of writers on Fijian society have commented on the 'stifling effects of Fijian social structure on individual enterprise' (Chandra, 1981:347). For Indians the situation is quite different in that 'rural-urban migration does not involve marked cultural change, and entering the urban economy does not demand acceptance of new perspectives on money, work and profit maximisation' (Waq, 1977:27). In the case of Rotuma, the desire to move away from 'a thoroughly conservative community with extremely tight and effective social controls' (Howard, 1961:279) is particularly significant to an even greater extent than in small Fijian island communities, a situation very similar to that in nearby Wallis and Futuna (see Country Report No.21). This is

particularly applicable to unmarried girls (op cit:282). Beyond social factors are psychological factors which may well also operate differently between ethnic groups. Seventhly, and this factor appears to have only been recorded for Rotuma, the migration of married individuals is regarded as a technique of contraception, since Rotumans have a high fertility rate and, at least in the 1950s, knowledge of modern contraceptive techniques is not widespread (ibid). What are common to almost all these socially oriented migration moves are, firstly, that a social rationale may eventually or quite quickly become an economic rationale; secondly, that although many such moves are intendedly temporary they may become permanent and, thirdly, that all such moves are facilitated by the existence of kin who can provide housing, welfare and possibly access to employment. In the context of Rotumans especially it is apparent that this has resulted in a process of 'chain migration' (cf. Bryant, 1974:18). For Rotuma it has also been argued that emigration is a response to population pressure (Howard, 1961:278) although it is more apparent that migration is a response to very limited development opportunities on Rotuma, and especially opportunities for wage employment. Thus, as on other outlying Fijian islands, demands for wage employment constitute the principal reason for out-migration, followed by 'the desire for social advancements...a life of comforts, personal luxuries and individual determination' (op cit:279). Thus despite the range of social explanations for migration, perhaps more important in Rotuma than in some other parts of Fiji, economic issues still constitute the fundamental rationale for migration.

Table 30. Migration Experience, Nacamaki village (Koro).

	1958	1974
None	298	64
To Suva or Levuka	18	40
To all Fijian destinations (including Suva and Levuka)	21	142
Overseas	7	13
TOTAL	344	259

Source: Watters, 1969:139; Bayliss-Smith, 1977:29.

Education is also a major influence on migration and again Rotuma presents almost a classic case of migration for education because of the strong demand for social advancement,

'The main channel for achieving social advancement is through education, but the highest grade taught in Rotuma is Form IV beyond which a student must go off to Fiji if he wishes to continue. Some parents even send their children to stay with relatives in Fiji as soon as they are of school age, so that they may attend schools with higher standards than those in Rotuma' (Howard, 1961:280).

Broadly the same kind of situation has been reported for some of the smaller eastern islands (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:31) and more generally in Fiji (Oliver, 1977:64; Ponter, 1976:51; Sahlins, 1962:34; Waqa, 1977:26; Watters, 1969b:67). Not only does the demand for education result in migration but the achievement of higher levels of education and skills tends to result in

educated and skilled migrants remaining in larger urban areas where their talents can best be utilised. Again this is well illustrated in the case of Rotuma,

'If a Rotuman fails at school he is under pressure to go back home and work on the copra plantation, so as most young Rotumans enjoy life in Fiji with fewer restrictions and more attractions they tend to try hard at school to increase their chances of staying. The original intention of training nurses and teachers to go back to Rotuma doesn't work as it was intended and in fact Rotuman schools are still understaffed. Life in Fiji is too attractive for young teachers to wish to leave it' (Bryant, 1974:16).

Not only do people tend to move for education, and the more educated migrate, but the necessity to earn school fees is also a significant reason for labour migration (Ponter, 1976:20; Waqa, 1977:26). The consequence of migration for education is that, in the case of Rotuma at least, Rotumans are over-represented in high status positions, especially in the administration (Bryant, 1974:6). Much the same is almost certainly true of migrants from Lau where, as in Rotuma, there are relatively few opportunities for skilled employment in the home area.

In a number of cases in Fiji, migration is not only a group phenomenon but the groups, or individuals, may be effectively sponsored by the community rather than migrating to meet individual or household objectives. Thus, in Kabara, migration to New Zealand was encouraged and at least one village community had paid the fares to Suva of ten men who hoped to obtain work permits for New Zealand (Bedford, 1978:45). The same kind of situation was also true of Batiki (Bayliss-Smith, 1978:105) and for seasonal migrants in several areas, especially those who intended to earn money for a village project such as a church or school (D. Evans, pers. comm. 1980). Nevertheless, as the case of Naila (see above) suggests, individual migration is much more significant than group migration.

The only national survey of migration conducted in 1977 (Tables Thirty-One and Thirty-Two) revealed that overall much the most important individual reasons for migration were social, that is 'to live with relatives' or 'to accompany relatives or parents who were migrating' which together accounted for 57% of all reasons for migration. However some of these may be rationalisations for other forms of movement, especially in the case of urban-rural migration. The third most significant identifiable reason for migration was to seek or take up a better job or employment opportunity which accounted for 14.5% of all reasons. Whilst Table Thirty suggests that this was only important for rural-urban migration one of the shortcomings of the survey was that this question was only asked to those who had moved into an urban area. In terms of the rationale for migration relatively little can be made of the survey material, other than to note the very great similarity (Table Thirty-One) between the reasons for Fijian and Indian migration.

Whilst more permanent migration tends to have an economic rationale the majority of migration moves are often for non-economic reasons. For example out of a total of 121 outward trips of men alone from Nacamaki (Koro) in 1974-76, some 39 resulted in paid employment (mainly in Taveuni, Suva and Levuka) and 11 were for selling produce or buying equipment, thus only 41% of moves by men were for primarily economic reasons. By contrast 17% of all adult trips were to go to school, to accompany school children or to go to

hospital, while about half of all trips had no explicit purpose other than social visiting or holidays (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:33). This situation was extraordinarily similar on Batiki, despite the difference between the two islands in size, self-sufficiency and prosperity (Bayliss-Smith, 1978:90). Whilst several migration moves without particular purposes may eventually have resulted in employment elsewhere, the significance of non-economic reasons is apparent. Consequently the presence of urban relatives and modern transport are important factors influencing the extent of migration.

A number of relatively recent studies in the eastern islands suggest that,

'A more relevant general explanation for recent net migration is to be found in the deepening spatial imbalance in distribution of those employment opportunities which more and more Fijians have come to regard as desirable for social as well as economic reasons. As in most less developed countries, differences between agricultural incomes and those obtained through wage employment in town have been widening. Although direct comparison is not easy because of the sizeable subsistence component to Fijian village agriculture, some indication can be given of rural-urban income disparity as it applied to part of eastern Fiji around the mid-1970s. In 1974 the average industrial worker in Suva earned around \$F1,400 per annum. On the basis of cash earning activities as well as an imputed monetary value for subsistence production, less than 30% of Taveuni's village households were found to have an income at this level in 1975. By comparison with other parts of Fiji we were dealing with a relatively low-income population in the eastern islands - one which exhibited a considerable degree of inequality' (Bedford, 1981:3).

Inequality, at household and regional level, is thus a significant element in migration and the perceived probability of obtaining a more satisfactory livelihood in town remained high for eastern islanders through the 1970s (*ibid*). The extent to which this perception of urban livelihoods was valid elsewhere in Fiji, and especially in areas (most parts of Fiji) where the variety of income-earning opportunities was greater than in the eastern islands is unknown, but the evidence of slow urban growth in the late 1970s suggests that it was not true in many other areas. Again, Bedford concludes that any simple relationship between rural and urban income levels and rural-urban migration is significantly distorted by social factors, such as the increasing distaste for agricultural employment rather than secondary education (usually in town) and then office work (*ibid*). This discussion, revolving around the complex of variables influencing migration (and the permanency, or otherwise, of migration), has been elaborated elsewhere (see also Country Report No.14), an elaboration which reveals both that 'there is nothing inherently unique or unusual about recent Fijian internal migration' (Bedford, 1980:54) and that migration is part of a complex system involving social, economic, psychological and political variables. Above all, in the same context, 'migration is another response to unsatisfied aspirations, and on a large scale it is one that would constitute as much a threat to the centre as to the periphery of Fiji' (Bayliss-Smith, 1977:69).

Table 31. Migration, 1967-1977. Destination and Reason. All persons aged 14 plus.

	Urban			Rural (non-village)		Village			TOTAL	
	Suva	Lautoka	Labasa Other	West Central North	West Central North	West Central North	Islands	TOTAL		
1. No adequate employment in urban area	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	2	0	14
2. To live with relatives	57	15	26	20	37	15	30	31	19	310
3. To accompany relatives or parents who were migrating	157	103	24	11	10	16	16	5	6	367
4. To seek the tranquility and easier life-style in rural areas	0	0	0	0	2	2	6	6	2	24
5. Income inadequate to pay for high cost of living in urban areas	0	0	0	0	11	4	1	0	3	22
6. To look for or take up better job and work opportunities	94	46	28	6	0	0	0	0	0	174
7. Better amusements and pastimes in towns, i.e. cinemas, nightclubs, sporting functions, general greater activities	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
8. Better social facilities in towns, i.e. health, education, housing	70	25	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	107
9. Other	24	6	23	5	33	15	20	5	18	177
10. TOTAL	402	198	110	45	94	55	76	49	63	1,198
11. Not migrated	1,861	715	290	191	2,040	579	641	399	466	8,093

Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics, Household Income and Expenditure Survey. Unpublished tables.

Table 32. Migration by Race and Reason, 1967-1977. All persons aged 14 plus.

	Fijian	Indian	European	Part- European	Chinese	Rotuman	Pacific Islander	TOTAL
1. Inadequate urban employment	8	6	0	0	0	0	0	14
2. Join relatives	184	116	0	3	0	6	1	310
3. Accompany relatives	131	217	0	9	3	7	0	367
4. Rural peace	19	3	0	1	0	0	1	24
5. Inadequate urban income	14	8	0	0	0	0	0	22
6. Seek employment	79	84	0	4	0	5	2	174
7. 'Bright Lights'	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
8. Social facilities	47	54	0	3	0	2	1	107
9. Other	80	88	0	2	2	5	0	177
10. TOTAL	565	576	0	22	5	25	5	1,198
11. Non-migrant	2,966	4,815	21	122	49	89	31	8,093

Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics. Household Income and Expenditure Survey. Unpublished tables.

Throughout Fiji there is extensive circulation and return migration between towns and villages and settlements; this is more true of Fijians than Indians in the sense that Fijians have a stronger commitment to their home area fostered over a series of generations and a sense of identity which is likely to be greatest on the smaller islands. As one Fijian migrant from the Lau islands has recently commented, the home island is the place 'where we have our relations, our home, or our land. This represents security, and something permanent' (Racule, 1984). All Fijians are members of the local landholding group (mataqali) and thus have land rights somewhere in Fiji which is one factor enabling return migration. However there are a number of problems attached to this; firstly, in some cases land registers do not include all those who have mataqali rights, as in the case of Kabara (Bedford, McLean and Macpherson, 1978:52), so that those who have lived away from an area for a long time may find difficulty in even claiming the existence of land rights. Secondly, although land rights can in theory be exercised at any time, many of those who have lived away would find difficulty in, and opposition to, taking up land rights, as in some cases on Batiki and Yanuca (Bayliss-Smith, 1978:87) hence land rights cannot always be an incentive to return migration. Yet even in the small eastern islands, where economic opportunities are limited to the extent that, in the case of Kabara, islanders living outside Kabara regard the island as 'beautiful, but no place in which to live' (Bedford, McLean and Macpherson, 1978:61) there is still considerable return migration:

'..an outsider from a different cultural background, conscious of the limited natural resources of the island, and of its isolation and poor communications, finds it surprising to encounter in Kabara villages so many young men who had spent most of their formative years in Suva, and had achieved good secondary educational qualifications in town. Most of them could cite a specific reason for their presence, such as looking after elderly parents, providing for a widowed mother and younger kin, or helping to rebuild houses destroyed in the two hurricanes. However, discussions with these young men around the yaqona bowl over several nights revealed that, in general, they found village life deeply satisfying, and had no plans for returning to live in the city. We encountered the same reaction among similar young men in other parts of Fiji, even though other young people of both sexes were only too ready to leap at the first opportunity to leave their islands, and try their luck in town. The satisfaction of the returnees with village life, in Kabara and elsewhere, thus provide an intriguing dimension on the role of perception of the quality of life in the decision to move, return and perhaps stay' (Bedford, McLean and Macpherson, 1978:61).

The social limitations to village life, such as constraints on dancing and alcohol consumption, were usually overcome as, in a few cases, were the lack of agricultural and fishing skills and the natural hazards of small island life (op cit:62). Thus even in seemingly the most unfavourable situations, whilst there was a persistent migration imbalance, return migration to small islands always exists and, as Bedford *et al* conclude, 'given greater opportunity at home, they might gain more' (1978:63). However, in contrast to these findings from Kabara and the eastern islands, in Nukutubu village (Rewa) most return migrants were in the age group 40 to 59, reflecting the

wish of many Fijians to retire and die in their home villages (Chao, 1980:181-182); this may however partially reflect a situation where migrants from Nukutubu have been able to find urban employment more easily and at an earlier date than emigrants from the distant Lau islands.

In the case of Rotuma there are essentially three groups of return migrants. Firstly, there are those who return to ensure that they retain access to land there; in some cases prospective migrants from Rotuma may even summon a migrant already in Fiji to return to take over the maintenance of land rights. Secondly, there are those who return to take up the limited number of skilled jobs available in Rotuma, such as teachers and medical personnel, who in most part are Rotumans (Howard, 1961:282). However the limited scope for skilled employment in Rotuma provides little incentive to return (even for carpenters after Hurricane Bebe in 1972) (Bryant, 1974:10). Thirdly, those who return are those who have failed to find a suitable place for themselves in Fiji: 'scholars who fail to make the grade, men who lose their jobs or get too old to support themselves, and young girls who become pregnant without being married can all find sanctuary in Rotuma' (Howard, 1962:283) and strong pressure is put on trouble makers by Rotuman leaders in Fiji to return to Rotuma, where social controls are more effective and they are less likely to give Rotumans a bad name (*ibid*; cf. Bryant, 1974:16). In the first two cases at least it is apparent that return migration is influenced by economic opportunities within Rotuma even if the maintenance of land rights is not necessarily productive of economic development. In the Wainibuka valley area return migrants tended to be similar to those in the third category of Rotumans who had not gone through secondary education and hence did not obtain more prestigious and better-paid urban employment (Tubuna, 1985). Overall therefore although many return migrants are returning to exploit economic opportunities in their home areas, and how otherwise could they survive in those places, they are often those who have been least successful elsewhere and perhaps least likely to contribute to economic development in the home area. As long ago as 1959 Spate queried, why should someone who was 'solidly-established...return to a depressed village in Kadavu or the hills?' (1959:75). Again, and not excluding the case of retirement, an economic rationale is at the basis of return migration.

The Impact of Migration

Despite the significance of migration in Fiji, and especially because of the establishment of a seemingly permanent and relatively large urban population, studies of the impact of migration have been few and its significance in most rural areas, especially away from the eastern islands, is largely unknown. In a sense this is surprising since as early as the start of the century it had become apparent that the movement of individual Fijians was having an impact on rural society; on Kadavu in 1903 it was noted that 'young men...steal off to Suva, or elsewhere, when ordered to meet for housebuilding and remain away until the time for such work is over. During [their] absence they support themselves by work on the wharves or any chance labour and when they return they bring with them enough money..to pay the fine' (cited by Ward, 1961:259-60). At much the same time it was reported in the Council of Chiefs that labour recruitment, 'interferes seriously with the supply of food and is prejudicial in a large degree to the increase of the population, prolific of all kinds of trouble, breaking up homes and families, and creating a wandering and vagabond class..who are notorious for

little else than setting at defiance all authority and every domestic tie and bond' (cited by Watters, 1969a:2).

Other contemporary writers recorded similar problems, indications simply that migration was necessarily disruptive of some aspects of traditional village life and, especially, that the migration of young men significantly reduced chiefly authority. The real disruption of economic and social life was probably extremely slight.

In general migration appears to have had a reasonably predictable impact on the demographic structure; since migration has been primarily of youths and young adults it has resulted in increased dependency rates, but nowhere does this appear to have been so severe as to impose an unusual work burden on the remaining population (J. Cameron, pers. comm. 1983). In this the eastern islands may perhaps be exceptional because of the extent of emigration from there, although where emigration has been extreme, as in some parts of the Rewa valley, the same kinds of situation have occurred (e.g. Ward, 1961:270; cf. Ward, 1959:333). Despite the loss in national agricultural production that may follow such migration it is probable that in Fiji generally the decline in domestic food consumption is essentially compensated for by remittances (see below). It does however also demonstrate that there is unused or underused agricultural land in a number of areas (*ibid*). High levels of emigration from islands like Lakeba have however resulted in lower rates of natural increase there than in other parts of Fiji (Bedford and Brookfield, 1979:204) a situation which, alongside high emigration rates, has resulted in a declining proportion of the national population in the eastern islands (to a greater extent outside Lakeba, which has tended to retain its population relative to other small islands).

The absence of migrants obviously reduces population pressure on resources, and especially on land, and rural incomes may increase simply because of this rather than because of remittances; thus in Qaleni in Taveuni there was a better return from copra for those still in the village and 'mild resentment' at the thought that some migrants might return to take advantage of a dramatic rise in copra prices' (Ponter, 1975:99). Similarly on Mualevu, in the Lau group, village residents, increasingly individualistic, undertook 'strategic gardening' to increase their incomes and oppose returning migrants (Walter, 1978:105). It is, of course, in these kinds of circumstances that conflict over land rights is exacerbated. In the eastern outer islands where emigration has been substantial,

'there is something of a vicious spiral: the economic situation deteriorates and labour offers for work in other areas; in consequence production declines, and new initiatives are starved of labour, or do not begin at all because declining population and production make them seem unviable on assessment; in consequence again the situation worsens further' (Brookfield, 1983:45).

But the eastern islands are exceptional and, apart from rather fragmentary observations elsewhere, there is very little direct evidence on the impact of migration in rural Fiji, and even more so on the two main islands. In the circumstances it can be assumed that its significance has not been great.

Most of the few observations on the rural impact of migration tend to stress the negative aspects of migration; higher dependency rates, losses of agricultural production and even the 'fatalistic outlook amongst those who

remain' (Ward, 1961:270). However, especially in the areas of greatest emigration, the outer islands, there has been a flow of remittances that may compensate for population losses. At the national level Fijians especially provide remittances to family members remaining in the villages; most Fijians (161 out of 199) from a Suva survey sent cash or goods to the rural areas and for most (147 out of 199) this was also reciprocated (Nair, 1980:43) although the relative volumes were unrecorded. By contrast urban Indians had fewer remittance ties with rural kin (op cit:46). Other than these national generalisations there appears to be no information on the quantity or social and economic significance of remittances on the two main islands of Fiji. This is primarily because the size of remittances is usually small and hence its impact slight; the 1977 Income and Expenditure revealed that overseas remittances accounted for 0.69% of Fijian incomes and 0.04% of Indian incomes (Stavenuiter, pers. comm. 1982) although more impressionistic observations from Canada (see above) suggest higher figures. Whilst national remittances add to this, the impact is scarcely increased.

It is only in a few of the small, remote islands that the impact of remittances is significant. Remittances to Rotuma in 1976-77 were estimated to be some F\$66,000 for a resident population of 2,400; this was some 12% of the total cash income of the island (Plant, 1977:181) and this excludes gifts which may have been as great in value. Goods were certainly common in the 1950's and 1960's (Howard, 1960:286-7) and remain common there (Kaurasi, 1977:171-2) and on other more remote islands, such as Kadavu, where migrants were expected to send back precisely those goods whose prices on the island were especially great (Cook, 1975:50). The size and proportionate significance of remittances in Rotuma appears quite unusual; on Batiki, where almost half the households receive remittances, this constituted no more than 2% of the overall income (Bayliss-Smith, 1978:104-5) although Brookfield concluded for the eastern islands that remittances 'have been the basis not only of "perceived adequate standards" but even of community survival' (1980b:193). For the village of Rukua (Beqa), which had a population of 240 in 1976, it was estimated that in 1975 remittances were of the value of \$1,961 (Bigay et al, 1981:93). Invariably the flow of goods and money to the home area is reciprocated by goods being sent to absentees. In the case of Rotuma this consists of agricultural produce (Howard, 1961:287). In some cases money may also flow away from the home areas; for example, 'many a Rotuman who has failed to succeed in Fiji has resorted to sending for passage money home, obliging his relatives there to go into the bush and cut the necessary copra' (ibid). In these contexts then migration may actually be a drain on the resources of the home community but such events are likely to be relatively rare.

In most parts of Fiji the relatively small contribution that remittances make to local incomes, apart from in the case of migration to New Zealand (and there is virtually no data on the size and use of these remittance flows), indicates that remittances are unlikely to significantly affect already existing patterns of expenditure. Where migrants do make a significant contribution, as on some of the outlying islands, they are invariably primarily used for the acquisition of everyday household goods (including foods) and rather more conspicuous consumption. Thus, as Watters suggests based on evidence from Fiji, 'money is needed to buy the cultural symbols of social importance sought by Islanders' (1970:135) such as food, housing and other consumer durables. In the case of Rotuma (Kaurasi, 1977:171) and for many Indians (Buchignani, 1979) remittances are also used to finance further migration movements. Little is recorded on the distribution of remittances; however Fijians earning higher urban incomes contributed more to the rural areas than those earning lower incomes (Nair, 1980:47) a

situation which may contribute to some degree of inequality within and between rural areas but, on balance, remittances are socially but not economically significant.

By contrast the impact of migration in urban areas is considerable, principally evident in terms of problems in the growth of urban unemployment and a considerable extent of shantytowns where basic needs are often inadequately satisfied. Although a recent World Bank study has noted that 'Fiji does not suffer from urban overcrowding, congestion, pollution and uncontrolled squatter settlements which occur in many cities in developing countries' (World Bank, 1977:3), in each of these ways Fiji experiences as severe problems as in most other South Pacific countries, except Papua New Guinea, Marshall Islands and perhaps Kiribati. The most visible and obvious problem of urbanisation is the inadequacy of urban housing and the failure of formal sector housing to supply the needs of migrants and the poor in urban areas (see above). Within some shantytowns there are sanitation and health problems (e.g. Reddy, 1976:16), nutrition problems and considerable deprivation, relative and absolute. The second problem in urban areas is that of employment (see above) although the extent to which it is migrants who are unemployed is unknown; what evidence there is suggests that unemployment is likely to be higher amongst urban-born residents who have no 'escape valve' into the rural areas. Inadequate housing, unemployment and poverty have tended to result in other kinds of social problems, such as an increase in crime, prostitution and juvenile delinquency, all of which however are little more than the normal concomitants of city growth. While there are urban problems in Fiji the correlation between these problems and those of migration is unclear; in many cases recent migrants appear least likely to experience unemployment or contribute to the social problems of urban growth. Finally, it must be noted that, whilst there are substantial social and economic problems in Fijian towns, the towns have played an important role in contributing to social and economic development in the country, migration has played a major role in contributing to this development, migrants have usually experienced some benefit from migration and there is minimal evidence of negative rural effects of migration. In the circumstances it is probably reasonable to conclude that, to a greater extent than in most other countries in the South Pacific region, the benefits of migration may have outweighed the disadvantages. Nevertheless, in the 1960s, the perceived movement from rural to urban areas first became a matter of concern, since it occurred at a time when the unemployment rate appeared to be increasing and when the growth of the service sector appeared to be skewing the benefits of development towards the urban formal sector (and also to a few rural hotel sites) whilst the agricultural sector was relatively static (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:4). Since then concern over excessive urbanisation has tended to focus less on economic issues (e.g. foregone rural production) than on the welfare of the migrants themselves (cf. Keith-Reid, 1983) and also on the social problems of urbanization. In Fiji the particular problems of migration are principally experienced in urban areas; they may nevertheless have mainly rural solutions.

Conclusion

Of the countries in the South Pacific region Fiji is the second largest in population, the fourth largest in land area and was one of the earliest countries to become independent. In many respects it is one of the most diverse in the region. In post-independence years the economy has made some progression from an overwhelming dependence on sugar to a more diversified

economic structure. Nevertheless the continued dependence of Fiji on two volatile sources of foreign exchange, tourism and sugar exports, still points to the urgent need for a more diversified export base (Ward and Proctor, 1980:424) but also to a greater degree of self-reliance to counteract dependence on exports. Given the constraints to any expansion of manufacturing (and, at the moment, mining), opportunities for diversification, which may also reduce import dependence, are most likely to be found in the primary sector, alongside the more extensive processing of the products of primary industry. The current Development Plan is directed towards some degree of diversification, especially into such high value agricultural crops as cocoa and coffee, alongside an expansion of fisheries and forestry and also food crops (where there has been some success), but the historic importance of sugar, the massive amount of capital invested in the industry and the establishment of long-term marketing arrangements indicate that only a very dramatic downturn in world sugar prices or severe hazards will encourage effective diversification away from sugar. However the transition from copra to yaqona in parts of the country indicates that structural transformation is possible and that farmers are price-responsive; moreover flexibility is greater than in many other parts of the South Pacific region because social controls on production are fewer in both Fijian and Indian communities. Issues of land tenure are however likely to remain of importance. Overall the Fijian economy has withstood reasonably well a difficult international economic situation, because of its greater diversification compared with other countries in the region. Nevertheless the extent to which the economy grows will depend considerably on the future of sugar, continued diversification and the progress of the several public corporations.

The success of economic development also depends on the slowing of population growth. Despite the early successes of the family planning programme and attempts to develop a growth centre policy in opposition to population concentrations in the Suva-Nausori corridor, 'population policy itself is relatively under-developed in Fiji, partly due to under-utilisation of data and fragmentation of data collection and partly due to political and policy ambivalence' (UNFPA, 1981:61). The three major population objectives of the current development plan include not only the reduction of fertility but also the reduction of urban migration and unemployment; success with the second and third of these aims depends to a great extent on the generation of rural employment opportunities (op cit:62). Progress in the implementation of family planning appears to have ended: 'a firm and continuing commitment of the various levels of the political leadership in support of the national population growth rate objective of the Family Planning Programme in Fiji would be helpful to the Programme. That does not seem to be the case at the moment' (op cit:99). Whilst population growth may not be as severe as in other countries in the region the necessity to maintain a family planning programme at an effective level is nevertheless critical.

The national development objectives of Fiji's present Eighth Development Plan (DP8) include the promotion of 'a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development' which can be translated into a concern for regional disparities and especially the fact that the bulk of paid employment is concentrated in the greater Suva area (whilst job creation is not keeping pace with the expansion of the labour force so that urban unemployment is a serious problem). Consequently DP8 marks a significant departure from previous planning efforts since it is the first plan to contain a specific regional development dimension. Moreover one chapter of the regional volume is devoted to internal migration since it is

argued that 'the Government may be in a position to influence the national pattern of migration in accordance with national objectives' (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980:11) so that the regional growth centre policy can be implemented. However the poverty of the migration data has resulted in a number of conclusions that are made in that chapter being unsupported by the evidence, for example that 'migration appears to be essentially involuntary' (op cit:10) or that 'classical economic prescriptions where migration is viewed as a rational response to changing economic opportunities and where the individual behaves so as to maximise are clearly inapplicable' (op cit:11) have no basis in existing data. The underlying basis of a major element in Fijian development planning is not therefore adequately supported by existing analyses of migration in Fiji.

The principal limitations to a thorough examination of population change and migration in Fiji are the general lack of recent population data since the 1976 census and the limited potential for the analysis of migration data, which is based on provinces rather than smaller areas, and especially urban areas and parts of urban areas. There has been little recording of population trends since 1976 hence it is principally only because of the absence of particular evidence that demonstrates otherwise, that it has been suggested both that the pattern of rural-urban migration has been essentially unchanged since 1976 and that it has declined in extent. The limitations of analyses based primarily on provincial data are apparent; moreover whilst the most important human groupings in Fiji are ethnic, even the census category 'Indian' conceals important differences between Muslim and Hindu and North and South Indian and Gujarati (cf. Walsh, 1976:177). The extent to which these differences have particular effects on development trends is therefore unknown.

Despite the significance of rural-urban migration in Fiji little work has been done on the impact of internal migration, especially in the rural areas, or on the factors influencing migration, other than in occasional surveys by academics (and, in particular, the detailed studies in the eastern islands). Consequently there is a general recognition of the lack of good data on migration, especially at small area level, although in part this may be rectified by data collected by the Fiji Employment and Development Mission. Similarly only one major study of emigration from Fiji has been made (Jones, 1976) and this was based essentially on a period of ten months in 1975; as the author herself concluded this had some limitations and a much longer period of study was required before more definitive conclusions on geographical origins, destinations and skill losses could be made. Overall therefore not only is census data somewhat outdated and, in many respects, lacking in detail but it is not complemented by other kinds of studies, at national or local level. Where migration has been studied in detail, as in the eastern islands, its significance is apparent and although there is little evidence that, outside urban areas elsewhere, migration is a critical social or economic issue there is little data to test this assumption.

Whilst the amount of data being generated through the Fiji Employment and Development Mission and the 1982 Employment/Unemployment Study is considerable, and reviews a number of important areas relating to migration and employment it is apparent that there are a number of equally important areas, especially relating to migration, that may not be evaluated in such detail. An important area for analysis is the determination of the characteristics of the unemployed, in terms of duration of unemployment, work experience, level of education, skill training and racial origin. This could usefully be accomplished through a tracer study of both graduates and

drop outs of secondary schools, in the past two or three years; that survey might be expected to provide valuable information on migration, employment and especially the potential for self-employment. In terms of international migration there has been little work since 1974 on the relation between the emigration of skills and the existence of a stock of such skills; similarly there is little real understanding of the rationale for international migration. Although both these areas of data would be of considerable value and have been recommended for examination (Knowles, 1981) it is probable that such a survey of international migration would be difficult to mount for a number of reasons.

For a country of the size and complexity of Fiji, and with a regional university in Suva, there has been remarkably little analysis of various issues related to migration. This is surprising in view of the problems of urbanization, and especially because of the extensive shantytowns of Suva, where there has been only one detailed study (Walsh, 1978) and a number of more superficial reports. However, with the exception of outlying islands where migration has had a substantial impact (although accounts vary over the extent to which this can generally be construed as positive or negative) all the available evidence suggests that migration has not had either a significant social or economic impact in most rural areas, irrespective of whether this migration has been international, national or seasonal, and neither have there been great differences from region to region. Compared with almost all other countries in the South Pacific region, migration although affecting most people in Fiji, has not resulted in shifts in the trajectory of national development or been significantly affected by them and consequently, despite urban problems and a clear skill drain, has rarely been regarded as a critical problem. The nature of urban problems suggests that overall internal migration is important since migration has made a major contribution to the slow shift of population from rural to urban areas but, outside the eastern islands, it would be more difficult to repeat the conclusion that 'changes in natural trends due to declining mortality, the impact of the family planning programme and fertility decline from other causes, are overlain completely by migration' (Brookfield, 1980b:185). The most important effect of migration therefore is the transfer of population away from rural areas, where agricultural production if not productivity is likely to have fallen, to urban areas where there is considerable and growing unemployment (although not necessarily of new migrants and, if the experience of Port Moresby is typical (see Country Report No.14), perhaps less of new migrants than of more established urban residents, including those born in town). Again, however, this may not be necessarily viewed as a problem; thus Ward and Proctor referring to urban job expansion and the growth of the tourist industry in the 1970's note that these 'helped draw people out of the rural areas, thus providing the opportunity for some of those who are left to obtain larger areas of land' (Ward and Proctor, 1980:426; cf. Chandra 1981:353-4). It is this spatial dimension of migration, coupled with an orientation to rural development and self-reliance, that is the focus of migration-related development policy in Fiji.

The current Development Plan concludes that existing population changes,

'run counter to the conventional wisdom that the rural areas, and especially the islands of the Eastern Division, are generating migrants in vast quantities, and are suffering from severe depopulation as a consequence. This is not the case. It is undoubtedly true as a generality that

some, but only some, urban areas are growing faster than rural areas, but equally, some rural areas are growing faster than (the smaller) urban centres. It is not valid to talk of a general urbanization 'problem' and 'rural depopulation' in Fiji. High rates of urban growth are limited to Navua, Sigatoka, Lautoka and Suva. Of these, it is only in Suva that the rate of growth itself is causing problems characteristically defined as 'urban' unemployment, housing and provision of utilities and services' (Fiji, Central Planning Office, 1980, Volume 2:10).

Similarly Chandra records that recent figures, 'do not indicate massive rural to urban population displacement; neither do they confirm the belief of many people in Fiji, including the government, that there are hordes of people migrating from rural areas to urban centres... In fact, it appears that the flow of migrants from island provinces has decreased in recent years' (1981:352-353).

Whilst there is an increasing consensus that rural-urban migration is not large and may be decreasing there has continued to be a belief that migration is both excessive and undesirable and hence

'should be curbed, if not reversed. In fact, there are frequent calls for repatriation of the former rural population (especially offenders) and for tightening of rural social organization to exercise a much greater control on rural population, including its mobility. In many instances, government actions appear to respond by attempting to lower the visibility of problems in urban areas by shifting the onus to rural areas, where the problems persist but are less noticeable. In other words, various short and medium term solutions reflect strategies of political survival and retentions of power rather than sound management of the development process. The dynamics of urbanization should be seen in the context of the society at large, and as long as urban areas have a vastly higher standard of living compared to rural areas, and as long as rural areas are deprived of some of the basics of comfortable living, people will migrate from rural areas to urban areas, and maintain the tempo of urbanization' (Chandra, 1981:354).

Whilst Chandra does not outline or discuss the apparently unsuccessful 'various short and medium term solutions' he does suggest that policy formation must be related to the fundamentally economic rationale of migration and hence must lie in redressing the balance between rural and urban areas, not only to slow migration but to enable rural development. The implication that planners, the government and other interested parties are effectively carrying out the wrong (unspecified) policies in response to their wrong perception of the migration situation serves to draw attention away from a situation of urban population problems in a national economy principally dependent on agricultural production. Policies directed towards slowing migration may have been misconceived but they are not inappropriate.

Whilst the possibility of directly legislating against migration can be readily discounted in a Fijian context (e.g. Bakker, 1977:45) some particular forms of decentralisation have been suggested; for example, in the mid-1970s, the establishment of country taverns was argued by the government to be a useful policy that would be a significant check on urban drift (Kumar, 1975:23). More recently the Fiji Chamber of Commerce has proposed the opening of four rural camps, each accommodating 500 young men, to convert them in three years from urban unemployed to farmers (Anon, 1982:36). Otherwise, as elsewhere in the region, there have been repeated calls to send unemployed youths back to their home villages, usually following increases in the crime rate, pleas which have generally been ignored (Monsell-Davis, 1980:16) so that there have never been any direct policies in opposition to migration in Fiji (since colonial times). Few have been seriously considered and there has been little powerful opposition to shantytowns, a somewhat different situation from that in other parts of the region.

As elsewhere in the South Pacific region the population has become more concentrated in the centre, especially on Viti Levu and around Suva, and outer island populations, especially on Rotuma and in the Lau group, have declined. Increasingly these urban population concentrations have given rise to problems which are viewed as having rural roots. Thus, for example, apart from the general problems associated with urban poverty, the increasing preference of ethnic groups for particular urban areas, and increasing concentrations of particular groups within particular parts of urban areas, suggests that rapid population growth in the major towns could intensify racial disharmony:

'Urban growth can only be restrained by development in Fijian rural areas, directed growth in minor towns and, most important of all, by easier access to and more secure tenure of land for Indians in over-populated rural areas' (Walsh, 1976:177).

Thus Walsh views the solution to urban problems as being found in rural development (and points primarily to Ba as an area of Indian over-population) and it is apparent that the potential for rural development is greatest on the two main islands. Given the difficulty of achieving economic and social development in the smaller, remote islands, emigration is unsurprising; however in the past decade it has prompted the government not only to support a detailed UNESCO/UNFPA survey of population and environmental issues in the eastern islands (Brookfield, with Bedford 1977) but also to strongly emphasize the regional component in development planning in anticipation that the socio-economic situation in remote areas may be improved and emigration reduced. Yet as current migration reduces population numbers there so the incentive to improve conditions declines and it is significant that the current Fiji Employment and Development Mission has focused entirely on national issues and excluded a regional perspective, in the belief both that even the poorest regions are not greatly worse off than the richer, central regions, that emigration is not a critical issue and that the costs of achieving significant improvements in development in remote islands are considerable.

A range of agricultural, fisheries and other development possibilities do exist in areas like the eastern islands (including Taveuni) which would enable diversification away from copra; such possibilities include maize, chillies, oil palm, cocoa and tea, all of which have been recommended in earlier times (cf. Brookfield with Bedford, 1977:300-302), and perhaps new crops like vanilla. The larger islands like Ovalau, Koro and Gau, alongside Kadavu and Beqa (and the upper Rewa) could become the main fresh-food supply

zone of Suva (op cit:331), whereas on the smaller Lau islands coconut production is likely to remain dominant. Yet fishing, forestry and handicraft production each have potential in some areas. To achieve such possibilities necessitates improved physical infrastructure, agricultural extension and pricing policies, in difficult situations where population and land resources are small and scattered to the extent that substantial investment in social facilities and the provision of employment opportunities cannot be made throughout the whole country, especially since the returns to such investment are likely to be greater in almost every way when they are made elsewhere. Significantly Development Bank loans continue to favour urban areas and in the past few years the most rapid growth of formal sector employment has been in the Suva-Nausori corridor. However,

in Fiji as elsewhere in the world there is a growing acceptance of the principle that marine services to outlying islands should be regarded as an extension of mainland transport facilities in which public investment is almost everywhere normal. The parallel principle that the costs of disadvantageous locations should be eased by redistribution of resources from the centre is as yet less widely accepted, but it is becoming policy in Fiji, and we urge that it should become a principle of planning for the future' (Brookfield with Bedford, 1977:336).

Development policy has, on the evidence of the current plan, moved in this direction and is attempting to provide outlying island groups with the opportunity to move from a situation of dependence or even 'internal colonialism' to one of contributing to national income and welfare. In this respect at least the situation of the eastern islands, with powerful political links to Suva, and the support of copra subsidies and hurricane relief funds, may have been able to secure more appropriate development assistance than either other outlying Fijian island groups or other 'outlying' groups elsewhere in the South Pacific region. Even so there are some small remote islands where there can be little more than token support for development activities and here it may be more appropriate to provide assistance for future resettlement (Brookfield with Bedford, 1977:339). There is nothing sacrosanct about the present distribution of populated islands.

Much of the debate around decentralisation, regional development and the future of outer islands revolves around the potential of agricultural (and fisheries) development in contributing to an increase in employment and incomes in areas away from the Suva-Nausori corridor. Thus when a United Nations report on regional development concluded,

'most of the new employment opportunities over the coming years will absolutely require to be located in the existing urban areas. That is they will be located in the existing urban areas or they will not 'exist at all' (cited by Brookfield, 1977:318)

they were castigated for their negative approach to the problems of rural employment following the UNESCO/UNFPA study of the development potential of the eastern islands of Fiji which urged 'that efforts be made to locate a rising proportion of new employment opportunities in the rural areas' with incomes and living standards comparable with those available in town (ibid). Reflecting on such divergences of opinion, a result of variations in practice and philosophy and producing issues for politicians to consider, it is apparent that there are substantial variations in the manner of approach to development, and therefore the recommendations that follow, to the extent

not only that a clear and consistent choice of strategy is made extremely difficult but also that whatever is written now may be viewed in little more than a decade as 'stranded by events and belonging to an entirely different period in the history of ideas about planning in developing countries' (Brookfield, 1977:288). In the five years since then the pendulum has again swung away from regional development (a concept which in Fiji has significant ethnic connotations as the principal Indian cultural centre is Ba and the centre of Fijian culture in Lomaiviti and, to a lesser extent, Lau) on the grounds of its costs in administrative manpower, recent perceptions that income inequalities and hence migration are both less substantial than feared, the recognition that there is little that might be decentralised outside Viti Levu and that the principal inequalities in Fiji are not spatial inequalities (J. Cameron, pers. comm. 1983). To add greater complexity it is apparent that basic and deep-reaching decisions are political, and that political conflict in Fiji is as pervasive as it is elsewhere in the South Pacific region,

'no ministry, no department and few individuals are able to perform in a manner unambiguously committed to one development strategy or the other. In every area of life in Fiji observed activity is an outcome of a struggle between very different views of what Fiji should look like in the future' (Cameron, 1983b).

Again, as elsewhere, the process of development is thus a fusion of compromises which has enabled a more satisfactory outcome in Fiji than in countries where the choices are fewer but the decisions more demanding.

As elsewhere in Melanesia, there are also considerable possibilities for small-town growth, as regional centres and thus alternatives to Suva. Walsh has suggested that 'urban growth can only be restrained by development in Fijian rural areas, directed growth in minor towns and, most important of all, by easier access to and more secure tenure of land for Indians in over-populated areas' (Walsh, 1976:176). Just as the rationale of migration is complex so too are the combination of influences that may reduce its extent. Bakker also accepts this view and argues that if not only the small towns, but also townships like Navua, Tavua, Vatukoula, Rakiraki, Korovou and Savusavu, received their share of secondary and tertiary activities migration might be further reduced (1977:45). This however must be regarded as over-optimistic; there is no real prospect of independent economic growth in anything other than a small number of the larger regional centres. Relatively recent plans to decentralise industry related to rural produce, such as the proposed coconut oil processing factory at Savusavu, were abandoned in the face of strong opposition which pointed to lower profitability and a diseconomy of scale (Walsh, 1982:42). Whilst the decentralisation of economic activities may be hard to achieve there is scope for the decentralisation of some social welfare activities and for the improvement of basic facilities, including transport services, in rural areas. For example, a greater number of rural high schools would slow out-migration and enable greater experience and retention of local lifestyles. The improvement of welfare services and transport services would necessarily promote some economic growth. The evidence available, especially from other Melanesian countries, however offers little real prospect of substantial urban development in outer regions.

Whilst the issue of development policies for the eastern islands (and other remote islands and groups) is a complex one and depends on a range of political as much as economic issues, it is readily apparent not only that there are very substantial rural development opportunities in most rural

areas of Fiji, and especially on the two main islands, but that if these opportunities can be realised then both rural-urban migration can be slowed and the possibilities of developing a system of small growth centres increased. Two clear and different examples of this are the Seaqaqa sugar scheme in Vanua Levu and the tourist developments on the Coral Coast of Viti Levu where, in the case of the single village of Deuba, it was simply concluded,

'If this account of the changes in the economy over the last thirty years has a lesson it is that the siting of development projects in rural areas is one positive means of tackling the problem of migration to urban areas' (Barnard, 1974:16).

After the war there was a widespread labour shortage in Fiji and Fijians generally undertook wage employment intermittently or seasonally rather than on a permanent basis. Whilst there were some cultural reasons for this, the principal reason for the persistent labour shortage was put very succinctly in the Fijian Department of Labour's report of 1946:

'Those employers who have difficulty in satisfying their labour requirements are inclined to blame 'modern tendencies' but the real explanation is that the prices of agricultural produce have risen more than wages have risen, and the land therefore tends to draw workers away from industries employing wage labour. Indeed it may be said that the Colony's land reserves afford to workers a considerable measure of protection against exploitation by employers (quoted in Stanner, 1953:217-18).

That is, the availability of adequate land and reasonable prices for cash crops were adequate deterrents to rural-urban migration. Indeed a series of subsequent studies (e.g. Nair, 1980; Tubuna, 1985; Watters, 1969b) show both that if cash-earning opportunities are available in or near village areas then Fijians do return even after spending long periods in urban areas and that migration is less from areas of greater economic opportunity. For Indians the opportunities to return are more limited as access to land is poorer, hence the issue of access to land is critical.

Although it has been argued that,

'Rather than regard rural-urban migration as a deleterious process that is steadily undermining the cultural vitality of the villages and threatening their very existence, we should see it as a major characteristic of the process of modernization and seize upon it as a stimulus towards industrial expansion in the cities' (Watters, 1969b:191)

it was essentially argued in a context that gave equal priority to rural development. Thus

'the only effective form of development is to capitalise on the drift to the towns by stimulating industrial expansion in the cities, while in the countryside...cash cropping must be promoted on a scale sufficient to ensure sizeable money returns' (op cit:193-4).

Otherwise development strategies have generally given precedence to rural development, at least in formal presentations. It has been strongly argued that the principal solution to excessive rural-urban migration 'is to be found in tackling the problem and its source in the rural areas' since

'total expenditure on rural development is generally meagre in relation to the proportion of the population living in the countryside' (Hardaker, 1976:19). This emphasis on rural development, not only to minimise migration but to increase food and export crop production, has been emphasized by Hardaker, in the current Development Plan (with its stress on regional development) and especially, in a more elaborate form, by the Eastern Islands study. There is therefore an effective consensus on the necessity for an intensification of rural development to meet national goals.

A critical issue in rural development is access to and availability of land. 'There is a comfortable myth among many people of all races in Fiji that there is equality of access to resources in Fijian villages - and yet Oscar Spate pointed out over twenty years ago that there is a disastrously uneven distribution of land in many communities' (Monsell-Davis, 1980:17). The conclusions that Spate made on Taveuni (1959:12-13) have been reiterated in other parts of Fiji including the Lau islands (Knapman and Walter, 1980) and again for Taveuni where land distribution is extremely unequal (Brookfield, 1979b); inequality may be much more widespread although there are few recent detailed socio-economic studies that comment on these issues. As Spate's study demonstrates these issues are not new. As early as 1960-61 Nayacakalou recorded Fijians in Suva arguing that they had no intention of returning home because of the lack of land and opportunity there (1963:34) indicating that for some, even two decades ago, the prospects for rural development may already have been limited in some areas. But access to land is not the only issue in rural development; attitudes to agricultural employment are also crucial. Thus even though urban unemployment has increased in the urban areas migration from the eastern islands has also increased. It has been argued that this is essentially because agriculture there and elsewhere in the Pacific has been losing status and prestige (Bedford, 1981) but, perhaps especially in the eastern islands, that agricultural incomes may be small so that even where there is potential for development 'the inhabitants do not necessarily wish to exploit this potential' (Bedford, 1979:9). Moreover, as the complexities of socio-economic structure even on quite small islands like Taveuni demonstrate, homogeneous rural development policies are likely to be of little value.

In a relatively small economy like that of Fiji formal employment cannot be generated at a rate equivalent to population increase; this implies both that population increase is too rapid and that development strategies must focus on more village-based smallholder agricultural systems. Despite the 'strong urban bias of Fiji's current thinking, and especially that of its rural population' (Brookfield and Bedford, 1980:217) permanent out-migration from rural areas is not necessarily a preferred migration strategy hence there is much scope for rural development. Development overall demands some movement towards self-reliance,

'If the people of peripheral countries like Fiji are to retain what remains of their indigenous cultures, to resist being synthesized into an expanding world cultural system and to determine their own progress, they must first gain communal control of the material basis of life and culture - that is of all the production system. This initially means increasing self-sufficiency and economic independence and decreasing dependent economic relations with world capitalism. But this control must be integrated with the critical

re-discovery and re-vitalisation of Fijian history and culture, so that, for example, products made by local labour from local resources are appreciated over alien products' (Peet, 1980:113-114).

A self-reliant development strategy entails a more selective approach to external influence of all kinds, economic and social (cf. Seers, 1977), and necessarily results in development strategies becoming oriented to rural activities. Despite the problems of achieving a greater degree of self-reliance there seems little real alternative to a future of economic and cultural dependence that would result from fluctuating strategies, alternating between different ideologies and different internal and external sources of support, which are a function of the democratic process. However, given the constraints of demands for the prestige associated with modernisation, westernisation and urban-industrial development and the difficulties attached to establishing rural projects (which are rarely prestigious) and where concerted comprehensive policy-formation in loosely structured, democratic states is already difficult to achieve, prescriptions of a single-minded self-reliance are unlikely to be taken in full. A better interdependence, derived from regional trade, improved commodity prices and so on, is more likely to be appropriate. Nevertheless the size and diversity of Fiji, and its relatively low population density, suggest that rural development strategies have a greater chance of success in Fiji than in most parts of the South Pacific region; the relative success of policies to increase local food production and consumption demonstrates this. Overall therefore the solutions to the problems of migration, urbanization and inequality are most likely to be found in the rural areas.

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Country Reports

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In addition to the country reports a separate report '*Migration, Employment and Development in the South Pacific*' provides a general review of the project and the principal conclusions drawn from the country reports.