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PLURALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SUVA CITY, FIJI.

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PLURALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE

IN SUVA CITY, FIJI

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to examine some theoretical approaches to pluralism, apply a modified version of one scheme to the analysis of Fijian society, and summarize the findings with reference to this modified approach.

It is generally acknowledged that pluralism is an obstacle to nation building in newly developing countries which comprise a diversity of peoples or sections. Most definitions of pluralism require more careful specification--although a recent scheme suggested by Leo A. Despres seems to provide at least some empirical characteristics. Despres views pluralism in terms of the extent of sectional separation in local and national spheres of social activity. He applied his framework to a comparison of only two sections, each socioculturally homogeneous, in a society already characterized by a high degree of pluralism. This led to a lack of explicitness in explaining why and how the society was directed towards pluralism. The present study attempts to examine the extent of sectional separation or pluralism, but the main concern is with the factors associated with its perseverance or transformation. The polar concepts of pluralization-depluralization is used to describe the increasing or diminishing salience of sectional ties and organization. Suva, the capital of newly independent Fiji, provides an ideal research site as it contains a number of predominate sections and appears to be in the intermediate stages of this continuum.

The approach in this study is socio-historical. Qualitative and quantitative data from Government archives, local agencies, participant observation, informal and structured interviews in nine residential areas and four work settings in Suva provided the baseline for examining

pluralism and social change.

The study begins with an outline of some changes in the social characteristics of the society in its larger aspects. It then goes on to describe the complex interplay of such factors as status or "class," land tenure, and sectional affiliation which account for the present residential distribution of sections in the city. Differences in patterns of urban migration and settlement are explained in terms of the distinct types of situations and circumstances European and non-European migrants are involved in. Those common to non-Europeans or Fijians and Indians are illustrated in several case studies.

The next three chapters deal with occupational distribution, working situations, and the role of trade unions in depluralization. Localization of the workforce, an increasing rate of Fijian and Indian rural-urban migration, and the predominance of these sections in the lowest occupational scales help explain the assertion of status-based interests in recent years. Evidence is provided to show the operation of status or "class" instead of sectional social relationships in urban work situations involving Fijians and Indians. Nevertheless, it is argued that economic activities are still characterized by pluralism, and sectional affiliation remains an important principle of organization in so far as the emerging occupational structure coincides with sectional divisions (as between high status European expatriates and low status Fijian and Indian workers), and so long as economic activities are interdependent with other sets of activities characterized by pluralism (e.g., politics). The interaction of sectional and status-based principles of organization help explain the ambiguous character of social relationships in the work setting and the forms of stereotyping described here and in a subsequent chapter.

The above argument is extended in the remaining chapters. In educational activities, for example, sectional separation is shown to persist at the organizational level despite shared experiences and goals--although increasing diversity within the Indian organization may be expected to encourage further depluralization. Another variation of the lack of cohesion among Indians is described in the chapter on religious activities. Next, the test of pluralism is applied to the following spheres of activity: voluntary associations, inter-marriage, and social contacts in the urban system. The data that emerges from this discussion support the earlier notion of the significance of shared socio-economic status in depluralization. There follows a discussion of the role of intra-sectional divisions in providing ties of identity between sections in the political field. An analysis of political attitudes and voting behavior illustrates the varying influences of socio-economic status and sectional-affiliation. Although status-based interests provide an alternative choice in political action they have presently a limited range of political consequences, in part, because the election system (described in chapter 12) continues to emphasize sectional-affiliation.

Pluralism in Suva cannot be understood simply in sectional terms since issues of status, and other types of differentiation generate diversity within the Fijian and Indian sections, reduce the chances for one section to act against the other, and provide opportunities for cross-sectional alliances. The extent of intra-sectional divisions is thus an important intervening variable in the pluralism continuum. The status factor is a complex phenomenon in the continuum for it modifies and is modified by Fijian-Indian

differentiation, while emphasizing the white-black cleavage as the dominant one in the society.

Future studies of pluralism in cities must pay particular attention to the role of intervening sections, and to all types of differentiation both between and within sections. The present definition of pluralism, although based on the notion of sectional differentiation, can be useful if the measures used for ascertaining it is also used to measure the extent of cohesion within sections.

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CHAPTER 1

The Concept of Pluralism

This study examines the subject of pluralism as it applies to the major city of a newly independent country. It is imperative therefore in this introduction to the concept of pluralism, evaluate the alternative ways in which it has been used, and introduce a revised approach to the empirical study of the subject. Then to be discussed are the selection of an appropriate locality for research and the techniques and procedures of the investigation.

Approaches to the Study of Pluralism

The term pluralism was first introduced by J.S. Furnivall in the 1930's to describe a particular state of affairs in colonized non-European countries, notably in South-East Asia. According to Furnivall the characteristic feature in such countries is social division among collectivities. It is generally brought about through historical circumstances such as contact between European foreigners and natives. Furnivall identifies the resulting form of social organization as pluralism, and he seeks to explain it as a function of racial and cultural differences. While he fails to develop an adequate theoretical basis for his subject, his emphasis on the divisive elements in such countries suggests the need for a rounded alternative approach to those theories which overstress the extent of unity and social solidarity between collectivities in a society. In this respect, Furnivall was perhaps the first to suggest a somewhat new vantage point from which to examine the bases of social division and integration in multisectional societies created by European

industrial expansion.¹

The subject of pluralism has a current and important perspective in the study of newly independent countries which comprise a diversity of peoples. This is because many of them provide excellent examples of pluralism as Furnivall describes it. Some investigators have introduced their own terms for describing essentially the same phenomenon. Among them are Little's "social dualism," Ratnam's "communalism," Epstein's "ethnic particularism," and Wallerstein's ethnicity."² Others, who have been more specifically concerned with Furnivall's initial formulation, have made fundamental alterations to it. A symposium on pluralism, held in the spring of 1966, provides a good example.

Ali Mazrui, a member of the symposium, offers the broadest definition when he suggests that pluralism is quite simply a diversity of peoples entering into competitive relationships with each other. This is the way he views pluralism in a society such as Uganda:

In its diversity of tribal and racial groups, we would regard Uganda as a case of ethnic pluralism. In its variety of systems of life, we would regard it as an instance of cultural pluralism. In the competitive relationship between Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam in the life of the country, we would attribute

¹ J.S. Furnivall, Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1939, pp. 446-469. See also, J.S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1948).

² As with the concept of pluralism, these terms have rarely been empirically tested and systematically defined. See M.G. Smith, "Some Developments in the Analytic Framework of Pluralism," in Leo Kuper and M.G. Smith, eds., Pluralism in Africa, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), p. 418.

religious pluralism to the total society. In its multiparty system, however unstable, the country had for a while maintained competitive pluralistic institutions....³

Thus, for Mazrui, any condition of extreme segmentation is correlated with pluralism. His definition is interesting because it draws attention to the varied dimensions of pluralism. But in order for his concept to be useful it must have some empirical validity. Unfortunately, Mazrui does not provide any measure of "extreme segmentation."

Pierre van den Berghe, on the other hand, defines pluralism in specifically structural terms, as, when each socially, and in some cases culturally, distinct group in a society has its own set of voluntary associations, economic activities, and so on. For van den Berghe, pluralism may exist even though the social groups share the same general culture. Thus, to him cultural difference is not an important defining criterion of pluralism.⁴

M.G. Smith prefers to differentiate between cultural, social, and structural pluralism. Cultural pluralism refers to differences of cultural forms such as language and religion. Social and structural pluralism relates more specifically to the structural level of analysis. Social pluralism is present when a society is divided into fully corporate groups (in contrast with loosely knit aggregates), usually on a racial basis, and each is engaged in mutually exclusive patterns of activity. Moreover, group membership is the principle upon which

³ Ali Mazrui, "Pluralism and National Integration," in Kuper and Smith, op. cit., p. 333.

⁴ Pierre van den Berghe, "Pluralism and the Polity: A Theoretical Exploration," in Kuper and Smith, op. cit., p. 67.

social relationships between such groups (when they occur) are patterned and organized.⁵ Structural pluralism, according to Smith, represents the most extreme type of pluralism. It refers to differential access of corporate group members to the institutions of the public domain, for example, education, commerce, and government. To this definition he adds a number of characteristics frequently associated with it, such as social inequality, segregation, and domination by a numerical minority.

Smith also emphasizes the independent variability of the three types of pluralism. While the three tend to go together cultural and social pluralism may vary independently, and both may be independent from structural pluralism. For example, cultural and social pluralism may not entail structural pluralism as in the case when socially and culturally distinct groups participate uniformly as citizens in the total structure of the society. Conversely, structural pluralism may prevail despite increasing social interaction, friendly relations, and cultural homogeneity. But Smith, like van den Berghe, places a great deal of importance on structural pluralism, and even suggests that it may promote and generate cultural and social pluralism.⁶

⁵ If I read Smith correctly, this type of social relationship is similar to that which has been termed "categorical" by J.C. Mitchell and others. As Mitchell observes, "The most striking type of categorical relationship is that between races....The pattern of behaviour between races, because of the social distance between them, becomes categorical. Thus any person recognized as a member of a particular race by a member of another race is expected, on first contact, to behave in a standardized way." J.C. Mitchell, "Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies," in M. Banton, ed., The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, (London: A.S.A. Monographs, No. 4, 1966), p. 53.

⁶ M.G. Smith, op. cit., pp. 433-449.

Much of Smith's discussion, like that of others in the symposium, is of an ideological character. This derives from the fact that most specialists like Smith tend to assume much about the subject of pluralism on a purely a priori basis. A recent study by Leo Despres provides a notable exception.⁷ To the best of my knowledge Despres provides the only empirically applicable scheme so far available for the study of pluralism. But like most pioneer studies it raises a whole series of questions which are left for subsequent studies to answer. Accordingly, it may be useful to round up this review of the concepts of pluralism by examining the implications of Despres' approach for the present study.

Despres' study is concerned with pluralism in rural Guiana. If I read Despres correctly, the bases of pluralism are to be found in spheres of social activity at both the local and national levels of society. The key empirical questions implied by this assumption seem to be: 1) Are these spheres of social activity mutually exclusive, common, or shared by specified groups?⁸ 2) Why are these spheres of social activity mutually exclusive, common, or shared? 3) What are the

⁷ Leo A. Despres, Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967).

⁸ I prefer to use the terms "mutually exclusive, common, and shared" to refer to Despres' "Three empirical questions (which) serve to direct our attention to the data in terms of which the integration of...sections can be ascertained. With respect to each sphere of institutional activity we may ask, Is the structure of the institutional activity valid only for particular groups? (mutually exclusive) Is it valid for all groups but modified by some? (common) Or, is the structure of the institutional activity uniformly valid for all groups? (shared)," ibid., p. 23. According to my usage the measurement of pluralism is both qualitative and quantitative.

consequences of participation in (a) mutually exclusive, (b) common, or (c) shared spheres of social activity at both the local and national levels of society? Let us evaluate Despres' study in terms of his approach to these questions.

1) Are these spheres of social activity mutually exclusive, common, or shared by specified groups? Despres begins by attempting to determine the extent of pluralism at the local level of Guianese society. He shows that Indians and Africans are mainly engaged in separate, and mutually exclusive, standardized patterns of social activity such as village economy, religion, and recreation. Only in education and local government is membership common to both. Even so Indians and Africans express distinct preferences and priorities in them. But Despres views the extent of pluralism at the local level, as in itself, of no account. Pluralism, he suggests, attains its most extreme form at the national level of society. Accordingly, he applies the same criteria for determining the extent of pluralism at the local level to national spheres of activity. He shows that in most spheres of wider societal activity (for example, trade unions and political parties) Indians and Africans are separately integrated. To put it another way, the function of trade unions, political parties, and so on, is to link the local activities of Indians and Africans separately at the national level, thus transforming them into relatively autonomous corporate groups, or, to use Despres' term, "national sections." The cooperative movement is the only inclusive activity for Indians and Africans, with both sharing the same preferences and goals. Despres, therefore, concludes that Guiana

is characterized by a high degree of pluralism.⁹

Despres' approach, so far, is instructive for several reasons. Firstly, by treating pluralism as a variable (with specified empirical characteristics, such as the extent of mutually exclusive, common, or shared social activities) it allows the investigator to take cognizance of a great number of situations in which pluralism should be analyzed. Also it does not overemphasize the significance of "cultural" differences. In this respect it is fairly representative of some of the current ideas on the subject which have already been reviewed. A related advantage is that it distinguishes between extreme pluralism or mutually exclusive activities at local and national levels. This analytical distinction is substantively similar to, but more explicit than, the notion of "structural pluralism" advanced by van den Berghe and Smith. Like Smith, Despres apparently gives priority to pluralism in a national context, for he believes that this is where pluralism attains its most extreme form. This has several implications for the present study and I shall describe them later.

2) Why are these spheres of social activity mutually exclusive, common, or shared? In other words, what are the conditions under which these spheres of social activity are likely to become more or less exclusive, common, or shared? Apart from describing the historical foundations of pluralism (for example, colonial policy and practice) Despres' approach to this question is less explicit. For Despres, it appears that pluralism originates in pre-existing pluralism.

⁹ Ibid., p. 175.

Take the following statement for example:

Colonialism still exists in British Guiana. As a consequence, the historical forces which produced Guiana and the events which shaped its character are much too immediate for them not to be dynamic in the present. The extent of pluralism is largely a function of the kinds of colonial institutions that have existed during the past two hundred years or more. In addition, the relationships that exist today between various groups in Guiana are also related to this accumulated experience. There are, in other words, elements of diachronic determinism inherent in the present structure of Guianese society.¹⁰

Since much of Guiana's colonial policy and practice was directed at spheres of wider societal activity Despres emphasizes how, in most cases, one pattern of activity affects another, and how these in turn affect the pattern of activities at the local level. Presumably, the conditions which promote the development of mutually exclusive activity (pluralism) in one field apply equally to other fields.

3) With regard to the direction of social change what are the consequences of participation in (a) shared and common spheres of social activity, and (b) mutually exclusive activities at both the local and national levels of society? As indicated earlier, Despres could find only two fields of activity common to both Indians and Africans at the local level. But despite these being common to both groups Despres insists that distinct preferences and goals are being maintained. This is a valuable contribution to our study because it suggests that inclusive membership, by itself, may be of no account in

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 174.

reducing pluralism. With regard to the national level the cooperative movement is the only field of activity shared by both Indians and Africans. But Despres does not tell us what influence this has, if any, on pluralism because the cooperative movement "is a relatively recent innovation in Guianese society."¹¹ Since most patterns of activity at both levels of Guianese society are not shared, or when they are the data on their significance for social change are not available, the first part of the question is largely unanswered.

What are the consequences of participation in mutually exclusive activities? One major outcome implied in Despres' study is the tendency for sectional hostilities to increase. But this direction of social change is not inevitable. Much depends on the kinds of decisions the country's leaders make. As Despres himself suggests:

...sections do not clash by chance or because their structures express incompatible values. They clash because sectional leaders have decided that something can be achieved by way of making them clash....These patterns, in themselves, are not productive of conflict, but they are capable of being manipulated to form different types of social alignment between groups.¹²

Despres' argument is doubtless admirable; but what he seems to mean is that unless sectional leaders utilize conditions of pluralism to their own political advantage such conditions cannot in themselves explain or predict the direction of social change.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 176.

¹² Ibid., p. 29.

Toward a Revised Empirical Approach to Pluralism

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it would seem that a useful definition of pluralism would describe a societal process rather than a particular state of affairs. But such a process must first be identified before it can be isolated for study. Accordingly, it would seem more meaningful to restrict usage of the term pluralism to a condition of mutually exclusive activities at both the local and national levels of society. This may be contrasted with pluralization which is the process of social activities becoming mutually exclusive, and leading to a state of affairs in which members of a section have more in common with one another than with members of other sections.¹³ Given such distinctness at the national level we may expect the relative presence of national sections.

Since processes are generally reversible we may identify the opposite direction in which spheres of social activity can move in terms of pluralism. They can by becoming more common, and/or shared through a process of uniform incorporation and inclusive membership, lead to a state of affairs in which the common interests of members of different sections are stressed. I shall use the term depluralization to describe this process. Depluralization indicates subjectively the diminishing salience of sectional ties and sectional organization. Also to be

¹³ Following Despres, I prefer to use the term section as a primary referent. It has the advantage over the terms ethnic group and racial group in that it is more free from value-judgement, and can be applied to a much wider variety of groupings. It also avoids any ambiguity that may be associated with the use of the latter terms. For a discussion of the different usages of ethnic and racial group, see van den Berghe, Race and Racism, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 132; and Guy Hunter, South-East Asia: Race, Culture, and Nation, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 7-8.

expected is evidence of intersectional cooperation and personal relationships which cut across sections.

For a more precise analysis of these processes it would be necessary to specify and determine the conditions under which pluralization and depluralization are likely to occur. By conditions of pluralization and depluralization I mean those factors which are likely to influence significantly the expression of pluralism.¹⁴ While an understanding of the historical background is essential as Despres states to a treatment of the present, the conditions of pluralization and depluralization are surely too complex a phenomenon to be reduced to a single factor such as historical experience. In addition to the historical dimension I would include such significant conditions as the spatial distribution of the various sections, the presence of a third section, the degree of heterogeneity within sections, and the emergence of other types of differentiation such as status. These conditions are singled out because Despres' study does not provide us with an extensive treatment of their significance. Later to be described is each of these conditions, and the extent to which each may affect various spheres of social activity are also matters for empirical determination.

In considering some of the consequences of pluralism and depluralization in the context of this study, my differences with Despres stem from our differing purposes. Despres chooses to emphasize

¹⁴ It is reasonable to assume that the conditions under which pluralism is accentuated are also the conditions which may be expected to retard depluralization.

an intervening factor between pluralism and greater diversity, namely the kinds of decisions that leaders make. I prefer to state the matter differently: Do conditions of mutually exclusive activities, especially at the national level, provide fertile soil for the creation of greater pluralism? I think so, mainly because such patterns of activity would tend to transform sectional categories into relatively autonomous corporate groups or national sections. It is not difficult to see why the presence of national sections can hinder the creation of a single, national society. But would an opposite process such as depluralization or the increasing participation by sections in common and shared activities at various levels tend to create broad loyalties and common interests which transcend or modify traditional sectional divisions? This question is not fully answered in Despres' study because Guiana is apparently clustered at the extreme end of the pluralism continuum. A study of societies in the intermediate stages of this continuum should help determine empirically the relative consequences of participation in shared or mutually exclusive spheres of social activity at both the local and national levels. The choice of an appropriate research locality is therefore critical for an examination of these processes.

Suva, Fiji, as a Research Site

The problem with which this study is concerned is pluralism, but the data and much of the analysis derive from fieldwork in Suva, the capital and urban center of Fiji. What advantages accrue from a study of pluralism in the capital of Fiji, a newly independent country? I think the answer to this question can be summarized as

follows:

1) An anti-pluralism drive in favor of national integration appears to be a primary goal of nationalist leaders in many newly independent countries.¹⁵ Two specialists on Fiji, A. Mayer and R.F. Watters, suggest that the country has good prospects for realizing this goal in the near future.¹⁶ In this respect pluralism in Fiji appears to be less severe than in other newly independent countries.¹⁷ It is anticipated that the selection of Fiji as a research locality can provide a better vantage point for discovering evidence not only of mutually exclusive, but also of common and shared, social activities at the local and national levels. In other words, depluralization should be more easily identifiable in Fiji.

2) Suva is the center of Fiji's social, economic, and political life. It therefore provides the researcher with relatively economical and easy access to data on national spheres of social activity. Moreover, every section in Fiji is represented in the capital, and in approximately the same proportion for the nation as a whole.

3) If we want to examine what forms of social activity are needed to link sections with each other it may be useful to examine pluralism in an urban context. Unfortunately, there is an absence of

¹⁵ Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," Clifford Geertz, ed., Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 105-157.

¹⁶ A. Mayer, Indians in Fiji, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 2; R.F. Watters, Koro: Economic Development and Social Change in Fiji, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 185-186.

¹⁷ Cf. Geertz, pp. 112-114.

systematic information on this subject even though several specialists on pluralism insist that such knowledge is essential for a thorough understanding of the phenomenon. One assumption often present in the literature is that the major function of the urban environment in many newly independent countries is to provide the occasion and necessity for all sections to participate in common and shared activities.¹⁸ In the present study I shall treat this as an hypothesis rather than as an assumption.

4) Faced with a multisectional population such as Fiji, specialists have tended to examine only one particular section or some characteristic sphere of social activity thereof.¹⁹ It is hoped in this study that a comparative analysis of the social activities of the multisectional Suva population can add to our awareness of the

¹⁸ Despres, personal communication, June 1971; "Anthropological Theory, Cultural Pluralism, and the Study of Complex Societies," Current Anthropology, Vol. 9, No. 1, (February, 1968), p. 15; L. Broom, "Urbanization and the Plural Society," (in Vera Rubin, ed., Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Carribbean, (New York, 1960), pp. 880-891; L. Kuper, "Sociology: Some Aspects of Urban Plural Societies in Africa," in Robert A. Lystad, ed., The African World: A Survey of Social Research, (New York: Praeger, 1961), pp. 107-130. See also A.L. Epstein, "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa," Current Anthropology, Vol. 8, No. 1, (November, 1967), pp. 275-295.

¹⁹ See, for example, A. Mayer, Peasants in the Pacific: A Study of Fiji Indian Rural Society, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961); Indians in Fiji, op. cit.; R.F. Watters, Koro: Economic Development and Social Change in Fiji, op. cit.; R. Nayathacalou, Leadership Change in an Emergent Society: A Study of Traditional Authority and Modern Leadership in Fiji, (Ph.D dissertation, University of London, 1962).

of the integrative problems in Fiji and other newly independent countries.

Presuming that the usefulness of studying pluralism in Suva, Fiji, has been established, then, let us turn to the question of techniques and procedures of the present investigation.

A Note on Research Procedures

Extensive, quantified data collection can help to objectify anthropological research. In this study an attempt has been made to closely integrate structural interviewing with such standard anthropological techniques as participant observation and key-informant interviewing. The design, administration and processing of interview schedules are discussed below.

Selection of Residential Areas: It was considered essential to select a sufficiently large number of residential areas in Suva to yield reasonably comparable distributions of Europeans, Fijians, and Indians, and persons having selected socio-economic status.²⁰ In the end, nine residential areas were selected in which to conduct the social survey. They differ in respect to such characteristics as per cent of persons who are of high, middle, or low socio-economic status.²¹ Their identifying place names are as follows: Nambua, Jittu, Toorak, Raiwanga, Vatuwanga, Lami, Tamavua, Nasese, and Suva Point. A brief description of each area is presented in Chapter 2. No official residential boundaries exists and it was necessary to determine

²⁰ Education, occupation, annual family income, and car ownership were taken as measures of socio-economic status. "Europeans" comprise all whites, including white Australians and New Zealanders.

²¹ This is shown in Table 2, p. 41.

them arbitrarily.

Selection of the Respondents: The household was used as the sampling unit in our social survey. Following the Fiji Census of 1966, the definition of a household was based on:

...communal eating and housekeeping arrangements. A group of persons constituted a household if they ate together food prepared for them in the same kitchen. Exceptions to this general rule arose in the case of extended Indian family groups where a married son or daughter slept with their spouse and any children they may have had in a house apart from the remainder of the family, yet all shared in the eating and housekeeping arrangements. Provided that the people sleeping apart constituted distinct biological family units every such group was treated as a separate household, but in all other cases, even though persons were dispersed over various houses for sleeping, they were regarded as a single household.²²

A complete list of households in each of the residential areas was compiled and each household was allotted a number. The sample was selected by reference to a table of random numbers. For each residential area, except Raiwanga, an expected sample size of 30% was chosen. With regard to Raiwanga it was decided to use a sample previously established by the School of Social and Economic Studies, University of the South Pacific.

Within each sample household the male head of the household was selected as the respondent. Male heads other than European, Fijian, or Indian, and households containing no male heads were removed from the sample. In order to assure randomness no substitutions

²² Fiji Census of 1966, (Suva: Government Printer, 1966).

were allowed.

A complete breakdown of response rates is presented in Table 1. The sample drawn from each of the nine residential areas totalled 407 households. This constituted approximately a 5% sample of the total number of Suva European, Fijian, and Indian households established by the Fiji Census of 1966. However, the total effective sample, that is the total number of qualified respondents in the sample fully completing their interviews was only 344. This represents 23.6% of the total number of households in each of the nine areas.

Several articles in the local newspaper identified the proposed survey to Suva householders. The objectives of the study and the fact that it was in no way connected with any individual or institution in Fiji were explained. Interviewing provided the primary avenue for the collection of data. It was conducted in the evenings and on weekends when respondents were most likely to be at home. Unqualified respondents, and respondents repeatedly absent from their homes when an interviewer called accounted for most of the loss in completed interviews in all nine residential areas. All the Fijian and Indian respondents were interviewed in the vernacular by persons of similar ancestry.²³ Two Chinese, three Fijian, and two Indian university students assisted in administering the schedules. All of them were familiar with the techniques of survey research having

²³ For a discussion of the problems of interviewing respondents who are of different ancestry than the interviewer, see, Opinion Surveys in Developing Countries, (Unesco, 1963), pp. 14-50.

Table 1
Response Rates

	Nambua	Jittu	Toorak	Raiwanga	Vatuwanga	Lami	Tamavua	Nasese	Suva Pt.	TOTAL
Completed sched.	30	28	21	103	39	24	59	14	26	344
Not eligible*	2	-	8	40	-	1	2	-	3	56
Refused	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	2	7
Total no. of households selected	32	28	29	145	39	25	63	15	31	407
Total no. of households in each area	106	93	96	848	130	83	211	51	104	1,722

* Includes female household heads, absent heads of households, and male household heads other than European, Fijian, or Indian.

previously participated in social surveys conducted by their local university.²⁴ Interview schedules were field edited throughout the period of the survey (October 1971 to January 1972) to ensure reliability and completeness. Prior to the survey potentially significant questions were identified by means of participant observation and key-informant interviewing. The interview schedule was constructed to suit local data and conditions. It was pretested to ascertain local attitudes to the style and content of questions. A sample of the questions included in a revised interview schedule is presented in Appendix A.

²⁴ I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Dr. John Harre and Peter Stone in the Design of the sample. John Samy, Muneshwar Sahardeo, Josephine Loo, Malakai Tawake, Raymond Lee, Filimone, and Gavula Leweniquila assisted in administering the interview schedules.

CHAPTER 2

The Setting

The Dominion

The Dominion of Fiji lies in the western Pacific, 1,100 miles north of New Zealand and 1,500 miles north-east of Australia. It is divided into fourteen provinces with a total land area of 7,055 square miles (Figure 1). The two major islands, Viti Levu (4,010 square miles) and Vanua Levu (2,137 square miles), are extremely mountainous, with narrow strips of fertile land on the coasts and river valleys (Figure 2).

The climate is tropical, and the prevailing winds from the east provide the group with a clear division into wet and dry zones. The dry leeward or northwestern sides of the two major islands which have an average annual rainfall of 70 inches, low humidity, and clear skies, consist of grassland with occasional trees; the windward parts, by contrast, have a rainfall of between 70 inches and 220 inches, and are covered by dense tropical rainforests and cleared areas for farming. Conditions in Suva, the capital, are typical of windward areas. Suva lies in the southeastern province of Rewa, Viti Levu, some 15 miles from the largest river in Fiji, the Rewa. The average annual rainfall in Suva is about 123 inches, most of which falls during the hurricane season between November and April. Humidity is highest during these months. The average temperature is about 76 degrees F., with a mean monthly temperature of 72 degrees F. in July and 80 degrees F. in January.²⁵

²⁵ Fiji Annual Report (Suva: Government Printer, 1969), p. 143.

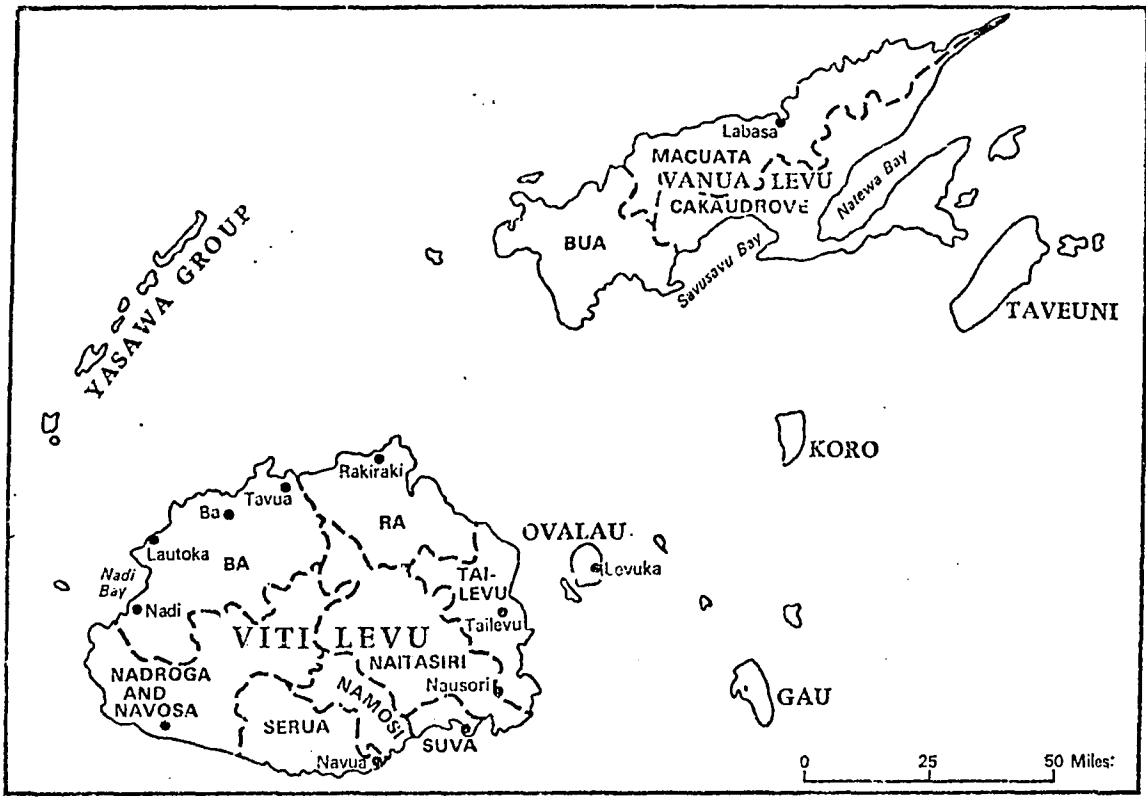


Figure 1*
The Fiji Group, showing Provinces.

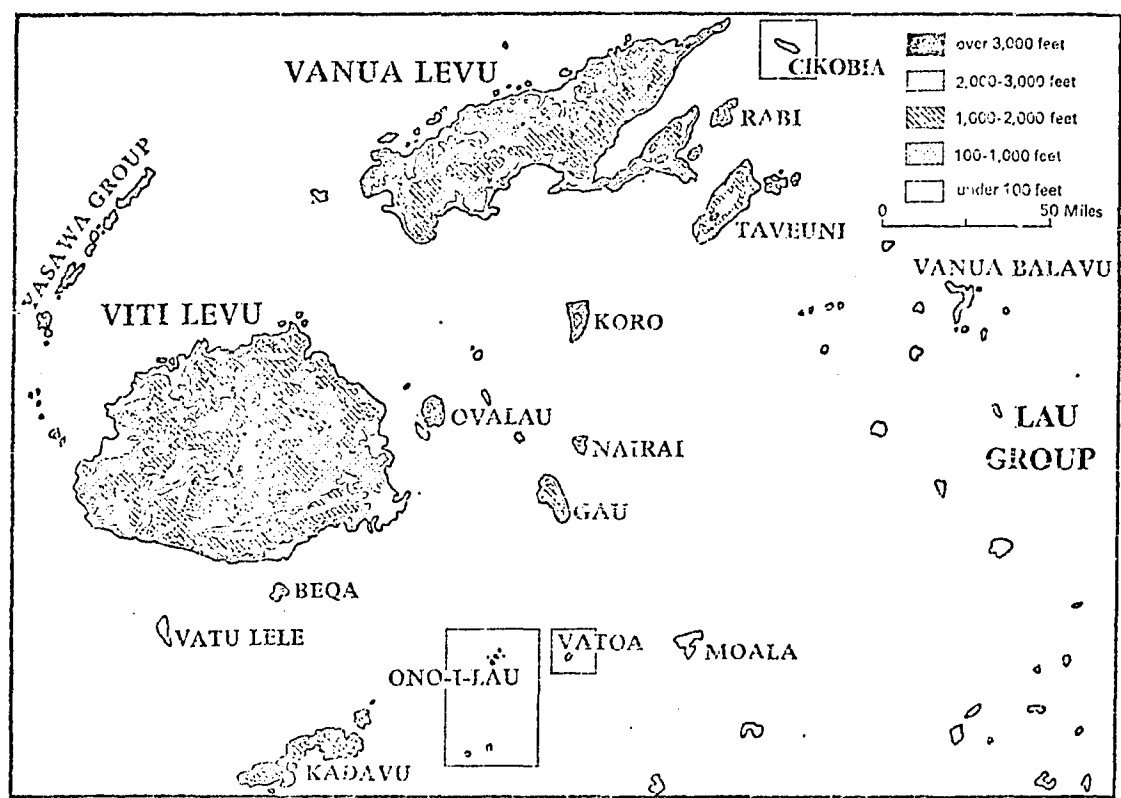


Figure 2*
The Topography of the Fiji Group.
* from Watters (1969)

There are several relatively distinct sections in Fiji: the indigenous Fijians (41.74%), Indians (49.92%), Europeans (2.73%), Part-Europeans (1.96%), Chinese (1.03%), and other Pacific Islanders (2.62%).

When Fiji was ceded to Britain in 1874 the Fijian population was roughly 150,000. Several epidemics and other maladies reduced their number to about 83,000 in 1919. Since that year, however, the Fijian population has shown steady increases, and by 1969 the population reached an estimated 219,893. The first Indians were brought to Fiji as indentured laborers in 1879. When the indenture system was ended in 1916 the Indians numbered around 50,000, but by 1944 they had begun to replace the Fijians as the largest section.²⁶ In 1969 they numbered more than 270,000 or 50% of the total population. Europeans, Part-Europeans, Chinese, and other Pacific Islanders comprise the balance of Fiji's inhabitants. The total estimated population in 1969 was 547,065.²⁷

Most Fiji Islanders (roughly 73%) live on the major island, Viti Levu. Here are located six of the eight urban centers in Fiji.

²⁶ There are several major reasons for these varying rates of population increase between the two major sections. Firstly, Indians have a higher fertility rate than Fijians. Secondly, Indian women bear children at an earlier age than Fijian women. Finally, in contrast to Fijian women, Indian women give birth to a higher proportion of female children. Ibid., pp. 8-10. However, the most recent statistics indicate that the Indian net reproduction rate is decreasing in comparison to the Fijian.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

According to the 1966 census 19% of the total population live in towns, and 33% live in urbanized areas surrounding the towns. Fijians and Indians have the smallest proportion of their total living in towns and urban areas in contrast to Chinese, Part-Europeans, and Europeans who have the highest.²⁸

Europeans had been arriving in Fiji since the beginning of the nineteenth century. By 1857 a British Consul was appointed to aid the first few European traders and missionaries who had settled on the islands. But with the arrival of new settlers to establish cotton plantations and to escape widespread economic depression in the Australasian colonies the cleavages increased between white settlers and natives, and within the sections themselves. This was partly in consequence of an unstable government. Hence, in 1874 Britain accepted the offer of cession and Fiji was proclaimed a British Colony. The European population was by this time estimated at 2,000.²⁹

Despite several years of depression the economic position of Europeans increased during the next few decades. By the 1880s sugar had replaced cotton. Sugar, copra, and banana exports rose rapidly. By the 1920s, however, owing mainly to increased production costs, unstable prices, and competition from Chinese middlemen and traders many Europeans gravitated to the larger towns or the capital

²⁸ 1966 Census, op. cit., p. 6.

²⁹ A detailed account of socio-economic conditions up to the time of the British take-over is found in R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji, (Suva: Government Printer, 1946).

where they found employment in administration, banking, and commerce.³⁰

The vast majority of Chinese arrived much later and came directly from Kwangtung province in Canton. A few enroute to China with capital from Australian goldmines also decided to settle in Fiji. They joined with the other émigrés in market gardening and trading.³¹ Economic rivalry quickly developed between Europeans and Chinese. The sharp rebuke offered by one European merchant to "those (Europeans) who patronize Chinamen in preference to their own countrymen, one of whom is worth twenty Mongolians to the Colony"³² is only one glaring example. But while some Europeans attempted to introduce measures that would restrict the economic activities of the Chinese, many others, on the other hand, besought the Government to introduce Chinese immigrants to work as plantation laborers. Up to 1926 there was an excess of arrivals over departures due primarily to the prevailing attitude of increasing by any means the manpower of the Colony. The Chinese population was by this time estimated at 1,500.³³

³⁰ Judy Wong, The Distribution and Role of the Chinese in Fiji, (M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney, 1963).

³¹ Ibid., p. 38.

³² Fiji Times, August 27, 1887.

³³ Legislative Council Debates (Government Of Fiji, July 2, 1910; November 10, 1920) pp. 107-110; MP. 8535/1916; and MP 3919/1926.

In the last 25 years, due to the decline in the copra trade, and to the expansion of Fijian cooperative organizations, the Chinese have shifted to the urban areas. Some have retained their role as small shorekeepers; others have entered new fields as white collar workers, restauraterus, and manufacturers.

The Part-Europeans are for the most part descendants of European fathers and Fijian mothers. Next to the Europeans and the Chinese, the majority of the Part-Europeans are urban-oriented. Most are engaged in the copra and gold mining industries. A smaller number is in sugar processing, iron and steel engineering, and construction.

Pacific Islanders from New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands were initially recruited for plantation labor in Fiji but they were soon replaced by indentured laborers from India. Other Pacific Islanders from Tonga, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and Rotuma (a dependency of Fiji since 1881) have settled in Fiji at various periods. Today, most are engaged in subsistence agriculture, copra cutting, land clearing and gold mining.³⁴

At the 1966 census Fijians and Indians, respectively, constituted approximately 31% and 52% of the total population in towns.³⁵ Yet, the majority of both sections (i.e., the bulk of Fiji's population) are rural-oriented. The heaviest concentration of Indians is in the sugar-growing coastal areas of west and northwest Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. After the indenture system was suspended most Indians tended to settle down as independent cane-farmers on

³⁴ 1966 Census, op. cit., p. 66.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

small, leased farms in or near sugar-producing areas. Today, there are more than 15,000 growers. About three-quarters are of Indian origin; the remainder is Fijian.³⁶

Sugar is the key to the economy of Fiji. In 1969, for example, sugar made up 75% of the F.O.B. value of Fiji's exports. Until recently the sugar mills were owned and managed by the South Pacific Sugar Mills Limited, a subsidiary of an Australian company, and growers entered into a contract system with the company. The operation is now temporarily in the hands of the Government as the company is preparing to withdraw. The company has found it no longer a commercial proposition under the terms of a new contract known as the Denning Award.³⁷

Indians are found in other industries as well, especially in wholesale and retail trades, communications, and transport. Many are also engaged in commercial farming in response to urban needs. This partly explains their numerical dominance in the towns and urban areas.

Coconut products and gold are the next largest domestic exports, although a poor second to sugar. About 4% of the economically active Fijian population is concerned with these enterprises. In northwest Viti Levu the Emperor Gold Mining Company, another Australian interest, is the largest individual industrial employer of Fijians. Many Fijians are themselves actively engaged in the production of copra. The banana industry is also largely in

³⁶ The Award of the Right Honourable Lord Denning in the Fiji Sugar Cane Contract Dispute, (Suva: Government Printer, 1970), p. 4.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 40-49.

the hands of Fijian growers. The vast majority of Fijians, however, are widely dispersed in traditional, nucleated Fijian villages where they engage in traditional subsistence or village agriculture with occasional forays into cash cropping or wage labor.

Sectional differentiation in the economy determines to some extent the demographic distribution of the two major sections in the Dominion. Of the fourteen provinces, seven have about an equal number of Fijians and Indians; two, northwest Viti Levu and northwest Vanua Levu, are predominantly inhabited by Indians (i.e., 70% or more), and six which have a sizable Fijian population (between 65% to 98%) are Mbua, Lomaiviti, and Namosi in Viti Levu, Thaukaudrove in Vanua Levu, and the outlying islands of Lau and Kandavu.³⁸

Politically there have been important changes. The new House of Representatives (formerly the Legislative Council) consists of fifty-two elected members. Following the 1972 General Election the Alliance, which is composed of three sectional parties, namely, the Fijian Association, the Indian Alliance, and the General Elector's Association, was returned to power with about three-quarters of the available seats. The National Federation Party which has traditionally relied upon a predominantly Indian electorate for its voting strength won the remaining seats and was returned as the Opposition party.

The new political set-up is the result of a gradual process of colonial constitution-making. Beginning in 1876, Sir Arthur Gordon, the first Governor of Fiji, established a rural local government system

³⁸ 1966 Census, op. cit., p. 5.

known as the Fijian Administration. This system, which was based upon the traditional Fijian chiefly structure, was headed by a Council of Chiefs. Over the years this system of administration became more complex and elaborate, but it had the effect of keeping most Fijians outside the mainstream of political activity. It was not until 1963 that Fijians were first given use of the franchise.³⁹

Between 1874 and 1965 at least three broad inter-related themes dominated the constitution-making process. Firstly, Europeans and Indians employed various strategies to effect political changes favourable to their respective sections; secondly, there was a gradual establishment of an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council through popular representation; and thirdly, there developed a more equitable representation of sections in the political field. Up to the end of this period the executive power remained formally in the hands of the Governor and his Executive Council. But in 1966, for the first time, the Legislative Council consisted of a majority of elected members. Nine Fijians, nine Indians, and seven Europeans were elected on sectional rolls, and an additional three members from each section were elected under a system of cross-voting. Two additional Fijian members were nominated by the Council of Chiefs.

Prior to achieving political independence in October 1970 the two major political parties, the Alliance and the National Federation

³⁹ For a more extensive discussion of the political setting see Norman Meller and James Anthony, Fiji Goes to the Polls: The Crucial Legislative Council Elections of 1963, (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968), especially pp. 3-19.

Party, agreed that Fiji should proceed to Dominion status with an Upper House or Senate to consist of twenty-two nominated members. The Executive was to be replaced by a Cabinet responsible to Parliament. The latter was to consist of twelve Indians, twelve Fijians, and five General members (i.e., sections other than Indian or Fijian) elected on a sectional basis, and ten Indians, ten Fijians, and five General members elected on a cross-voting basis. This new political body was formed subsequent to the General Election in April 1972.

Suva: Urban-Industrial and Residential Areas

The commercial, industrial, and political center of the Dominion is in the city of Suva, where the administrative district contains local and national Government offices, Fijian Affairs Board, and the like. Alongside is Albert Park where many of the main sporting events are held.

Directly north of this district is the retail area, which Whitelaw has called the Central Business District⁴⁰ (Figure 3), where can be found numerous commercial and professional offices, retail shops conducted by Indians and Chinese, large overseas department stores engaged in wholesaling and retailing, travel agents, banks, the Post Office, pubs, cinemas, restaurants, and Indian duty-free shops. All cater to the needs of the local inhabitants, and the thousands of tourists who pass through annually. Alongside the wharf and the main bus station is the municipal market with hundreds of stalls from which

⁴⁰ J.S. Whitelaw, People, Land and Government in Suva, Fiji, (Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1966).

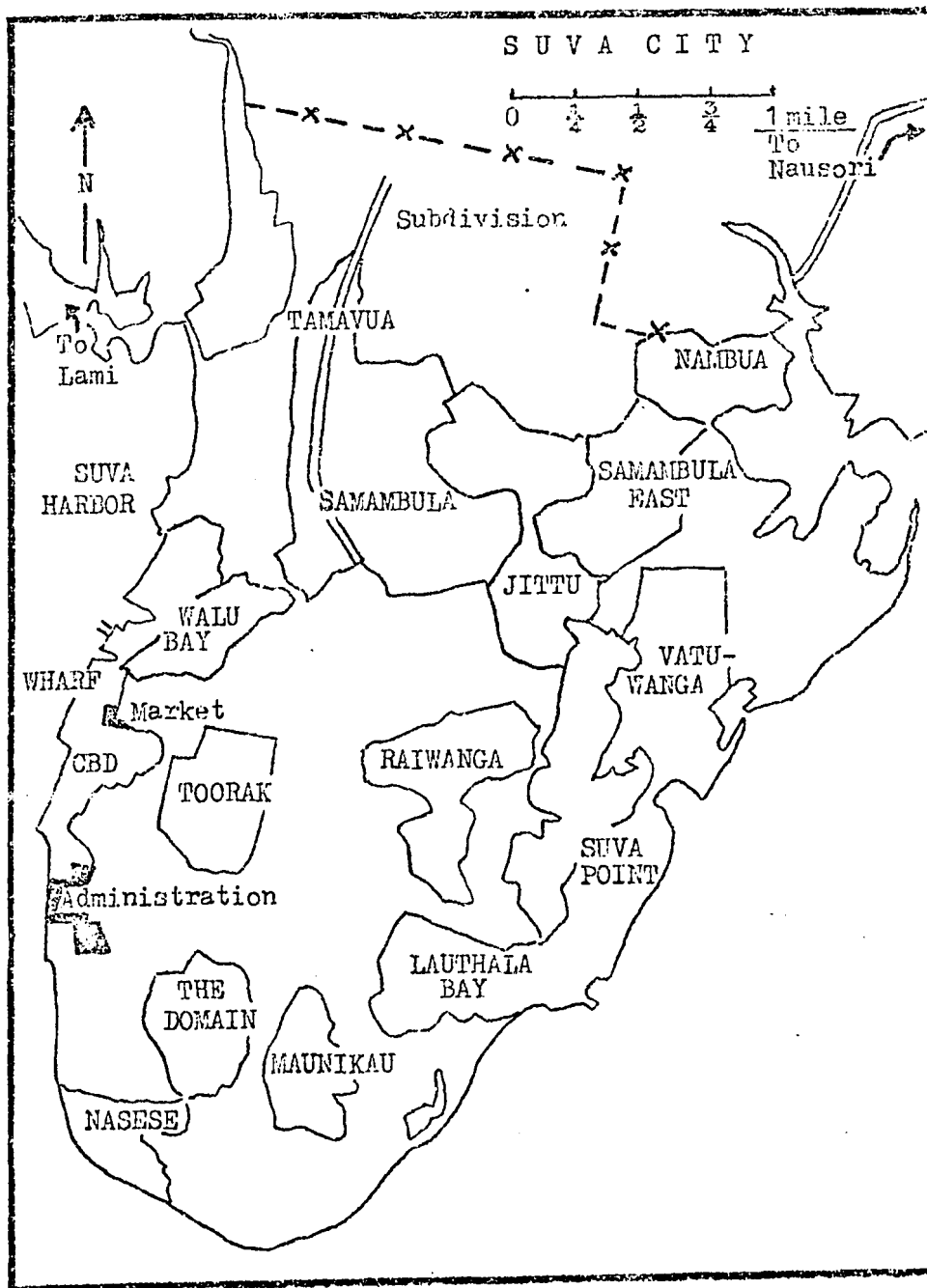


Figure 3

Urban-industrial and Residential Areas of Suva (Modified from Whitelaw, 1969).

the local produce is sold. In addition, many stalls contain curios and other souvenirs which tend to spill onto the footpaths lining the market whenever a cruise ship is in port.

At the north end of the wharf is the area known as Walu Bay. Here are located transport companies, a brewery, cement works, engineering and boat-building concerns, and other light-industrial plants and factories that manufacture clothing, boots and shoes, aerated waters, furniture, castings, wrought-iron and steel, matches, cigarettes, paper-products, builders' hardware, jewelery, and souvenirs. Needless to say, these establishments are symbolic of Suva's rapidly growing urban-industrial economy.

North, outside of Suva and across the harbor, is the area known as Lami. Although Lami is two miles outside the city boundary it has until recently been an intrinsic part of the city.⁴¹ The majority of homes in this area are of post-war origin with a standard of development found only in some of the choicest locations in the city. Because of its proximity to the industrial center at Walu Bay the area includes a new subdivision to accommodate future commercial and industrial expansion. Our social survey, conducted in late 1971, confirms White-law's earlier impression that there is a concentration of Europeans and Fijians in the area and only a few Indian homes. This is an outcome, at least in part, of deliberate attempts by an informal group of European property owners in Lami to exclude Indians from purchasing

⁴¹ Representatives of Lami's 4,000 inhabitants are applying for the proclamation of the area as a separate township. Fiji Times, April 1, 1972.

any available property. On the other hand, Indians have generally been reluctant to build or buy a home on native reserve land upon which much of Lami lies.⁴² All the Europeans, and an increasing number of Fijians residing in Lami are employed as professionals, businessmen, and senior civil servants in the city.

Another residential site with a sizable European population is located along either side of the main road that runs parallel to the Tamavua ridge. This is the most elevated site in the city and most of the European-owned or rented homes are situated on that side of the street affording a pleasant view of the harbor. Many upper and middle-class Indians have also found Tamavua an ideal place of residence. Most live in their own privately-built dwellings and a few have one or more additional houses that they rent out to Europeans.⁴³ A recent subdivision about two miles further northeast of the Tamavua ridge is the site of owner-occupied homes of European and Fijian independent businessmen and senior government and professional workers. I have combined the survey data obtained from these two areas which I shall hereafter refer to as "Tamavua."

⁴² These practices occurred during Whitelaw's period of field-work in 1964. Whitelaw, p. 190.

⁴³ According to our survey the majority of Suva Europeans live in rent-free or subsidized accommodation provided by their employers. A few expatriates have built their own homes with the intention of making a quick substantial profit when they leave, but the majority of those who own the houses in which they live intend to remain in Suva permanently.

During World War II a New Zealander flying-boat base was located in the area known as Iauthala Bay. Until the site was converted into a university complex in the late 1960s the population was largely made up of New Zealand air force personnel and their families. But there are other areas in which Europeans are still found. One such place, the Domain, remains an exclusive Government housing estate for senior European civil servants. The remaining settlement areas, namely, Maunikau, Suva Point, and Nasese (which I shall examine later), are less exclusive since non-Europeans are scattered among the Europeans. In Maunikau, for example, there are a substantial number of Part-European and Chinese homes. In Suva Point, where I collected survey data, are found one Indian, one Chinese, and several Part-European homes. This area, located on the southern tip of Vatuwanga, was once an exclusive resort center for Europeans. Nowadays the beach-part is a focal point of weekend recreational activity for many of the city's inhabitants. Although many of the European-occupied homes are small, wooden-framed structures built in the period before World War II, they are well-maintained and stand in large gardens bordered by hedges.

Close by are the predominantly Indian districts of Vatuwanga and Samambula. They were formerly "coolie" settlements, but since the turn of the century other non-Europeans, especially Fijians, have settled there as well. The Indian influence is not so apparent in Vatuwanga (where I lived) as it is in Samambula. Scattered throughout the latter residential area are mosques, as well as Hindu temples and predominantly Indian schools. Many of the residents in both areas, especially in Vatuwanga, are employed as clerical workers and skilled tradesmen in the city.

PLATE I



Figure 4

Central Business District, Suva



Figure 5

European Homes in Suva Point

Between Samabula East and Samabula, and descending to the Raiwanga area lies the major concentration of unauthorized shacks. It is estimated that one-fifth of Suva's population has been drawn to this type of settlement, partly because of the destruction of the houses of many of them in a hurricane in 1952, and partly because of the high rentals in other parts of the city. Most shack dwellers have had a long history of settlement in Suva and cannot therefore be counted as recent migrants.⁴⁴ According to my estimate, the majority of shacks are owned by the Indians who live in them. They pay rent to the owner of the land they occupy. He is usually a wealthy European or Indian businessman. Fijians form a sizable proportion of the population in such areas but few own the structures in which they live. They rent from Indians and live alongside the Indian-occupied shacks. Some landowners like to charge a separate rental for each additional structure erected on their property. In some cases therefore an Indian shack dweller may partition his structure to accommodate a Fijian household. Shacks consist primarily of discarded materials such as packing cases, corrugated iron, and wood. A make-shift kitchen is generally located just outside the dwelling. Common facilities, such as water supply and pit latrine, are on the average shared by six households. The men are generally engaged in unskilled, low-paid work, and consequently are most affected by the housing problem. But they appear to prefer their present accommodation to the low-cost flats provided by the city's Housing Authority.

⁴⁴ Whitelaw, p. 178.

Many who formerly lived in shacks have either voluntarily or obligatorily resettled in the nearby housing estate of Raiwanga. The estate caters to all lower-income urban workers. About 20% of Suva's Indians, Part-Europeans, Chinese, Fijians, and other Pacific Islanders live there. The Fijians have been numerically dominant ever since the estate was formed in the early 1960s. Many of the men living in housing-estate flats are employed as stevedores and laborers, or hold other manual jobs elsewhere in the city. Each single-roomed flat measures roughly 268 square feet, and includes kitchen space, plus toilet and washing facilities. Most flats are occupied by large Fijian families. Overcrowding is a serious problem and frequently leads to conflict. Quarrels are more likely to occur within the Fijian section, especially between members of the household and between tenants. Quarrels between Fijians and non-Fijians, especially Indians, are rare. Although friendships do develop between neighbors who are members of different sections, avoidance is the general rule of neighborhood behavior. I shall illustrate some of these points later.

In addition to the four-tiered block of flats there are terraced concrete two-storey, and concrete single, units. The total spatial dimension of a unit is approximately 620 square feet. Non-Fijians tend to occupy the more spacious two-roomed flats, single, and terraced units, but an increasing number of Fijians have resettled in more commodious houses operated by the Housing Authority. For example, of sixteen families who were formerly living in flats (twelve Fijians, and four Indians), half had moved to new homes in other parts of the estate during the period of research.

PLATE II

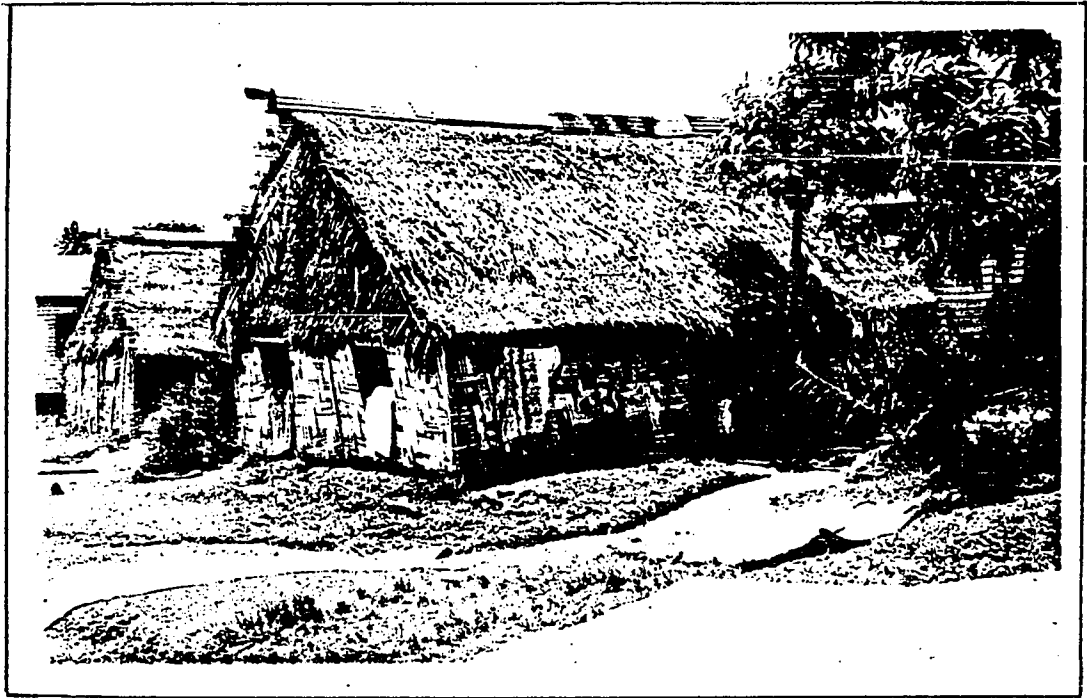


Figure 6
Nambua Fijian Bures



Figure 7
Shack Dwellers Sharing a Water-Tap

PLATE III

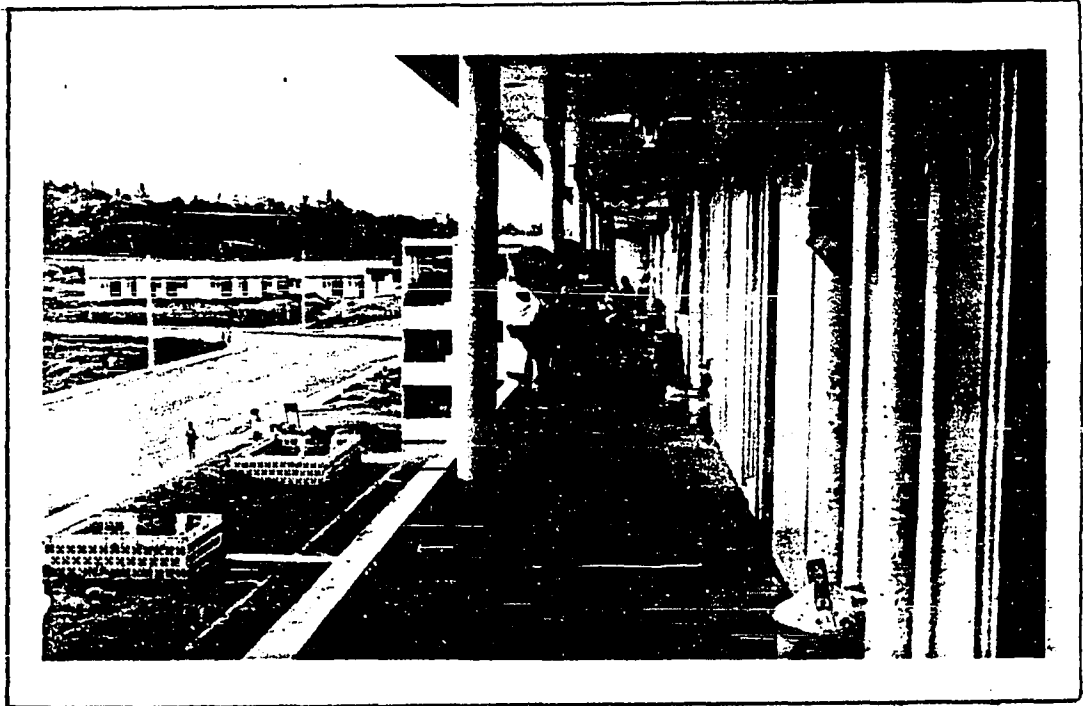


Figure 8
Four-Storey Block of Flats in Raiwanga Housing Estate



Figure 9
Friendly Neighbors in the Estate

A second estate, although much smaller, is located in Toorak. Most of Toorak's inhabitants, however, live in tenement buildings owned by wealthy Indians. The impression here is of extreme congestion, high density, and overall slum conditions, but not of extreme poverty. In a typical settlement block I found Indian, Fijian, Chinese, Rotuman, and Part-European households. All the household heads were employed in the city as clerical or manual workers. Social relations between tenants are to a great extent positive.

Two other major types of residential areas which were included in the survey remain to be described. The first, a Fijian settlement known as Nambua, is located northeast of Samambula. The original settlement was developed by the Government in 1952 to house urban Fijians whose homes were destroyed in the hurricane of that year. This part of the settlement has expanded to include sixty semi-detached concrete cottages, each with its own kitchen, water-closed latrine, shower, and laundry facilities. A new addition, adjoining it, has been erected to accommodate more people. It consists of forty-four bure or Fijian-type dwellings. Some have been erected on timber or earth floors, and thatched with coconut leaves, while others, more modest, were built from roofing iron, packing cases, and the like. Unlike the tenants occupying the concrete cottages most of the inhabitants in this part of the settlement own the structure in which they live. Since Nambua is on Crown land they must pay the Director of Lands \$F 2.00 a year for the land they occupy. Those who do not own a bure must pay an additional \$F 2.00 a month to the village fund since a vacated bure becomes the property of the village. There has been little residential mobility and three generational households

are common in Nambua. A census taken during the period of research showed the total population to be 815 persons. The settlement has retained some characteristics of a traditional Fijian village. The three main groups into which the residents are divided according to their province of origin function in much the same way as social units in an ordinary Fijian village. Nambua's affairs are handled by a headman and a council, and both are responsible to the District Officer in Suva. The settlement has its own cooperative store, church, kindergarten, social hall, dispensary, and rugby field. It is similar in many respects to other Fijian urban villages that have developed on the fringe of the city.

Nasese is a sectionally mixed and predominantly high class residential area on the southern tip of the peninsula. As is the case in most other parts of the city the quality of homes in this locality is highly variable. According to my estimate the majority of the Fijians and a few of the Indians and Part-Europeans who live there occupy the older, corrugated iron and timber-framed houses, while all of the Europeans and the Chinese and most of the Indians live in higher standard, post-war, concrete homes.

In view of these data, it would seem that Indians and Fijians are fairly well dispersed throughout the nine residential areas while Europeans are concentrated almost entirely in a few high class localities. It should be emphasized, however, that, with the exception of the Domain and Nambua, these areas are not sectionally exclusive and Europeans are no longer necessarily neighbors.

The per cent of household heads having selected socio-economic status and the per cent of sections (only Europeans, Fijians, and Indians

were included) found in each of the nine residential areas are summarized in Table 2:

Table 2
Percentage Distribution of Household Heads
Having Selected Socio-economic Status, and
Sections, by Residential Areas

Residential Areas	STATUS			SECTIONS			No. of Cases
	Low	Middle	High	European	Indian	Fijian	
Nambua	100%	-	-	-	-	100%	30
Jittu (shack)	93	7	-	-	75	25	28
Toorak	86	14	-	-	62	38	21
Raiwanga	78	22	-	-	33	67	103
Vatuwanga	39	53	8	-	80	20	39
Lami	38	24	38	20	10	70	24
Tamavua	12	8	80	30	46	24	59
Nasese	6	15	79	42	58	-	14
Suva Point	-	-	100	96	4	-	26
						TOTAL	344

$p < .05$

It is clear from Table 2 that a few Fijians and a substantial number of Indians have achieved parity of socio-economic status⁴⁵ and consequently demographic balance with Europeans. Nevertheless, the extent of disparity with respect to status and residential locality is greater between the majority of non-Europeans and Europeans than it is between most Fijians and Indians. This is not accidental as we

⁴⁵ With respect to income some Indians are wealthier than any of the Europeans included in the sample survey.

shall see when we next examine the evolutionary aspects of residential areas in the general context of urban-industrial progress. It will be clear that the present residential distribution in the city is not the result of a single factor but of a complex number of inter-related factors which include status, land tenure, and sectional affiliation.

Suva: Early Settlement and Growth

The colonization of Suva began in 1868. In that year a Melbourne group obtained rights over the land as the result of an arrangement with Thakombau, the self-styled King of Fiji. Plans to establish a white township were vigorously opposed by the Fijian owners of the land and many were reportedly killed in confrontations with white settlers. As more settlers began to arrive the Corporation of Fiji Settlers was formed "for the mutual protection of the lives and properties of the members against any outrage which may be committed by the natives."⁴⁶ By 1877 such associations were defunct mainly because the colonial power had selected Suva as a site for the capital. The Colonial Government soon acquired almost every available block of land within the township area of one square mile. Roads and buildings were constructed and financed through the public sale of Crown lots. These sales attracted more settlers. The Fijians, by now restricted geographically to another reserve several miles away, were confirmed in their belief that Suva was vava lagi (white man's country).

Politically, until 1935, the town was managed by a Warden (later a Mayor) who was assisted by members of a town board (later a

⁴⁶ Fiji Times, August 15, 1868. For the early history of Suva, see R.A. Derrick, "The Removal of the Capital to Suva," Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society of Science and Industry, (Suva, 1943).

council). The members were at first nominated by the Governor and subsequently by ratepayers. Many of the white inhabitants were from the Australasian colonies. They did not wish to be incorporated in the British Colony, and in 1901, led by the Warden himself, they renewed agitation for federation with their home country. When this failed there was a demand for elective representation in the Legislative Council.⁴⁷ This the Europeans got in 1904. Few people took an active interest in the town's political affairs but in the early 1930s the Indian section began to agitate for a system of common roll and equal representation in local government elections. To prevent further disturbances the Government abolished the elective principle and re-introduced the nominated system until 1947. In that year the town council consisted of three elected European and three elected Indian councillors, in addition to two councillors nominated by the Governor. The nominated members were usually members of sections not eligible to vote. By 1961 urban Fijians had been given the franchise and the number of councillors representing several wards in Suva had been increased. In 1972, for the first time, municipal elections in Suva will be held on a common roll basis.

Soon after its foundation Suva attracted Fijians from the surrounding areas. Workers were recruited for stevedoring, road building, and reclamation and drainage works. The sale of local produce also provided many Fijians with another source of cash income:

After a day spent in hawking and sightseeing, many would sleep in the open, under the ivi tree, or if it

⁴⁷ G.L. Griffiths, Federation of Fiji with New Zealand, (Suva, 1901).

should rain they would take shelter under the verandah of the Bank of New Zealand.⁴⁸

At this stage official policy was to encourage permanent Fijian settlement. Gradually, Fijian enclaves were established to accommodate migrants from various provinces.⁴⁹ Later, however, when an absentee tax was imposed upon all Fijians who were absent from their villages many of the European firms that employed Fijians succeeded in reducing the amount. By 1921 more than 5% of the Fijian population were absent from their villages.⁵⁰

Indians began arriving in the Colony as indentured laborers in 1879. When their terms of indenture were up the Government induced them to remain by initially leasing to them 4,000 acres on easy terms. One block consisted of a strip of land in the vicinity of Suva. The free settlers planted rice, maize, and bananas, grazed cattle, and provided fresh milk and meat to the European inhabitants nearby.

⁴⁸ R.A. Derrick, p. 207.

⁴⁹ Ratu Deve Toganivalu, "Fijians in Suva," Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society of Science and Industry (Suva, 1924), p. 18.

⁵⁰ The prevailing attitude of some administrators is well illustrated by the following remarks in a memorandum from the Secretary of Native Affairs to the Colonial Secretary: "The imposition of additional tax will result in their return to the village...and will tend to shut out the Fijian race from all participation in the commercial life of the colony and restrain them to agriculture." MP 76/1928. A more adverse attitude to rural-urban migration was adopted during the mid-1940s.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century many were permanently settled on the fringe of the town. One of the first so-called coolie settlements, Vatuwanga, was occupied in 1887. Like the Fijians, a proportion of Indians found employment as domestic servants in European homes, or as tradesmen and unskilled laborers in various Government projects. Meanwhile free Indian migrants, especially merchants and traders from Gujerat province, had been arriving to set up small-scale commercial establishments in the town.⁵¹ By 1920 the Indian section was well enough established and had a sufficient number of articulate leaders to openly voice their grievances particularly in respect to their low wages and unequal political status.⁵²

As more and more Indians and Fijians gravitated to the town an informal system of controls over their residence and movement was established. Among the most significant of these was the proposed European Reservation Ordinance of 1912. The Ordinance sought to enact building regulations designed to exclude "coloured residents

⁵¹ By 1906 this Indian subsection was estimated at 2,000. CP 24/1906.

⁵² Shortly after Indian settlements were established, Indian workers were known to assemble in private homes to ventilate their economic grievances, but the first public demonstration occurred in 1920 with a strike of Indian Public Works Department and Municipal workers in Suva. By that time such grievances carried political overtones as well. CP 67/1920, and Fiji Times, November 2, 1887.

from designated areas of the town." Of the 109 property owners solicited for their views, ninety-three (including the Roman Catholic Bishop and the trustees of the Church of England) were in favor, one was opposed, and fifteen did not reply. The prevalent feeling at that time in respect to residential segregation is clearly revealed in the following extracts:

I am strongly in favour of the proposal. We should set out an area for black occupation and not allow any to live outside the area.

The native and Indian should not be allowed to occupy the same houses, or even live in the same streets with the white population as they are at present doing.

...there are many unsightly hovels occupied by Indians and other undesirables. Such places of abode would not be tolerated in any other European town in the world.

There is ample room for dwellings of a better class for Indians and natives should, in course of time a demand for such spring up, in other parts of Suva without permitting the invasion of the red area which Europeans have created for themselves and which they must justly claim to have reserved in the future for their exclusive habitation.⁵³

Although there was no formal policy of sectional segregation some of the subsequent building ordinances produced much the same effect. With the increasing demand for "first-class residences" as new whites arrived from the rural areas and smaller towns, the regulations were sometimes arbitrarily invoked so that many non-European legal

⁵³ MP 3953/1910, 5539/1910, 6937/1910, 3671/1910, 4876/1913.

residents in parts of Vatuwanga, Muanikau, and Tamavua were re-settled in other parts of Suva where no such restrictions prevailed.⁵⁴

Gradually, European residential areas developed into relatively homogeneous neighborhoods with their separate social halls, churches, voluntary associations, tennis clubs, and Sunday schools. Social life in the town was distinct. The foci of European recreational activity were the Fiji Club (so exclusive that even the white visitor required "the right introductions") and the many concerts, dances, art exhibitions, and lectures given throughout the year. On festive days and special occasions all the European children of the town were invited to partake of refreshments on recreational reserves. Indians and Fijians usually spent their leisure time at the cinema. Fijians attended their own Sunday services, and Indians had their own religious and recreational organizations. Few opportunities existed for individuals from different sections to establish face-to-face personal relationships. Social boundaries were reinforced by a segregatory residential pattern and other discriminatory practices such as the use of separate reading rooms, toilets, and bathing places for Europeans and non-Europeans. A curfew restricted non-Europeans to their homes after nine o'clock at night. The situation changed somewhat as Indian political representatives became more outspoken about the grievances of non-Europeans as a whole. The administration became increasingly aware of such problems. In 1946 a Government-appointed committee to study urban housing recommended the creation of community centers "to promote the well-being of the urban population

⁵⁴ Legislative Council Debates, September 7, 1939; February 19, 1946; July 16, 1946.

so that people can come together on an equal footing and on the basis of common needs and interest."⁵⁵ Several years later a multi-sectional Ratepayers Association was formed. The Union Club, the first recreational organization encompassing the three sections, was founded in Suva in 1945. The growth of the town spurred associational life, and the number of voluntary organizations with more than one section increased little by little.

Like most other Pacific towns, Suva experienced a rapid rate of growth in the era after World War II. During the intercensal period 1946 to 1956 the population of Suva increased from 25,000 to 37,000 or 46%. Reclamation schemes provided land for the development of an industrial area at Walu Bay. Greater efforts to stimulate the economy, and an ever expanding tourist industry, led to considerable commercial and industrial development which afforded new employment opportunities for migrants.⁵⁶ By 1953 extensive residential development had taken place beyond the old town boundary of one square mile. In that year Suva was declared a city and a new boundary encompassing a total area of eight square miles was adopted.

⁵⁵ CP 30/1947. For an early account of Suva's social life see J. McHugh, Recollection of Early Suva, (Suva, 1943); and T.W. Whitson, A Day in Suva, (London: Union Company, 1919).

⁵⁶ See Whitelaw, op. cit., for more detailed information on the complex factors affecting socio-economic growth in Suva.

In 1970 the estimated population of Suva city was 63,172, summarized as follows: Indians (50.7%); Fijians (33.8%); Europeans (3.7%); Part-Europeans (4.6%); Chinese (3.7%); Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders (3.5%). Since the previous census in 1966 the Fijian section in Suva has increased by roughly 30%, the Indian section by 19%, while the European population has dropped by 20%. The other sections have registered very slight increases.⁵⁷

Suva is not only dominant in terms of its population size as compared with the other urban areas in Fiji,⁵⁸ but it is also clearly dominant in terms of commercial-industrial establishments (with the exception of sugar milling and mining). Since the early 1960s more than 50% of the Dominion's manufacturing, transport, commerce, construction, professional, and produce establishments are located in the city.⁵⁹ In 1970 nearly a third of the Dominion's commercial and industrial work force were concentrated in the capital.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Unpublished figures from the Statistics Department, Fiji.

⁵⁸ The other major urban concentrations in Viti Levu are the mining town of Vatukoula, with a population of 4,993; Mba, with a population of 3,849; Lautoka, population 11,287; Nandi, the international air-terminal on the west coast, with a population of 2,542; Singatoka, population 1,059; and the market town of Nausori with 1,944 inhabitants. The two major towns outside of Viti Levu are Lambasa, on the northeast coast of Vanua Levu, population 2,182; and Levuka, on the island of Ovalau, with 1,685 inhabitants. 1966 Census, op. cit., p. 95.

⁵⁹ Whitelaw, op. cit., p. 28.

⁶⁰ Unpublished figures, Statistics Department, Fiji.

Economic expansion in the last twenty-five years, and particularly in the last decade, has been accompanied by a rapid rate of urban migration and settlement. It is on this process that we shall now focus our attention.

CHAPTER 3

Urban Migration and Settlement

According to the 1966 census Indians showed a smaller volume of inter-provincial migratory movements than Fijians. On the average, 81% of the Indians as compared to 74% of the Fijians were enumerated in their province of birth. Nevertheless, the direction of migration for both sections is the same because the largest number of in-migrants are found in Suva city. The main part of this emigration comes from the interior or the isolated provinces in the Dominion. Most Fijian migrants come from such places as Kandavu, Lau, Lomaiviti, Tailevu, and Thaukaundrove, while the course of Indian migration to the city is generally from Serua and Mathuata.

More recent data with supplementary characteristics of Suva city dwellers were gained from the survey of male household heads in the nine residential areas already described. We may begin by noting that the sample population exhibits an age structure similar to that recorded by the census of 1966, i.e., a concentration at ages 30 to 44 for Suva males.⁶¹ With respect to residential history the survey indicates that the majority of Europeans are recent arrivals having lived in the city for less than five years. On the other hand, the vast majority of Indians and Fijians have lived in the city for a greater length of time. This is shown in Table 3.

⁶¹ 1966 Census, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

Table 3
Comparison of Sections with Respect
to Length of Time in the City

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Suva born	5%	7%	45%
10 years or more	16	72	37
5 to 10 years	11	16	11
Less than 5 years	68	5	7
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(53)	(152)	(139) p < .05

Since the majority of Europeans, Fijians, and Indians to a lesser extent were not born in Suva,⁶² it is worthwhile to examine the demographic adjustments and mobility of these migrant groups. With reference to Table 4, it is partly clear that the migrant sections differ with respect to factors motivating their migration to the city.⁶³

Table 4
Comparison of Sections with Respect to the Factors
Motivating their Migration to the City

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Employment	93%	30%	71%
Education	-	24	8
Other	7	46	21
Total	100	100	100
Number of Cases	(50)	(141)	(76) p < .05

⁶² At least 39% of Suva's population in 1966 were born elsewhere. 1966 Census, op. cit., p. 51.

⁶³ As we shall see in the case studies to follow most migrants came for a number of reasons but it is possible, at least for the informant, to isolate the principal reason for migrating.

Employment is clearly an important motivating factor for all sections. But in contrast to Fijian and Indian rural-urban migrants, the vast majority of Europeans were recruited from overseas--Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and Europe--under contract to take up managerial and professional posts in governmental departments and European commercial establishments. In the immediate post-independence period many more "overseas experts" sponsored by international organizations like the United Nations have also temporarily settled in Suva.⁶⁴ A few others came for reasons other than direct employment--estate-management, semi-retirement, and so on.

Most Indians came in search of wage employment or the promise of higher earnings in the capital such as are not available in the smaller urban centers. A smaller number came because of congestion, lack of land, or family pressures in their village of origin, or simply because their parents had decided to settle in Suva. Very few came for purposes of education.

The prospects of wage employment in the city had attracted only 30% of the Fijian male migrants interviewed. Many more came for reasons not directly connected with employment. For example, some came to receive medical treatment in the urban hospitals and apparently

⁶⁴ For a discussion of similar processes in politically independent Asia and Africa, see Clarence E. Glick, "Changing Roles of White Foreigners in Newly Independent Countries of Asia and Africa," Kautilya: A Review of International Affairs, vol. 2, no. 1, (January, 1962). An interesting variation in Fiji has been the recent attempt by the Government to recruit experts from non-white countries, e.g., India.

decided to prolong their stay; others simply accompanied their parents to the city. A few who found village life dull in comparison to Suva or who wished to escape the onus of communal obligations in the village tended to follow the general urban drift that has become characteristic of post-war Fiji. More than a fifth migrated in an attempt to educate themselves and their children.

But once the migrant sections have made the move to Suva what are some of the major difficulties they encounter if any? Were they provided with any assistance? And by whom? What are some of their grievances? Do they intend to settle permanently?

Seeming to render most Europeans in our sample immune to some of the basic difficulties that are generally encountered by most rural migrants to the city is the fact that they have been imported under contract and receive a basic salary (roughly \$F 4,000 to \$F 8,000), an overseas service allowance, a movement allowance, leave, and passages, and also subsidized or free housing in government or rented quarters. The primary source of difficulty for a number of European respondents (37%) lies in adjusting themselves personally and socially to a new environment;

It was lonely for the first year. We came independently. We were not sponsored, and did not fit into any social group (Senior Aviation Officer, 47, United Kingdom).

The department stores don't stock the items we are accustomed to (Company Director, 38, Australia).

How to cope with the different races (Company Director, 42, Netherlands).

Lack of beach facilities, excessive heat, damp and unhealthy (Engineer, 37, New Zealand).

Had to adjust to a sea of dark faces (Secondary school teacher, 33, Australia).

By way of contrast, the majority of Fijians and Indians have had or are having difficulty in securing employment and housing, and in meeting such basic expenditures as rent and food. The following table shows this:

Table 5

Comparison of Sections with Respect
to the Problems Each Face When They
First Arrived in Suva

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
None	48%	26%	46%
Housing	13	21	21
Employment	2	17	11
Cost of Living	-	14	19
Other	37	22	3
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(50)	(141)	(76) $p < .05$

Although many Indians and about one-quarter of the Fijians reported no such difficulty, this was partly because a few were provided with various forms of assistance by kinsmen or friends who were already established in the city. Most of the Indian household heads who reported having received assistance from established relatives depended to the greatest extent on their spouses' parents. By way of contrast, Fijian migrants relied more heavily on their elder brothers who apparently had settled in the city in advance. The second source of assistance for both sections, however, was the same, namely, the informants' father's brother. In addition to having been provided

with temporary accomodation and assistance in looking for employment a few received cash loans which were primarily used to pay school fees⁶⁵ or to secure a permanent place of their own. Significantly, however, slightly more than half the Fijian and Indian migrants either found it unnecessary or were unable to be so assisted. More intensive interviewing suggested that the latter appears to be closer to the truth, particularly with respect to Fijians. One reason is that the more settled but poor kinsmen are increasingly reluctant to provide assistance for the duration required by the migrant. It is my impression that both Fijian and Indian migrants are increasingly turning to their urban friends for assistance. Unlike the migratory process found in many other developing countries no new forms of social organization or associations have developed in the city that specifically provide rural-urban migrants with mutual aid and welfare.⁶⁶ The several major organizations from which assistance is sought are agencies of the

⁶⁵ The inability to pay school fees constitutes a major source of difficulty, equal to housing, as reported by many Fijians under the category "other" in Table 5.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Kenneth Little, "The Role of Voluntary Associations in West African Urbanization," American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, (August, 1957), pp. 579-595; and Edward M. Bruner, "Medan: The Role of Kinship in an Indonesian City," Pacific Port Towns and Cities, A. Spoehr, ed., (Honolulu, 1963), pp. 1-11. The authors describe migrant voluntary associations which are simultaneously a residence and descent group. The survey of voluntary associations in Suva, to be described in detail later, shows that many Fijians belong to a variety of sectional associations. Needless to say, these associations, like the associations described by Little and Bruner, can provide migrants, particularly if they are from the minority sections, with a sense of solidarity and identity. But there is a lack of such associations in Fiji as compared to other developing countries. A possible explanation is that the two major migrant groups (Fijians and Indians) form significant segments of the urban population with a lengthy period of urban residence.

wider community, such as real estate agencies in the case of Europeans, and the Housing Authority and church-sponsored organizations in the case of Fijians and Indians.⁶⁷ There is also the tradition of provincial organizations which unite urban Fijians who originate from a given province, but the primary function of these organizations is to link migrants with rural folk through a shared concern with village affairs.

The majority of respondents who were not born in Suva continue to maintain strong ties with their province or country of origin. Letters, contributions, exchange of gifts and foodstuffs, and periodic visits are characteristic of such ties. Thus 70% of the Europeans, 88% of the Fijians, and 75% of the Indians have returned home at least once since their arrival in Suva.

Many Europeans are transients, as is shown in Table 6. Exactly half the European migrants interviewed stated their intention of leaving on the expiration of their contract. But many of those who were in doubt appeared to be interested in prolonging their stay. They were doubtful whether their contracts would be renewed, and felt threatened by the Government's localization policy.⁶⁸ Like those Europeans with permanent status, they are induced to prolong their stay by the many amenities (e.g., gratuities, low-income tax, cheap domestic help) such

⁶⁷ There are a number of charitable and welfare organizations in Suva but many migrants do not know of their existence. See the chapter on voluntary associations for a discussion of this problem.

⁶⁸ To most Europeans "localization" is an "ugly word." See, for example, Pacific Island Monthly, (May, 1970). It is my impression that in order to preserve their privileged position many expatriates in top posts purposely exaggerate the problem of sectional balance (between Fijians and Indians) as a produce of localization. Other frequently cited bogeys are "lack of experience," "drop in efficiency," that in their view are likely to result from localization.

as are not readily available in their home country. "An exciting tourist atmosphere," "good social life," and "a Pacific charm," are additional motivating factors.

Table 6

Comparison of Sections with Respect to
Their Future Residential Status

Question: Do you plan to live here permanently?	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Yes	30%	51%	60%
No--moving to other part of city:	-	5	11
No--returning to country or province of origin:	27	30	3
No--migrating to another country:	23	3	4
No--moving to another part of Fiji:	6	2	-
Don't know:	14	9	22
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(50)	(141)	(76) p<.05

Suva exerts an equal attraction for the majority of Indian and Fijian migrants and most are agreed that they are better off financially in the city than elsewhere. However, the wealthier migrants tended to stress non-economic factors as the major attraction of urban life. Educational and recreational facilities, medical services, and so on, are highly valued by them. It is also noteworthy that those who expressed doubt concerning their stay were also the poorest and the most affected by financial pressures. They say that rent and food prices are high in the city and their wages are insufficient to meet these basic expenses.

The survey also shows that residential mobility in Suva is common amongst some Indians and Fijians. This is partly because the less affluent migrants appear to be temporarily clustered in the four-storey block of flats at Raiwanga housing estate. Flat residents are generally given priority to resettle in more commodious accommodations if and when their income permits them to do so. For most Fijian families, however, estate housing does not function as a vehicle of socio-economic advance and change. Observations show that many Fijian-occupied flats include a substantial number of non-working family members who tend to block progress towards a higher residential status. Another concentration of Indian and Fijian migrants is found in the poorer sections of Tamavua. By contrast, the Europeans in the sample are more widely dispersed in high standard private or subsidized housing in Tamavua, Lami, and Suva Point.

So far I have been discussing the migratory process in terms of sections as a whole. I shall now attempt to look in more detail at some of the principles involved in the case histories of migration that follow.

The Case of Hari Roop

Hari (30) was still a young child when his two brothers Ram Lal (45) and Ram Chand (39) left the family farm in Navua, Serua Province, to find work in the city. The oldest brother found a better job and left home for good, but Ram Chand and his family continued to live on the farm, while Ram commuted to Suva (a distance of 35 miles through a daily worker bus.

When Hari's mother passed away shortly after his thirteenth birthday Hari left school to help his father work the land. He

received no pay and was "embarrassed" to have to ask his brother for money to purchase necessities at the local store. He had been thinking of moving to Suva for some time, and when Ram Chand's sons were old enough to work the land Hari decided to leave. His father agreed.

He moved into his brother's house in Samambula and stayed for three years. Shortly after his arrival he met Bhimla, a close friend and neighbor of Ram Lal's family. They were soon married and a year later their daughter was born. The couple were always short of money since half of the weekly wages Hari received as a joiner in a large construction firm went to his brother for rent. During his third year in Suva when his father became ill, Hari was expected to carry his share of the responsibility in attending to the family property. He left his job and returned with his family to Navua.

The farm is not very large and there are altogether five acres of freehold land used for grazing cattle and planting rice and a few chains of cassava and beans. Hari's father lived in a tin-covered shed in the back of the house. The house is small, about 20 by 24 feet, and contains three rooms. Hari and his family lived in one room; the two remaining rooms were occupied by Ram Chand, his wife, and their six children. On several occasions Hari received "pocket-money" from Ram Chand, but when there was need for extra cash such as was required for medical services or for Bhimla's occasional visits with her parents in Suva Hari sold some of the rice he had planted to the local storekeepers. With the arrival of their third child sometime during the third year of their return to Navua the extended family grew too large for its resources. Hari therefore decided not to prolong his stay any longer. There were several other

reasons affecting his decision. Here is the way he related them to me:

My sister-in-law often left the laundry and cooking to my wife while she went shopping in Navua and Suva. It was no use talking to my father about it as he favors my sister-in-law, even when she growls at my wife. If we had prolonged our stay it would have caused trouble and I would have been ashamed if our neighbors and friends came to know. They would have laughed. I also wanted to return to Suva to make something of myself. Since I left school in Navua many of my friends have gone on to make a decent living. They have left for England, or Australia, and have made quite a bit of money. I may not have many chances left in life, but I can at least look forward to my children's future. So one afternoon I went to Ram Lal to ask if I could stay with him for a while. It was a mark of respect to get his permission and advice. He said it was all right. I also informed Bhimla's father of my decision. I then got my old job back. After a month I suggested to my brother that it would be easier on the women of the household if my wife came and cooked for me. He agreed to this, but made it a condition that we live elsewhere should we decide to send for our children. Several months later Bhimla's parents were able to provide us with more ample accommodation and we moved there with our children. One day I met a Fijian schoolmate in town. He was working as a clerk for the Housing Authority, and offered to help with my application for housing. We moved into our flat two years later.

When I first met the Roops they had been living in a rental flat for nearly a year. The room in which they live is tidy and clean, and resembles many of the Indian or Fijian-occupied flats in the housing estate. A solitary white curtain, used as a room divider, separates the double-bed from the living area. A smaller bed is used by the two elder children while the youngest sleeps with Hari and his

wife. The walls are decorated with pictorial calendars, and framed family photographs. Their furniture consists of a small desk, a dresser, and three plastic-covered rattan chairs given to Bhimla by her father. They also own a primus, a dozen plastic dishes, several large tin pots, an iron plate, glasses, a few tin cups, and a coffee table. Several suitcases containing spare blankets, bedsheets, and personal belongings are stored beneath their bed. The concrete floor is partly covered with cheap linoleum, a gift from Ram Lal.

The Roops have no savings or other assets other than their clothing and the furniture already described. The only source of income and the total income of the household is from Hari's weekly wages of \$F 10.00. For two weeks during the Christmas holidays Hari can earn extra money by working overtime. Sometimes when they are short of cash Bhimla's parents provide them with food and a few dollars. Hari looks after the family budget and purchases most of the groceries on his way home from work. The major items of food are potatoes, sharps or flour, rice, sugar, and ghee or clarified butter. Chicken or lamb is eaten only on weekends and special occasions. Their pattern of expenditure looks like this:

<u>Weekly budget items</u>		<u>Other items</u>	
Rent	\$F 2.55	Medical expense	\$F 3.00 monthly
Kerosene	.30	Electricity	.70 monthly
Food	5.00	Water	2.55 quarterly
Bus fares	.50	School fees	8.00 a term
		Contribution to Hari's father	2.00 monthly

Mrs. Roop is hoping that Hari will soon get a raise so that the family might apply for a single, concrete home in the estate. The requirement is that Hari earn at least \$F 14.00 a week and be able to pay an initial deposit of \$F 50.00. The last raise Hari received a year ago was 2 cents an hour. "Indian firms are stingy," Bhimla told

me, "they don't pay much." "There is no difference between the farm and Suva," Hari added, "We go to work in both places. But in Suva you need cash."

Although Bhimla was born in Suva and has many friends in the city she stays home most of the day because "there are so many children to look after." On another occasion she confessed to feeling "shame" if her friends dropped in and saw the type of housing she was living in. Hari has a few friends from Navua who work in the city but he seldom sees them after they have returned home from work. He has made good friends with an Indian who shares his work bench but he too is a commuter. Hari who spends most of his workday on his feet is tired by the time he returns to his flat. He spends his free time at home with Bhimla and the children. Twice a month the Roops visit Bhimla's parents in Samambula and they may spend the day picnicking. Because of their crowded surroundings the Roops' eldest daughter stays with Hari's in-laws during the week and returns home on the weekends. The Roops also visit Ram Lal and his family about once a month. Last October they spent one week of Hari's vacation in Navua. Hari recently asked his father for his share of the property which could be used to purchase a house from the Housing Authority. At first his father agreed, but later decided to leave it all to Ram Chand. Hari has not returned to Navua since but continues to send his father some money "for smokes." Nowadays Ram Chand's sons and a few hired laborers attend to the family property.

Although polite, the Roops tend to be wary of their Fijian neighbors. There is a Fijian lady who lives two doors away with whom Bhimla chats occasionally in Fijian and English, but Bhimla is generally

"afraid" of the Fijians in the estate having once found a man urinating outside her door. Another time when she went to hang up her laundry she found a Fijian man lying drunk by the gutter. One day she was drawn into a petty argument with one of her Fijian neighbors who left her clothes on the line all night and removed them only to hang a fresh load. When Bhimla reproached her for this the woman shouted out "Kai India" (native of India) in a contemptuous manner. Although this was the only negative interaction after a year in the estate the Roops feel that as a minority group they are looked down upon. When two of their Indian neighbors told the Roops that they would be moving from their flat shortly the Roops were alarmed, since if the couple left, they would be one of the few Indian households left in the block. But aside from this couple the Roops have little time for active interaction with neighbors anyway.

Their day begins at 5 A.M. Bhimla prepares a parcel containing two or more rotis with dry curry from the previous evening meal for Hari. Hari has a cup of very sweet tea with powdered milk for his breakfast, and by six he is ready to catch the bus to work. Soon after Hari has left Bhimla boils some water for the day's wash. She tries to finish her wash before all the clothes lines are taken. After the wash is completed Bhimla prepares her two daughters to attend the local Mission-run primary school by 9 A.M. After completing her morning chores she has her first meal of the day. She spends her afternoons sewing and ironing. The evening meal is prepared by the time Hari returns from work. He is usually served roti, rice, dahl, and vegetable curry, on the floor. After he has eaten and taken a shower Hari puts the youngest child to sleep, while Bhimla finishes her meal

and the washing up. The Roops like to listen to the Hindustani program on the radio for an hour or two before going to bed by nine.

Hari does not care much for politics. He does not belong to any political party but voted for the National Federation Party in the last election because "it is working for the interest of the poor." He had looked forward to Fiji's Independence but found that it brought few changes. He feels the Government is weak and should do more to control inflation.

Once or twice a year Hari and his family visit the Sanatan Dharma Mandal or temple in Samambula. They celebrate all religious holidays including Christmas, and this year Mrs. Roop was hoping that they could afford a tree.

The Case of Sami Mbole

When Sami's father passed away seven years ago, Sami, his mother, and younger sister decided to come to Suva for a visit. They left behind Sami's elder brother to attend to land belonging to the family group. On arrival in the city they went to live in Sami's eldest brother's house in Raiwanga estate. This brother, Mosese, was purchasing a terraced house from the Housing Authority for his own family of four. Mosese had been living in Suva for a number of years and was earning "good money" as a medical attendant in a large hospital.

Several months later Sami's mother returned to the village. Sami who was working as an apprentice in Suva decided to stay. His sister also remained to attend school. Mosese continued to provide them accommodation and supported them financially. Three years after his arrival Sami married. When Sami joined the Public Works Department

as a carpenter two years later, the couple, one child, and Sami's sister moved to a single-roomed flat in the estate.

There are altogether six persons living in this flat today, namely, Sami (30), his wife (23), their two sons (3 and 2), Sami's sister (17), and his wife's brother (19). Their furnishings include a primus stove (the most common form of cooking unit in Raiwanga), several small wooden tables over which are placed glass vases containing artificial (plastic) flowers, and a small radio. There are half a dozen framed photographs of relatives, the Queen of England, and Sami's work mates, hanging on the walls. The household's morning meal consists of bread with vegemite, peanut butter or jam, and plenty of sweetened tea or cocoa. The only other meal of the day is taken in the early evening, and, if financial conditions permit, consists of fried fish, tapioca, and dalo (taro). More often than not this meal consists simply of tinned fish and dalo.

Sami is the only wage-earning member of the household. His income of \$F 14.00 a week is supplemented by about \$F 2.00 earned on week-ends as a bouncer and general helper in a local pub. The household spends as much as \$F 10.00 a week on food, and \$F 1.50 on cigarettes, while Sami spends up to \$F 3.00 a week on his drinking sprees. With rent, loan repayments, and other miscellaneous expenses the Mboles have difficulty in saving. They have been threatened with eviction several times in the past for non-payment of rent. Financial difficulties and the presence of unemployed non-elementary family members have led to bitter quarrels between Sami and his wife. On one occasion he had beaten her severely when she had loaned some of the rent money to her brother. Conversely, she often reprimands him

for getting drunk and staying away from work. He says that drinking with friends is his only form of recreation and it provides him with an excuse to keep away from his overcrowded flat. When Sami's elder brother last visited the Mboles he brought dalo and yundi (bananas) but stayed for several months before returning to his village.

Because of the costs involved Sami has returned only once to Lau, his province of birth. But he retains his ties with rural kinsfolk and friends in other ways. There is always a Lauan from the estate who is ready to make the trip and carry back messages, materials, new and used clothing, and other gifts. On ceremonial occasions, such as marriages and deaths, the Mboles cooperate with other Lauans living in the estate or in Suva. Messages concerning these are sometimes broadcast over the radio or carried from door to door. During his last annual vacation Sami and his wife visited her village in Ra and assisted her rural relatives in erecting bures.

There are about 400 persons at the place where Sami works as a carpenter and he knows most of them "by face." His closest friend is a Gilbertese who works alongside. Unlike his brother Mosese who frequents a certain "grog shop" because "there are many there from Lau" Sami has many Fijian friends who are migrants from other provinces. This is partly because his wife has taught him the western dialect which he uses in addition to his own (standard Bauan). When asked whether Indians are also a heterogeneous section his reply indicates that he has experienced considerable direct contact with them. Most are workmates who occasionally join him in a few glasses of beer at the workers' club. Sami is also a member of a multisectional sporting club, the credit union that serves estate residents, and the

Lau Provincial Organization, but seldom finds the time to attend their meetings.

According to Sami his Fijian neighbors are unfriendly and inconsiderate. His flat is located in the noisiest section of the block, at the corner of the bottom floor next to the stairway. One night Sami got into a fight with the friend of a neighbor. The man, like Sami's neighbor, was a bit drunk and was acting rowdy while Sami's sick baby was trying to sleep. Although Sami has little to do with his neighbors his wife knows most of the families living in the same block of flats, especially the women who live on the same floor-level. Contact with other housewives is common since most leave their doors open during the day on account of the heat. Her daily schedule of activities includes gossiping with the women from other households, putting the straw mats out to air in the sun, laundering, and taking a short nap in the afternoons. On Saturdays she usually attends a matinée with her Part-European girl friend and neighbor while Sami's sister looks after the children.

Like most migrants who have not lived in the city for a great length of time, Sami likes to compare village with urban life:

People are more friendly in the village; even if you don't have a cent. In the village you can plant your own food, or if you need some cash you can always find work cutting copra. Living in the city is very expensive and there is always someone who bosses you. If you don't go to work there is no pay. The cost of living has jumped up in six months but wages have remained the same. The politicians and trade unionists make a lot of promises but they never seem to give us what we want. They only have big mouths.

Despite this pessimism Sami intends to settle permanently in Suva. He has, in his own terms, "got the habit of earning money every week." Moreover, he has high aspirations for his children--to be doctors and lead more comfortable lives. In his opinion any sacrifice he makes for their education will not be too great. Besides, there is always the possibility the Mboles will one day be able to purchase a house from the Housing Authority.

The Significance of the Cases

In broad terms, the cases described above may be seen as examples of the pattern of migration and subsequent adjustment of many Indians and Fijians who are relatively recent arrivals in Suva. Hari's case is typical of those members of Indian small-farm households who engage in off-farm employment, whilst still remaining, at least initially, part of rural society. Such households are usually located in settlements close to urban or more developed sectors in which there are opportunities for secondary and tertiary employment. Navua, the rural home of Hari and his family, is one such settlement.⁶⁹ The pressure of population upon land resources was one factor that encouraged Hari to migrate to the city to seek a cash income. But as we saw, there were several other good reasons affecting Hari's decision to move to Suva. Among them were the size and nature of the joint household, Hari's aspirations, and so on. The migration may be temporary or permanent, but when the break comes it is usually attributed to personal quarrels, particularly among the women.

⁶⁹ A. Grant Anderson, "Indian Small-Farming in Fiji," Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. 9, No. 1 (May, 1968), pp. 12-31.

Sami represents those Fijian migrants who come to Suva for no specific reason other than to accompany their parents. Once settled in the city there is little incentive for Sami to return to the village. Yet Sami, like most Fijians I know, maintains close connections with his rural home from time to time. Although most Fijian migrants, like Sami, may belong to a wider geographical grouping, such as the provincial organization, this does not necessarily indicate the persistence of traditional socio-cultural patterns. There are other factors affecting the pattern of social relations in the city. I have shown elsewhere, for instance, how a particular type of locality like the housing estate complex can provide the basis for new types of social relationships that cut across sectional and subsectional ties.⁷⁰ In that paper I indicate how the policy of allocating housing units (according to a waiting list) virtually eliminates the formation of sectional and subsectional groupings so often a characteristic of the urbanization process in other developing countries.⁷¹ In Raiwanga estate tenants are not able to choose their neighbors. I also show how the voluntary associations operating in the estate have

⁷⁰ A. Mamak, "Aspects of Social Life in an Urban Estate," in John Harré, ed., Living in Town: Problems and Priorities in Urban Planning in the South Pacific, (Suva: University of the South Pacific and the South Pacific Social Sciences Association, 1973).

⁷¹ See, for example, A.L. Epstein, "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa," op. cit., pp. 277-278.

the potential for extending social relationships far beyond the level of family and neighborhood. In this respect, it should also be emphasized that the new urban environment presents migrants with a greater element of choice. Some Fijian migrants, like Sami, prefer to include not only Fijians from other provinces but members of other sections in their network of personal relations. Others, like Sami's brother Mosese, tend to associate only with other migrants from the same village or province.

Before I leave this topic I should like to point out several points of similarity between the two cases examined above.⁷² First, both Hari and Sami share the same attitude with regard to the high cost of living in Suva. Secondly, both place a strong emphasis on the education of their children. Their remarks also suggest a low level of political efficacy. Although Sami belongs to more voluntary organizations than Hari, neither has any inclination to participate in organizational activity. (Later I describe in more detail the part Suva inhabitants like Sami and Hari play in the economic, political, and other sectors of urban life.) Finally, it may be noted that both Hari and Sami had pre-existing relations in Suva. Not only does this equip them to settle in more readily in the new urban environment, but it also provides them with the single most important category of persons with respect to personal interaction. For the most part this category of persons consists of kinfolk. Social ties with neighbors are not strong, and, as we saw, there is

⁷² I have previously emphasized the broad contrasts between the migration and subsequent adjustment patterns of Europeans and non-Europeans.

a tendency to avoid social intercourse with neighbors. This is partly because Hari and Sami have only recently moved to the block of flats they are currently occupying,⁷³ and partly because they have a very low standard of living, financial insecurity, and lack of education which tends to hinder the establishment of secondary contacts other than those at work.⁷⁴ The accounts I have presented of their day-to-day activities suggest that the work place is becoming socially an important unit for men like Hari and Sami. A subsequent chapter discusses the extent to which the work place contributes to the development of new sets of social relations between sections.

⁷³ There is plenty of evidence to indicate that new patterns of sociability involving the neighbor are common for more established residents in the estate. Mamak, loc. cit. Despite some unfavourable attitudes shown by some Indians and Fijians towards each other there is very little evidence of open cleavages between Indian and Fijian neighbors in the housing estate. I base this finding on an examination of local police records covering the period of research, and the files of the Tenants Association which in the early days of the estate attempted to settle any disputes that arose between tenants.

⁷⁴ For a similar point of view, see Renate Mayntz, "Leisure, Social Participation, and Political Activity," in Sociological Aspects of Leisure, (UNESCO, 1960), p. 551.

CHAPTER 4

Economic Activities

This chapter examines the extent to which sectional or multisectional distributions exist in terms of occupational statuses. The occupational distribution at the local level, Suva, shall also be examined, especially in terms of the economic roles or activities included within each status. Finally, to be described is the nature of working situations in Suva.

The Occupational Structure of the Dominion

Let us first look at the distribution of rural occupations. According to the 1966 census 61.2% of all adult Fijian males were economically active in agricultural industries. Seventy-three per cent of this number was engaged in subsistence or village agriculture while the remainder was engaged in specialized agriculture. Significantly, however, the latter activity is increasing, especially in sugar cane, coconuts, vegetables, bananas, rice or maize, while the number of Fijians engaged in village agriculture with no cash crops appears to be declining. The increasing rate of Fijian cash cropping is due partly to the desire for a money income, partly to the gradual disappearance of land suitable for subsistence production, and partly to better organization, direction, and marketing arrangements in commercial agriculture.⁷⁵

Almost 46% of the adult Indian males were employed in agricultural industries. However, unlike the majority of Fijians

⁷⁵ 1966 Census, op. cit., p. 71. See, also, E.K. Fisk, The Political Economy of Independent Fiji, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970), pp. 65-71.

most Indians in this category are engaged in growing sugar cane. Ninety per cent of the cane farms in Fiji are Indian-owned or leased. A small number of Indians is engaged in cultivating grain crops, vegetables, and coconuts. Thus, there appears to be a significant sectional rather than a multisectional distribution in regard to rural economic activities. The rural-agricultural labor force of Indians and Fijians is sectionally differentiated with respect to its type of economic activity. However, the proportion of economically active males occupied in rural industries (mostly Indians and Fijians) is decreasing. In 1956, 53% of the male population was so engaged against 50% in 1966, whereas the proportions employed in each of the remaining industries increased.⁷⁶ Now to be examined is the pattern of distribution in non-agricultural industries, i.e., the urban-industrial sector of the economy.

Table 7 shows the distribution of the economically active population by industry and section in 1971. The table suggests that there are multisectional distributions for each industry listed. However, sectional over-representation appears in the following industries: Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing (Fijians and Indians); Mining and Quarrying (Fijians and Europeans); Construction (Indians); Wholesale and Retail Trades (Indians and Europeans); and Finance, etc., (European). Evidence of shared occupations is found in the remaining industries, i.e., the latter appear to be proportionally represented by most sections. We may carry the test of occupational distribution

⁷⁶ 1966 Census, loc. cit.

further by dividing the industries found in the urban-industrial sector into occupational statuses for the purpose of examining the distribution of statuses within each of these sections.

Table 7

Distribution of Economically Active Population by Industry and Section in the Urban-Industrial Sector

Industry	Fijians		Indians		Europeans etc.		Suva Total*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Agriculture, Forestry, & Fishing	1,401	7.2	1,010	4.1	187	2.6	268	1.7
Mining & Quarrying	1,264	6.5	438	1.8	415	6.0	41	.3
Manufacturing	2,773	14.3	5,033	20.3	1,261	18.1	3,482	22.2
Electricity, etc.	683	3.5	285	1.2	145	2.1	477	3.0
Construction	2,421	12.5	4,591	18.5	443	6.3	3,553	22.6
Wholesale & Retail Trades, Hotels	3,066	15.8	4,774	19.3	1,531	22.0	3,156	20.1
Transport & Communication	1,224	6.3	1,828	7.4	708	10.1	1,214	7.7
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	267	1.3	704	2.8	533	7.7	264	1.5
Community, Social & Personal Service	6,156	32.6	6,067	24.6	1,725	25.1	3,284	20.9
Total	19,255	100.0	24,730	100.0	6,948	100.0	15,739	100.0

Source: Derived from unpublished figures collected by the Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 1971. Farmers, fishermen, and casual employees such as cane cutters, and domestic servants in private households are not included in the above figures.

* Unfortunately, a breakdown of sections within industries in Suva is unavailable.

The five broad occupational statuses used by the Bureau of Statistics for the analysis of occupations in Fiji may be applied here. These are: A) Professional and Top Management; B) Technical and Semi-professional; C) Skilled Office, Middle and Lower Management; D) Skilled

and Semi-skilled Workers; and E) Unskilled Workers. Later to be described are the occupational roles or activities included within each status. Now it is sufficient to note that a relatively small proportion of the economically active Fijians and Indians occupy Category A positions (Table 8). Only 2.3% of the total number of Fijians, and 4.4% of the total number of Indians, occupy executive positions in the industries listed in Table 7. Most members of these sections share a subordinate status by virtue of the fact that they tend to occupy positions in Categories D and E.

Table 8

Distribution of Economically Active Population by
Statuses Within Sections

Category	Fijians		Indians		Europeans, etc.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
A	449	2.3	1,102	4.4	1,613	23.0
B	2,397	12.7	2,264	9.3	665	9.9
C	2,323	12.0	4,490	18.1	2,161	31.0
D	6,066	31.4	10,208	41.3	1,907	27.4
E	8,019	41.6	6,666	26.9	612	8.7
Total	19,254	100.0	24,730	100.0	6,958	100.0

Source: Derived from unpublished figures collected by the Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 1971.

By way of contrast, 23% of the economically active Europeans, Chinese, and Part-Europeans are found at the professional and top management level. Unfortunately it is not possible to distinguish between Europeans, Chinese and Part-Europeans in the various occupational categories since the Bureau of Statistics tends to regard these sections as a single occupational group. However, general observation and interviews with the Bureau's statisticians suggest that the bulk of the

European section is found in Category A occupations, while the majority of Chinese and Part-Europeans are engaged in middle-level occupations, i.e., Categories B, C, and D. I am also inclined to assume that most of the 612 persons listed under Category E are Part-Europeans (see Table 8).⁷⁷

Evidence of a similar sectional pattern appears in the sectional distribution within each occupational status. Table 9 shows that Europeans, etc., make up half of the number of persons employed in professional and top management occupations. The proportion of Indians lies somewhere between this occupational group and Fijians, while the latter make up only one-seventh of the population within this status. Fijians and Indians are about equally represented in occupational statuses B and E, while the latter section appears to be over-represented in statuses C and D.

Table 9

Distribution of Economically Active Population by
Sections Within Occupational Status

	A	B	C	D	E
Fijians	14.5%	45.0%	26.0%	27.9%	52.4%
Indians	34.7	42.5	50.0	61.6	43.5
Europeans etc.	50.8	12.5	24.0	10.5	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	(3,171)	(5,326)	(8,975)	(18,181)	(15,297)

Source: Derived from unpublished figures collected by the Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 1971.

⁷⁷ Further evidence of European dominance in the urban-industrial economy is illustrated by figures provided by the Fiji Department of Inland Revenue. In 1968 a European paid an average of \$F 340.00 in income tax; a Chinese paid \$F 203.00; an Indian paid \$F 105.00; and a Fijian paid \$F 62.00.

Significantly, however, the majority of economically active persons in such subordinate statuses as D and E are Fijians and Indians.

The Bureau of Statistics does not provide a distribution of the occupational roles or activities of each section within statuses, but general observation and interviews suggest that most of the Fijians in the professional and top management category are about equally divided into the following three roles: administrators in government; teachers in secondary schools, and medical practitioners and related professionals. There is an equal number of Indians in government and in the teaching profession, in addition to a smaller number who are engaged as working proprietors.

Again, an accurate breakdown for non-Fijians and non-Indians is difficult. Nevertheless, a general observation is that about half the European economically active section is employed as professionally qualified personnel of government departments. The remainder is engaged in commerce, especially in the wholesale and retail trades, and in airline and airport services. About one-third of the Chinese are engaged in wholesale and retail trade distribution, while a sizable proportion is engaged in the manufacturing of food and drink. About 10% are active in market gardening. The Part-European section is predominantly found in skilled and semi-skilled levels as gold-miners, sugar processors, and iron and steel workers.

In the technical and semi-professional fields (Category B) most Fijians are engaged in community services as medical and related technicians, as nurses, and as primary school teachers; the majority of Indians in this category is engaged in teaching. Most of the Fijians found in the skilled office category (Category C) occupy

clerical positions in government. There is an equal number of Indians similarly employed, but a substantial number is also engaged as clerks in commercial firms. At the skilled and semi-skilled occupational level (Category D) Fijians and Indians share the following occupations: electrician, carpenter, and the like, in government projects and in building and road construction. However, there is greater employment of Fijians as waiters, bartenders, and housekeepers in the hotel and restaurant industry. Furthermore, the majority of shop assistants are Indians. Finally, most Fijian and Indian unskilled workers (Category E) are engaged as laborers in national and local government projects, sugar processing, and building and road construction.

The Distribution of Suva Occupations

It is interesting to compare the urban-industrial occupational structure of the Dominion as a whole with the occupational distribution of the household heads in our sample population. The occupational distribution may again be viewed in terms of the five statuses already described, and in terms of the occupational roles or activities included within each status. One striking thing about this occupational distribution is the extent to which the statuses and roles are multi-sectional, notably with respect to the Fijian and Indian sections (Table 10). As is the case in the Dominion, Fijians and Indians are distributed throughout the occupational structure of Suva, and there is a certain amount of overlap in the economic activities engaged in by both. Let us note the exceptions. According to my estimate, very few Indians are employed as wharfhands or dockworkers. Also, few Indians are employed as clergymen. Many of the shop assistants listed

Table 10

Comparison of Sections with Respect to
Occupational Statuses, Roles,
and Number Employed

CATEGORY A - Professional/Top Management	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Director/Manager	20	3	11
Chartered Accountant	5	1	1
Engineer	7	-	-
Government Advisor	5	1	-
Airline Pilot	3	-	-
Surveyor	3	-	2
Chemist	1	-	-
Government official	3	1	2
Training Officer	3	-	-
Teacher, University & Secondary	1	5	4
Doctor	-	1	-
Lawyer	-	1	-
Ship Officer	-	1	-
	51 (96%)	14 (9%)	20 (14%)
CATEGORY B - Technical/Semi-Professional			
Radio Announcer	-	1	1
Laboratory Technician	-	2	4
Teacher, Primary	2	1	4
Clergyman	-	4	-
Social Worker	-	2	-
	2 (4%)	10 (7%)	9 (6%)
CATEGORY C - Skilled Office/Middle & Lower Management			
Clerk, Commercial & Government		17	23
Supervisor/Foreman		7	14
Government Inspector		3	2
Salesman		7	2
		34 (22%)	41 (30%)
CATEGORY D - Skilled/Semi-skilled Workers			
Carpenter		13	13
Driver		5	10
Painter/Plasterer		1	1
Market Vendor/Souvenir Maker		6	2
Electrician		3	2
Motor Mechanic		2	2
Blacksmith/Welder		2	1
Machine Tool Operator		5	1
Plumber		2	2
Shop Assistant		1	15

Table 10. (Continued) Comparison of Sections with
Respect to Occupational Statuses, Roles, and
Number Employed

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Photographer		-	1
Tailor		-	3
Cook		-	2
Greaser		1	-
Panelbeater		2	-
Shipwright		3	-
Bartender		2	-
Butcher		2	-
Bookbinder		1	-
Housekeeper		1	-
		52 (34%)	55 (40%)
CATEGORY E - Unskilled Workers			
Road Laborer		19	7
Watchman		3	3
Messenger		3	1
Laundryman		-	1
Garbageman		3	2
Wharfhand		13	-
Gardener		3	-
		42 (28%)	14 (10%)
Total	53 (100%)	152 (100%)	139 (100%)

in Table 10 are Gujeratis. While both Fijians and Indians are found in clerical positions the latter tend to occupy more senior positions. Furthermore, the middle and lower strata tend to be sectionally specific with respect to Europeans on the one hand, and Fijians and Indians on the other. In other words, Europeans, in contrast to the vast majority of Indians and Fijians, tend to be clustered in the top occupational categories.

With respect to the economic activities included within Category A most Europeans are in administration, as directors and managers of large European commercial enterprises, and in highly trained

professions as chartered accountants, civil engineers, and airline pilots. By way of contrast, most Indians in this category are working proprietors of import and export firms, duty-free shops, and the like. But it is important to note that almost all the Indian wholesale and retail merchants in our sample are Gujeratis. General observation suggests that most of the Indian merchants and businessmen in Suva are members of this subsection. Not surprisingly, the twenty-four committee members of the Suva Indian Chamber of Commerce are Gujeratis. Gujerati merchants and businessmen tend to form corporate economic units. Most employees are relatives of the owners, and the network of credit relations is generally limited to relatives and members of this Indian subsection. Gujeratis also tend to enter into competitive relationships with Europeans of similar status. An illustration of this pattern of economic activity is the following case:

In 1909, Motiram Narsey, a Gujerati migrant from Bombay, came to Suva and found employment as a tailor in an European firm. Two years later Motiram used the money from his savings to set up his own tailoring shop. As the demand for his services increased Motiram sent for his family to assist him in running the business. His five brothers and their families also came to establish themselves in the same way. When Motiram passed away shortly after their arrival the brothers decided against opening a new shop of their own. Instead they maintained Motiram's business and worked it as a group. By 1930 the business had expanded to include wholesale and retail activities. The brothers acquired the commercial

property adjacent to the tailoring shop and began stocking it with goods ordered direct from Hong Kong, India, and Japan. Since the Second World War the firm of Narseys Limited has experienced rapid expansion owing largely to increasing tourist trade in duty free goods. Until 1950 the sale of wine and spirits was wholly in the hands of European firms. Narseys was the first Indian firm to obtain a wholesale liquor license. In 1954 it began competing with European-operated stores in the selling of radio and electrical equipment. At the head of the enterprise during this period was Aram Narsey, one of the five brothers who had come to join Motiram in Suva. Aram's eldest son, Chimalal, was given charge of one of the departments in the firm. He had shown himself capable, and when one of his uncles died in 1967 Chimalal took his place as one of the directors of the firm. At the time of interview, Chimalal had been appointed Managing Director, and his brothers and paternal male cousins were in charge of various departments in Narseys. Today, the firm has grown sufficiently large to compete successfully with the two largest European-owned department stores in Suva.

Needless to say, the particulars of this case are not typical. Most Indian commercial enterprises have not experienced such success. Lack of business experience, competition, and high overheads contribute to a high rate of bankruptcy among Gujerati as well as other Indian businessmen. However, Narseys and similar successful enterprises have provided a model for others to follow. Economic development in Suva, and the rapid increase of the tourist trade have made wholesaling and retailing sufficiently profitable to maintain a large

number of Indian commercial entrepreneurs. In 1945 commercial licenses were issued to 115 Indians; by 1968 the number of licenses held by Indians increased to 415 or 55.6% of the total number of licenses issued for that year. The remaining licenses were distributed as follows: Chinese 22.9%; Europeans 20.0%; and Fijians 1.5%. The figures given above provide a distorted view since they do not distinguish between a small Indian or Chinese retail shop and a large commercial firm (e.g., Carpenters, Burns Philp) with numerous branches in the Pacific and involved in practically every sector of the economy. Even Narsey's, one of the largest Indian firms, employs no more than fifty-five persons, and has no branches in Fiji or elsewhere.

Previously mentioned was how some Gujerati businessmen compete with some Europeans in the urban-industrial sector of the economy. Not surprisingly, therefore, few Gujerati businessmen are members of the predominantly European Suva Chamber of Commerce. But an indication of potential change is the fact that most Gujeratis are linked with other European businessmen on the basis of common membership in the national body, namely, the Fiji Chamber of Commerce. More importantly, the break among Gujeratis, and between Gujeratis and other relatively less wealthy Indian businessmen, appears to be more permanent. Evidence of decreasing social solidarity among Gujeratis is shown, for example, by the formation of a breakaway group from the Suva Indian Chamber of Commerce. The former call themselves the Suva Retailers Association. The position of some successful Gujerati businessmen frequently brings them into direct conflict with other Indians. To take one example only: In 1963 a Gujerati bank--the Bank of Baroda--with headquarters in India was

established in Suva. The bank has recently been the focus of tensions arising between Gujeratis and non-Gujerati Indians engaged in commerce.⁷⁸ One of my informants, a South Indian businessman, drafted the following letter which was subsequently published by Elitz publications of Bombay in one of their newspapers dated 31 October, 1970:

BANK OF BARODA FOR GUJERATIS ONLY

We, the people of Indian origin in Fiji, wish to bring to the notice of the Indian authorities the undesirable state of affairs prevailing in the Bank of Baroda, Fiji. Some of us have accounts with this bank. The loan granting policy of the Bank is heavily in favour of the Gujerati business community. The bank loans money only to the Gujerati race who deal in tourist goods such as radios, cameras, etc. Very little assistance is given to the poor, lower and middle class people. We have brought this to the notice of the Indian authorities through a number of letters. Strangely, nobody seems to bother about it. Let the Reserve Bank of India demand statistics, and see whether the nationalized bank funds are used for the benefit of the common man in Fiji. When officers holding high positions utilize every opportunity for personal gains, it is useless to expect honourable decisions.

Few Fijians occupy administrative positions in commerce.

The few who do are engaged in predominantly Fijian enterprises.

However, in recent years a few European firms have appointed Indians and Fijians as co-directors probably, I suspect, as a token of localization.

Since 1960 official policy has been to give Fiji Islanders control of

⁷⁸ Gujeratis are often contemptuously referred to as "Goojis" by other Indians.

their own affairs by replacing an expatriate work force with locals. In Fiji this approach is commonly referred to as localization. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that localization is producing greater fluidity among the local professional class irrespective of sectional origin. Furthermore, many of the occupational roles which were sectionally specific in the past are beginning to be multi-sectional. Similarly, as opportunities for economic advance are taken up the middle and lower status occupations may increasingly become multi-sectional. Specifically, with respect to Fijian economic advance, a recent Bill provides for the setting up of a Fijian Development Institute by the Fijian Affairs Board:

...to sponsor the development of the Fijian people by providing training, advice and assistance. The institute would include a finance and business advisory unit to assist Fijians, particularly in the urban sector, in the formation of business enterprises.

To be noted, however, is the fact that the proposed institute is multisectional at several levels. For example, the Fijian Prime Minister has moved the appointment of a select committee (consisting of three Fijians, three Indians, and one Chinese member of the House of Representatives) to review the bill. Secondly, the creation of this sectionally exclusive structure is viewed as "an insurance premium against the risks of racial disharmony in the future."⁷⁹ Thirdly, the social and economic unit of the Institute would sponsor studies of other cultures in Fiji, and would assist in developing an

⁷⁹ Fiji Times, December 24, 1971.

appreciation of other cultures. Finally, the Prime Minister expressed the hope that non-Fijian business experts in Fiji would provide voluntary assistance in the running of the Institute.⁸⁰ It is interesting that when a Fijian member of parliament exactly a year earlier asked whether "Fijians should get special privileges and preferential treatment," the Prime Minister replied that the Government would offer assistance to anyone who needed it irrespective of their sectional origins.⁸¹ Thus, in assessing the present and future trends of economic activities it is important to note this officially stated policy of multisectional equality of opportunity rather than sectional inequality. How does this pattern compare with the trends of the past?

As late as the 1920s the Indian section was divided into three "classes": 1) agriculturist; 2) laborers; and 3) merchants. Indian laborers formed the largest economic unit in paid employment in the towns.⁸² An important aspect of Fijian occupational structure in those days was the large number of Fijian villagers who worked temporarily in the urban areas of the colony. "Fijians go to work for a definite period to obtain money for a specific object and then return to the village to resume their work as agriculturist."⁸³

⁸⁰ Loc. cit.

⁸¹ Fiji Times, December 11, 1970.

⁸² Legislative Council Debates 1921, CP 14, p. 28.

⁸³ Fiji Colonial Report, No. 1453 (Suva, 1928), p. 46.

Strike action by Indian laborers in the 1920s provided many Fijians with the opportunity of entering low-status occupations simply by filling up the vacuum created.⁸⁴ As educational facilities improved more Indians and Fijians aspired to enter the new urban-oriented economy. Both sections sought clerical employment, particularly in the civil service.⁸⁵ This brought them into direct conflict with members of the European section.⁸⁶ In middle-status occupations the provision of living quarters and higher remuneration served to distinguish Europeans from non-Europeans.⁸⁷

Like most countries with a colonial past⁸⁸ there was a period when the Colonial Government attempted with varying degrees of success to control native migrations to urban areas. The prevention of "crowding" (usually western standards of crowding were used), the preservation of minimum sanitary and health conditions in urban areas, and the ideal of preserving traditional society inspired an anti-

⁸⁴ MP 3791/1921.

⁸⁵ Fiji Colonial Report, No. 1342 (Suva, 1926), p. 28; and No. 1411 (Suva, 1927), p. 50.

⁸⁶ In his report of 1929, for example, the C.S.R. manager wrote: "In training half-caste, Fijian, or Indian to any skilled or semi-skilled work, strong opposition on the part of the white employees is encountered." MP 6138/1929.

⁸⁷ Fiji Colonial Report, No. 1453 (Suva, 1928) p. 50.

⁸⁸ See, for instance, A. Southall, "The Impact of Imperialism upon Urban Development in Africa," in Colonialism in Africa, Victor Turner, ed., (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971) p. 246.

urbanization policy in administration. Significantly, however, the pressure came mainly from the European commercial group entrenched in Suva. An underlying assumption in this group was, as was previously mentioned, the notion that non-whites did not belong in urban areas.

By 1946, 2.18% of the Fijian population were absent from their province of birth, and most had settled in Suva. The Secretary for Fijian Affairs noted with alarm:

This Colony like many others has reached the stage when many young people on the completion of their formal education are seeking white collar jobs. Of the many who do not qualify for Government jobs, it has been found that generally speaking they despise village life and, as misfits in the community, they eventually drift to towns to seek employment.⁸⁹

In conjunction with the Fijian Administration the Government attempted to use various measures to restrict Fijians from leaving their villages. A system of licensing recruiters to work as stevedoring labor was attempted. Also, special police forces were employed to discourage urban drift.⁹⁰ In 1953, a committee known as the Suva Men was formed "to rid Suva of these dau lako voli (itinerants)." The committee, headed by the District Officer consisted of one appointed Fijian representative from each province. The committee instructed all village headmen to submit to them the names of those persons who were presently permanently employed in Suva and of those who left the village without permission.⁹¹

⁸⁹ F 36/1946.

⁹⁰ Legislative Council Debates 1951, C.P. 12.

⁹¹ Suva District Officer's files.

The gradually increasing rate of migration points to the limited success of these restrictions. Nevertheless, it is easy to understand how the attempt to create artificial barriers to migration limited to a certain extent the socio-economic advance of the Fijian section as a whole.⁹² It was also a policy which afforded success to only a small group of Suva-based Indian and Fijian elites, and constituted an important source of "class" division among these sections. To cite some examples: At least three social movements developed among the rank-and-file activists in the Fijian section.⁹³ As early as 1914 a Fijian company known as the Viti Kabani (Fiji Company) was registered in Suva in protest against European business combines. It sought "to create an opportunity for the common Fijian" by wresting control of commerce back into their hands. In a widely distributed circular one of the company's officials noted:

The beginning of this thing is through Europeans here in Fiji swindling us, the price of all our things are different, and cost of things for us black men is different. As we have seen in years past until the present day their swindling us will never cease. This is why I am writing to you my friend the Chiefs of Fiji to be of good natured and

⁹² For a discussion of the consequences arising from controlled urban indigenous population growth in the Pacific, see C. Belshaw, "Pacific Island Towns and the Theory of Growth" in Pacific Port Towns and Cities, A. Spoehr, ed., (Honolulu, 1963), pp. 12-24. Belshaw points to the lack of opportunity for the establishment of indigenous enterprises, and the general inhibition of indigenous socio-economic mobility.

⁹³ I shall describe the Indian response later. It is sufficient to note that only a handful of the Indian laboring class belonged to such influential Indian organizations as the Indian Association which was looked upon by the Administration as representing all Indians.

stir yourselves with the spirit of confidence and let us help in helping this matter, to be of use to your people and to us in the sale of our things...I believe that God will help in this easy road to comfort and happiness for us Fijians and we will live like Europeans...like the Negroes in America at the present time.⁹⁴

Thousands of Fijians were attracted, but the combined pressure from European business interests and urban-based Fijians who regarded the company's founder as a rival caused the collapse of this enterprise.

Two other social movements also had an economic basis. Unlike the Viti Kabani movement, however, they openly and directly opposed the urban-based Fijian Administration. The leader of the first, the Mbula Tale Association (later known as the Blood of the Lamb), was reported to have said:

Do not pin any hopes on our (Fijian) administrators. It would be like pouring water into bottomless vessels.... Our chiefs tend to be like Europeans. They do not want to leave their beautiful houses, shiny cars, and tar-sealed roads to drive along dusty roads to our villages, sleep in our humble homes and eat our simple food.⁹⁵

In 1962, a year later, he said:

The principal cause of all the trouble in our country is the attitude with which Europeans regard the black people of our colony as mere instruments to the achievement of their wishes....This is the main reason why initiative has been destroyed and many a Fijian-owned enterprise has been liquidated. I ask for racial equalization and a change in the system of administering our people.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ MP 3571/1914.

⁹⁵ Pasifika, August 17, 1961; and Fiji Times, August 25, 1961.

⁹⁶ Pasifika, January 25, 1962.

Many Indians were openly sympathetic, but the newly formed Fijian Association and the Fijian and Rotuman Ratepayers Association of Suva vigorously opposed it. The movement was not allowed to spread from the western region where it had originated. Soon the founder and some of his followers were exiled from their village and resettled in Nandi. The Mbula Tale Association is still in existence today but it is limited to a handful of the original group.

The third movement was more recent. In 1968 a Fijian Chamber of Commerce was established and equated by its organizers with the Viti Kabani movement. It promised to "lift the Fijian people out of their economic doldrums."⁹⁷ One of the organizers noted:

Looking back on the ninety-four long years of British administration in Fiji not a single commercial enterprise has been established for our welfare. The British put us on a river bank leaving us confused as to what to do in deciding how to cross the river...we have been waiting for ninety-four years and that is why we endeavoured to devise this scheme ourselves, to build our own boat to embark all Fijians recorded in the register of communal units, and to cross the river to the other side where all well-to-do people live.⁹⁸

More conservative Fijians challenged the methods and organization of the Fijian Chamber of Commerce. The Council of Chiefs and the Fijian Association created a counter movement known as the Fijian Development and Investment Corporation. The latter aimed to guide and advise Fijians in commerce and to search for various commercial undertakings to be operated by Fijians. A number of other similar corporations with official sponsorship followed

⁹⁷ Nation and Tovata, July 2, 1970.

⁹⁸ Pasifica, June 24, 1969.

suit. If nothing more it appears that the social movements that arose from the rank-and-file had stimulated the development of a more permanent commercial institutional framework that promises to provide Fijians with the opportunity to take a more active part in the economic development of the Dominion.⁹⁹

We are now ready to examine in more detail the occupational histories of several Suva Indians and Fijians whom I know:

Case 1. Apisai (35) attended the Suva Methodist Mission school until the second world war interrupted his studies. He joined the Army as a wireless operator after two years' training. He spent two years in the Solomons with the Fiji regiment. Upon his return he joined the Public Works Department as an apprentice shipwright. He did not complete his apprenticeship, and returned to his village to help his father work the land. He returned to Suva four years later and found work as a greaser with Matson Lines. He returned to the Public Works Department recently as a section plant operator for \$F 22.00 a week.

Case 2. Meli (44) worked as a milk bar attendant, an ice cream salesman, and an electrician's assistant. From 1939 to 1948 he worked as an electrical linesman in the Solomon Islands. For a time he joined the army in Malaya. Later he worked as an electrical linesman for the Suva City Council. Still later a local garage offered him better pay and he joined them as a machinist. At that time he was making \$F 12.00 a week. He returned to the city

⁹⁹ Nation and Tovata, February 14, 1969. The restructuring of the Fijian Administration, and the tendency for the Fijian Association to push for legislation favourable to all Fijians may reduce tensions in the authority and economic systems of the Fijians.

council as a plant mechanic. Two years later he was back in the Solomon Islands as a machinist because he was offered higher wages. He returned in 1965 and worked for the Government's Forestry Department as a plant mechanic for two years. He resigned to join the engineering section of a European firm and was soon promoted to foreman. He got into an argument with the white plant manager and was fired. Meli went into business buying and selling eggs from door to door. Then in 1969 he was successful in applying for a position as a general filler in an oil company. At the time of interview he was making \$F 20.00 a week.

Case 3. Vijay (30) completed his primary education in Navua. He joined the local factory and worked his way up to Manager after a short time. During this period his mother passed away and his father sold the family farm and left the township for good. Vijay decided to look for a better job in Suva. He worked as a salesman in the hardware section of a European firm for two years. A European-owned cigarette factory offered him more pay and he worked for them as a driver-salesman for the next five years. He invested all his savings in a retail business of his own, but fierce competition soon forced him to sell out. Vijay has been a liquor salesman for a Chinese company for the past two years. He receives \$F 20.00 a week.

Cast 4. Mohan (28) began his occupational career at the age of 15, as a shop assistant for an Indian firm specializing in automobile spare parts. At that time his father was employed by the same firm as a motor mechanic. Several years later Mohan was transferred by the company to their branch in Suva. Soon Mohan was drawn into an argument with the branch manager and was dismissed. He joined a transport company as an order clerk in their spare-parts department. When the company's owner died two

years later Mohan was determined to purchase the business. He paid \$F 600.00 of his own money and \$F 400.00 borrowed from his father as a deposit on the purchase price of \$F 3,000.00. When the Indian owner of the premises increased the rent and when Mohan could not pay, a bailiff was sent to confiscate the remaining stock. According to Mohan the whole business was lost on account of a "greedy and jealous landlord." Mohan went to New Zealand for a "working holiday" and managed to save \$F 400.00. Later he joined a transport company as their spare-parts manager. He has persuaded the company to enter into partnership with him as the sole distributor of automobile spare-parts manufactured by one of the largest firms in India.

Case 5. Semiti (44) is a market vendor. He was born in Rewa, and completed his primary education at a Suva Catholic school. He has lived in the Raiwanga housing estate since 1960. In 1964, after spending twenty years in the army, Semiti went into business for himself. He found that there was a demand for yangona or kava among estate residents. He purchased the yangona from an Indian supplier at the market, packaged and sold it in the estate, and made thirty cents for every dollar invested. Nine months later he used the money from his investment to establish his own stall at the market. This time he went straight to the source of his supplier, a Fijian planter, and purchased a forty-pound tin of yangona from him. To help his yangona business along, Semiti's wife made and sold woven Fijian scuffs, necklaces of shell and colored seeds, and Fijian baskets from the same market-stall. At the time of interview Semiti's business had expanded to include three market-stalls selling yangona and tourist goods. His yangona sales are increasing rapidly and he is now a regular supplier for several large

firms in the city. Semiti has the help of his wife, his sister-in-law, and the couple's three children in running the business. In a good week he can make a profit of about \$F 50.00.

The above cases show that both Indians and Fijians can and do occupy many similar occupational roles. There are other similarities. For example, the occupational histories of both sections show extreme disorder. The move from one employer to the next shows this. Frequently, the move is unrelated to their previous occupations and their previous work experience is thus wasted. Both Indians and Fijians aspire to set themselves up in independent business. When this is not possible they strive to find another position that will put them in a higher income bracket.

The inhabitants of Suva generally assume that Indians are more enterprising and tend to have a greater degree of business expertise than Fijians even when both lack formal education. Stereotypes of this kind are easy to understand given the relative success of some Gujerati businessmen. But as I noted earlier, this occupational role is not an exact reflection of the total Indian working class. While the particulars of Semiti's case described above are not typical there is a fair bit of evidence that such cases are increasing.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ During the period of fieldwork six Fijian retail stores were established in the Raiwanga housing estate. This is remarkable because during the period 1928 to 1968 there were no more than ten business licenses issued to Fijians in Suva. A more detailed discussion of Fijian commercial enterprises and the factors influencing their development in the housing estate is found in Mamak, op. cit.

CHAPTER 5

The Nature of Working Situations

The focus of this chapter may be put in the form of a question: Does a multisectional work setting provide for the development of common aims which may transcend sectional interests and integrate the various sections into a "working class" group?

It is widely assumed that occupation may be a major factor in the development of new sets of social relations between sections. As Hunter observes:

Both men, and increasingly, women may move out of the world of family employment to become wage-earners in factories and offices where a wholly different hierarchy and social pattern is found. The social effects of this change may be left on one side for a moment. But possibly the relations between races could be much affected by the new environment in which they meet as fellow employees, graded not by the old criteria--family, age, religion, race--but by new criteria of skill, experience, aptitude, long service.¹⁰¹

In order to test this assumption I carried out a survey of worker-management relations and other types of behavior and attitudes that were developing in a multisectional work setting. The interview schedule was administered to a sample of 110 technical, clerical, and manual workers in three European-owned firms, and one department of Government. The men and women interviewed were chosen on a departmental basis, and the number from each department varied with

¹⁰¹ Hunter, op. cit., p. 141.

the size of the department. The respondents were chosen at random from departmental lists. Two of the European-owned companies manufacture soap, biscuits, and cigarettes in two factories. The third company is an Australian-based international business cartel with holdings in various parts of the Pacific. It comprises a network of wholesale and retail distributors dealing in duty-free goods, building supplies, groceries, automobiles, department store merchandising, and so on. The Government's Posts and Telecommunications Department was also selected because it was one of the largest (Government) organizations based in Suva. It contains mainly technical staff and clerical and skilled office workers. Another criterion used was that the three business houses and the Government department were all recently involved in a dispute with their respective unions.¹⁰²

All in all, twenty-one departments were included in the survey. The ages of the respondents ranged between 20 to 49 with the majority falling between the age range 20 to 29. About half of them had completed primary schooling, and a substantial number had a secondary education. A few had technical or some university education. Indians and Fijians were about equally represented in the four organizations although in one of the factories included in the study the staff was predominantly Part-European and Fijian. The interviews were carried out informally during business hours and at the place of work. It was considered essential to do this without being

¹⁰² The dispute involving the Government department and the union is described in Chapter 6, and Appendix B.

overheard. Consequently everything possible was done to ensure privacy. The respondent's name was not recorded in the interview schedule.

The survey was designed to elicit information on worker-management relations and other types of behavior and attitudes that develop in a multisectional work setting. I was primarily interested in comparing the attitudes shown by workers in all four organizations towards five aspects of their working lives: 1) trade unionism; 2) supervision; 3) pay and working conditions; 4) politics; and 5) work mates.

Attitude to Trade Unionism

The majority of our subjects (55% of the Indians, 67% of the Fijians, and 58% of the "others")¹⁰³ claimed membership in either one of the two unions. The National Factory and Commercial Workers Union, as its name implies, embraces clerical staff as well as manual workers, while the FPSA (Fiji Public Servants Association) is a union for salaried staff in Government.

The survey indicates that a larger proportion of high and middle-status as compared to low-status employees are not members of either one of these unions. But this in itself gives only a bare indication of the differences of attitudes to unionism between semi-professionals and clerical workers on the one hand, and semi-skilled and unskilled workers on the other. Table 11 below presents the answers given by our subjects to certain questions which have a bearing

¹⁰³ This category consists primarily of Part-Europeans, Pacific Islanders, and Chinese. Only three Europeans were included in the final selection.

Table 11

Comparison of Sections, and Persons in Various Occupational Statuses with Respect to Their Attitude to Unionism

	Total	SECTIONS			OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES			
		Indians	Fijians	Others	B	C	D	E
No opinion	9%	-	13%	17%	22%	16%	2%	-
Approve/Militant	16	20	15	12	-	10	25	33
"/ promote unity	42	38	41	42	22	36	46	45
"/Medium of com.	15	13	17	25	34	10	19	22
"/Working class	12	23	9	-	11	18	8	-
Disapprove	6	6	5	4	11	10	-	-
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	(110)	(40)	(46)	(24)	(9)	(44)	(48)	(9) p<.05

on trade unionism. Of the 6% of the total sample population who disapproved of trade unionism in general all were semi-professionals or clerical workers. The primary reason stated was that they could, as individuals, get more from their employers than they could through the unions. They saw themselves as being part of management and were not anxious to involve themselves with industrial disputes. The following statement is typical of this opinion:

We (clerks) don't get much benefit out of union membership. The company provides us with increments, not the union. If we should decide to go on strike our relationship with the company will be strained. Trade unions spell trouble (Accounts clerk, 34, Indian).

An equally substantial number of semi-professionals (11%) and clerical workers (18%) were of the opinion that "trade unions are all right for the working class." Although most tended to be sympathetic with the trade union movement they did not regard the unions as their own

organizations. As they saw it there was a clear distinction between themselves and manual workers.

By way of contrast, a significant number of skilled/semi-skilled and unskilled workers (46% and 45% respectively) as compared to only 36% of clerical workers and 22% of semi-professionals share attitudes which suggest the development of a "working class" consciousness. They emphasized a preference for collective rather than individual action. Some of them said: "The union fights for our rights." (Panel Beater, 24, Fijian); "If one of us is chucked out the union will help to get him back in." (Carpenter, 23, Indian); and, "If the union wasn't there management can do what it likes. We have to stick together." (Garage foreman, 26, Part-European). Another group expressed even more intensive involvement in trade unions. About one-third of the unskilled, and one-quarter of the skilled/semi-skilled expressed the need for a strong negotiating body to represent their interests. They said, "The unions muck around too much; they should buckle down and start fighting for our rights," (Storeman, 29, Fijian); and, "The union is a bit slow and inactive at the moment. We want to see stronger unions, like you have overseas." (Saw-machine operator, 27, Indian. Only 10% of the clerical staff expressed a similar opinion. Many of the technical and semi-professional staff (34%) tended to take a more compromised position. They accepted trade unionism, but spoke of it in terms of providing an avenue of communication between workers and management. They have come to view their unions as nothing more than a service, to make representations to management on their behalf. Finally, more semi-skilled and unskilled workers as compared to semi-professionals and clerical workers were outspoken about their attitudes

to unionism. Almost one-quarter of the latter, for example, expressed no opinion or refused to offer any.

It appears then that semi-professionals and clerical workers, and the semi-skilled and unskilled view trade unionism very differently, irrespective of their sectional affiliation. In comparison to low-status workers, the former identify themselves more closely with management, are usually more friendly with supervisors and managers, and are more oriented towards occupational advance, especially towards a managerial or supervisory position. Consequently they are more exposed to the paternalistic and anti-union attitude of management and are discouraged from participating in union activities.¹⁰⁴ Conversely, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, irrespective of their sectional affiliation, are more likely to be union activists. A substantial number expressed the need for a stronger and more powerful trade union movement and many more accepted the work group as an important reference group. They see their future well-being as dependent on collective rather than individual bargaining and are more likely to respond positively to the union's emphasis on collective action. With earnings significantly below the average a low-status worker has nothing to lose by accepting trade unionism. Here is how one Fijian process worker expressed his feelings about his union:

I came to Suva in 1947 and found part-time work as a stevedore. I was lucky because in those days it was very difficult to find any sort of work. The sugar boats used

¹⁰⁴ In the next chapter I shall describe some of the past and current influences on trade union participation.

to come down once every fortnight. In-between one had to look elsewhere for work. Then, one morning in 1956 I went down to the wharf and was told that the boat was not expected for another week. I went to the factory and applied for a job. My pay was \$F 6.00 a week. Today, after fifteen years I am making \$F 12.00 a week. That small basket of tapioca you see outside our front door cost me 60 cents. Last Saturday my wife took \$F 5.00 to the market and had to borrow bus fare home. It newly blew my mind. I am a member of the union. It is the only thing that can help us now. It is the only thing that we workers can hope for. Last month our union asked for a good pay raise. We may not get it, but if you return to Fiji in a few years time you will see how things will have changed for us.

Sex, age, frequency of association with work mates, and overall satisfaction with the job have no significant relationship with positive or negative attitudes to unionism. The division appears to relate only to occupational statuses and the differences which arise from them. Several of the semi-professionals and other salaried workers interviewed looked to the FPSA as a professional body and as an alternative to trade unionism even though the FPSA itself emphasizes such basic union goals as collective negotiation for achieving the economic demands of its members. The different rates of participation in trade union activities such as membership and the differing attitudes to trade unionism are not all due to the perception of rigid class boundaries between semi-professionals and clerical staff on the one hand, and semi-skilled and unskilled workers on the other. As one Indian accounts clerk told me: "No union official has yet approached me to join the union. Some of us want to join, others do not. We

are divided about this issue. Until we reach some agreement the union will never come here."

Attitude to Supervision

The attitudes the respondents showed to supervision did not vary considerably from one section to another. Generally the majority of our subjects (63% of the Indians; 85% of the Fijians; and 71% of the "other sections") accepted the behavior shown by their supervisors, foreman, or leading hands as being part of the job.¹⁰⁵ Their statements show that some supervision was expected, and this was regarded as normal behavior to be expected of any person in authority:

Our leading hand (Indian) specifies the amount of work we are expected to complete in a day and he is usually fair. (Painter, Fijian).

Our leading hand (Fijian) is paid to discipline us when production drops (Cigarette packer, female, Indian).

Another group (22% of the Indians, 6% of the Fijians, and 21% of the "other sections") claimed the amount of supervision by their leading hand or foreman was minimal. They knew what was required and got on with their tasks independently. On the other hand, a few of the respondents who were in low-status occupations (15% of the Indians, 9% of the Fijians, and 8% of the "other sections") grumbled about the occasional abuse and the amount of "bossing around" by their

¹⁰⁵ Generally the respondents interpreted the question of supervision in terms of being "bossed around." A few responded to this question in terms of management's attitude to them but as it turned out it was usually a foreman or supervisor we were interviewing (e.g., "There's no fuss in this company if you do your work properly"). A foreman is considered to be part of management and receives a salary.

foreman. According to them their foreman was "rough," "rude," "too bossy," "Make us work till the end," and "put too much pressure on us." Surprisingly, despite the harsh treatment our informants claimed was meted out to them only two respondents brought this to the attention of their union. Nevertheless, their responses provide further evidence of increasing antagonism between low-status workers and employees who identify more closely with management.

Attitude to Pay and Working Conditions

A large proportion of all sections grumbled about the rates of pay and working conditions. The working conditions depended very much on earnings, for, according to them, an increase in pay is generally accompanied by shorter lunch breaks, reduced overtime, and an increased work load. In one of the industries studied three employees who had left or were dismissed were not replaced and the remaining workers in that department had taken over the work load of all three. The men had recently won a wage increase of eight cents an hour and they viewed the above event as management's way of "getting back" at them. All the sections including non-union members shared a similar attitude to pay and working conditions, although women were less outspoken or demanding than the men on this subject.¹⁰⁶ Most wanted an average basic wage of \$F 35.00 a week which was slightly more than twice the average amount of their present earnings, a five day week, longer lunch breaks,

¹⁰⁶ Even if we look at the data another way, i.e., in terms of overall satisfaction in the industry (a combination of four variables, namely attitude to pay and working conditions, supervision, and future plans with regards to employment in the present industry), there appear to be no significant differences between sections nor between members of various occupational statuses with respect to this subject.

more overtime, and a more equitable distribution of the work load. Not surprisingly, a few emphasized the part that their union has played in securing higher rates of pay and in improving conditions.

Table 12
Comparison of Sections with Respect
to Pay and Working Conditions

	Indians	Fijians	Others
Satisfied with both	27%	24%	38%
Satisfied with pay but not working conditions	2	10	8
Satisfied with working cond. but not pay	40	46	33
Dissatisfied with both	31	10	21
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(40)	(46)	(24)

Attitude to Fiji Politics

The opinions the Indian respondents held on Fiji politics were somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, it appears that a substantial number are highly politicized. They believed that economic and social advance (reduced cost of living and better living conditions) could come through political action. In this respect this group differed strikingly from the non-Indian sections (Table 13). On the other hand, about an equal number of Indian respondents shared similar attitudes with many Fijians and members of the "other sections" to Fiji politics. In their view there was nothing to be gained by political activity:

Politics is only for the educated people (Panel beater, Indian).

Politicians are not much interested in laborers (Fijian, Sawing Machine Operator).

Neither of the two political parties are close to the needs of the average worker. We need a Labor Party (Garage Mechanic, Part-European).

Table 13
Comparison of Sections with Respect to Their
Extent of Interest in Fiji Politics

	Indians	Fijians	Other
Very interested	33%	7%	17%
Somewhat interested	25	48	33
Not interested	42	45	50
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(40)	(46)	(24) $p < .05$

Although I could find no significant relationship between occupational status and extent of interest in Fiji politics the higher occupational status level (i.e., B) contains a larger percentage of persons who are somewhat interested in politics than do either of the lower occupational status levels. The majority of persons in the latter occupational status levels expressed no interest in Fiji politics.

Close friends

The survey enquired into the number of close friends the respondents had made since joining their respective jobs. They were first asked the meaning of close friendship. Not surprisingly, the majority of them (88%), irrespective of sectional affiliation, defined this type of relationship in terms of the norms expected of work associates. Here are some of them:

To be working side by side like "brothers" (Customs clerk, Indian).

Someone who has a lot of time for you at work. If he drops his sweat for me that's about the time when I am dripping my blood for him (Motor Mechanic, Indian).

One who helps lighten my work load and helps me with the sawing machine (Sawing-machine Operator, Fijian).

To know each other's heart, and to stick together at work (Factory hand, female, Part-European).

One who helps me when the office work piles up (Secretary, female, Fijian).

There was no significant relationship between the number of "close friends" and the sectional origin of our subjects. This is shown in Table 14 below:

Table 14

Comparison of Sections with Respect to the Number of "Close Friends" Claimed

	Indians	Fijians	Other
None	8%	11%	12%
Between 1 and 5	42	52	58
More than 5	50	37	30
Total Number of cases	100 (40)	100 (46)	100 (24)

But this in itself gives only a slight indication of the extent of interaction between members of different sections. Our subjects were asked to indicate whether their close friends belonged to their own section only or to other sections as well.

Following Rabushka's definition of "mixers" and "non-mixers" it can be seen from Table 15 that the majority of our subjects

irrespective of their sectional affiliation were "mixers", i.e., they were persons who mixed with one or more sections other than their own on the basis of close personal friendship.¹⁰⁷ "Non-mixers" or persons who restricted their friendships to members of their own sections or had no close friends were in the minority.

Table 15
Comparison of Sections with Respect to the Sectional
Affiliation of their "Close Friends"

	Indians	Fijians	Others
None or own section	30%	29%	10%
Own + Fijian section	44	-	62
Own + Indian section	-	45	5
All sections	26	26	23
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(40)	(46)	(24)

Most of the respondents mixed with members of one section (Fijian or Indian) other than their own. Here, however, there were important differences between the various sections. As the table shows 70% (44 + 26) of the Indians, and 61% (45 + 26) of the Fijians included members of the other section respectively among their close friends; 85% (62 + 23) of the "other sections" (i.e., Part-Europeans, Chinese, and Europeans) included Fijians on the basis of a similar relationship, but only 28% (5 + 23) of the latter counted Indians as such.

¹⁰⁷ A. Rabushka, "Integration in Urban Malaya; Ethnic Attitudes among Malays and Chinese," Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, (April, 1971), p. 99.

Another way of testing the nature and strength of the relationship between members of various sections was through a question that asked respondents which sections they experienced difficulty in associating with. Here again, there were important differences between the various sections. As was seen in the previous table, a majority of the members of the "other sections" claimed that Indians were difficult to get along with:¹⁰⁸

They don't like to joke with us. They take everything so seriously (Cigarette packer, female, Part-European).

They pretend to be working hard only when their supervisor is watching (Cigarette packer, female, Part-Chinese)

Indians are stingy. Trying to get office donations from them is like squeezing blood from a rock (Foreman, Part-European).

I don't speak Hindustani (Electrical engineer, European).

Generally, some Fijians tend to share similar negative sentiments towards Indians. About one-fifth of the Fijian sample who claimed Indians were difficult thought of them as close-fisted people who spend their time "trying to get something for nothing." The two Fijian words most often expressed in this regard are kocokoco (miserly), and wende wende (like a dandy, in the sense that undue attention is given to money). Other Fijian attitudes towards Indians were as follows:

They are not open. They won't show you their true feelings. Mixing with them is gaga (bitter, or poisonous).

¹⁰⁸ It should be noted, however, that about 45% of the members of the "other sections" work in a firm in which less than one-fourth of the staff are Indians.

They know the real use of money. When it comes to sharing they're hard to be friends with. They're just plain friends because we can't talk to them right from the heart.

Even though you think you know them intimately they sometimes turn around and bite you behind your back.

Table 16
Comparison of Sections with Respect to the Sections
They Find Difficulty in Associating With

	Indians	Fijians	Others
None	48%	26%	21%
Indian	5	28	63
Fijian	16	9	12
European	34	44	13
Others (non-Europeans)	28	22	-
Does not total 100 as some respondents named more than one section			p < .05

A few Indians also shared the above attitude in regard to members of their own section. But like most of the Fijians who expressed difficulty in interacting with members of their own section they were among the younger work group whose values and interests differed from and conflicted with those held by the older and perhaps more senior workers. Only a few Indians complained that their Fijian work mates were hard to get along with. Those who did said that Fijians were "hostile," "aggressive," and "quick to anger." In their opinion Fijians were lacking in ambition, were backward and lazy ("eat and sleeps"), and suffered from "malua fever" ("malua" is used in the sense of "not yet," or "by and by," i.e., to put off

something important until later). One quoted a saying: Agar naak na hota weh tatti khatay ("If they didn't have a nose they would have already eaten shit"). Another said, Jab tak bar sidhey no hua tab tak jangli raheque ("They will improve themselves by the time their hair straightens").¹⁰⁹

Since the occupational roles of Fijians and Indians are often interchangeable the above stereotypes apparently do not arise from any perceived stratification of Fijian and Indian workers. Such upbraiding may stem from limited knowledge of the members of other sections which make for frequent misunderstandings. By way of contrast, different scales of pay and segregated occupational roles or activity between Europeans on the one hand, and Fijians, Indians, and other non-Europeans on the other, do provoke reactions of the following type:

Europeans count themselves above us (Motor Mechanic, Indian).

Whites have always been the bosses. We work under them (Clerk, Fijian).

They hardly ever have a kind word to say to you, not even a "good morning" or "How are you getting along?" (Clerical supervisor, Part-European).

The non-Europeans tended to share very similar views toward employment policies that favor Europeans. Several of those interviewed saw it this way: "In a European firm, if a non-European and a European proved incompetent the non-European would get the sack, but the

¹⁰⁹ I have heard Europeans in private conversation make similar remarks, albeit less colorfully expressed, about Fijians.

European would simply get a transfer." Indians and Fijians, in particular, ranked the European section the most difficult to associate with, and they judged Europeans in much the same way. Both acknowledged but resented the European's authority. They also shared similar attitudes toward European exclusiveness at work. They saw members of the latter section as being "aloof," "inaccessible," and "serious." In marked contrast to the egalitarian terms (such as "friend" and "brother") used by some Indians and Fijians toward each other and which provide evidence of familiarity and intimate contact, social relationships between Indians and Fijians on the one hand, and Europeans on the other are punctuated by the use of such subservient courtesy titles as "mister," "boss," "sir," and the like.

Strikingly, no outright opposition to physical or cultural differences such as religion, language, and diet were expressed by either Fijians or Indians towards each other, although color distinctions were sometimes made between themselves and Europeans. According to the survey data, more than half (68%) of the Indian respondents used the Fijian language when addressing a Fijian associate. While the majority of Fijians and members of the "other sections" used English when speaking to an Indian associate about one-fourth used Hindustani in interaction with Indians.

When asked whether the work situation had increased their understanding and knowledge of other sections, most of the respondents answered affirmatively. Slightly more than half of this number said the work situation provided them with the opportunity to learn about the other's "culture," "way of life," "customs," "language,"

The table shows that the more a respondent found himself in the company of his workmates outside working hours the more likely he was to report a higher level of tolerance and acceptance of other sections. Apparently, multisectional affiliations outside working hours provide favorable circumstances for interchange and mutual understanding between members of different sections. Length of service, length of stay in Suva, sex, and age had little effect on the relations between sections in work and leisure routines.

From observation and an analysis of responses to our questions the following conclusions emerge:

1) There are signs that a new class structure is beginning to emerge. For example, there is a growing division between clerical and technical workers on the one hand, and the majority of unskilled and semi-skilled workers on the other with respect to trade unionism. All sections perceive the distinction between labor and management levels. Those workers with higher pay and status share common aims with their workmates at the same level irrespective of sectional affiliation. A similar class consciousness appears to be developing among low-status workers. Indians, in particular, appear to be more class conscious. Although not statistically significant a similar tendency can be seen with respect to politics. Members of the lower occupational status levels generally feel that they cannot affect the actions of government. Political decisions are viewed as unpredictable.¹¹⁰

2) The data from the survey bear out the assumption that occupation is a major factor in the development of a new set of social relations between sections. Shared economic and class interests especially

¹¹⁰ At least one study has shown that low status workers are not much interested in politics. Mayntz, op. cit., p. 570.

broaden the bases upon which close personal relationships are founded. Such relationships are frequently carried outside the work place.

3) Indians and Fijians express egalitarian and friendly attitudes towards each other, apparently because there is a concentration of Indians and Fijians in similar status positions. Indians reported more actual contact with Fijians, and vice versa. Conversely, Indians and Fijians found Europeans to be one of the most difficult sections to associate with. Members of various sections generally do not evaluate each other on the basis of cultural or physical differences. "Good" Indians and Fijians are those who are ready to give advice and demonstrate a willingness to communicate with each other. The material aspects of each other's culture are frequently admired. However, non-Europeans sometimes make color distinctions in reference to Europeans.

4) Yet, ambiguity and ambivalence, which, as we shall see in later chapters, characterize social relations in the spheres of politics, voluntary associations, and education, were also present in the spheres of work. This is perhaps because the work setting is interdependent with other fields of social relations, so that an increase or decrease of pluralism in one field affects and is affected by similar processes in other fields. There is good reason to suppose, therefore, that "the new environment in which they (sections) meet as fellow employees" is only one of several factors needed to modify traditional relations based on sectional affiliation.

CHAPTER 6

The Role of the Trade Unions

The growth of trade unionism in Fiji may be dated from 1917 when more than 100 Indian laborers residing in various suburbs of Suva organized themselves for the betterment of their conditions. Not surprisingly, the Government was not positively disposed towards unionism, and the movement was founded in a hostile environment. For example, one of the leaders who organized the workers in that year was warned of the Ordinance of 1875 which prohibited the dispensation of advice or assistance in an industrial dispute.¹¹¹ A year later a strike of Public Works Department and Municipal employees started in Suva and spread to other parts of Fiji. The strikers demanded an immediate increase in wages. Fijians were enrolled as special constables in strike areas to deal with the Indian strikers. Europeans were recruited into the Suva Defense Force, and Rifle clubs were established throughout the Colony to quell any disturbance that might have erupted. A month later the strike ended as suddenly as it had begun. A Commission which was appointed to enquire into the dispute recommended a Government subsidy on the price of essential foodstuffs.¹¹² The Government accepted the findings but this did not prevent a wave of industrial unrest that subsequently developed among Indian workers in the sugar areas.

¹¹¹ MP 3558/1917.

¹¹² Fiji Colonial Report, No. 1080, 1920, p. 18.

The grievances were the same--to secure improvements of wages and working conditions. Again the Colonial Government did not hesitate to use Fijians to foil the claims of the Indian workers.

It is interesting that the labor troubles of this period paralleled the emergence of Indian resistance to British rule in India. It is recorded also that the leaders of the labor disputes were in touch with Indian nationalist leaders. In the aftermath of the strike by workers in the sugar industry the Governor commented: "Non-cooperation in India is one thing, but non-cooperation in a Crown Colony like Fiji is quite another. The Government does not intend to tolerate it here."¹¹³

The growing militancy among Indian laborers was not lost among laborers of the other sections. Several months later a group of Fijian and Part-European dockworkers unanimously decided that the work of loading and unloading overseas vessels would not be carried out unless their wages were increased.¹¹⁴ There were several reasons for labor of different sections to be combined on the same front. Firstly, the wages and working conditions of Europeans were much better than those of non-Europeans even for what was apparently the same work. Furthermore, the patterns of recruitment and working conditions of Indian and Fijian labor were similar. Both sections worked together in the same gang and their wages were on par and in accordance with the work done.¹¹⁵ But joint action

¹¹³ Legislative Council Debates, April 8, 1921.

¹¹⁴ MP 1908/1921.

¹¹⁵ Fiji Colonial Report, 1924, 1928, and 1931.

by Indians and Fijians and the collective interests of these sections were very slow in developing. There are a number of reasons for this which I shall examine later, but a major one clearly relates to the paternalism of Government and European employers which hindered any such growth. The trade union movement started off as a predominantly Indian activity with the focus of organizational activity in the sugar industry. The Indian leaders of the movement soon realized that if organized labor was to function effectively it had to admit all sections to its membership. They therefore attempted to spread their influence by acting as self-proclaimed spokesmen of the working class. The Government, becoming alarmed at the apparent success of linking Indian and Fijian labor, passed a law designed "to protect members against dishonest or politically minded officials of associations who seek to promote their own selfish ends at the expense of members."¹¹⁶

As the period progressed, a Department of Labor was founded and provided for the regulation of trade unions. This opened the way for the formation of unions covering a wide range of activities. By 1948 there were ten unions and several years later the number had increased to twenty-five.

The unions fitted into one of three categories: 1) union of cane farmers; 2) union of wage employees; and 3) others, such as copra producers, teachers, and goldminers. The Labor Advisory Board, which held its first meeting in 1946, consisted of two Fijians

¹¹⁶ The Industrial Association Ordinance (Suva; Government printer, 1941).

and two Indians who represented the workers' side, and four Europeans who acted as employers' representatives to advise Government on the problems of labor. The questions raised by the workers' representatives showed that they were much better prepared now for collective action. They proposed a statutory obligation on employers to deduct union dues from wages; compulsory unionism; and a law to prevent victimization of workers by their employers on account of union membership or participation in union activities. As is not surprising, all the proposals were rejected by the employers' representatives.¹¹⁷

In the 1950s and early 1960s the prevalent attitude of employers was that Fijians "have not the same need for an industrial organization as Indians."¹¹⁸ Some employers attempted to minimize the influence of Fijian unions in various ways. To cite one example: In 1953 the Fijian Mineworkers Union staged a strike in protest against the disciplinary action meted out by the management to several Fijian miners who had arrived late for work. Six hundred and forth-seven Fijians were involved. The employers rejected the union's demands and negotiated instead with the Provincial committee which comprised leaders of different provinces represented in the mine field.¹¹⁹ The management was successful in transforming an industrial dispute into a factional social quarrel.

In 1956 a spokesman for the Labor Department remarked that "Few parts of the world can claim to be so free from industrial

¹¹⁷ CSO F 36/1946.

¹¹⁸ Legislative Council Debates, CP 31, 1950.

¹¹⁹ Legislative Council Debates, CP 29, 1953.

unrest."¹²⁰ His opinion was optimistic, for several years later there was serious unrest in Suva. Stoning and other incidents in which Europeans were attacked were widely reported. The Commission of Enquiry interpreted these events as due to the presence of Indian and Fijian "trouble makers" among the strikers. Nevertheless, some of the witnesses with whom I am acquainted attributed symbolic significance to these events, namely, retribution for European monopoly of the economy.

The extent to which Indians and Fijians were prepared to shed their sectional separateness, and work together for the betterment of their lot may be seen in the fact that the following year (1960) fourteen instances of industrial unrest involving 4,692 Fijian and Indian workers were reported.¹²¹ Again, in 1967, Fijian and Indian workers jointly struck work in Suva. Employers responded by forming their own association known as the Fiji Employers' Consultative Association (FECA). One familiar tactic employed by members of the FECA was the refusal to negotiate with union officials on the grounds that the union was not representative of the employees. The FECA's reasoning was probably accurate because encouragement was usually given to the labor of one section to break away from a multisectional but militant trade union. I shall discuss the properties of some of these dual unions below, but in the present context it is sufficient to note that the employer's attitude was

¹²⁰ Legislative Council Debates, CP 38, 1956.

¹²¹ Legislative Council Debates, CP 37, 1961.

fostered not a little by the often ambivalent attitude of the Department of Labor towards breakaway unions.¹²² Official and unofficial European opinion still insisted on regarding Fijian workers as being unfriendly to independent trade unionism, and attempts to unite workers irrespective of sectional origin were met with opposition and obstacles by the employers. Indeed, as we shall see, the formation of many breakaway unions were often assisted and later recognized by the employers themselves.

Dual Unions

As I noted earlier, one feature of the trade union movement was the tendency for non-Indians to form their own sectionally exclusive unions. The preponderance of one section in some industries has of course given some unions a sectional complexion. But sectional exclusiveness in union organization in some multisectional industries requires explanation. Let us examine some of these. Between 1948 and 1968 at least six attempts were made by Fijians to breakaway and form their own unions;

- 1) Fijian Commercial Workers Union. Formed in 1948 as a rival to the Commercial Employees Union. Both unions restricted most of their activities to the commercial field. The cause of the breakaway was apparently due to the lack of accommodation of Fijians in the leadership of the Commercial Employees' Union. Both unions were not strong enough to operate successfully. They were deregistered a short time later and superseded by the multisectional National Union of Factory and Commercial Workers.

¹²² Legislative Council Debates, CP 15, 1963.

2) **Fijian Workers Union.** Formed in 1953 in opposition to the PEU (Public Employees' Union). This breakaway union was reported to have received the support and backing of European supervisors apparently because the PEU was becoming increasingly militant. But the splinter-group's leaders did not enjoy strong support among Fijian workers partly because the former were too closely identified with management. By 1958 most had rejoined the main union.

3) **Fiji Oil Workers Union.** Registered in 1960 as a breakaway union from the Wholesale and Retail Workers Union. The Fiji Oil Workers Union received encouragement and immediate recognition from the European-owned oil companies in retaliation against the main union for initiating strike action in 1959. Today, oil workers are found in the multisectional Fiji Oil and Allied Workers Union.

4) **Suva and Lautoka Municipal Council (Fijian) Workers Union.** A breakaway union formed in 1960 as a rival to the Fiji Municipal Workers Union. The former collapsed shortly afterwards because of lack of support.

5) **South Pacific Sugar Workers Union.** Established in 1962 as a rival organization to the Fiji Sugar Employees Union. It was deregistered two years later because the main union continued to function as a more representative body.

6) **Fijian Engineering Workers Union.** Between 1962 and 1967 the FEWU represented a serious challenge to the Public Employees Union. The breakaway movement contained many features of the movement towards dual unions. To illustrate some of the properties of breakaway movements therefore I give below the details of the clash between the FEWU and the PEU as a representative sample.

We may begin by noting some of the factors which led to the split. In a meeting on August 1963, the instigator of the break-away, a former Fijian member of the PEU, gave these reasons for the formation of his splinter group:

- 1) Fijian members were not allocated sufficient posts in the PEU; General Secretary of the PEU geared appointments of Indians to supervisory posts;
- 2) Because of different customs, religion, language, and other beliefs, the Fijian members found it very difficult to work with non-Fijian members of the PEU;
- 3) Fijian members did not receive equal treatment from the PEU. When the Public Works Department took over the work of constructing the Natambua High School it gave preference to Indian workers.¹²³

The employer (Government) accorded the breakaway group limited recognition. It was allowed, for example, to make representation in respect of individual members of the union on matters other than wages and conditions of service. A year later the group sought more power by lodging a claim for an increase in wages for all unestablished employees of Government. This move was resisted by the Government on the grounds that the dual representation of government employees would have to be resolved first. An expert from the United Kingdom arrived in Fiji to try and resolve the break. This resulted in the establishment of a Joint Industrial

¹²³ Nai Lalakai, August 16, 1963.

Council in which the workers' side of the Council was comprised of representatives of both unions.¹²⁴ When the promise made by the breakaway union of an increment for its members did not materialize, membership fell. The union tried to preserve its autonomy by pressuring the Government to grant it check-off facilities for the purpose of collecting union dues. The PEU vigorously opposed this move for it felt that the breakaway union would reach gradual demise if controlled financially. In a memorandum presented to the Chief Secretary, the Indian General Secretary of the PEU wrote:

The PEU is against the granting of check-off or other facilities to the Fijian Government Workers Union as this will encourage racialism which is against the policy of the Alliance Government. It was expected that with leadership of the Alliance Government and its declared policy, racialism would be buried and greater unity would emerge. The present move does not lend testimony to this but the opposite.¹²⁵

The PEU urged the Registrar of Trade Unions to investigate the financial activities of the breakaway union. This was done and it was found that the financial accounts of the union were not kept in accordance with the provisions of the Trade Union Ordinance. The breakaway group was deregistered by the Registrar later that year. Meanwhile, the PEU has made appropriate accommodation in its leadership and many more Fijians now share executive positions with Indians. As members of the multisectional executive committee which

¹²⁵ Memorandum presented to the Chief Secretary, Government of Fiji, by the General Secretary of the PEU, September 7, 1967.

dictates the position of union members and determines the progress of the union, Fijians are increasingly included in the decision-making process, and share with other sections the management of union affairs.

The movement towards multisectional unions has been accelerated since 1964 when the powers of the Registrar of Trade Unions were widened to include the cancellation, suspension, or rejection of any union which is not functioning effectively. Sectional exclusiveness in union organization has also been reduced because political divisions at the national level which partly provided the basis for cleavages between sections in union activity are decreasing, as we shall see.

Today (with the exception of the two teachers' unions to be described later) there is no sectional exclusiveness in union organization.¹²⁶ While some unions have a predominance of one section this is because the activity covered by them is generally limited to members of these sections. Thus, gold mining and dockworkers unions are mainly Fijian, and transport and building workers unions are mainly Indian. But it should also be noted that seven such unions are affiliated with the national multisectional union organization known as the Fiji Trade Union Congress (Table 18).

¹²⁶ Reference was made above to the attempt by some employers to prevent the forging of close links between Fijian and Indian laborers. A remarkably frank statement made recently by the General Secretary of the Fiji Employers' Consultative Association shows that the employers, in the end, did not succeed in their attempt: "Much of our industrial trouble is frankly racist and much of it is directed at expatriates. If anyone disputes this, let them look at the targets of our recent strikes." Fiji Times, August 1, 1972.

Table 18

Important Trade Unions in Fiji

Name	Description	Leadership	Total
Dockworkers' and Seamens' Union*	Mainly dockworkers	Fijian	1,708
Transport Workers' Union*	Employees of public service/goods vehicles	Mainly Indian	300
National Union of Factory and Commercial Workers*	Manual/clerical workers in manufacturing	Mixed	1,065
Public Employees' Union*	Hourly paid employees in Government	Mixed	3,451
Fiji Mineworkers' Union*	Goldmine workers	Fijian & P-Euro.	1,173
Fiji Oil & Allied Workers' Union*	Mainly oil workers	Mixed	220
Telecommunications Employees' Association	Employees in the telecommunication industry	Mixed	265
Fiji Sugar & General Workers' Union*	Employees in sugar industry-clerical/mill	Mixed	1,213
Fiji Sugar Tradesmen Union*	Sugar processors	Pt-Euro.	250
Fiji Public Servants Association	Civil servants	Mixed	3,074
Qantas Local Salaried Staff Association*	Locally employed salaried staff of Qantas	Mixed	200
Fiji Timber Employees' Union	Employees in timber industry	Fijian & P-Euro.	250
Fiji Pastoral Employees' Union*	Employees in pastoral industry	Mainly Indian	200
Fiji Teachers' Union	Teachers	Indian	?
Fijian Teachers' Association	Teachers	Fijian & Rotuman	?
Overseas Civil Servants Association	Expatriate senior civil servants	European	?

Table 18 (Continued) Important Trade Unions in Fiji

Name	Description	Leadership	Total
Fiji Airline Pilots Association	Holders of Fiji professional pilot license	European	18
Suva Fire Brigade Union	Firemen	Fijian & P.-Euro.	32
Viti Registered Nurses Association	Registered nurses	Mainly Fijian	332
Printing and Allied Trades Union	Non-government employees	Mixed	?
Suva City Council Staff Association*	Salaried employees of Suva City Council	Mixed	200
Native Land Trust Board Employees Association	Salaried and wage earners in NLTB	Fijian	60
Cinema Workers' Union	Employees in cinema industry	Mainly Indian	?
Fiji Bank Officers Assn.*	Bank employees.	Mixed	200
Officers and Engineers Association*	Employees in local shipping industry	Fijian & P-Euro.	100
Fiji Hotel and Catering Employees' Union	Employees in hotel industry	Mainly Fijian	110
Fiji Airways Employees' Association*	Employees of Fiji Airways	Mixed	200
Building Workers' Union	Employees in the building trade	Mainly Indian	500
Airline Workers' Union	Airline employees	Mixed	200
Fiji Electric Authority Staff Association*	Supervisory/clerical staff employed by FEA	Mixed	215
Fiji Local Government Officers Association	Salaried employees of local government	Mainly Indians	?
Fiji Municipal Workers' Union	Municipal workers	Mixed	816

* Affiliated with the Fiji Trade Union Congress--19 unions, total membership 13,415 in 1971. Figures provided by the General Secretary, Fiji Trade Union Congress.

Ironically, there remains today two unions organized to represent sugar growers, most of whom are Indians. The Maha Sangh broke away from the main farmers' union more than thirty years ago. One Fiji specialist notes that the break was due to political rivalry between Indian leaders in the two unions.¹²⁷

I shall now describe the development of a multisectional union, and turn to consider in more detail the extent to which participation in a multisectional organization contributes to the integration of the sections involved.

The Fiji Public Service Association

One of the recurring features concerning the Fiji Civil Service up to the eve of political independence was the wide socio-economic gulf that separated overseas officers from local officers in the civil service. Since the turn of the century the question of equal opportunities in the civil service has been a major concern of Indian employees in Government. It had been provoked by the formation of a European civil servants' association in Suva. The purpose of the association was to safeguard the interests of expatriates. Formed on the lines of the Association of European Civil Servants of Nigeria, its main feature was the exclusion of non-European civil servants.¹²⁸ The attitude of many of the association's members at the time was that "Indian clerks and interpreters are gradually but surely filling in the service at the expense of the Europeans in the Colony. The Europeans in the service will eventually be squeezed out

¹²⁷ Mayer, Indians in Fiji, op. cit., p. 119.

¹²⁸ MP 6042/1921.

to make room for the baboo's." ¹²⁹ Indian civil servants, on the other hand, felt that they were being discriminated against and they expressed their sentiments through an association formed outside the civil service, and known as the Indian Reform League. ¹³⁰

In 1937, a decade later, the Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, echoed the sentiments of the European civil servants when he said:

The Indian has as yet contributed nothing in constructive thought and organizing ability. That has all been done by the European, unofficial and official. ¹³¹

It was not until after the war that conditions in the civil service were thoroughly examined. The Service and Salaries Revision Committee which met in 1944 reported "acute dissatisfaction" on the part of non-European members of the civil service with respect to their present conditions of service. Not surprisingly the committee found that some of this dissatisfaction was based on the economic jealousy felt by Indians and Fijians towards Europeans:

The Indian does not hesitate to voice his opinion that the European has an unfairly large share of Government appointments. The Fijian probably has the same feeling but his characteristic diffidence does not permit him to express it freely. Indeed the Fijian may have the same feeling to a greater extent than the Indian because deep down is the notion that this is his country and

¹²⁹ MP 1365/1926

¹³⁰ MP 4205/1925

¹³¹ Legislative Council Debates, 13 October, 1937.

his race should enjoy the good things of the country.¹³²

The committee proposed the formation of "an inter-racial association of public servants" as a step to unification. Shortly afterwards the Fiji Public Servants Association was formed in Suva "to make available to Government an organized body that will speak and advise on questions affecting civil servants and to exalt the principle of equal opportunity for all." The Association comprised 15 committee members that included five Europeans, five Indians, and five Fijians elected annually. A year after its formation membership had increased from 133 to 233, but the majority of European civil servants who were members of both associations regarded their role in the FPSA as one of giving advice and guidance.¹³³ Delegates from both associations continued to meet jointly with government representatives on matters affecting the civil service. But several attempts at amalgamating the two associations failed because the apparent inconsistencies which were brought out in the open in the 1946 report continued to exist. Understandably, both organizations had distinct aims. The ECSA was determined to preserve the privileges of white officials at senior levels. Conversely, the FPSA pressed for preferential treatment and wage increases for junior officers, the majority of whom were non-white.

As the period advanced local civil servants began to feel the only solution to the system of two wages and two conditions of

¹³² Legislative Council Paper, CP 25, 1944.

¹³³ Minutes of the ECSA annual meeting, 1945.

service was through localization. A Public Service Commission was created in 1960 to implement localization where possible, but the lack of a suitable training program in the early days resulted in the recruitment of expatriates on contract or secondment. The sentiments of local civil servants in those days are admirably summed up in the following "nursery rhymes" contributed by a Fijian civil servant to the FPSA newsletter in 1962:

Jack and Jill went up the hill,
They both deserved promotion,
Jack Expat--he grabbed the fat,
Poor Jill just got demotion.

See-saw, Marjorie Daw,
You must obey your Master,
The only time you're really braced,
Is when you get well plastered.

Expats, expats, all sat on the wall,
While all the poor locals had a great fall,
All the red tape, and all the reports,
Couldn't put locals in places they sought.¹³⁴

During the past ten years the FPSA has attempted to speed up the process of localization. Registering as a trade union in 1965, made it possible for the FPSA to function more effectively. Branches were established throughout Fiji. Membership increased from 500 in 1965 to 3,074 in 1971. A 10% breakdown of its membership showed: Fijians 48%; Indians 45%; Europeans 5%; members of other sections 2%. As these figures indicate, the FPSA has had more success

¹³⁴ Fiji Public Servants Union Newsletter, No. 1, 1962.

in the enrollment of non-Europeans than Europeans. When the European Civil Servants Association registered itself as a trade union in 1965 the FPSA opposed the move on the grounds that the latter would remain a non-European body if the registration of the ECSA were accepted. The Government replied in the negative. The ECSA subsequently registered itself, but perhaps as an acknowledgment that it was no longer representative of the civil service it changed its name to the Fiji Senior Civil Servants Association.

Despite the fact that the FPSA has been from the start a non-European activity it has been very keen on emphasizing the principle of equal opportunity for all:

Our Association has a moral duty to function in a manner which would encourage a multiracial population as ours, to develop together with tolerance, and respect for one another. In the Association our members vote and speak as members of the Association and not as Fijians, Rotumans, Indians, or Part-Europeans. So far, the Association is proud of its record in this very difficult sphere. We are, perhaps, as a group, best equipped to positively encourage tolerance, goodwill, and understanding in Fiji.¹³⁵

The absence of the majority of European civil servants in the FPSA also meant that the latter was not subject to any conflicting ideological pulls. Thus, in recent years the FPSA has been able to press for more rapid localization. It has accused the expatriate element in the establishment "of messing things up so that when

¹³⁵ FPSA Journal, 1969.

internal self-government comes Fiji will have an inadequately trained, and inefficient civil service." ¹³⁶ It warned the Public Service Commission that the implementation of localization in certain departments was "still along lines of old and persistent ways of doing things, and local officers are still being ignored," and threatened to bring such cases to the attention of the press. ¹³⁷

As an increasing number of non-European officers in various Government departments seek membership in the Association, the latter is able, through correspondence and personal contact with members, to take stock of the process of localization. Members are encouraged to visit the Association's headquarters in Suva, and a full time Executive Secretary is employed to take charge of the day-to-day affairs of the Association.

Between 1969 and 1971 the FPSA handled a total of 123 cases for its members. Ninety-one were concerned with the joint grievances of local officers (40 Fijian, 43 Indian, 4 Part-European, and 4 Chinese) against various Government departments on matters such as promotion and problems of localization. The remaining cases which I counted represent individual grievances directed at a superior or another employee of the same or another section: Indian vs. Indian 5, vs. Fijian 1, vs. European 2; Fijian vs. Fijian 1, vs. Indian 2, vs. European 3,

¹³⁶ Letter from the President, FPSA, to the Director of Localization, December 4, 1969.

¹³⁷ Fiji Times, October 13, 1970.

vs. Part-European 18.¹³⁸ These figures provide further evidence of increasing solidarity between workers in the civil service. The grievances against individuals of another section do not necessarily present a true picture of sectional relations. Some departmental heads have not hesitated to use one section against the other, or through favoritism, encourage the polarization of various sections. According to some of my informants in the civil service, Fijian-Part-European antagonism in the Marine Department, for example, is a result of favoritism shown by one European departmental head to members of the latter section.

During the post-independence period the FPSA has been subjected to ideological pulls of a different kind. Firstly, civil servants must support the newly established government if it is to function properly, but what implications does this have for a multi-sectional association like the FPSA if the Government is predominantly sectional, i.e., Fijian?¹³⁹ Generally Fijians in the executive committee of the FPSA have been introducing alternative or compromised proposals which have so far been accepted by the Indian President of the Association. In answering a question from an Indian member in regard to what the FPSA planned to do about the Government's proposal to cut leave and passages, the President replied: "As a trade union it is my duty to see that nothing is taken away from you, but the

¹³⁸ See Appendix B for an example of how these two types of cases may be combined. It also provides a good illustration of several of the themse in this chapter.

¹³⁹ Most of the key posts in Government are held by Fijians.

Government is in financial trouble and if we do not go forward with reasonable proposals we are likely to lose what is in the offering now. We can take them to arbitration but where the hell is all this going to lead us if the country goes broke?"¹⁴⁰

Secondly, as I noted earlier, the divisions between persons in high and low occupational statuses appear to be increasing. Nowadays, civil servants are themselves perceived as a privileged group in competition with wage earners in other industries. According to the Indian President of the Fiji Municipal Workers Union, civil servants are:

...always clamouring for more salaries and privileges. They enjoy free medical attention, receive car advances, overseas trips, house advances, conference trips, etc. In many cases, officers receive salary of \$F 4,000.00 and over. They still want more. Compare this against a poor wage earner who earns about \$F 400.00 a year and works hard for it, with no time for yagona drinking.... It seems ministers and civil servants have the lion's share of Fiji's wealth. Can the Indian President of the Fiji Public Servants Association spare some thoughts to the lowly class of workers who can barely keep body and soul together?¹⁴¹

This analysis of Fiji's unionism has shown that most trade unions became or were at first sectionally exclusive, partly because of competitive inter-sectional relationships within and outside the

¹⁴⁰ FPSA Special General Meeting, Suva, October, 2, 1971.

¹⁴¹ Fiji Times, August 14, 1971.

trade union movement, and partly because economic activities were sectionally specific. In recent years, notably from the early 1960s, most trade unions organized to represent urban workers have had to aggregate the economic interests of Fijians and Indians. This is because Fijians and Indians have become the two numerically predominant sections in Suva and in other urban areas of Fiji. They also form the majority of economically active persons in subordinate occupational statuses.¹⁴²

The data that emerges from the discussion of the FPSA also supports the conclusion that participation by Fijians and Indians in an organizational structure common to both can reduce the salience of sectional ties. Faced with a common enemy, namely expatriate civil servants, local civil servants have begun to express shared preferences and goals irrespective of their sectional affiliation. The growing division between some trade unions (e.g., the FPSA against the Municipal Workers Union) on the basis of "class" affiliations perhaps signal the next stage of organizational development in the trade union movement.

¹⁴² See Chapter 4, especially p. 78.

CHAPTER 7

Educational Activities

The previous chapter pointed to voluntary sectional exclusiveness in union organization as a pattern of the past. The existence of two teachers' organizations is an exception, for despite an increasing tendency to share interests and goals, generated partly by similarities in their structure, and partly by changes in the school system, membership remains mutually exclusive. That mutually exclusive organizations can coexist despite shared preferences and goals suggest another major criterion to pluralism in addition to those cited by Despres. The conditions leading to such a state of affairs is the focus of this chapter.

Also to be discussed are the nature and extent of divisions within one of these organizations, a significant factor that may in the end promote depluralization (the significance of intra-sectional divisions within organizations will emerge more clearly in subsequent chapters). Finally, I shall examine attitudes to education in the context of past and present trends in the educational field.

The Fiji Teachers' Union and the Fijian Teachers' Association

Two major organizations of teachers in Fiji¹⁴³ are the FTU (Fiji Teachers' Union), which is open to any person in the teaching profession in Fiji but membership today is predominantly

¹⁴³ Expatriate European teachers retain membership in their home institution.

Indian, and the FTA (Fijian Teachers' Association), which is registered to teachers who are of Fijian or Rotuman descent.

That there should be two organizations to represent members of a single profession was never seriously questioned until 1958. In that year executives from both organizations met jointly to review a pension scheme for teachers and to form a united front in voicing their opinions effectively on such common issues as curriculum development and the organization and administration of schools. During the next ten years, when several joint meetings of the FTA and the FTU were convened, numerous officials, including the Special Assistant for Asia of the WCOTP (World Confederation of the Organization of the Teaching Profession), suggested that the two bodies amalgamate. In 1970, at the same time that the London Constitutional Conference was being held to decide on a constitution for an independent Fiji, the FTA and the FTU organized a joint opening of their Annual Conferences in Suva. This achievement was viewed by some politicians and teachers not only as the final step to amalgamation of the two organizations but as one of the most significant examples of nation building and cooperation between sections.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, total amalgamation has not occurred to date and the FTA and FTU remain distinct, parallel organizations.

An understanding of the general process of continuities and discontinuities in the two organizations is essential to an understanding of present conditions. (Later I shall deal more specifically with

¹⁴⁴ Joint Opening of the Conferences of the Suva Fiji Teacher's Union and the Fijian Teachers' Association, May 5, 1970.

the FTU.) The process began in 1931 when teachers in Suva and Lautoka united to form the present FTU. The founder members included Indians, Fijians, and Europeans, but the Fijians broke away several years later and with the assistance of a European official in the Education Department formed the Native Teachers' Association, later known as the FTA. According to one of the members of the splinter group several related factors lay behind the split. One was the competition for office in the FTU. Comparatively few Fijians were serving as committee members up to the time of the breakaway. A second was the gradual increase of Hindu membership which tended to widen the division between non-Christian and Christian denominational members in the union. A third factor was the degree to which schools were separated on a sectional and geographical basis. Fijian and Indian affairs were being handled separately by the Colonial Government and it did not take long for this pattern of organization to have ramifications in the educational field. Furthermore, the work previously handled by the Methodist Missions' Fijian village schools was by this time mostly in the hands of Fijian Provincial administrators. This having the effect of creating greater interests among Fijians in the organization of their own provincial schools and precluded any social mix between sections at the professional level.¹⁴⁵

During the first decade following its formation the FTA limited its activities and function to Viti Levu. In those days,

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Sakiasi Sovanivalu, Past President and founder member of the FTA, August, 1972.

according to one prominent member, "the FTA acted as a collection house but never as a clearing house for teachers' grievances." By the 1940s, however, the consolidation of some provincial schools and the increasing desire amongst Fijians for education provided the FTA with a more concrete rationale for its existence and it soon developed into a more effective body. But even today the FTA experiences difficulty in establishing a link between most of the 37 branches since these are widely separated and located in rural areas. The FTU, on the other hand, has been, and still is, a more tightly-knit organization. It has a teachers' journal (published since 1940), a separate department which provides the medium through which personal contact is established between individual members and the headquarters in Suva, and only 11 branches all of which are located in or near urban areas.

In some respects, however, both organizations are becoming similar.¹⁴⁶ Branch business is conducted in accordance with the rules and constitutions of the national body, while part of the annual subscriptions is returned to the branches for running their affairs. The grievances of teachers in isolated areas are initially handled through correspondence (in English) with the General Secretary in Suva. These may be resolved after discussion with the local educational officer or officials in the Education department, or dealt with in the form of resolutions for consideration at the Annual

¹⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, in going through the early correspondence and records of the FTA and the FTU one seldom gets the impression that two teachers' organizations were in existence at the same time.

meeting. Each branch elects delegates to attend the Annual meeting on the basis of one delegate for every ten voting members of the branch. In addition to conducting a General Election to elect the executive committee for the following year the delegates present reports, participate in workshop discussions, attend lectures, and hold a farewell dinner at the end of a week-long conference.

In addition to the above structural similarities both organizations have increasingly been provided with a common set of social structures as a result of changes in national education policy. In 1929 the Education Ordinance was revised to provide a framework for educational activities which lasted until the 1960s. The Department of Education was placed under the control of a Director, and a multisectional Board of Education whose members were nominated by the Governor was formed and given the following powers or duties:

- 1) registration of schools and teachers, including control over the establishment of all new schools in the Colony;
- 2) payment of grant-in-aid on conditions (particularly in respect to syllabus, text books, staffing, and building standard) laid down by the board;
- 3) administration of all government schools.

Further government control was exercised in 1947 with the replacement of some Mission teachers' training colleges by a government multi-sectional college located near Suva. One of the principal goals of the training college as pointed out by the Director of Education is "to establish a favourable atmosphere for racial co-operation.*" 147

147 Legislative Council Paper, CP 38, 1949.

Offices were established and staffed by Education Officers in several administrative districts and these functioned to link teachers directly with the Education Department. Later, when more districts were included each had its own multisectional committee. These education committees consisted of representatives from the major educational bodies and sectional committees in the area who were responsible for the development of education in their respective districts. An education gazette and teaching guides were published each term and widely distributed to all schools. In addition, representatives from the two teachers' organizations and education officers jointly conducted radio broadcasts to schools.¹⁴⁸ By 1948 most teachers were appointed as civil servants.

The changes in the education system described above have in turn generated an increasing awareness of common issues. For example, with the appointment of most teachers as civil servants in 1948 the method of computing pensions for the pre-1948 services of teachers provided the first of many such issues, and also the basis for the first joint meeting of the FTA and the FTU. On October 24, 1958, representatives of both organizations met in Suva to consider the endorsement of a memorandum issued by the FTU on this subject. The memorandum was unanimously approved as a joint submission to Government and as an after-thought the FTU President suggested that a Federation of Teachers be formed. But this suggestion was not to be realized immediately for following the 1959 strike in Suva such

¹⁴⁸ Education Report 1969 (Suva: Government Printer, 1969), pp. 2-6.

advice had become dubious. Some influential but conservative Fijians who did not want to lose their power and status to a large amalgamated union were understandably alarmed at the prospect of unity which was becoming increasingly apparent after the Suva strike. With respect to the teachers' organizations, Volagauna, the Fijian vernacular newspaper, bragged that "the FTA is exclusively Fijian in spite of attempts by Indian teachers to fuse the two associations together."¹⁴⁹ By 1965 the FTA had openly challenged the re-registration of the FTU.¹⁵⁰

The FTU response was less drastic. In fact, at the 1966 FTU annual meeting a motion for amalgamation was carried and unanimously approved.¹⁵¹ The following year some members persuaded officials from both sides to begin preliminary discussions with the understanding that the final decision would be made at their annual conferences held later that year. Here is how the past General Secretary of the FTA recalls this event:

There was some evidence that the resolution to amalgamate with the FTU would pass. It came from several of our branches including Suva although not without some dissension. But after a short recess we received news that the FTU had just elected as their President not only a non-member of the profession, but a politician to boot (the FTU Conference was running a day ahead). This news was

¹⁴⁹ Volagauna, May 5, 1960.

¹⁵⁰ Letter from the Secretary of the FTA to the Registrar-General, November 24, 1965.

¹⁵¹ Minutes of the FTU Annual General Meeting, 1966.

received with great dismay as we were already experiencing difficulties with the Fijian Association who were totally against the proposed amalgamation. Hence, all talks concerning merger were put off.¹⁵²

However, discussions were to resume the following year. By 1969 a Joint Consultative committee of the FTA and the FTU was formed to study and to make recommendations on the conditions of service of teachers. It was again becoming apparent to both organizations that their catalogue of grievances was strikingly similar. For example, in a letter submitted to the 1969 Education Commission to review educational development the FTU supported its claims by enclosing a copy of a report by the FTA Grievance Committee. Among other things the report described the inequities that exist between teachers and other civil servants, low morale, and overall stagnancy in the teaching profession. The FTU went on to note:

A plural society like Fiji has to look to its educational system to weld it and give it a common identity thereby bringing about political homogeneity which in turn would provide political stability and economic growth. We are therefore of the opinion that our educational reforms should aim to evolve a society which will be compatible with modern industrial economy.

The same theme of education as a major contributing force to sectional integration (albeit with an added note of caution) can be seen in

¹⁵² I shall later describe the influence of national politics on the relations between the FTA and the FTU. Here, however, it may be noted that officials of both organizations differ not only between themselves but also amongst themselves on the role of national political divisions in the process of amalgamation.

the following address delivered by the FTA Acting President during the 1970 Joint Annual Conference;

It is only through education that we can hope to transform a plural society like ours into a politically homogeneous nation...our aim should not only be to perpetuate tradition and culture but also to mobilize traditional thinking so that we can produce, on the one hand, innovators-- people who will initiate change--and on the other hand, people who value and cherish a common identity--a national character.

The FTA submission to the Education Commission included a recommendation "that Fijian and Indian teachers be posted where they are needed in order to introduce the inter-racial element necessary in our primary schools. This means that Indian teachers can teach and should be encouraged to teach in Fijian schools, and Fijian teachers vice versa." This recommendation was later repeated in a Joint Memorandum submitted to the Commission. Not only would the scheme promote greater integration, the FTA and the FTU argued, but it would be particularly helpful to Fijians since the introduction of Indian teachers to Fijian primary schools would increase efficiency and temporarily solve the problem of teacher shortage.

Discussions between the FTA and the FTU on how to improve the status and conditions of service of teachers resulted in the Salaries Memorandum of 1970. The memorandum also included proposals for removing the barriers to multisectional education through the amalgamation of sectional schools;

The salary structure we are proposing for Head Teachers would give them an incentive to participate in community development and help realize national policies in that regard. We believe that Head Teachers would act as pressure groups to persuade village communities to pool their resources together and to amalgamate their schools.¹⁵³

According to one FTU official I know the Head Teachers selected would have "a compromised view of religious and racial differences. These tactful persons would in turn select and train teachers to deal with the day-to-day instances of religious, racial, linguistic, and other differences if, and when, they arise."

The 1970 joint opening of the FTA and the FTU annual conference was the culmination of this phase of cooperation by the two organizations. In the words of the Governor of Fiji the opening was held "in the spirit of the Constitutional Conference." This suggests that the possibility of total amalgamation in the post-independence period would depend on events in the political field, especially political integration. As we saw, the FTA resisted amalgamation on account of political divisions. On the other hand, the increased awareness of common problems generated a certain amount of cooperation.

Religion, Politics, and the FTU

Religious differences, it has already been noted, contributed to the breakaway and the subsequent formation of the FTA

¹⁵³ Salaries Memorandum 1970, mimeographed.

by Fijian teachers. Also noted was how, in the 1960s, when both organizations were coming nearer in understanding with respect to matters concerning their profession, politics intruded to prevent any successful discourse on merger. The transformation from religious differences to cleavages based on sectional politics is understandable in the context of developments in the political field (to be examined later). But what is significant, in the present context, is the extent to which this shift was a part of the process in the development of the FTU itself.

In the early years the majority of Indian members in the FTU tended to identify more directly with western education in general, and Christianity in particular, as a result of their training in Christian Mission schools. But as the membership of non-Christian denominational groups in the FTU increased concomitantly with the growth of Indian schools founded and managed by Hindu organizations, religious differences among the Indian teachers themselves began to appear. In my opinion, these differences would probably not have been significant had they not tended to overlap political differences among Indians as well. By the 1940s the extent of political rivalries in the FTU had already become controversial. The pattern of competition for office in the FTU provides an excellent example of this. At that time the FTU was led by Hari Charan, an Indian Methodist. Charan's brother-in-law is Andrew Deoki, a devout Christian. In 1947 Deoki successfully contested for a seat in the Legislative Council against the well-known leader of the Arya Samajis, Pundit Vishnu Deo. The following year the Pundit made an unsuccessful attempt to challenge Hari Charan's

re-election as General Secretary of the Indian Association. While these personal rivalries in the political arena extended into the FTU as well one should not exaggerate the sole importance of religious differences in motivating the FTU president. When questioned on this subject informants would speak of Charan's ability to mobilize a personal following based not only on a common religion but on such factors as kin obligations and personal favors. Plenty of evidence suggests that FTU members were divided on political issues. Some tended to sympathize with political extremists, while others supported a more moderate approach.¹⁵⁴ A third group favored political neutrality in the FTU. With the enfranchisement of most teachers as civil servants in 1948 the Government issued a circular forbidding them to indulge in political controversy. This directive, which was again repeated in 1959, probably curtailed to some extent the political character of the FTU.

Even if religious factors played an important part in the organizational activities of the FTU their role was modified in the late fifties and early sixties for two reasons. Firstly, during this period the President of the FTU was James Madhaven. Although an Indian Christian, Madhaven allegedly became involved in the affairs of the Arya Samaj community primarily as a result of his employment as a teacher in one of the schools managed by this sect. Perhaps for this reason, according to informants, he was impartial with

¹⁵⁴ The degree of political extremism is of course used in a relative sense.

respect to any disputes that may have arisen as a result of religious differences between Indian Christians and non-Christians, especially Arya Samajis. Secondly, great value was placed on Indian unity in the political field, particularly by A.D. Patel, the late leader of the NFP (National Federation Party). Patel was himself intimately associated with FTU activities. As General Manager of the TISI Sangam schools he was often invited to attend the FTU annual conferences. His link with educational activities continued when he was appointed Member for Social Services with Education included in his portfolio. The imprint of NFP politics on organizational activities of the FTU was probably considerable during this period, i.e., between 1964 and 1967, as Patel built himself a following in the FTU. It should also be emphasized that most of the prominent NFP members during this period were actively engaged in the teaching profession. Madhavan himself was a successful NFP candidate for a seat in the Legislative Council in the 1963 General Election. While it is difficult to gauge to what extent his success in this election was due to his past political record, and to what extent it was due to his qualifications in the FTU, or even to both, it is significant that his success was perceived as being due to the support given to him by members of the FTU by virtue of his position as President of that organization. Jagrithi, the organ of the NFP, for example, claimed that the election result was symbolic of the fact that members of the teaching profession in the FTU "are with the Federation."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Jagrithi, May 18, 1963.

Subsequent to this political victory some disgruntled members of the FTU openly complained that membership in the organization was used for political ends.¹⁵⁶

Madhaven's formal entry into politics did not preclude him from continuing as President of the FTU. By virtue of section 31 of the Trade Union Ordinance the office of President could be filled by a person not actually engaged in the occupation with which the union is concerned. But a large number in the FTU felt that Madhaven was overstretching his term of office. In 1966 a motion to limit the term of President to no more than two consecutive years was carried at a FTU meeting. The following year Madhaven was persuaded to turn leadership of the Union over to K.C. Ramrakha, a close friend, lawyer, and General Secretary of the National Federation Party. Ramrakha must have brought a certain amount of prestige to the post because even those teachers who openly supported the rival political party, the Alliance, supported his nomination. It will be recalled that at the time when both teachers' organizations were seriously considering the possibility of amalgamation the FTA abruptly called off all talks concerning merger, apparently because the FTU had elected a professional politician as President. G.S. Naidu, a teacher from Lautoka, and Ramrakha's opponent, would have been more acceptable to the FTA if he had won the election. But the FTU rank-and-file were not willing to suffer the stigma of being told how their organization should be run even if many of them wholeheartedly

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., September 11, 1964; and Fiji Times, April 17, 1964.

accepted the principle of amalgamation. Ramrakha won by a handsome margin. In 1968 he was re-elected unopposed principally because the other nominees were persuaded by Ramrakha's followers to withdraw, the argument being that Ramrakha could not stand for a third consecutive term by virtue of the new constitution. Again, in 1969 Ramrakha stood for re-election. He and his followers argued that the ruling in the constitution did not apply to him as he was not a member of the teaching profession. His interpretation is still being challenged by Naidu and his followers in a court case.

Subsequent to this election the Government introduced a Trade Union Amendment Bill in Parliament. Clause Six of the amendment sought to restrict the appointment of trade union officials from outside the industry concerned with the exception of the office of Secretary (which was excluded from the provision of this clause) but permitted existing holders of the office of President to remain in office until they are deposed or resign. The National Federation Party viewed it as a Government (hence Alliance party) tactic to prevent NFP members from holding office in trade unions in general, and in the FTU in particular. They did not succeed in preventing the clause from being passed.¹⁵⁷

In 1970 when the FTU and the FTA were holding a joint opening of their conferences, Ramrakha was away, in London, attending the Constitutional Conference.¹⁵⁸ This provided members of the FTU

¹⁵⁷ Legislative Council Debates, April/May 1969.

¹⁵⁸ It is not clear whether his absence had anything to do with the success of this joint opening since opinion differs on this.

with a certain amount of prestige, and Ramrakha's leadership was too popular to be challenged that year. He was re-elected unopposed. The following year a new political dimension was introduced in FTU affairs. This time the challenge came from a small but disillusioned group of formerly staunch supporters of the NFP in the FTU. Prior to the FTU convention of that year the group had openly challenged and criticized weaknesses in the leadership of the NFP. The brunt of the attack was directed at the President of the party in a widely distributed pamphlet. But Ramrakha, by virtue of his position as General Secretary of the NFP, did not escape criticism.¹⁵⁹ The pamphlet was drafted and circulated by a paid clerk in the FTU. The typewriter and duplicating paper belonging to the FTU were used for this purpose. The FTU election of that year must therefore be viewed in the light of cleavages developing within the NFP itself. C.B. Sinha, a teacher, and one of the acknowledged leaders of the group now disillusioned with the NFP, stood against Ramrakha in the election. He lost by 44 votes to 129 votes.¹⁶⁰ Sinha attributed his loss to an increasing apprehension by the majority of Indian teachers that as civil servants and employees of the Government the post of President, if filled by a member of the teaching profession, might be subject to victimization and manipulation by their employer, the Government. A second important reason for keeping Ramrakha in a position of power in the FTU is the prestige that he brings to the

¹⁵⁹ Should NFP go to Blazes? If Not, What Can We Do to Save It? mimeographed, June 18, 1971.

¹⁶⁰ Minutes of the May 1971 FTU annual general meeting. Unfortunately, I never was able to witness an FTU election, but derived most of my data from in-depth interviews and records of the association.

organization both as a lawyer and professional politician. He is expected to, and has from time to time, voiced the grievances of teachers in the House of Representatives. Needless to say, Ramrakha is himself accorded prestige by virtue of his position as head of the largest professional organization in Fiji.

Any future attempt at amalgamation, if it is to be successful, will mostly depend on whether the executives of both organizations are acceptable to each other. The thought of being members of an organization led by a professional politician from the Opposition party is unacceptable to many Fijians in the FTA at the present time.¹⁶¹ There are also other organizational problems, such as the following, which will have to be surmounted;

It's a geographical barrier rather than any perceived racial threat that divides us into two separate organizations. Generally, the schools that Indians go to are concentrated on the larger islands and in heavily populated areas, while many Fijians are attending schools located on islands inhabited solely by them (General Secretary, FTA).

If amalgamation becomes a reality the FTU must be prepared to sacrifice a lot. I can pick up my phone and arrange a meeting with branch officials within twenty-four hours. It would take the FTA weeks before they could arrange a similar meeting (General Secretary, FTU).

There is a provision for merger under our constitution but not under the constitution of the FTA which is at

¹⁶¹ Since the writing of this chapter I have received word that Ramrakha has resigned from the FTU. In view of Clause Six of the Trade Union Amendment Bill neither Ramrakha nor any non-member of the profession is eligible for election or re-election as President.

present racially exclusive. Also, I don't believe they are happy with the thought that they might be absorbed by our organization (Head Master, Mission school, and Past-Secretary of the FTU).

While nothing more definite with respect to the proposed merger has come out of the joint opening of their annual conference, the FTA and the FTU have continued to meet during 1971 to discuss ways of implementing recommendations made by the Education Commission.

The political character of the FTU is today less clear-cut than it was in the past. Among the members, both the rank-and-file and those occupying executive positions are divided with respect to their political affiliations. There are pro-Alliance supporters, pro-Federation supporters, and a dissident group of former Federation supporters. With a common interest developing in the need to implement recommendations made by the Education Commission, another group disillusioned with the intrusion of national politics in their professional affairs will predominate. Since amalgamation of the two organizations is a distinct possibility in the future it is the intention of this group to revise the constitution to have an equal number of Fijians and Indians form the executive committee and to adopt a roster system of electing presidents.

Attitudes to Education

During the course of the survey informants were asked how they felt about the educational system in Fiji. Their responses are discussed below in the context of past and present trends in the educational field.

About one-third of the Europeans interviewed have had no experience with the educational system primarily because none have their children schooling in Fiji. With respect to Indians and Fijians who chose not to comment it may be assumed that most are generally satisfied with the present system. However, it is clear that the majority of each section have some negative comment about the structure of educational activities in general (Table 19).

Table 19
Comparison of Sections with Respect to Their Comments
About the Educational System in Fiji

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians	
Unstated	29%	10%	21%	
Satisfied with present system	4	3	-	
Demand free and compulsory education	20	46	59	
Expand multisectional education	15	26	12	
Improve curriculum	2	10	3	
Improve quality of teachers	30	5	5	
Total	100	100	100	
Number of cases	(53)	(152)	(139)	p < .05

Their remarks may be grouped under one of the following four categories:

1. **Free and Compulsory Education.** The cost of education remains a serious concern of many Indians and Fijians. Education is not tuition-free in Fiji. School fees may range from \$F 12.00 to \$F 48.00 a year for primary and secondary education in government schools. In non-government schools the fees are much higher because parents must meet the cost of building, maintenance, and the like.

Many cases appeared in the survey where the educational aspirations of Indians and Fijians were curtailed because of their inability to pay school fees. According to my estimate, roughly half (18) of the Fijian and Indian household heads who were engaged in part-time work in addition to their regular jobs were using the additional income to pay tuition fees for their children.

Although some Europeans tend to sympathize with the demands of other sections for fee-free and compulsory education the majority are less concerned with this issue because their relatively higher income enables them to absorb the cost of educating their children.

Indians, and to a lesser extent Fijians, tend to emphasize the need for compulsory education. This is not surprising in view of the very gradual evolution in education. But whereas the Fijian Affairs regulations require every Fijian between the ages of six and fourteen to attend school if there is one nearby no similar regulation has ever applied to Indian youths. The employment of Indian peasant youths on their fathers' farms, the slow emancipation of Indian girls, and the relatively late start made in the education of Indian children were some of the factors militating against Indian educational advance. Prior to 1916 the Government took little interest in Fijian or Indian education. In those days the two state-aided public schools were restricted to children of European descent. While the Wesleyan and Roman Catholic Missions had taken on the responsibility of providing elementary education for Fijians since the 1850s the Indians were less responsive to missionary efforts. Thus, only limited attempts were made by the missions to provide Indians with education. At the turn

of the century there were a few committee schools in the country, founded and managed by socio-religious associations such as the Arya Samaj and the Islam Teaching Society.¹⁶² It was only in 1916 that some attempt at uniform policy or control was made. In the Education Ordinance of that year provision was made for greater coordination of the educational system, and a scheme of grant-in-aid was established to aid private schools capable of teaching in English. It was several years later before the first government school for Indians was established. By way of contrast the Council of Chiefs and the Fijian people were assisted by the Colonial Government in establishing a secondary school near Suva as early as 1906. This later became the model for other Fijian provincial schools.

As a result of their late start in education Indians are today ranked the lowest in overall educational attainments. At the 1966 census, for example, over 30% of the adult Indian population have had no formal education, and only 37% have attended school for more than six years. Furthermore, Indians have a lower percentage of literacy as compared to Fijians. To use the criterion supplied by the Census Commissioner, 70% of Indian males as compared to 90% of Fijian males, and 45% of Indian females as compared to 84% of Fijian females have completed at least four years of primary education.¹⁶³ Paradoxically, the secondary school performance of Indians is much higher than that of Fijians. This is partly because of the lower quality of Fijian primary education and partly because of the problems of adjustment faced

¹⁶² Fiji Colonial Report, No. 727, (Suva, 1911), p. 15.

¹⁶³ 1966 Census, op. cit., p. 59.

by many Fijian students when they shift from a traditional to a more autonomous environment as found in most Fijian boarding schools. One of the major aims of the Government since 1966 has been to narrow the gap between Fijians and other sections in higher education and the professions. One special provision includes the proposal made jointly by the Fijian Affairs Board and the 1969 Education Commission that 50% of the Government's university scholarships be reserved for Fijians on a parallel block basis, i.e., Fijians to compete with Fijians, and Indians with Indians, for a period of nine years with a preliminary review at the end of six years. In making this recommendation the Commission found that Indians "were in general very ready to accept some special measures, though not on a permanent basis. The Commission found also a ready acceptance by Fijians that such measures should in fact not be permanent but should be designed for phasing out as the gap narrows."¹⁶⁴ Since the majority of Fijians and Indians are rural inhabitants, other special provisions, made by the Government in terms of rural needs do not encourage sectional anxiety over national education policy as is the case in other newly developing multisectional countries.¹⁶⁵

In recent years the Government has also attempted to reduce the cost of education to parents by subsidy of school fees for poor children, free issues of essential texts, increasing building grants

¹⁶⁴ 1969 Education Commission Report, (Suva, 1970), p. 70.

¹⁶⁵ For a discussion of the sectional problems arising from the provision of special educational aids to Malays in Malaysia, see Cynthia H. Enloe, "Issues and Integration in Malaysia," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 24. No. 1, (June, 1968).

to non-government schools, and so on.¹⁶⁶ But as the 1969 Education Commission has pointed out, a serious barrier to fee-free education is the inadequate supply of trained teachers to handle a higher level of attendance that is likely to result.¹⁶⁷ Until plans for teacher-education are expanded and put into force it is unlikely that free education will be provided. In view of these facts, it is hardly surprising that free and compulsory education is almost a universal demand of both Indians and Fijians.

2. Multisectional Education. Significantly, about one-quarter of the Fijians interviewed spoke of the need to broaden the educational base of Fijian students through an integrated or common educational system. In their view such a system would promote a sense of competition and make for more effective educational development. Some spoke of the "isolation" and resulting handicaps that develop in a totally Fijian educational environment. One Fijian informant who had completed his secondary education at the Queen Victoria School, the best known of the Fijian secondary schools, said:

The education I received was out of date with reality. We were made to feel as if we were élites of the country. In actual fact when I left school to find work in Suva I found myself gawking at the sights. Even normal, everyday interaction between people of different races, things that an average school boy in Suva was already exposed to, were completely alien to me.

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Education Report 1969, op. cit., p. 9.

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1969 Education Commission Report, op. cit., p. 48.

The interest shown by some Fijians in a common educational system appears to be a recent development. According to an Indian official in the Education Department the first serious attempts to "desegregate" schools occurred during the period when the late A.D. Patel was Member for Social Services. Patel's daughter was reportedly refused admittance to the Suva Grammar School until the Director of Education threatened to intervene. Patel then called a meeting of school officials to discuss a scheme whereby schools could be encouraged to become multisectional. Some of the Fijians present at the meeting rejected the proposal on the grounds that Fijian schools would be "swamped." Nevertheless, the Government and the Department of Education have since continued to encourage the amalgamation of schools, partly as an economic measure,¹⁶⁸ and partly because "all races can learn to sink their differences for the common good."¹⁶⁹ Between 1960 and 1970 the number of multisectional schools more than doubled. By 1972 about half of the 627 primary schools and all but 15 of the 98 post-primary schools had children of more than one section on their rolls. This is an increase of 11% over 1966.¹⁹⁷⁰

Part of the blame for the slow progress towards a common educational system lies with the Colonial Government, firstly, because initially it did not want to take on the responsibility of providing

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, Cyril S. Belshaw, Under the Ivi Tree: Society and Economic Growth in Rural Fiji, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 247. Belshaw describes a typical rural situation in which a Catholic-run school is located adjoining a Fijian district school and a school managed by an Indian committee. According to the author the Fijian school is "gasping for breath."

¹⁶⁹ Legislative Council Papers, CP 37, 1967.

¹⁷⁰ Unpublished figures, Department of Education, 1972.

education for non-whites, and secondly, because of its policy and practice of restricted access to some schools reserved for Europeans. The Colonial Government, as noted earlier, showed little interest and exercised little control over education until 1916. Despite a steady increase in governmental expenditure on education since that time the majority (77.7%) of schools today are still managed by committees (European, Fijian, Rotuman, Indian, and Chinese) and a few by missions and private agencies.¹⁷¹ As the 1969 Education Commission has pointed out, "the committee system... can encourage, or at any rate perpetuate separatism and so inhibit the growth of multi-racial schools."¹⁷² Also, the Colonial Government's attitude to multisectional education was ambiguous, to say the least. Characteristic of this attitude were the rules and regulations applicable to government and government-assisted primary schools:

No applicant shall be refused admission into a Government or Government-assisted primary school on account of the religious persuasion, nationality, race, or language of such applicant, or of either of his parents or guardians, unless (emphasis supplied) in any district, in the opinion of the Board of Education, there exists adequate provision for the education of pupils of different races in separate schools. The Head Teacher of a school established in any such district for the education of the children of one race may refuse admission to a pupil of another race, but he must immediately report any action taken, with full particulars, to the superintendent of schools.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Report of the Education Department for 1969, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁷² 1969 Education Commission Report, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹⁷³ Legislative Council Papers, CP 46, 1917.

More often than not the Superintendent of Schools tended to be sympathetic with the Head Teacher of a school that was sectionally exclusive. Although "a few coloured (Part-European) children of parents of ascertained respectability, who live in European fashion" were admitted to the predominantly European Suva Grammar schools no Indian or Fijian was admitted until the 1960s when some higher forms in the school became sectionally integrated.¹⁷⁴

Indian demands for educational development and free access to all schools paralleled their demands for political parity. Not only was education a qualification for high office in the administration but it was also a criterion of franchise in municipal elections. As early as 1915 white ratepayers in Suva were making vigorous protests to the Board of Education against the admission of Indian children to the Europeans Suva Grammar schools. Again in 1932, 1946, 1961, and 1962 Indians sought and were denied access to these schools.¹⁷⁵

The major factors that militate against more rapid increase in the number of multisectional schools are said to be language difficulties (although these can be exaggerated)¹⁷⁶ and the uneven

¹⁷⁴ A common sentiment among some of my Indian informants is the following: "You will find Fijians attending Indian schools and vice versa but you will rarely find European children in these schools."

¹⁷⁵ Legislative Council Debates, October 14, 1932.

¹⁷⁶ Belshaw has noted that the difficulty lies in a cultural rather than a practical sense in that most Fijians have a limited knowledge of Hindi and many more Indians speak Fijian fluently. (Our survey data shows that 78% of the Indians interviewed are trilingual as compared to 38% of the Fijians and 10% of the Europeans.) The desire for their children to retain custom and language which cannot be met in Indian schools because of teacher shortage is the main reason preventing some Fijians from sending their children to multisectional schools. Belshaw, op. cit., p. 149.

geographical distribution of sections.¹⁷⁷ Barring any further relocation of Fijian and Indians that would lead to greater demographic integration, the major emphasis will most certainly be to encourage schools in areas with a multisectional population to amalgamate. Plenty of evidence indicates that this is occurring. In Suva, for example, there are no sectionally exclusive schools and all admit students irrespective of sectional background. (Even the all Fijian Queen Victoria School has accepted the principle that it should be multisectional.) In 1970 the number and description of schools in Suva were as follows: Multisectional schools, 22 primary and 13 secondary; predominantly Indian schools, 14 primary and 2 secondary; predominantly Chinese, 1 secondary. Europeans tend to favor the Suva Grammar School followed by Mission schools such as Marist Brothers, St. Anne, and Stella Marist. But Indians and Fijians, if financial conditions permit, also tend to prefer schools with reputedly high standards such as these. In several of the multisectional schools visited I was impressed by the amount of cooperation and mutual understanding shown both among Indian and Fijian teachers and students, and between them. Data from case histories suggest that many friendships between Fijians and Indians were formed and promoted in a multisectional school environment.

In the early post-independence period some school committees have removed the sectional names of their schools so as to preclude any feeling of sectional exclusiveness. The next procedure will

¹⁷⁷ 1969 Education Commission Report, op. cit., pp. 13-18.

probably be the eventual phasing out of the committee system as the Government increasingly takes control of the schools currently managed by committees. As a temporary measure the two teachers' organizations have, as noted earlier, attempted to encourage committees to merge. With respect to language difficulties the Education Commission has recommended a trilingual approach to be included in a revised curriculum.¹⁷⁸

3. Curriculum Development. The 1969 Education Commission stated that one of the major barriers to a common educational system will be removed if their policy with respect to curriculum development is implemented. The major points of this policy are:

- a) Fijian-based reading material to be translated into Hindi for Indian schools. Conversely, Indian sources are to be used for Fijian reading material (The Ramayana is already available in Fijian.)
- b) Where English is not already the medium of instruction the mother tongue should be used for the first three years; with English being compulsory as a second language. From the fourth year English is to be used throughout with further provisions for teaching Fijian or Hindi or both. English is to continue as the medium of instruction in all secondary schools with provision for the continued study of Hindi and Fijian as cultural languages. Encouragement should be given for Indians to take Fijian and vice versa by offering prizes, etc. At Class 5 a basic Fijian course should be offered to non-Fijians.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 47.

- c) Curriculum is to be made more relevant to the local environment, in addition to providing students with a sense of national awareness and universal values. At the primary level children should share a common curriculum with specialization to come at the senior secondary level.¹⁷⁹

Discussions with teachers and officials in the Education Department and in the two teachers' organizations at the time of study suggest that these policies are gradually being implemented. To effect some of these policies the Curriculum Development Unit of the Education Department works in close conjunction with the United Nations-financed Secondary School Curriculum Development Unit. It should be emphasized that no machinery existed for such an undertaking prior to the 1960s.

Next to be examined is how our informants felt about the present curriculum. The Fijians were about equally divided into two groups. On the one hand, one group whose opinion was shared by many Indians and Europeans, stated that the present curriculum lacked relevance to Fiji and that the educational system should be geared to the country's social and economic needs. Some of the more typical statements were: "Fijians are lagging behind and this can be corrected by introducing a common standard for all schools," or, "The use of the English language must be encouraged," or, "The task of teaching Fijian language and culture should be limited to mission schools. On the other hand, there were those Fijians who opposed aspects of the curriculum that tended "to erode Fijian culture," or "hasten the breakdown of Fijian custom."

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 8-37.

Members of different sections, it has been noted, have a common interest in sending their children to schools with reputedly high standards. There was no indication in the survey or in-depth interviews to suggest that sections felt "desectionalized" in the sense that their religious beliefs and values would be modified by attending schools managed by other denominations. For example, one informant, a South Indian Arya Samaji, who has eight children, sent his five boys, ages 9,10,14,15 and 17, to the Marist Brothers (Catholic) School. (As a plumber he was able "to work out a deal" with the school to provide this service in exchange for the remittance of tuition fees). One of his three daughters, age 16, goes to the Gospel Mission School managed by the Brethren Assemblies, another daughter, age 12, goes to the Suva Muslim School, and the youngest, age 8, is enrolled at the Annesley Girls School managed by the Fijian Methodist church. Another informant, a Fijian Methodist, felt fortunate that his son was given a place at the Marist Brothers School. His sentiment, as a laborer, was that "the Brothers are giving my son a chance in life." When a Gujerati was asked what his feelings were with respect to his son being enrolled in a Christian denominational school he said: "Certainly my boy is given religious instruction and he attends the religious services provided by the school, but so does everyone else. He does very well in his studies and that is all I care about."

4. Caliber of Teachers. Many Europeans (30%) tend to criticize the quality of teaching in general, and teachers in particular. "I couldn't care less about the color of their skin," a New Zealand Methodist minister said, "as long as the local teachers know what they are talking about. But some of them can't even speak or teach correct

English." Another New Zealander, an airline pilot, was firmly convinced that "schools will deteriorate because of the low standard of Fijian and Indian teachers." An Australian, a company director, complained that "local teachers don't give a damn whether our children are being educated or not." "If they replace the current crop of New Zealand teachers¹⁸⁰ with locals," a Dutch national assured me, "we're going to send our kids back to Europe for their education." Many other Europeans felt the same way about the caliber of local teachers and teaching. A smaller percentage of Fijians and Indians also complained that teachers are "inadequately trained," "unqualified," and so on, but with the exception of one Indian respondent who expostulated that "Fijian lady teachers are hopeless," no reference was made to any section in particular.

The 1969 Education Commission recommended the setting up of a Teacher Education Planning Committee whose functions would include the review and implementation of teacher education programs. But more importantly it called for a working party to investigate teachers' grievances, such as low pay and status, which have a direct bearing on the quality of teaching.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Beginning in 1924 up to the present New Zealand teachers were recruited under contract for service in Fiji. In 1969 some 400 expatriate teachers were employed in primary and secondary schools, this number being made up of New Zealand teachers, Mission teachers, and Peace Corps volunteers. Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 80.

CHAPTER 8

Religious Activities

The last chapter briefly outlined the relationship between religious and political differences among some Indian teachers in the Fiji Teachers Union. This theme is developed further in the present chapter which attempts to describe the complex relationship between religion and politics within the Indian section in general. First to be examined are some of the major characteristics of Indian religious activities.

The Growth and Diversification of Indian Religious Activities

Divisions within the Indian section arise in part on the basis of religious groupings and cults. Indians in Fiji are mainly Hindus, and the remainder are Muslims or Christians. Each subsection is internally divided, often on the basis of the ancestral origins of its members. Each will be examined in turn and its relations with others traced historically. Some recent disputes within and between subsections will follow. The result will be to see to what extent Indians may be termed a national section in respect to religious activities.

SANATANS. The majority of Indians in Fiji are Sanatans or orthodox Hindus. They can trace their ancestry from North Indian states such as Eastern UP and Bihar; South India (for example, Madras); and Gujerat or Bombay. Sanatans are themselves internally divided since their religious practices and beliefs differ in terms of these regions of origin.

Throughout Fiji there are an estimated 700 mandlis or religious

clubs where Ramayan singing and other Sanatan rituals are carried out. Several hundred of these are affiliated with a supposedly representative council of Sanatans known as the SDPS (Sanatan Dharam Pratinidhi Sabha). This council attempts to act on behalf of all orthodox Hindus primarily in respect to religious issues. In actual fact the SDPS is a predominantly northern Sanatan organization. At a recent meeting of the SDPS, which was attended by an estimated 2,000 persons, the committee agreed to: 1) press the Fiji Broadcasting Commission to provide more broadcasting time for preaching orthodox Hindu religious instruction; 2) approach the Director of Education to upgrade the standard of Hindi taught in schools and to include Sanskrit as a university course; and 3) implore the Prime Minister to declare Diwali, the best known Hindu religious festival, as a national holiday. For several years the SDPS has also requested separate representation for Sanatans in the Upper House or Senate but this issue was dropped at the last meeting because the committee now feels that Sanatan Hindus are sufficiently represented in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Many years ago the Gujeratis formed a separate group in the council but nowadays they are included with other northern Sanatan Hindus. At the local level, however, they tend to form their own religious organizations such as the Sai Baba Committee. As one northern Sanatan official in the council observes: "Gujeratis maintain a provincial feeling. They were late arrivals in Fiji while the majority of us were born here. Unlike the Gujeratis our interests lie in Fiji. They also have their own ceremonies, and we call them "rolling stones" because they believe in every so-called God or

Goddess that comes along. The Sai Baba is not a God but they worship him as if he were." In contrast to other Hindus northern Sanatans follow exclusively the sacred writings of the four Vedas, the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, and the Puranas, Upanishads, and Shastras.

The national socio-religious organization of the southern Sanatan is the Then Ikya Samarga Sangam, located in Nandi. The Sangam controls 20 primary and 5 secondary schools in Fiji, and these are open to all sections. There are numerous branches and temple committees located throughout Fiji but these are more or less autonomous. Each temple is dedicated to the Divine Mother, and the major emphasis of worship is towards the South Indian variety of Hinduism. Once a year each major temple conducts a festival according to the Tamil calendar. The festival is climaxed by a firewalking ceremony that has become very popular among a large number of non-Indian spectators. Unlike the religious basis of the mandlis, however, the temples and Sangams are regionally oriented. Membership in them is restricted to South Indians irrespective of their religious affiliations. Thus South Indian Muslims, South Indian Christians, and Gujeratis are eligible for membership. There are about 500 financial members of the Sangam in Nandi, and about 150 attended the Annual General Meeting in 1971.

Outside Nandi very few South Indians speak or write their own language such as Tamil, Telegu, or Malayalam since Hindi has always been the language of instruction in most Indian schools.

In the early days, when education was a major issue, the Sangam and the Fiji Muslim League pressed for the recognition of their vernacular languages. A row soon developed between Tamil speakers and a minority group who spoke Telegu. The latter formed a separate organization known as the Andhara Sangam. But today this Sangam includes Tamil speakers just as the TISI Sangams have members who favor the Telegu language. A few South Indians who are disillusioned with developments in the Sangam have left to join the Divine Life Society. The Society was formed by a South Indian holy man who visited Fiji in the 1950s. It attracts persons from other faiths as well.

The third subsection of Sanatans, the Gujeratis, appears to be the most cohesive. These Sanatans differ from other Sanatans with respect to the frequency with which they use their own language, the number of their visits and extent of their ties with India, and their degree of orthodoxy particularly in regard to diet and endogamy. Yet Gujeratis are not without their own divisions. While caste distinctions have almost entirely disappeared among most other Indians in Suva it forms the most important basis for divisions among the Gujeratis. A Gujerati explained: "Being few in numbers we (castegroup) tend to be more united than other Hindus. I have never, for example, heard of a case where a Gujerati would permit his daughter to marry outside her caste." The major endogamous castes such as Patels, Tailors, Goldsmiths, and Laundrymen tend to maintain their traditional caste occupations. In the political field, according to my estimate, the wealthier castes are divided in their support of the Government or Alliance Party and the National Federation Party while the less wealthy

castes tend to support the latter party. Nevertheless, friendship and mutual home visits are frequent between castes. Another division among Gujeratis is based on region of origin. Bombaiyas are those who come from or trace their ancestry to the Bombay and Surat area, while Kathiawaris are those who come from the region north of Surat; but this distinction does not appear to affect social intercourse.

ARYA SAMAJIS. The Arya Samaj is a reformist minority Hindu sect in Fiji. It was the first to organize socio-religious activities from the turn of the century. Its major aim is the reformation of Hinduism through the modification of, in its view, superfluous ceremonials and meaningless rituals. It thus has its own priests, religious practices, and marriage rites which differ from those of the orthodox Hindus or Sanatans. To be an Arya Samaji one does not have to be born into one of four castes as is the case with Sanatans. Membership in the Arya Samaj is not ascribed by birth and any person may join. Mixed marriages are encouraged. The Arya Samaj count among its converts white and non-white Christians, including a few Fijian (former) Methodists, orthodox Sanatans (i.e., northern and southern Indians and Gujeratis), and Muslims. The Samajis are organized along similar lines as the other religions. There is a parent body with a financial membership of about 650, and numerous branch affiliates. The Samajis control 10 primary and 3 high schools. According to my estimate 20% of the Hindu population are either active members or in sympathy with this sect. Later to be described is the extent to which Arya Samajis are divided amongst themselves in respect of organizational activities.

MUSLIMS (Islam). There are about 50,000 Muslims in Fiji. They are the third largest group in the Dominion. At first all the Muslims were contained within the Fiji Muslim League. Then in 1933 a preacher from the Ahmadiyya sect was invited to Fiji by a few members of the League's executive committee who were in sympathy with this movement. They and their followers were subsequently expelled from the League, and formed the Muslim Association.

The Ahmadiyya movement originates from Mirza Ghulam Ahmed (1835-1908) who claimed among other things that he was a reformer. Six years after his death a splinter group led by his son was formed. Members of this group called themselves Qadianis. They attributed to the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement a claim of prophethood, and claimed that all those who did not join the Qadiani movement were kaafirs or unbelievers. In 1960 a similar split occurred among the Ahmadees in Fiji. The Qadianis have since formed their own organization known as the Tarik Jadid Anjuman. Although it is not possible to determine how many Fijians are acquainted with Islam the Muslims in Fiji, especially the Qadianis, are most interested in gaining converts from this section. One of the periodicals published by the Qadianis is written partly in the Fijian language.

The major division among Muslim sects arises from differences in religious beliefs. Each regards the others as infidels; each has its own separate mosques for worship; and each celebrates separately Muslim festivals such as the Id-ul-Fitr. Although friendship and mutual home visits are not uncommon it is hardly surprising to find that discussion pertaining to Islam is carefully

avoided. I do not know to what extent the Ahmadayees and the Qadianis are divided among themselves. But among orthodox Muslims conflict between generations, the competition for office, and political divisions are also potential sources of tension. Muslims, on the other hand, are united with respect to the obligatory duties laid down by the laws of Islam. Some of these are the belief in the Holy Quran, daily prayers, fasting in the month of Ramadhan, and, if circumstances permit, pilgrimage to Mecca. Also, since 1931 Muslims have been more or less united in their quest for separate political status and recognition of their religious needs.

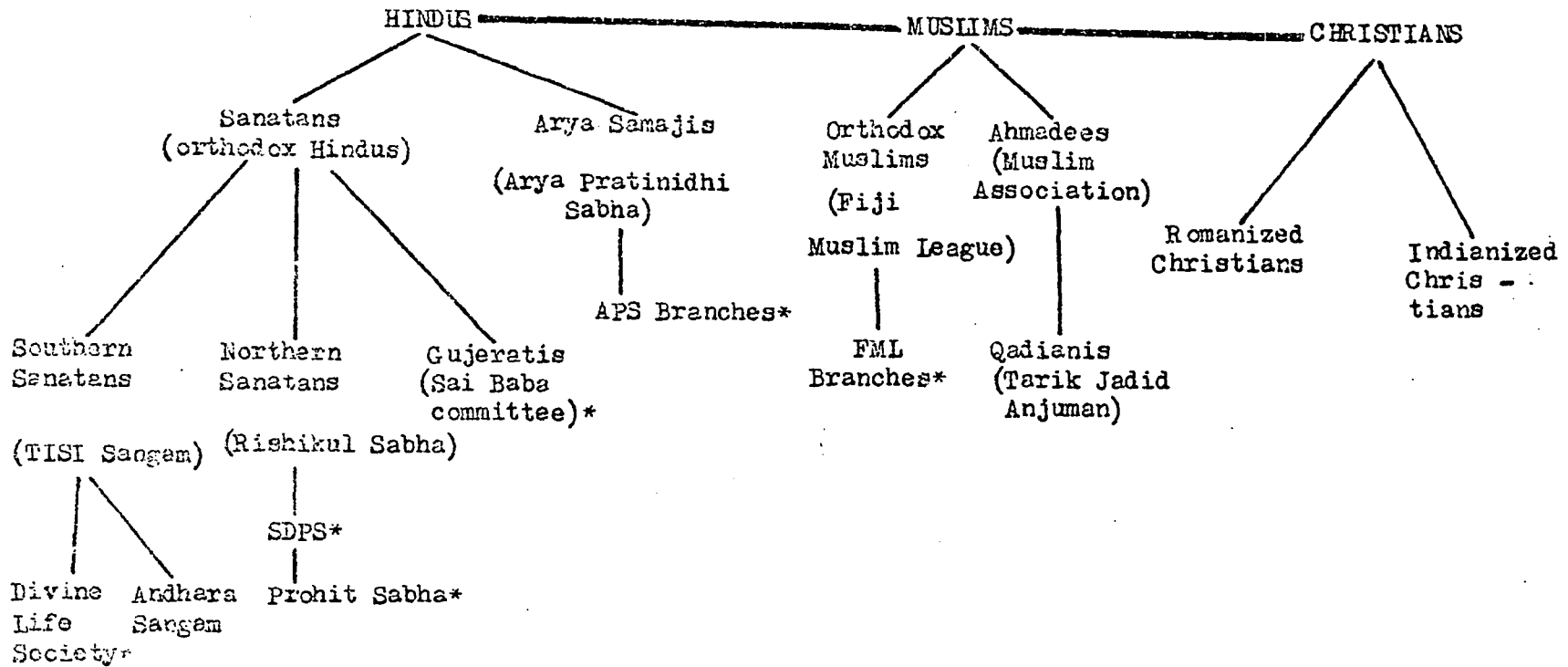
CHRISTIANS. There are comparatively few Indian Christians in Fiji today even though the Church of England commenced work among Indian indentured laborers as early as the 1870s. Other proselytizing bodies include the Methodist Mission Society of Australasia, the Seventh Day Adventist, the Assembly of God, and the Roman Catholic Mission. According to Father John Reilly, a Jesuit priest who was sent to Fiji for one year to study the relations between the Church and Indian Catholics, few Indians are willing to give up their sectional identity to become converts. Father Reilly felt that many more Indians would convert to Catholicism if a way could be found to incorporate traditional Indian ways of praying. He initiated the *Missa Puja* or Indian Mass, which is conducted in Hindustani. However, this does not prevent some Fijians who read and speak the language from attending. Throughout the mass bhajans or Indian hymns are sung, and oil lamps, gifts of flowers, incense, and camphor are presented at the altar. Father Reilly was able to win a few converts in this way but his

work has slowed down considerably since his departure from Fiji. It appears that in attempting to "Indianize the faith" Father Reilly had antagonized the more established and westernized Indian Catholics of Fiji. Members of the latter group have traditionally been the recipients of Christian Mission education. Many had been recommended for civil service appointments by their ministers and had become used to a somewhat more European way of life. They wholeheartedly accept the traditional Romanized version of Catholicism, speak little Hindustani at home and work, maintain a strong community feeling among themselves, and do not celebrate Hindu festivals. "I was asking them to return to something which they had made great sacrifice to abandon," Father Reilly told me. Nevertheless, Father Reilly has left behind a small group of new Christian Indians who, with other Hindus celebrate Diwali, the Hindu festival of lights, and who attempt to sectionalize their faith in other ways so that they will not be totally alienated from the majority of their fellow-men.

In view of these facts it is obvious that one major characteristic of Indian religious activities is the extent of cleavages that develop in the organization of the various sub-sections. These divisions may be termed internal, as distinct from the broad and external divisions between Hindus, Muslims, and Indian Christians (Table 20). Before it is possible to illustrate in more detail the nature of these cleavages it is necessary to delineate the historical forces which produced them. Accordingly,

Table 20

External and Internal Religious Divisions Among
the Indian Section



* These divisions are to be described in a subsequent section of this chapter.

a summary of historical notes pertaining to relations between and within the various Indian socio-religious organizations is presented below;

- 1902 - The Arya Samaj is registered as a religious body in Samabula, Suva. The Colonial Government provides it with land to build its own school.
- 1908 - Sanatans organize in small groups in villages, towns, and in Suva. They meet on weekends, read the Ramayan, and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the Indian section. Newspapers, books, and pamphlets are imported and widely distributed. Some are said to contain "seditious and anti-government articles."
- 1911 - The first Indian secular association, the IIA (Indian Imperial Association), is formed in Suva. It is made up of representatives of all Indian religions and sects. It brings India-born Manilal, a Gujerati lawyer, to Fiji to lead the protest against abuses in the indenture system.
- 1916 - The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Fiji is formed in Lautoka. This is the national body of Arya Samajis. Swami Saraswati arrives from Burma to proselytise and manage a primary school for Arya Samajis. Manilal, leader of the IIA, succeeds in getting political representation for Indians. He hopes to be appointed to the Legislative Council but Pundit Badri Maharaj, a leading Arya Samaji, is chosen instead. Manilal becomes anti-government, and he and his followers create a division between moderate and extreme Indian political groupings.
- 1920 - Manilal leads the strike of Public Works Department and Municipal workers in Suva. He attempts to attract the laboring class by asking for the abolition of the Master and Servants Ordinance which applies to Fijian and Indian

laborers, and by agitating for a minimum wage. Badri Maharaj urges strikers to rely on the Government's Commission to enquire into the dispute. Government pressure is subsequently put on Manilal and he leaves Fiji.

1924 - The second secular organization, the IRL (Indian Reform League), is formed in Suva by a senior Indian civil servant and a European religious minister for the purpose of unifying the Indians in Fiji on the matter of social reform. Membership, which is predominantly made up of Suva-based Indian senior civil servants, includes Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. Two leading Arya Samajis are appointed committee members. One of them, Pundit Vishnu Deo, attempts to use the organization to advance the political status of Indians but he is unsuccessful and resigns shortly afterwards.

1926 - Badri Maharaj resigns from the Legislative Council because the Government proposes to impose a residential tax on all non-Fijians. The Then Ikya Samarga Sangam, the South Indian socio-religious body, is formed to press for the teaching of South Indian languages and culture. The first Sangam school is opened in Nandi. The leaders are divided on the language issue. The Government decides to make Hindi the medium of primary instruction.

1928 - The Arya Samajis accuse Indian (Christian) civil servants of forming the IRL "to encourage profanity, liquor drinking and other acts contrary to Indian beliefs." The Sanatan newspaper, Vridhhi, accuses Indian Christians in the IRL of being "traitors." The latter sue the Arya Samaj newspaper, the Fiji Samachar, and some prominent Arya Samajis with libel. The case is later settled by retractions and apologies by the paper and the persons concerned.

1929 - Indians are given popular representation. Three Arya Samajis including Vishnu Deo are the first elected Indian members of the Legislative Council. They resign almost immediately when their

motion for a common electoral roll is defeated. Indians are appointed as members of local boards and committees. The first Indian Advisory committee is formed to act as a channel of communication between European administrative officers and the Indian section. Little by little the committees become more representative of the various religions and sects.

- 1930 - Politically-minded members of the IRL form the Indian Association of Fiji "to uplift the Indian community socially, politically, and without racial or colour discrimination." The first branch is formed in Suva. The Association is said to be the mouthpiece of the Arya Samajis partly because Vishnu Deo is a leading member, and partly because the Association's platform is common roll. However, the Gujerati lawyer, A.D. Patel, and some Indian Christians are also members.
- 1931 - Religious revivalism leads to clashes between rival sects. Cleavages between the Sanatans and the Arya Samajis develop on the question of morality. At the same time, local road boards, sanitary authorities, education committees, and the like, include members of all religions and sects. The newspaper Vridhhi-vani (Voice of Progress) is started "to promote the unity of the Indian community against communal and sectarian dissensions." It offers Sanatans and Arya Samajis space to express their views. The paper says sect differences are primarily an expression of personal rivalries and the desire of committee members to win the sympathy and understanding of similar associations in India. The Muslims voice their cultural aspirations through their own newspaper.
- 1933 - The Arya Samaj newspaper Fiji Samachar implores Indian rate-payers to unite and stand firm for a common electoral roll and to oppose discrimination against Indians in public places, particularly in Suva. Religious and sect differences seem on the wane as influential Arya Samajis, Sanatans, Gujeratis, and Muslims unite against the compromise made by the two remaining members (Arya Samajis) of the Legislative Council on the question of common roll. Ahmadees are expelled from the Muslim League.

- 1937 - The issue of Indian immigration hampers the development of an integrated Indian section. The India-born Gujerati lawyer, Patel, favors unrestricted immigration. Parmanand Singh, who is an Arya Samaji, and a former Legislative Council member, advocates complete cessation of immigration. Singh's brother defeats Patel in the elections. Local-born Indians attempt to allay European and Fijian fears concerning the rapid growth of the Indian population and to counteract the economic power of India-born Gujerati traders and artisans. A Young Indian Society is formed "to vindicate locally-born Indians." Indian farmers unite to form a canegrowers' union, the Kisan Sangh, under the leadership of a Sanatan, Pundit A. Prasad.
- 1939 - Swami Rudranand of the Ramakrishna Mission arrives to head the Sangam. He attempts to draw South Indian canegrowers away from the Kisan Sangh and to form them into a homogeneous cultural group. Patel is the legal advisor for the Sangam. He joins forces with the Swami to form a rival union--the Maha Sangh.
- 1940 - In Suva, the Indian Association is still the most active political body of the Indian section. It includes Sanatans (North and South Indians, and Gujeratis), Arya Samajis, Sikhs, Christians, local and India-born. Vishnu Deo leads a deputation to present a list of Indian grievances that includes such matters as leases, education, public health, and wages.
- 1941 - The first meeting of the rival canegrowers' union is held in Nandi Sangam School. The Swami and Patel attempt to recruit the support of Arya Samaji farmers, although some North Indian Sanatans are also willing to join. Unlike the proposed union, the Kisan Sangh imposes a levy of one penny per ton of cane harvested. The Gujeratis fully support the formation of a rival union because they fear competition from the cooperative consumer and credit societies envisaged by the Kisan Sangh. Although the new union is strongly southern supported some non-Tamil South Indians accuse the Swami's Ramakrishna Mission of being a monotheistic and Tamil-exclusive organization.

- 1943 - The new union, the Maha Sangh, joins with the new left wing of the Kisan Sangh in asking for an increase in cane price.
- 1947 - Andrew Deoki, an Indian Christian and a lawyer, stands against Vishnu Deo for a seat in the Legislative Council. The former claims that a lawyer is better suited for the council than a layman.
- 1948 - The rift is carried into the Indian Association. The rival faction which supports Vishnu Deo fails to unseat Deoki's nominee and brother-in-law, Hari Charan. Charan, who is also a Christian is re-elected as General Secretary of the Association. (As noted earlier, Charan was also at the time President of the Fiji Teachers' Union). Deo leaves to form his own group, the Indian People's Organization. He becomes ill shortly afterwards and the organization falls apart.
- 1950 - The Kisan Sangh and the Maha Sangh are divided on the issue of a revised cane contract. This time the latter adopts a more compromised approach.
- 1951 - The Fiji branch of the Divine Life Society is formed in Suva. The Society's purpose is to disseminate the Indian interpretation of the Divine Life. Originally founded by a South Indian monk in India, the Society attempts to spread the doctrine of universal brotherhood and makes no distinction between religions.
- 1956 - The Muslim Association (Ahmaddiya sect) denounces the present nominated system of Muslim representation and requests representation by election. Only once has an Ahmaddi Muslim been nominated to the Council since 1937. The orthodox Muslim member of the Council maintains that no Muslim would be elected by a predominantly Hindu electorate.
- 1958 - The competition for office in the Rishikul Maha Sabha, the northern Sanatan organization, leads to the formation of a second organization known as the Sanatan Dham Pratinidhi Sabha. The latter attempts to develop into a national organization for northern Sanatans.

- 1960 - Negotiations over a new cane contract provides the Kisan Sangh with an opportunity to attack the less moderate position of the Maha Sangh. The latter is accused of placing cane-growers in a position of bondage to Gujerati traders and money lenders.
- 1963 - The Federation Party (later known as the National Federation Party) contests the 1963 elections. The three successful candidates include Patel, the Gujerati lawyer and leader of the party, S.M. Koya, a South Indian Muslim, and James Madhavan, an Indian Christian. Patel realizes that the personal rivalries of the past have absorbed the energies of the Indian section and have worked to their political disadvantage. His party attempts to gain support from all the Indian and socio-religious groups in urban and rural areas. It begins to develop as the most active and effective Indian political body in Fiji.
- 1965 - Rival factions develop in the Sanatan Dharm Mandli in Suva. One faction accuses the other of participating with Arya Samajis, and infiltrating the organization with them. The other group charges that Federation politics are increasingly being brought into an organization intended for religious worship. Patel represents members of the first faction in court free of charge.
- 1966 - A. Prasad, head of the Kisan Sangh, joins with prominent leaders of the European, Chinese, and Fijian sections to form the Alliance Party. Included are some Muslims who view common roll, the major platform of the Federation, in terms of Hindu political dominance. All except three Indian Alliance candidates standing in cross-voting constituencies are defeated. Prasad is defeated by Patel. Anti-Federation Indians who are not members of the Alliance unsuccessfully contest the elections as Independents. They occupy a position somewhere between what they consider to be the intransigence of the National Federation Party and the conservatism of the Indian Alliance.

- 1967 - Andrew Deoki, President of the Indian Reform League, and an unsuccessful independent in the elections of the previous year, attempts to form a political party for Fiji-born Indians. He receives some but not enough support from members of all the socio-religious groups with the exception of the Gujeratis.
- 1968 - The Indian Alliance and the National Federation Party contest the by-elections. All nine of the Federation Party candidates win with enormous majorities.
- 1970 - Fiji Independence Day religious celebrations, with all religious groups represented.
- 1971 - General Elections. Indian Alliance and the NFP Indian candidates represent all the major religious groups in the Dominion. The wealthier Indians (Hindus, Muslims, Christians) are generally divided in their support of the Government Alliance Party and the Opposition NFP. The less wealthy tend to support the latter party.

Strikingly emerging from the above are the negative and positive aspects of both religion and politics in the unification process. First to be examined are religious differences as the basis of disunity among the Indian section. The separate identity of each subsection was enhanced, it will be recalled, by the growth of such organizations as the Arya Pratinidhi Saabha, Fiji Muslim League, and SDPS, especially at the national level. Parallel with the development of these sectarian organizations was the movement to form such secular organizations as the Indian Association and the Indian Reform League, and it was not long before their diverse membership provided rival leaders with the opportunity to manipulate and mobilize support for their own purpose.

Organizational activity in these organizations became increasingly complex with the intrusion of political factors. In certain aspects of political life and in some periods the religious differences that existed between subsections were put aside as Indians assumed the characteristics of a fully corporate group vis-a-vis other sections. But, as noted earlier, politics has a dual role with respect to the unification of the Indian section. When the political differences such as existed between extremists and moderates became manifest the Indian section tended again to display the characteristics of an extremely heterogeneous group. On some occasions the division was almost wholly based on political differences as, for example, between local and foreign-born Indians; at other times it was based on the complex relationship between politics and religion, as, for example, between the two farmers' unions in the 1940s. There is plenty of evidence to indicate that the former pattern, i.e., cleavages arising from political differences, predominates in the contemporary period. In other words, there has been a gradual (albeit incomplete) transformation from a religious to a political basis for cleavages among the various Indian subsections. ("Class" divisions within the Indian section provide--although not invariably--the basis for political differences.) The dual role of both politics and religion is nicely illustrated by the fact that both major political parties are cross-cut by members of various Indian religious subsections, just as all religious subsections are cross-cut by members of the two political parties.

The nature of some recent disputes that have developed within several of the Indian socio-religious associations are illustrated by the following cases.

Recent Disputes

Northern Sanatans. 1) The founder of the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha and a few ex-members of the Sabha recently formed a separate organization known as the Prohit Sabha "for the purpose of officiating and advising on Sanatan ways." Membership is limited to Sanatan Brahmins. According to some members of the SDPS, the Prohit Sabha was formed for the simple reason that the founder had lost control of the former organization. Furthermore, he and his followers were not happy with the intrusion of party politics in SDPS affairs. They have been sympathetic towards the Government Alliance Party since its inception.

2) A dispute between two factions in the Sanatan Dharm Mandli (temple) in Suva which began in 1965 was settled during the period of field work. (The dispute was described in the summary of historical notes listed above.)

A joint meeting of the opposing factions was held on Thursday, October 14, 1972, at 7 P.M. to find ways and means of reconciling them. The groups were very much impressed by the following words of the Prime Minister, Ratu Sir K.K.T. Mara, embodied in his Diwali message to the people of Fiji:

"I pray that the spirit of Diwali may illuminate everyone's heart so that its purifying light may drive out darkness of all kinds. If amongst us there are those with bitterness, anger and harbouring hatred or malice against any male or female colleague let the lights of Diwali put an end to that."

As an outcome of the meeting the parties cleansed themselves and appeared before the Lord in the temple, offered prayers, prostrated, and then embraced each other as a gesture of forgiveness and sought His grace to work harmoniously for the good of the organization.

3) Membership in the SDPS, like most Indian religious organizations, is cross-cut by the two major political parties in Fiji. For example, the Sabha's legal advisor for the western division is a Government Indian Alliance parliamentarian, while the legal advisor for the southern division is the General Secretary of the Opposition NFP. Some members of the Sabha are attempting to revise the constitution so that no active or prominent members of political parties can hold any post in the cabinet.

Arya Samajis. A dispute has arisen between office bearers in the Suva branch of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha and official representatives of the national or parent body. The local branch, it appears, is pressing for a greater degree of autonomy. The branch, has advanced the argument that donations, membership fees, etc., collected by it should remain in Suva and not be allocated by the national body for work in other districts. The management of Arya Samaj property and schools in the Suva district, it argues, should be the responsibility of the local branch. To what extent political divisions underlie this dispute is uncertain but the local branch President was after a NFP seat in the Council in the last General Election (1972). In this attempt he has mobilized the members of the Suva branch on the basis of loyalty to the party. Apparently, the issue of branch autonomy was partly a ruse for advancing the political career of some of the individuals concerned in the dispute.

The Divine Life Society and the Sai Baba Committee. The Divine Life Society is a Hindu reformist order founded by a South Indian monk in 1936. The monk and his small band of devotees soon

left India to spread religious instruction based on universalism and tolerance, and to establish meditation centers in many parts of the world.

The Fiji branch of the Society, which was formed in Suva in 1951, was slow in developing, and the numbers involved with it were small. Up to the late 1960s its affairs were controlled by a committee composed almost entirely of Gujeratis. The committee did not attempt to establish a link between all the members. This of course was not in keeping with the aims of the Society. Non-Gujeratis in the association became dissatisfied. They had joined the DLS because they were irritated with sectarian differences among their compatriots. They did not wish to see these differences intruding into the affairs of the Society. In 1969, a personal representative of the founder who visited the Suva branch used his influence to recruit a more representative committee. The composition of this new committee is as follows: President, a Gujerati (Arya Samaji); three Vice-Presidents, a northern Sanatan, a South Indian Christian, and a southern Sanatan; Secretary, a southern Sanatan; three assistant secretaries, two northern Sanatans, and a southern Sanatan; Treasurer, a northern Sanatan (Punjabi); Assistant treasurer, a northern Sanatan; eight committee members, four of them Gujeratis, four northern Sanatans; Kindergarten Committee, three Fijians, and one southern Sanatan. Although the Society is headed by a Gujerati he is, in the words of the Secretary, a South Indian, "a different type of Gujerati. He is able to rise above sectarian differences."

Shortly after this new committee was formed another representative of the movement visited Fiji. During his visit he

spoke of the miraculous qualities of a South Indian holy man called the Sai Baba. The committee, interested to learn more, started a private collection to send one of their representatives, Charan Singh, to investigate. Upon his return from India Charan (formerly a Roman Catholic) left the Society and turned his attention to the formation of a movement "that would bring the words of Sai Bana to Fiji."¹⁸² He claimed that the latter had instructed him to do so.

Meanwhile, a wealthy Gujerati businessman in Suva who had also heard of Baba left for India but never succeeded in meeting the sage. Despite this he became firmly convinced that Sai Baba could indeed perform miracles, and was thus worthy of devltion. Upon his return he immediately summoned Charan and Charan's brother-in-law, a South Indian Sanatan, to his home. The three had known each other in the DLS, although Charan's brother-in-law and the Gujerati businessman were inactive members. They formed a committee which consisted initially of close friends and kinsmen. Soon the novelty of the movement began to attract a large following of Hindus and a few non-Indians as well. It has grown sufficiently large for meetings to be held once a week in a rented hall. At these meetings religious songs based on the life of Sai Baba and the Hindu God Lord Krishna are sung.

The DLS has lost a considerable number of members to the new movement. Both organizations sometimes simultaneously but separately observe the same rituals, celebrate the birthday of the same deities, and so on. As one Gujerati informant observes: "The Sai Baba is the biggest attraction these days so far as Indian

¹⁸² Interview with Charan Singh, 14 October, 1971.

religious activities are concerned. I have never seen Hinduism given such a revival before." Because of their business connections the Sai Baba committee is better able to provide the kind of communication that attracts new adherents. Large numbers of books, pamphlets, and magazines concerning the movement in India and elsewhere are imported. The committee has also approached the Fiji Broadcasting Commission to provide a regular program devoted to the work of Sai Baba. Although politics has never been an important basis of division between the two organizations it is nevertheless present.

It is not surprising then that enmity has developed between the two organizations. Some members of the DLS believe the Sai Baba to be nothing more than a disciple. They mock the members of this cult for accepting Sai Baba as a reincarnation of Lord Krishna. They privately accuse the Gujeratis in the Sai Baba committee of being religious-minded simply for the sake of personal gain. One day a religious meeting held by the DLS was interrupted by a man who walked in from the street. Although this individual was never identified some of the members were convinced that he was a Gujerati representative of the Sai Baba committee sent to disrupt their meeting. The hostility that has developed between the two organizations is nevertheless remarkable since both were founded on the principle of universalism and tolerance.

The Fiji Muslim League. The most recent dispute between the Ahmadees and the orthodox Muslims in Fiji arose over the exclusion of Ahmadee representatives from participation in Fiji's Independence Day anniversary religious celebrations. According to some Ahmadees

the decision to exclude them from participation in the celebration was based on the influence of the Leader of the National Federation Party (an orthodox Muslim) and members of his political party who sat in the review committee.

The orthodox Muslims are themselves internally divided. There are two mutually exclusive youth organizations in Suva and two separate Muslim women's organizations that cater to similar needs. The conflicts between generations and amongst the women arise from competition for office, personal rivalries that develop from such competition, and intrusion of political parties in their affairs. Most of these factors can be clearly seen in operation in a recent dispute between two rival 'groups' of the Suva branch of the Fiji Muslim League.

Let us name the two 'groups' A and B. One of the leaders of 'group A' was Akbar Khan. Akbar had been President of the Suva branch of the League several years back when he defeated Usman Ali. Enmity between the two developed because of this. Then Akbar was defeated by the leader of 'group B,' Abdul Mohammed. The following year Usman challenged Abdul's leadership of the branch but the latter was re-elected President. The two men did not get along well and soon mobilized their personal following within the organization. The dispute extended outside the organization as well for, it seems, Usman and Abdul were rivals in business. Both were owners of rival inter-island shipping companies and this may have injured their relations from the start.

During the period of fieldwork the parent body, the Fiji Muslim League, proposed to build a Muslim high school in Suva. As President of the Suva branch Abdul, like his committee, would

certainly derive considerable esteem by being associated with such a project. When Abdul did not call for an annual meeting of the branch as was required by the constitution Usman and his allies decided that it was time to make the break. Usman approached Akbar for support and the two formed a coalition. Subsequently, the members of 'group A' set a date for the annual general meeting. This was duly announced in the press and radio. Abdul, the President and leader of 'group B' responded by placing a second announcement cancelling the meeting. The two announcements confused the public and few showed up at the appointed time. The men from 'group A' became frantic and drove around the city from one Muslim residence to the next informing the members that the meeting was still on. About twenty Hindus who were standing across the street were also invited to attend. Finally, about 200 persons were present. Some came because of the promise of pilau that would be served at the end of the meeting. Others were drawn in simply because they were kinsmen of the leaders of the faction. Usman opened the meeting with a short speech describing how he and the other leaders of 'group A' had approached Abdul and his B group to hold the annual general meeting. When nothing came of this they had put their case before the senior officials of the parent body. The League had promised to form a grievance committee to look into the dispute. Still, after four months, no positive action had been taken.

Akbar spoke next. He blamed the break on Abdul's high-handedness, and said that the responsibility for building the proposed school lay with the Muslim public and not just with Abdul and his clique. He also implied that Abdul was unwilling

to call a meeting because he was afraid that a new committee would be elected and he would lose his chance for directing the school project.¹⁸³ The meeting he (Akbar) had called was in accordance with the constitution. He added that one of the Vice-Presidents of the branch was presiding in the absence of Abdul, the President. Akbar said that the League would have to recognize them. An election was hastily arranged and a "new committee" was elected unopposed. Akbar was elected as the "new" President, and Usman was made one of the Vice-Presidents. Thus, for the next several months the League had two branches in Suva. During this time the League's grievance committee met with members of both groups to arrange a compromise. The committee was headed by the Speaker, S.M. Koya (also Leader of the National Federation Party), and other senior officials of the League. At one of these meetings Koya suggested that a temporary branch committee be set up incorporating members from both groups with Abdul as Acting President. A new annual general meeting and elections would take place four months later with both sides present. This would give the present Treasurer time to complete his financial report. Akbar and Usman were not present at this meeting. When several men from 'group A' who were present agreed to this compromise Akbar and Usman, who had not given them the authority to do so, were dismayed when they learned of the agreement and believed that their representatives were persuaded by "sweet talk."

¹⁸³ I was not able to reach Abdul for an interview but informants from his group were later to deny this accusation. They said that the reason Abdul did not call for an annual meeting was because he was afraid an election would split the branch, thus destroying the chances for a successful school-fund drive he was proposing.

The meeting to appoint a temporary branch committee was held the following day. The maulana or priest opened the meeting with a prayer that "Almighty Allah will make the meeting successful and that all resolutions will be resolved and no diversity of dispute will arise and the meeting will end peacefully." About thirty persons including senior officials of the League and members of both groups were present. Koya presented both sides of the argument. He said the League and all its branches were registered as a religious body under the Religious Ordinance and that political factors should have no place in them. He did not want to be blamed for dividing the branch.¹⁸⁴ He and other senior officials of the League were merely acting as arbitrators. After the proposed temporary appointments were made they would step aside because "You are the boss, the Suva people." He said the Hindus would "laugh at us" if they learnt that there was an open break among Muslims in Suva.

The men from 'group A' did not protest the proposed compromise. They listened attentively as Koya spoke for almost an hour. Akbar remained silent throughout the meeting. Usman was not present. Koya read the appointments for the temporary committee. Abdul was to remain as President. Akbar, who was named as one of the Vice-Presidents, refused to sit with the rest of the committee on the platform. Included in the committee were eight men from 'group A', eight men from 'group B', and seven senior civil servants.

¹⁸⁴ Koya, as head of a political party which mainly relies on an Indian electorate for its support, could hardly afford to antagonize either faction, one of whom (group A) supported the demand for separate political representation for Muslims. But even more importantly Koya could not appear to defend such sectarian demands for he would alienate himself from the majority of the Indian (Hindu) community.

The latter were chosen as "Muslims of the highest responsibility," but later the men from 'group A' privately accused Koya of infiltrating the committee with his "stooges." They were clearly upset about the compromise and felt that Koya had thrown his influence behind Abdul and his clique because Abdul who was very wealthy could later be persuaded to contribute financially not only to the building fund for the proposed high school but to the National Federation Party campaign in the General Election. He was at the moment politically neutral. By way of contrast, Usman was branch President of the rival political party, the Indian Alliance. This may explain why when the appointments were made he stayed home. Not surprisingly, Usman was not included as one of the eight men appointed from 'group A'.

Members of 'group B' privately accused Usman of starting a rift in the Suva branch for his own personal gain. They claimed that if he were successful in challenging Abdul's leadership Usman would become an even more important figure among Muslims and could thus convince his party's selection committee (Alliance) to nominate him as one of their candidates in the General Election.

At the annual general meeting that took place four months later the leaders of 'group A' stayed at home. Koya was also absent. But Abdul's nomination for the chair did not go unchallenged. This time the opposition was led by Ali Dean. There were two reasons for Ali to become involved. Firstly, he was planning to campaign as an independent in the General Election. Secondly, he had always been

outspoken about Muslim political rights and had challenged from time to time Koya's more moderate policies on the subject. I do not know if Ali had formed an alliance with any of the men from 'group A' on this basis. He had never attended any of the previous meetings described nor was his name mentioned at any of them. Later, some informants told me that Ali may have been responsible for the initial split by convincing Usman and Akbar that they should form a breakaway group. But after several interviews it was still impossible to confirm this. In any case, all three men, I learned, were on bad terms with Koya, firstly, because of his compromised approach in regard to separate political representation for Muslims, and secondly, because of his influence in the League. Just before the time of the election Ali requested that the election be conducted by ballot but this was refused by the chairman for elections. The election was conducted by a show of hands and Abdul was elected by a majority. Ali then withdrew his nomination. Only two of the men in 'group A' were elected into the new committee.

There is no point in carrying the case studies any further. The pattern of disputes reported here is also found in other Indian subsectional organizations. What then are some of the consequences of the factors that have been outlined? This question can be answered only after examining the extent of differences between the three major sections with respect to their religious affiliations. Table 21 presents the religions with which members in our sample nominally identify.

Table 21
Comparison of Sections with Respect to
Religious Affiliation

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Methodist	11%	84%	4%
Roman Catholic	14	14	6
Other Christians	65	2	6
Hindus	-	-	67
Islam	-	-	17
None	10	-	-
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(53)	(152)	(139)

Table 21 clearly demonstrates that the structure of religious identities is not shared, nor is it common if one assumes that each of the religious identifies listed above is expressive of different values. Of the 147 Indian socio-religious associations registered in Fiji, only 33 are Christian, 14 are Muslim, and the remainder are Hindu organizations. By way of contrast the majority of Fijians are Methodist, while most Europeans are members of the Church of England.¹⁸⁵ Frequency distributions, however, are not a sufficient nor reliable index of pluralism in the religious field. The extent of external and internal religious divisions among the Indian section

¹⁸⁵ 1966 Census, *op. cit.*, p. 180. In recent years a unique development in religious organizational activity has been the willingness of the representatives of the various faiths to cooperate jointly in various religious services. The Ecumenical Service of Thanksgiving to celebrate Independence Day is one example. On that occasion sixty religious leaders were seated on a single platform and led prayers read from the Bible, Veda, and Koran in English, Hindi, Urdu, and Fijian. (Interview with Father Hannon, Chairman of the Independence Day Ecumenical Service Committee, 1972.)

have more or less permanently divided members of this section into many separate groups at both the local and national levels. While political factors in some periods intruded to check to some extent the disruptive consequences of these religious divisions they in turn created new patterns of social alignment and cleavages among the Indians. To put it another way, the Indians do not form a national section in the religious field, firstly, because all of their socio-religious cleavages examined so far were sectional in origin, i.e., they developed within the Indian section, and secondly, because of the dual role of religion and politics.¹⁸⁶ These factors, it may be assumed, partly overshadowed and probably reduced the opportunity for intersectional disputes to develop.

¹⁸⁶ See p. 179. In contrast to the situation in Fiji,

religious and political differences between sections overlap to a great extent in Guiana and are factors making for greater pluralism. Thus, "...by aggregating the social and religious interests of East Indians, religious associations have served to integrate the East Indian cultural section and establish its national identity.

Moreover, with the emergence of nationalist politics and modern political parties, the leaders of these associations (Hindu priests and Muslim moulvies) also have become important political activists. Their influence is such that no political party can afford to ignore them." Despres, op. cit., p. 169.

CHAPTER 9

Voluntary Associations

This chapter describes some of the main voluntary associations which exist in Suva and the functions they perform; it also indicates the nature and extent of affiliation of the three sections in various types of associations and the appeal that these associations have for them.

A voluntary association is, in this context, a special purpose grouping which is based on the mutual interests of certain individuals in the society. Such groupings provide a reliable criterion of inter-sectional and sectional integration since membership and participation in non-exclusive and multisectional associations reflect inter-sectional integration; conversely, affiliation with sectional associations means social contact with members of one's own sections, adding reinforcement to one's sectional attitudes and values. All voluntary associations (excluded here are governmental agencies, schools, and churches) have consistent characteristics, which include a name, a written constitution which defines rules and objectives, and regular meetings. A variety of voluntary associations that may be distinguished are social clubs, recreational associations, trade unions, professional or business organizations, charitable or welfare organizations, religious or church-affiliated organizations, political clubs, economic organizations, and neighborhood associations. Most of these groupings are obviously not exclusive in function but the criterion used to distinguish between them is based on the informants' own classification. Informants often stress one purpose at the expense of

civic groups were included under the category "welfare and charitable organizations" because all such members in our sample emphasized the welfare functions performed. Before examining these organizations in detail it is necessary to make some broad distinctions between the activity patterns of sections and status groups.

Pattern of Affiliation of Sections

Most of the Fijian memberships were in political, neighborhood, economic, and recreational associations (Table 22). The latter type of association was the most frequently attended. Trade unions are more important than the membership figures suggest; Fijian informants ranked them third in the list of important and useful associations (Table 23). Twenty-one per cent in the Fijian sample belonged to five or more associations, and 67% belonged to two or more associations. But the extent of voluntary association activity is actually lower than these figures suggest. For many Fijians (and Indians) membership meant no participation beyond payment of dues. By using a composite index of participation it was found that only 25% of Fijian association members could be considered very active in voluntary associations (Table 24).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Persons who were considered very active in voluntary associations scored between 10 and 12 on a scale of 12 points. This scale was derived by assigning a value between 1 (lowest) and 3 (highest) to each measure of a person's participation in voluntary associations. The four measures used were: number of associations belonged to, number of leadership roles, frequency of attendance, and payment of membership dues. If a person belonged to only one association, was an ordinary member, did not attend meetings, and did not pay any dues a score of 1 was given on each measure, thus giving a composite score of 4. Persons who scored between 4 and 6, or 7 and 9, respectively, were considered to be not active or active.

Table 22
 Associational Distribution of Sections
 and Status Occupants

<u>SECTIONS</u>	Club	Recrea- tional	Trade Union	Profes- sional	Welfare	Reli- gious	Political	Eco- Nomic	Neigh- borhood
Indians	18%	23%	58%	24%	31%	46%	6%	14%	9%
Fijians	20	52	42	38	53	53	94	76	84
Europeans	62	25	-	38	16	1	-	10	7
<hr/>									
<u>STATUS</u>									
Low	7	29	57	2	31	52	72	57	67
Middle	11	22	25	7	27	26	15	14	7
High	82	49	18	91	42	22	13	29	26
<hr/>									
Total Number of cases	100 (65)	100 (105)	100 (68)	100 (43)	100 (78)	100 (67)	100 (83)	100 (109)	100 (69)

p < .05

Table 23*
 Rankings of Voluntary Associations by Sections
 in Descending Order of Importance

Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Social Club	Economic	Trade Union
Professional & Business	Political	Religious
Recreational	Trade Union	Recreational
Charitable	Charitable	Charitable
	Neighborhood	Neighborhood
	Religious	

* This table is read vertically, i.e., Europeans ranked social clubs as first in order of importance, professional and business organizations second, and so on. The same procedure is repeated for Fijians and Indians ranking voluntary associations.

Table 24
Extent of Members' Participation in
Voluntary Associations

	Total	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Not active	36%	6%	37%	50%
Active	35	40	38	30
Very active	29	54	25	20
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases (274)		(46)	(144)	(84) p < .05

About 40% of the Indian respondents did not belong to any association, while 9% belonged to five or more, and 28% belonged to two or more. Most of these in which they took part were the trade unions, religious, welfare, and recreational associations. However, like a sizable portion of Fijian members, they were not likely to be active or very active in the associations they belonged to. A substantial number of the total affiliations of the European section were in the social clubs. Although Europeans belonged to as many organizations as Fijians, they attended meetings, paid their dues somewhat more regularly, and were more likely to be office-holders.

The sections also differed with respect to several types of membership to be described later.

Pattern of Affiliation of Status Occupants

What are some of the differences that exist between status groups? Wilensky and Mayntz, among others, have shown that participation in voluntary associations varies by socio-economic status. Participation is said to increase with socio-economic status. Lower status persons are generally inactive or do not belong to as many

voluntary associations as do persons of higher status, mainly, it is said, as a consequence of low and unstable income, low status, and their psychological correlates.¹⁸⁸ There is some support for these claims in our data. Holding sectional affiliation constant, one finds that a significantly larger percentage of respondents (79%) who are of high socio-economic status are either active or very active in voluntary associations, in comparison to 49% and 39% respectively of the respondents in middle and low status positions.

Another important difference between members of distinct socio-economic status groups is shown by the uneven distribution of status occupants in various types of associations (Table 22). Trade unions and religious, political, neighborhood, and economic associations contain a significantly higher percentage of low status occupants than persons of either middle or high socio-economic status. By way of contrast, social clubs and professional, and to some extent, recreational associations appear to be dominated by persons occupying high status positions. Only welfare or charitable organizations¹⁸⁹ are more or less cross-cut by members of all three status groups. The data suggest that because of the maximal overlap between status and sectional membership, the latter (especially Europeans or non-Europeans) affects to a great extent the pattern of voluntary association activity. This will be made clear on examining, firstly, activity in these organizations, and secondly, the distribution of various types of membership among sections.

¹⁸⁸ Harold L. Wilensky, "Work, Careers, and Social Integration," and Renate Mayntz, "Leisure, Social Participation, and Political Activity," in Sociological Aspects of Leisure, op. cit., pp. 561-574.

¹⁸⁹ See page 216 for a definition of these organizations.

Social Clubs

To begin with social clubs, their membership is generally on the basis of occupation-linked interest. Participation of Indian, Fijian, and other non-European low-income wage earners is confined to the multisectional working-class clubs, which are sponsored by the Government, several trade unions, and firms which employ a large labor force. A hall containing a bar, generally the only amenity found in such clubs, provides workers and their families with the rare occasions such as Christmas parties when they can attend a more or less formal function together.

Unlike other recreational organizations in which members of all occupational groups are more or less proportionately represented, membership in clubs generally appears to increase sharply with socio-economic status. At the time of the survey, only 19% of the respondents were members of one or more social clubs, but significantly about 80% of them were of high status. Status differences, it may be assumed, are perpetuated through membership in social clubs. But there are other important differences even within this category of organizations. Let us first turn to the higher status clubs.

Although there are no exclusively European clubs, the Royal Suva Yacht Club, Fiji Arts Club, Defence Club, and the Fiji Club which were European-initiated and are predominantly European in their membership, are the focus of European recreational activity in Suva. The majority of Europeans interviewed, 87%, belong to one or more of these organizations, and when asked which organization was most important or useful to them, most mentioned social clubs (Table 23). They are to some extent motivated by their occupation, high standard

of living, style of life or consumption pattern, and consciousness of status to be club members. No doubt some of these traits apply to most non-European club members as well and so does not fully explain why the over-all level of participation in social clubs is highest in the European section. Several points of difference should be noted. Firstly, most Europeans have the major qualification for entry, namely, the ability to pay the entrance fee and annual dues. One European, for example, paid in one year, a total of \$F 159.00 in club fees. Secondly, because few Europeans (12%) have relatives outside the immediate family residing in the city, the club promotes social contact and provides the opportunity for close friendship and cooperation between families whose relations with each other would otherwise be less close. This is shown by the great number of children's parties and adult social functions which the club sponsors. Conversely, non-membership often means isolating oneself from the European section. The following comment made by a European civil servant shows this:

A young official who comes out from Britain finds himself helpless....On account of his position the town's most exclusive club is opened to him. If he avails himself of it, his social orbit becomes well defined, but if he does not he cuts himself off from the company of his own people.¹⁹⁰

Finally, very few opportunities exist for Europeans to socialize outside the club. Besides a bar, each club has facilities for accommodation, social functions, and many recreational amenities such as a billiard room, library, and squash courts.

¹⁹⁰ Fiji Public Servants Union Newsletter, No. 1, 1962.

Despite these factors, a sizable portion of Europeans interviewed, 19%, found social clubs rather disconcerting. The reasons for their answer suggest some of the divisions which separate segments of the European section from each other. Firstly, there is the division that arises between "clubbable" and "non-clubbable" people. In other colonial or former colonial societies this type of distinction appears to be based on status divisions among the European population.¹⁹¹ But in Suva the survey showed that a small but approximately equal number of high and lower status Europeans do not feel obliged to participate in social clubs. Although they recognize the club as a prestige-bearing organization they are not disposed to accept the "rules of the game." Typical of their comment is the following: "At home they (European club members) may be nobodies, but as soon as they come out here they join a club and perpetuate snobbishness and class discrimination." The keenest division, however, arises among the club members themselves. On the basis of interview data and observation two major divisions may be distinguished. One division involves European expatriates and the more established or Fiji-born Europeans. The former may be welcome in the club but their existence is not always recognized constitutionally. The Royal Suva Yacht Club, for example, imposes a qualifying residential period of two years before a member is eligible for full membership status. Only a full member can vote or hold office,

¹⁹¹ Cyril Sofer and Rhona Ross, "Some Characteristics of an European African Population," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 2, No. 2, (June, 1951), p. 323; and L. Proudfoot and H.S. Wilson, "The Clubs in Crisis; Race Relations in the New West Africa," American Journal of Sociology, No. 4, (January, 1961), p. 318.

introduce new members and visitors, and nominate guests for invitation to social functions. Most other clubs also have a residential qualification but it is only for six months. It is not surprising, therefore, to hear some expatriates complain that the RSYC is "a hang-out for white kai-vitis" (inhabitants of Fiji). Among club members an important distinction which arises among the expatriates involves long-standing national resentments as between the English (Pommies), New Zealanders (Kiwis), and Australians (Aussies). Each subsection has well-defined stereotypes of the others. A member's place of origin determines to some extent the type of circle he joins in the club. Australians and New Zealanders are generally very critical of the rigid class system of the British but at the same time each regards the other as professionally threatening. Exclusive cliques that are formed within the club as a result of these sentiments, however, rarely lead to open schisms.

It was rumoured that in the early 1960s an attempt was made by some European club members to introduce more Indians and Fijians to the Fiji Club, one of the most protocol-ridden clubs in Suva. The proposal was rejected by the club committee on the grounds that if successful it would turn the club into a recreational center for members of Suva's lowest income categories. Nowadays, such a barrier is unthinkable, since localization is making European inclusiveness no longer compatible with status exclusiveness. Furthermore, in recent years, especially in the immediate post-independence period, some of these clubs have come under attack by Indian politicians who maintain that they are "symbols of colonial days."¹⁹² Although club

¹⁹² Fiji Times, December 8, 1971.

membership lists were not available for this study it appears that most of these clubs have had to concede to Indian and Fijian membership.

Other clubs which are ostensibly open to all sections are, nonetheless, more or less sectionally based. It should be emphasized, however, that such clubs were formed partly in response to the predominantly European clubs. This was the case, for example, with the United Club which has a predominantly Part-European membership and the Merchant Club which consists mostly of Indian businessmen, especially Gujeratis. Some signs of joint activity have begun to emerge between members of the various clubs, for example, friendly competition games, such as darts, billiards, and snooker.

Of the various clubs in Suva, the Union Club is perhaps the most interesting. Founded in Suva in 1945, it is the first genuinely multisectional social club in the Dominion, and has extolled the values of multisectional membership. In 1948, for instance, the club President, a Fijian, included the following in his report:

It will be recalled that the Club was originally founded to provide an avenue for people of all races to come together. Your committee has pleasure in reporting that this object is being achieved in no small measure. Friendly and harmonious relations exist between members of all races, both within and without the club.¹⁹³

Twenty-two years later the Prime Minister, a long-standing member of the club, paid tribute to club members for "promoting goodwill

¹⁹³ CSO F6/12

amongst the various races."¹⁹⁴ In 1971, a sectional breakdown of its membership of 578 city and country members showed; Indians 312, Europeans 96, Fijians 133, Chinese 15, Part-Europeans 21, Rotuman 1. Like most other social clubs the Union Club has since its inception attracted only members of Suva's higher income categories. With the exception of seven Indians, all the members are employed in the professions or in the highly skilled or clerical-skilled professions (Table 25).

Table 25
Distribution of Union Club Members in Suva by
Section and Occupational Category, 1945-1971*

	OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY ⁺					
	1945-1955			1971		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Indians	21	35	-	88	113	7
Europeans	15	-	-	71	2	-
Fijians	12	-	-	37	14	-
Chinese	3	1	-	7	3	-
Part-Europeans	2	-	-	5	2	-
Rotumans	1	-	-	1	-	-
TOTALS	54	36	-	209	134	7

* A similar breakdown of country members is not available.

⁺ A = Professional, technical, and highly skilled--e.g., solicitor, senior civil servant, accountant, doctor, university lecturer; B = Clerical and skilled--e.g., government clerk, salesman, radio announcer, assistant manager; C = Semi-skilled--e.g., carpenter.

¹⁹⁴ Fiji Times, November 30, 1970.

Although more than 50% of the club's total membership is Indian care is taken to see that other sections are well represented on the committee. In 1971, when a university lecturer, New Zealander, was club president he was assisted in the management of all the affairs and business of the club by the multisectional committee and various sub-committees. The entrance fee is \$F 20.00 and a renewal subscription costs \$F 6.00 per year. The club-house, which is a large two-storey concrete building situated near the Government buildings, contains a bar, a ladies lounge, guest accommodation, an air-conditioned restaurant, a card room, a library, and an open sun-deck.

Recreational Organizations

On Saturday and Sunday afternoons soccer, cricket, rugby, and hockey matches attract great crowds at Albert Park. A large number of sports associations organize and take part in these activities. Most of them recruit according to such criteria as occupation, skill, place of residence, and former school ties. But as late as the 1950s sports activities in Suva and in Fiji were largely unorganized. Members of the various sections who wanted to participate in sports came together informally but usually in competition against one another. The few sports associations which existed then were for the most part based on sectional affiliations. Nowadays, sport activities have been reorganized and centralized by the Government under the authority of the Minister of Education, Youth and Sports. During the last decade seven sports associations have merged with other associations, and several more have changed their names in an attempt to include members of other sections. In 1961, for example, the Fiji Indian Football Associations changed its name to the Fiji Football

Association "to keep racialism, provincialism, and religion away from the field of play."¹⁹⁵ Most sports associations are affiliated with FASA (Fiji Amateur Sports Association), a multisectional organization which represents the sports associations to government, local authorities, and other institutions which can assist in promoting sports in Fiji.¹⁹⁶ In terms of membership size the largest are the soccer and rugby associations. Fijians and Indians are very keen on soccer games while very few Indians are attracted to rugby, a predominantly Fijian leisure-time activity. The soccer and rugby teams are recruited on the basis of residence (for example, Samabula, Suva, Nausori, Kandavu); school-boy ties (for example, Queen Victoria School Old Boys Association, Iselean Memorial School); and place of occupation (for example, Public Works Department, Fiji School of Medicine, Police, and Army). Although many Fijians are very keen on joining recreational organizations such as the sports association, few find membership of this type of formally organized group to be important or useful. This is partly because their main interests lie elsewhere in a way to be discussed later.

Since 1956, a Hibiscus Festival has been held each year in Suva. The festival lasts a week and provides the members of various sections the opportunity to present their own traditional songs and dances for public entertainment. During this time there is a great deal of cooperation between the various voluntary organizations in Suva, sports associations, youth clubs, charitable or welfare associations, in contributing to the festival program. Festival organizers go out

¹⁹⁵ Jai Fiji, August 3, 1962.

¹⁹⁶ Report on Sports and Recreation in Fiji, (Suva, 1969).

PLATE IV

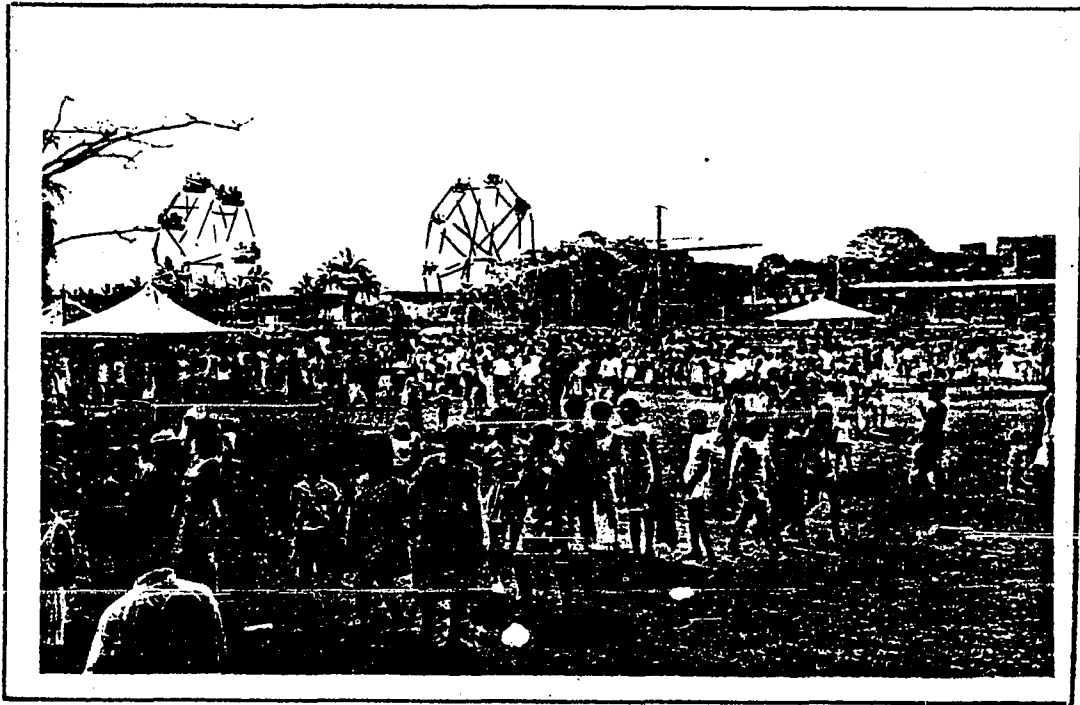


Figure 10
Hibiscus Festival



Figure 11
Hibiscus Food-Stalls

of their way to ensure that members of various sections are represented in the various committees and subcommittees. In 1971, for example, when a Fijian member of the Hibiscus beauty contest committee was unable to attend the judging the committee chairman, an Indian, searched frantically for another Fijian replacement. The festival is said to have the capacity to integrate its participants into the social life of Suva. Such festivals are regarded (by the Government) as a social mechanism for integrating the various sections. At the opening of the 1971 festival the Deputy Mayor of Suva declared that "the Hibiscus festival is a unifying force in Suva's multiracial community." The people of Fiji feel that it is "their festival." It has, however, more than special interest for the inhabitants of the Dominion, for each year it brings many visitors to the city. Such festivals are gradually assuming an important place in the recreational life of the country. In 1971 more than 70 similar festivals were held in Fiji.

Dancing is highly popular among the youths. Several night-clubs are found in the city and public buildings such as the Town Hall are rented for dances. A favorite way of fund-raising for many sports associations is to hold a dance. On Friday the local daily may announce such occasions as the following in the entertainment section of the paper:

DANCE DANCE DANCE

at the

New Suva Town Hall

TONIGHT AT 8

Band: Tremi Lords

Admission: 30c

In aid of the Veilomani Club

ALL WELCOME

ISLAND NIGHT

Fijian delicacies, Indian curries
and chutneys, Chinese dishes, Cold salads
A swinging band from 7 to midnight

\$ 2.50 per person

HOTEL ISA LEI--SATURDAY

Try your luck at the Crown and Anchor Table
In aid of the Women's Hockey Association

Many Fijians and Indians mentioned the movies as a principal sort of entertainment. There are five movie theatres in Suva. Action-type films such as westerns are immensely popular. Films imported from India are screened on Wednesdays and Sundays and attract large crowds of Indians. When they are not attending the films Indian girls spend most of their leisure time at home as it is not customary for them to go out at night. Fijian males spend much of their leisure time at the pub, a common meeting place. After working hours Fijian wage earners congregate there to drink Fiji beer. Indian workers attend less often and prefer to drink at the workers club or at home with one or two companions.

Trade Unions

The trade union movement has already been discussed in detail. The data presented here merely reaffirms the differential involvement of most Fijians and Indians, on the one hand, and most Europeans, on the other, in the urban sector of the economy. The pattern of membership in trade unions shows this. Although several unions such as the teachers' unions and the Fiji Public Service Association cater to more highly specialized occupational categories and include some Europeans the majority cater almost exclusively to the needs of urban Indian and Fijian wage earners. As noted earlier,

there is some indication that Indian and Fijian low wage earners are beginning to accept the work group or "working class" as a salient reference group. The absence of union participation amongst the Europeans and persons of high socio-economic status in our sample is due to the fact that a large proportion are self-employed or found in the highest occupational categories and form part of management. Their separate needs are met through organizations which have been included under the category Professional and Business.

Professional and Business Associations

Most of the professional and business associations are in effect confined to either high status Europeans, Fijians, or Indians. But one feature to note about this category of associations is the decreasing social solidarity among its members. The Secretary of the Fiji Employer's Consultative Association, for example, has recently urged members "to stick together and support each other although we may be business rivals."¹⁹⁷ Intra-sectional divisions within the Suva Indian Chamber of Commerce are also common but appear to be more severe. This organization, established in 1936, formed until recently the most effective voice of the Indian business community. The rivalry for office often led to open schisms, and several years ago a breakaway group, known as the Suva Retailers Association, was formed.

¹⁹⁷ Fiji Times, August 1, 1972.

Unlike these internal divisions there are signs of cooperation between such associations, and multisectional alliances are increasing.¹⁹⁸ Except for Suva and Lautoka, the branches of the Chamber of Commerce are multisectional. Furthermore, two representatives from each chamber, including the predominantly European Suva Chamber of Commerce, participate jointly in the meetings of the Federated Chamber of commerce which functions to "safeguard" the commercial and industrial activities of the Dominion as a whole, e.g., tourism and shipping rates.

Welfare Organizations

Many religious organizations perform a welfare function in addition to promoting the religious interests and activities of its members; but only those organizations which respondents consider to be specifically charitable bodies are included under this category.

Several Europeans, and Indians belonged to welfare organizations and to men's community service organizations; the Society for the Intellectually Handicapped, the Suva Crippled Children, Lions, Rotary, and Apex were the most important of these. These organizations undertake a number of projects each year; building homes for the poor, fund-raising, awarding bursaries to needy students, blood donation, donation of books to libraries, and so on.

Lower status persons belong to welfare organizations almost

¹⁹⁸ A similar trend in New Guinea is viewed by one writer as a tactic of neo-colonialism. He suggests that expatriate business interests are motivated to promote multisectional alliances in order to continue to exert an influence in the post-colonial era. Arnold Zable, "New-Colonialism and Race Relations: New Guinea and the Pacific Rim," Race, Vol. 14, No. 4, (April, 1973).

as often as do people of higher status. But many charitable organizations which involved the lower status Fijian respondents were the provincial organizations and mutual-aid organizations attached to churches and schools. Apart from the social and cultural opportunities provided by the provincial organizations through regular meetings, their primary purpose is to improve the standard of living in Fijian villages. Such organizations as their name implies are open to the Fijian members of a particular place of origin only. Nearly all of the members of these organizations are deeply involved in the financial support of rural schools. They provide financial help and mutual assistance on occasions of life-crisis or for other purposes through fund-raising events. As is to be expected provincial organizations provide Fijians in Suva with a sense, often the only one, of social solidarity in the urban environment.

The large number of welfare organizations is primarily due to the absence of any declared policy on social development for the better part of the colonial period. No department of government was charged with the responsibility for social welfare. In 1959, the multisectional Fiji Council of Social Services was formed for this purpose. Its constitution was modelled upon similar councils operating in other parts of the Commonwealth. Made up of representatives of various voluntary organizations, it acts as a consultative and coordinating body of welfare organizations. Several years ago 110 such organizations were affiliated to the Council.

Religious Organizations

Althouth membership in religious organizations (excluding church or temple attendance) was almost as high in the Indian sample

as it was among the Fijian, the two sections differed with respect to the type of religious association they belonged to. The largest religious associations in the Indian section are the Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha and the Suva Muslim League. Apart from providing facilities for worship their aim is to build schools, provide general community service, and organize religious activities such as the celebration of religious ceremonies and festivals. The majority of Fijians who are affiliated with religious organizations belong to Bible study groups, choir practice groups, and youth clubs, the most important being the Student Christian Movement and the Methodist Youth Fellowship. The section least involved in religious-oriented activities was the European.

Political Associations

The three sections differed considerably in their involvement in political associations. The most involved were members of the Fijian section with about one out of every two Fijians interviewed claiming to be a member of a political group. Political party membership was very low in the Indian section, and non-existent among the Europeans.

In view of the history of Fiji's political parties to be described in a later chapter, it is no surprise to find that most Fijians who are affiliated to this type of organization are members of the Fijian Association. As is the case with the National Federation Party, the Fijian Association has formed political groups throughout the Dominion. Several of these are found in Suva. The dissemination of political education is their main concern. Membership fees are not

high and meetings are held irregularly. Members meet informally in the homes of appointed leaders to discuss a forthcoming election or by-election and to devote a portion of their time to party work. The record of attendance in such meetings is not very high. The political association extends its membership to persons in all socio-economic status levels but in effect the membership is predominantly made up of urban wage earners.

Economic Organizations

Unlike members of the European and Indian sections most Fijians found economic organizations to be the most important and useful. Groups like the Raiwanga Cooperative Society and the Public Works Department Credit Union were the most frequently mentioned. Another form of economic organization popular among the Fijian lower classes is the entertainment group. Members perform mekes and other forms of entertainment for tourists. Several of our Fijian informants belonged to this type of group. These organizations provide many Fijians with an incentive to participate in economic life and to save regularly. In 1971 there were thirty credit unions in Suva. With the exception of two church-operated credit unions all were founded by employees in their work place and members were recruited on this basis. The membership lists shows that they are multi-sectional. About 6,000 persons belong to one or more credit unions.

Most Europeans belong to only one cooperative society, the Suva Cooperative Association, one of the largest consumer co-operatives in the city. It was initiated by a group of expatriate civil servants and membership was at first so restricted. The

direction of change in this organization may be seen in a circular written by the Indian Registrar of Cooperative Societies and distributed to shareholders. It read:

I have now advised the present board of directors of the Suva Cooperative Association that, if a suitable local candidate is nominated for the post of chairman, secretary, or treasurer, I will accept his nomination in preference over candidates holding expatriate status.

Neighborhood Associations

The neighborhood, too, served as the basis for voluntary associations. It should be emphasized that neighborhood associations, like many of the other voluntary associations already described, overlap other organizational activities. For example, during the period of fieldwork it was found that many of the associations developing in Raiwanga neighborhood were formed and functioned until recently outside the estate. This is in consequence of the fact that a sizable portion of association members now live in the housing estate, and the Community Hall provides them with a common meeting place. Thus many associations in Raiwanga and the wider community are coterminous in membership but not all of their members live in the estate. In this context, therefore, neighborhood associations refer only to those associations which are based exclusively on a geographical criterion of recruitment, namely, the neighborhood. They may operate along a range from associations limited to residents of a single block of flats (for example, a block improvement association) to those which concern the neighborhood as a whole (for example, the Tenants' Association).

The section most involved in neighborhood associations was the Fijian. The associations were the local credit unions, co-operatives, sports clubs, parents' association, YWCA, and church-affiliated groups. With the exception of the Parents' Association most Indians and Europeans rarely belonged to associations which recruit on the basis of locality.

Table 26
Some Examples of Voluntary Associations
in Suva

	Europeans	Indians	Fijians	Multi-sectional
Social Clubs	Defence Club Royal Suva Yacht & Fiji Club	Merchants Club		Union & PWD Club
Recreational Organizations				Suva Youth Center
Trade Unions	Overseas Civil Servants Association	Fiji Teachers Union	Dockworkers Union	PWD Union Suva Municipal workers union
Professional-Business organizations	Employers Consultative Association Suva Chamber of Commerce	Indian Chamber of Commerce		Fiji Medical Assoc. Architects Assoc.
Welfare	British Red Cross Society	Jaycees Apex		Lions Rotary
Religious		Fiji Muslim League	Methodist Youth Fellowship	
Political		National Federation Party	Fijian Assoc.	Alliance
Economic	Suva Cooperative Association		Central Fijian Coop.	PWD Credit Union Burns Philp Employees Credit Union
Neighborhood			Raiwanga Block Improvement Society	Raiwanga Cooperative Society

Types of Membership Among Sections

Turning to types of membership which are independent of socio-economic status, the membership pattern to be examined may be divided into four categories, namely, non-membership, membership in sectional associations, non-sectional associations, and membership in both sectional and non-sectional associations. Membership in sectional associations may range from associations in which membership recruitment is based on sectional affiliation¹⁹⁹ to those which are ostensibly open to all sections but are in effect sectional. By contrast, memberships are distinguished as non-sectional when an individual belongs to one or more associations in which membership is in effect inclusive of all sections. A sizable portion of association members belong to two or more organizations, some of which fall within the range of sectional membership and some of which are in effect inclusive of all sections.²⁰⁰ This fourth category of associational membership completes the classification for the typology in Table 27.

¹⁹⁹ In the present context, subsectional associations (e.g., Indian sect organizations, Fijian provincial organizations) are defined as sectional.

²⁰⁰ A certain amount of overlapping with respect to organizational activities is shown by the extent of socio-economic mix (income, occupation, religion, age, sectional affiliation, types of membership, years in Suva) among committee members in two important associations (Table 28).

Table 27
 Distribution of Four Categories of
 Membership Among Sections

	Total	European	Fijian	Indian
Non-membership	20%	14%	5%	40%
Sectional membership	35	23	57	15
Non-sectional	17	15	5	28
Sectional/Non-sectional	28	48	33	17
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	(344)	(53)	(152)	(139) $p < .05$

Table 27 shows an exceptionally high level of associational membership although less significantly so for Indians. Most of those interviewed, 80% belonged to one or more voluntary associations. The greatest proportion of all sections fell into the membership category (95% Fijians, 86% Europeans, followed by 60% Indians). Among those who were association members the largest category appears to have the sectional type of membership, although notably lower among Europeans and Indians than among Fijians. Thus, about 57% of the Fijians interviewed belonged to sectionally exclusive associations, while only 15% of the Indians, and 23% of the Europeans were so affiliated. Non-sectional membership was more frequent among Indians than among the Europeans and Fijians. By way of contrast, the combined "sectional and non-sectional" category appears to be the dominant type of membership for the majority of Europeans, although Fijians, 33%, are in this category as well.

Table 28

Social Characteristics of Committee Members in Some Voluntary Associations

Association and Office	Section	Religion	Age	Income	Occupation	Time in Suva	Membership * in other associations
<u>Fiji Public Servants' Association:</u>							
President	Indian	Hindu	45	F\$3,000-5,000	Civ. serv.	17 years	5,9
Secretary	Indian	Hindu	29	\$3,000-5,000	Civ. serv.	11	1
Treasurer	Part-Euro.	Roman Cath.	28	\$1,000-3,000	Civ. serv.	15	5,8
Ex. Committee mbr.	Fijian	Methodist	46	\$1,000-3,000	Civ. serv.	30	None
"	Indian	Roman Cath.	33	\$1,000-3,000	Civ. serv.	33	4,6,8
"	Indian	Hindu	26	\$1,000-3,000	Civ. serv.	26	1,2
"	Indian	Muslim	38	\$3,000-5,000	Civ. serv.	35	5
"	Fijian	Methodist	44	\$3,000-5,000	Civ. serv.	30	5,6,9
<u>Hibiscus Festival Asso:</u>							
President	Chinese	None	38	\$3,000-5,000	Manager	38	1,5
Past-President	European	Lutheran	35	\$5,000 +	Promoter	9	1,2,4,5,8
Vice-President	Fijian	Methodist	39	\$5,000 +	Director	39	1,2,4,5
Co-ordinator	European	Church of E.	38	\$5,000 +	Director	9	1,2
Treasurer	Indian	Jain	29	\$3,000-5,000	Accountant	1	None
Ex. Committee	European	Methodist	35	\$5,000 +	Manager	35	4,5
"	Indian	Muslim	42	\$3,000-5,000	Office	42	1
"	European	Methodist	23	\$3,000-5,000	Manager	11	1
"	Indian	Roman Cath.	41	\$1,000-3,000	Supervisor	41	4,5,8
"	Indian	Muslim	42	\$5,000 +	Director	42	2,4,5,8
"	European	Anglican	41	\$5,000 +	Manager	1	1,2,5,4
"	Samcan	Methodist	62	\$3,000-5,000	Doctor	49	1,2,4,5

* 1 = social clubs; 2 = recreational organizations; 3 = trade unions; 4 = professional or business organizations; 5 = charitable and welfare groups; 6 = religious associations; 7 = political clubs; 8 = economic organizations; 9 = neighborhood associations. The above may vary in terms of the four types of membership already described. The socio-economic mix shown in Table 28 is a basic organizational pattern in Suva, Fiji.

The Relationship Between Types of Membership, Extent of Participation, and Mixing Patterns

From a consideration of types of membership among sections we now turn to a comparison between membership types, extent of participation, and mixing patterns of our respondents. Undoubtedly, mixing patterns are independently influenced by a large number of factors, and the type of membership and extent of participation in various types of associations alone do not explain the individual's extent of interaction with members of other sections. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that membership and active participation in non-sectional associations may promote or increase the incidence of multisectional interaction. Tables 29 and 30 show this.

Table 29
Comparison of Membership Types with Respect to Mixing Patterns

	Total	Non-Mixers	Mixers	High Mixers	
Non-membership	20%	27%	19%	6%	
Sectional membership	29	37	39	27	
Non-sectional	28	15	13	20	
Sectional/Non-sectional	23	21	29	47	
Total	100	100	100	100	
Number of cases	(344)	(195)	(74)	(75)	p < .05

Table 30
Comparison of Membership Types Based on Extent of Participation and Mixing Patterns

	Total	Non-Mixers	Mixers	High Mixers	
Non-members	20%	27%	19%	6%	
Not Active	29	31	27	27	
Active	28	29	30	25	
Very Active	23	13	24	42	
Total	100	100	100	100	
Number of cases	(344)	(195)	(74)	(75)	p < .05

The above tables suggest that there is a relationship between types of membership, extent of participation, and mixing patterns. In comparison with non-mixers and mixers a significantly higher proportion of high-mixers were members of one or more voluntary associations. Moreover, a significantly higher percentage of the latter fell into the non-sectional or a combination of sectional and non-sectional categories. If one considers the evidence about the scale of participation (using a composite index) one finds that a significantly higher percentage of high-mixers than either mixers or non-mixers were very active in voluntary associations. To put it another way, higher mixers are in general more likely to be very active in non-sectional or a combination of sectional/non-sectional associations than either non-mixers or mixers.

In conclusion, the notable features of the preceding discussion have been the extent to which the three sections in Suva differ with respect to voluntary associational activity (especially between Europeans and non-Europeans); the differences between status groups with respect to the extent of participation in various types of organizations; the wealth of associational life in Suva; and the circular relationship between mixing patterns and extent of participation and membership types.

In general, the patterns of associational activity among Indians and Fijians appear to be more similar when contrasted with the European pattern. This is partly because the majority of Indians and Fijians share a common socio-economic status which affects to some extent the nature and extent of their participation in the associational life

of the city. At the same time, most Indians today are well enough established in Suva. In contrast, the majority of Fijians are more recent migrants to the city. The large number of associations that many Fijians belong to can provide members with a basic form of "social security." Many of these associations are oriented towards the special interests and needs of this section. This was also the case of many Indian associations in the past. It is no surprise, then, to find that the predominant type of membership among the Fijians is sectional. Yet a sizable portion of Fijians and Europeans belong to a combination of sectional/non-sectional associations. While a large number of Indians do not belong to voluntary associations, the majority who do, participate in non-sectional or a combination of sectional/non-sectional associations. It has been mentioned that such types of associational membership may promote the incidence of multisectional interaction and modify sectional attitudes and values. The latter category of associational membership (i.e., the combination of sectional/non-sectional associations) is especially important in the integration process because it indicates how mutually exclusive membership can be cross-cut by membership in associations which include members of more than one section.

CHAPTER 10

Participation and Integration in the Urban Social Field

Several specialists on Fiji--Mayer, Belshaw, and Watters-- refer to signs of considerable understanding and friendship between the various sections in the new urban environment of Suva;²⁰¹ other scholars hold the view that social relations are "remarkably good" despite little direct interaction between sections.²⁰² For a variety of reasons, however, these assumptions were not systematically tested. The extent of social interaction among work mates in Suva was discussed earlier. In this chapter an analysis of participation and integration in the wider urban social field may add to our knowledge of personal social relations between the various sections. The indicators of participation and integration are, the nature and extent of social contact between the members of various sections in the sample (some of the factors which promote or inhibit inter-sectional contact will be described), and the incidence of mixed marriages, especially in Suva.

Nature and Extent of Social Contact

Analysis was made of responses to the questions: "Have members of the following sections (not your relatives) participated with you in any intimate social activity during the past month? On

²⁰¹ Mayer, Indians in Fiji, op. cit.; Belshaw, op. cit.; Watters, op. cit.

²⁰² Nayacakalou, op. cit., p. 35; Meller and Anthony, op. cit., p. xv.

what occasions? And what is your relationship with them?" This analysis showed that the majority of our respondents had no intimate social contact with members of other sections during the month preceding the interview. Such persons are the "non-mixers." Persons who participated in social activities with members of one section other than their own have been defined as "mixers." Persons who participated with members of two or more sections other than their own were defined as "high mixers." The sections involved in activities with the mixers and high mixers among our respondents were identified, and are listed in Table 31.

Table 31
Comparison of Sections with Respect to the Number and
Type of Sections They Associated With

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Non-Mixers (Own Section only)	55%	57%	58%
Mixers (Own section plus one other section)			
Europeans	-	5	9
Fijians	8	-	12
Indians	11	15	-
High Mixers (Own section plus two or more other sections)			
Europeans	-	-	-
Fijians	2	-	3
Indians	8	1	-
Europeans, Fijians & Indians etc.	16	22	18
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	(53)	(152)	(139)

Table 31 shows that during the month preceding the interview, 55% of the European respondents had no intimate social contact with members of sections other than their own, while 19% (8 + 11) were defined as mixers,

and 26% were defined as high mixers. The latter included 2% who mixed with Fijians and other sections but not Indians; 8% who mixed with Indians and other sections but not Fijians, and 16% who mixed with both Fijians and Indians.

Social mixing with Fijians, Indians, and Chinese occurred more often at club functions than in any other type of activity. The formal cocktail parties, business lunches, and other official functions were also important in providing opportunities for social contact, but the process is seldom carried into the homes. Few Europeans mixers or high mixers had Fijian, Indian, or Chinese friends with whom they exchanged home visits; this type of activity was restricted primarily to members of their own section and to a few non-Europeans with similar housing, income, and style of life. Only three cases were found of Europeans mixing with Part-Europeans and one case of a European mixing with Pacific Islanders other than Fijian.

Fijians who were defined as mixers and high-mixers included Indians more than any other sections in their activities. Ceremonial occasions, especially birthdays and marriages, were the most frequently reported activities which included members of the latter section. This was followed closely by mutual home visits. The predominant activity which included Europeans was the office party, followed by official functions. Office parties were also occasions for social mixing between Fijians, Chinese, Part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders, and to a lesser extent Indians. Fijians included more Part-Europeans and other Pacific Islanders in their activities than did Europeans or Indians.

Indian respondents who mixed with other sections interacted more frequently with Fijians than with any other sections. The chief occasions for social mixing were mutual home visits and ceremonial occasions. Indians interacted with Europeans and Chinese at office parties and in the club. Twelve cases were recorded of Indians who had exchanged home visits with Europeans.

Irrespective of their sectional affiliation, most of the subjects who interacted with members of sections other than their own labelled the latter as work associates. Apparently the workplace provides the greatest opportunities for social contact which is often carried outside the workplace itself. (This is consistent with our findings reported earlier on the nature of the work situation.) The neighborhood population as a unit provided the next largest social base for contact with non-sectional members. Indians and Fijians frequently referred to their relationship with each other as neighbors. No such relationship appears when comparing Europeans and non-Europeans.

There was no significant relationship between the amount of time Fijian and Indian respondents spent in Suva and the extent of multisectional interaction described above. Age, too, had no bearing on the extent of non-sectional interaction, since the largest proportion of Fijian and Indian non-mixers and high mixers was in the 30-44 age group. However, socio-economic status appears to be significantly related to the extent of non-sectional social interaction. Persons of higher socio-economic status were more likely to be mixers than were individuals of lower socio-economic status.

Responses to a question that asked Fijian and Indian respondents how they normally spend their time outside working hours showed that non-mixers generally spent more time at home alone than did mixers and high mixers. The non-mixers had very few secondary contacts other than those at work. This is consistent with the finding that mixers and high mixers were more likely than non-mixers to belong to one or more non-sectional or a combination of sectional and non-sectional associations. Apparently the same factors are at work here, namely, a low and unstable income, low status, and their psychological correlates.

Factors which Promote or Inhibit Inter-sectional Contact

What, then, are some of the factors which promote the growth of intimate social contact, and what are some of the other obstacles which militate against active inter-sectional mixing? Two questions are especially relevant: "Do you find the following sections (Europeans, Fijians, Indians, Chinese, Part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders) relatively easy or difficult to associate with in general?, and, "What is the reason for your answer?" The responses to the first item fell into one of three categories or forms of social relationship discernible as "Easy," "Difficult," and "Don't know." The first form of association isolated indicates the willingness of sections to enter into intimate and egalitarian social contact with each other. It is characterized by sentiments of familiarity, friendliness, informality, and solidarity. In contrast, the second category of association emphasizes the opposite of these traits. The third category primarily indicates unfamiliarity with the sections concerned. Tables 32, 33, and 34 show the distribution

of the three categories in the several sections by the Europeans, Fijians, and Indians in the sample.

Table 32

European Responses

(n = 53)

Distribution of Forms of Association Among
Various Sections by Europeans

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians	Chinese	Part- Euro.	Other Pacific Islanders	
Easy	68%	68%	38%	81%	30%	10%	
Difficult	32	22	50	7	9	-	
Don't know	-	10	12	12	61	90	p < .05

Table 33

Fijian Responses

(n = 152)

Distribution of Forms of Association Among
Various Sections by Fijians

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians	Chinese	Part- Euro.	Other Pacific Islanders	
Easy	47%	97%	57%	38%	52%	47%	
Difficult	35	3	35	31	20	14	
Don't know	18	-	8	31	28	39	p < .05

Table 34

Indian Responses

(n = 139)

Distribution of Forms of Association Among
Various Sections by Indians

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians	Chinese	Part- Euro.	Other Pacific Islanders	
Easy	47%	81%	65%	47%	40%	27%	
Difficult	28	14	35	20	10	8	
Don't know	25	5	-	33	50	65	p < .05

Brief inspection of the numerical data presented indicates the extent of favourable and unfavourable European, Fijian, and Indian attitudes towards contact not only with members of sections other than their own but with members of their respective sections as well. The majority of Europeans interviewed regarded members of their own section as "easy to get along with." The reasons most frequently mentioned by European respondents indicated that the consciousness of certain basic resemblances among themselves--common language, values, and modes of behavior--facilitated and promoted friendly and intimate social contact while differentiation with respect to nationality and occupation had a reverse effect on intra-sectional relations. The following are some of the typical responses of a sizable portion who expressed difficulty in associating with members of their own section: "The Poms are too bloody aloof and status conscious" (Australian, Engineer); and, "The tourist promoters who come back perennially because money is up like a rattle, the Kai Vitis who have their roots here, the bank boys, higher civil servants, technicians, professionals, and those in commerce all have their own cliques--I have no inclination to mix with any of them" (Australians, Plantation owner).

Although most Europeans found Fijians and Chinese easy to associate with the reasons given for their answers were strikingly dissimilar. Europeans who were relatively at ease with members of the Chinese section praised the latter's "good business sense," "Western outlook and values," and "their command of the English language." Europeans who found Fijians easy to associate with mentioned that the Fijians were "naturally friendly," "simple country people," and "loyal." Factors which were said to negatively affect European-Fijian social

relations were the Fijians' lack of ambition, laziness, and gullibility. Some Europeans also said that most Fijians were illiterate. No information was available on why some Europeans found it difficult to associate with Chinese.

Europeans found Indians more difficult to associate with than any of the other sections, and explained it in terms of the following charges: "they are avaricious," "their living habits are entirely different from the European," and, "they are anti-European." Only 38% of the European respondents found European-Indian relationships to be more friendly and intimate. Favorable Indian traits which promoted this type of relationship were their friendliness, intelligence, diligence and reliability on the job. Indians were also praised for their business acumen.

Few Europeans have felt any need or had recourse to seek outside social contact with Part-Europeans and other Pacific Islanders. This is demonstrated by the fact that a high proportion of European respondents did not know how to categorize their relationship with members of these sections. Further evidence of this was also seen in the incidence of actual contact between Europeans, Part-Europeans, and Pacific Islanders. As noted earlier, Europeans seldom participated in social activities which included members of these sections. Among those who had experienced close contact with Part-Europeans the quality most frequently attributed to the latter was their readiness to adopt European living habits. As one European respondent put it: "Part-Europeans know how to live like Europeans." Some of those who complained about their experience in associating with Part-Europeans said that the latter had "an anti-European streak in them."

Other Pacific Islanders were seen in much the same way as Fijians-- friendly and hospitable.

Most Fijians found members of other sections relatively easy to get along. Europeans who came into close and intimate contact with Fijians were portrayed by the latter as straightforward, honest, and intelligent. Among those who expressed some difficulty in associating with Europeans the following factors were regarded as militating against a more relaxed relationship: "Europeans are racist-- they dislike the black man," "they never mix with us," and "they have no understanding of our customs." Such sentiments were much more common among Fijians in the lower status levels.

A higher proportion of Fijians expressed a more favorable attitude towards contact with Indians than with any other non-Fijian section, apparently because of the Indians' willingness to help and to give advice to Fijians on the job, their fluency in the Fijian language, and the sharing of very similar attitudes towards many subjects, for example, education, and employment. In comparison to many Europeans, the Fijians were more prone to evaluate social contact with members of other sections almost wholly on the basis of actual contact. In other words, their sentiments were often directed to specific individuals. Incidents involving a friendly Indian neighbor or workmate were frequently cited as examples of informal and intimate contact. Similarly, negative attitudes towards contact with Indians were based on actual experience. Some Indians were held to be untrustworthy, "back-biting," and boorish.

Next to Europeans and Indians, the Fijians experienced some difficulty in associating with members of the Chinese section. They said that many of the Chinese they had come across were unsociable and un-cooperative on the job. The favorable attributes of Chinese were much the same as those listed for Europeans, namely, honesty and intelligence.

In the previous test of interaction patterns it was shown that Fijians, in contrast to most Indians and Europeans, had closer contact with Part-Europeans and other Pacific Islanders. This is consistent with our findings in the second test of interaction patterns. With respect to Part-Europeans, acceptance of contact with members of this section was closely related to the sharing of "blood ties" and to the Part-Europeans' familiarity with Fijian customs. Other Pacific Islanders--Gilbertese, Solomon Islanders, Samoans--who were included in this type of relationship were spoken of as being very friendly towards Fijians. Among those who found it difficult to associate with Part-Europeans and other Pacific Islanders the former were accused of "stealing our jobs," and "licking the white man's ass,"; the latter were said to be selfish and unapproachable.

As is to be expected, the vast majority of Fijians interviewed considered members of their own sections easy to associate with. The following phrases typified this outlook: "out own race" (reference was to phenotypical physical features, for example, skin color and stature); "our group" (reference was to common descent); "speak the same language," and "share the same interests." The five respondents who expressed negative attitudes towards social contact with other Fijians were of lower socio-economic status. They claimed that a status barrier existed among Fijians.

I mentioned earlier that disunity is a major characteristic of the Indian section and leads to many occasions for intra-sectional conflict. It was no surprise, then, to find that a sizable portion of the Indian respondents regarded social relations with other Indians as arduous. Religious differences operated against the formation of close friendships, as did status differentiation. But, like most Fijians and Europeans, the majority of the Indian respondents stressed how well they got along with members of their own section. The chief reasons given were a common descent, and a common language, Hindustani.

A higher proportion of Indians showed a favorable attitude towards contact with Fijians than with any other section including their own. They stressed that this was because Fijians were neighborly, willing to mix, and shared much in common with Indians. "As far as I am concerned I know the Fijians better than I know the white people. We face the same problems living here," an Indian shack-dweller said. The Indians' ability to speak Fijian was also mentioned as a factor facilitating close social contact. Most resented was the tendency for some Fijians to go on an alcoholic binge, and the physical and verbal violence that may ensue from a heavy drinking session.

The majority of our Indian respondents were about equally divided between those who expressed negative attitudes towards close contact with Europeans and Chinese and those who had little contact with members of these sections and so could not provide an assessment. Among the former were those who found Europeans overbearing, aloof, and reserved, while Chinese were described as aloof and unsociable.

Close contacts between Indians and Europeans were said to be more friendly and intimate when the latter were less withdrawn or more cooperative in business or on the job. Favorable attitudes toward close social contact with Chinese were frequently associated with the attributes of honesty, thrift, and intelligence.

Like Europeans, most Indians have had too little close contact with Part-Europeans and other Pacific Islanders for any definite attitudes to have developed. But the majority of those who had experienced close contact with members of these sections found them friendly and sociable, while distinct styles of living and aloofness on their part militated against the formation of close friendships.

Mixed Marriages

The incidence of mixed marriages is generally considered to be one of the most crucial factors in the process of integration.²⁰³ In this discussion mixed marriages will be taken to mean marriage between spouses from different sections and not to inter-caste marriages nor to marriage between members of different religious groups. With respect to Fiji the relative lack of mixed marriages, especially between Fijians and Indians, has been noted by Meller and Anthony, Watters, and Mayer, among others.²⁰⁴ In addition, Cato, in his study of Fijian attitudes to Indians, says that most of his rural informants

²⁰³ See, for example, Milton Gordon, "Assimilation in America," Daedalus, No. 90, (Spring, 1961), pp. 263-285.

²⁰⁴ Meller and Anthony, op. cit., p. 15; Watters, op. cit., p. 23; Mayer, Indians in Fiji, p. 32.

were emphatic that such marriages should not take place.²⁰⁵ A similar attitude has been reported by Schwartz, who found that of the 100 rural Indians he interviewed, 75 preferred the maintenance of sectional endogamy; only 20 would allow their children to marry non-Indians.²⁰⁶ I conducted no similar enquiry in Suva. Nevertheless, my interest in the rigidity of sectional boundaries inevitably led me to make an enquiry of the frequency, type of relationship, and other general aspects of mixed marriages. I was provided access to marriage records stored in the office of the Registrar-General in Suva. In addition, I managed to observe fifteen real life situations involving the actual occurrence of mixed marriages. Before presenting a summary of my findings it is necessary to briefly examine the history of mixed marriages in Fiji.

The size and composition of the Part-European section indicates that marriage and cohabitation has been most pronounced between Europeans and Fijians. John Young observes that such unions were frequent from the late 1850s.²⁰⁷ By the end of the century the Council of Chiefs was urging the Governor "to introduce some measure to prevent white men from taking and carrying off native women."²⁰⁸ But gradually as more white women settlers began to arrive the desire for marriage within the

²⁰⁵ A.C. Cato, "Fijians and Fiji-Indians: A Culture Contact Problem in the South Pacific," Oceania, No. 26, (September, 1955), p. 19.

²⁰⁶ B.M. Schwartz, "Caste and Endogamy in Fiji," in Caste in Overseas Communities, B.M. Schwartz, ed., (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1969), p. 225.

²⁰⁷ John Young, "The Planter Community in Fiji," in Pacific Island Portraits, J. Davidson and D. Scarr, eds., Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970.

²⁰⁸ Notes on the Proceedings of the Native Council, (November, 1878), p. 64.

European section also began to increase.²⁰⁹ Although mixed marriages and simple sexual relations did not entirely disappear relatively few of the Part-Europeans in Fiji today are of recent European origin. Even if Part-Europeans were included on the European roll and were classed as "Europeans" for political purposes the majority were generally recipients of public relief. The descendants of such unions became known as "half-castes," and by the turn of the century their status as defined by the European section had begun to decline. The feeling of the Europeans can be gauged from a letter written by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company branch manager to the general manager in 1929;

It is the case that generally the young half-castes now growing up, who are the products of half-caste unions, have not as much backbone and often not as much intelligence as their fathers...some, of course, go too much to the native side and would be rejects... young half-castes are growing up on small coconut plantations along the coast utterly useless to themselves or anyone else and running a sense of injury against the white man.²¹⁰

Marriages and informal liaisons between Indians and Fijians were also not uncommon in the early days. The need for land and the shortage of Indian women influenced some Indians to marry and cohabit with Fijian women.²¹¹ In 1888 the Native Council reported that a

²⁰⁹ Young, op. cit., p. 18.

²¹⁰ MP 6138/1929.

²¹¹ Planters were against the recruitment of Indian women because they were less profitable as laborers and the proportion of women among the Indian section was hardly maintained in the early indenture period.

substantial number of Indians who had recently completed their period of indenture were "living like natives in the Fijian villages...and some have intermarried with the natives and have families."²¹² Additional comments from the Council indicated that the "free Indians" were thoroughly disliked and looked down on as "slaves." At the request of the Council Indians (and Europeans) found in Fijian villages were subsequently ejected.²¹³ Nevertheless, if an Indian wished to marry a Fijian woman there was nothing to prevent him from doing so. Up to the end of the indenture period (1916) the basis for a legitimate marriage was commonly applied to all sections. The following year the Government recognized Indian religious marriage and the ordinance was amended to meet the wishes of the Indian section. This was against the advice of the Agent-General of Immigration who said:

...the prospect of these people forming settlements in this country, and they and their descendents becoming Fijians, should not be lost sight of. As regards these latter it would appear to be better, that the laws should be such that these people would be gradually brought more and more in accord with the rest of the inhabitants of Fiji, than they should be such as will tend to keep their people in some respects a peculiar and distinct sect.²¹⁴

²¹² Proceedings of Native Council (May, 1888) p. 22.

²¹³ K.L. Gillion, Fiji's Indian Migrants, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962), p. 58.

²¹⁴ MP 9107/1913.

Eight years later the ordinance was again revised so that a civil marriage was deemed compulsory. The ordinance was reenacted not so much to permit or facilitate inter-sectional connubium as to guard against bigamous marriages that resulted from a dual system of marriage. The premium placed on marriageable Indian girls as a result of sex disparity in the Indian section not only led to abuses of the system of marriage, but it continued to influence some Indians to seek unions with women from other sections. The Colonial Government regarded this type of relationship as "odd."²¹⁵ However, by 1946, after 70 years of contact, only 193 persons were classified as born of Indian and Fijian marriages and there were none specifically recorded as Anglo-Indian.²¹⁶

In the next census the offspring of such unions were defined as Indians, and it is impossible to determine (without a time-consuming investigation) the extent of marriage between Indians and Fijians. Nevertheless, I was able to record the total number of registered mixed marriages that occurred between Indians and Fijians in 1966 and 1971, and the type of relationship (of Indian, Fijian, and European bridegrooms with spouses from another section) for the year 1971. Tables 35 and 36 indicate that mixed marriages do occur although they are a very small proportion of the total. Significantly, however, the incidence of mixed marriages has been increasing over the past several generations. Table 35, for example, shows that the percentage of mixed marriages within the Indian and Fijian sections has doubled over the past five years, while increases in in-group marriages have only been 30% and 20% respectively.

²¹⁵ CSO F 51/1931.

²¹⁶ Census 1946, p. 50.

Table 35
Mixed Marriages as Percentage of Total Marriages for
Each Section, 1966-1971

	1966	1971
Indians	0.6%	1.2%
Fijians	0.8	1.5

Table 36
Total Marriages in 1971

BRIDES	BRIDEGROOMS		
	Indians	Fijians	Europeans
Indians	(2,470/98.8%)	2	13
Fijians	8	(1,445/98.5%)	26
Europeans	7	2	Not ascertained
Pacific Islanders	3	5	6
Chinese	2	1	3
Part-Europeans	10	12	9
Total Mixed Marriages	30 (1.2%)	22 (1.5%)	57 (?%)

The characteristics of Indian bridegrooms are as follows: Average age, 28.2; Occupational categories B, 1 (Engineer); C, 22 (clerk, teacher, etc.); D, 7 (carpenter, motor mechanic, etc.); Religion, 11 Christians, 10 Muslims, 6 Arya Samajis, 3 northern Sanatans.

Fijian bridegrooms: Average age, 28.8; Occupational categories B, 3; C, 12; D, 5; E, 2 (laborer). Religion, Methodist 15; Roman Catholic 7.

European bridegrooms: Average age, 30; Occupational categories A, 3; B, 40; C, 14; Religion, not ascertained; Place of Origin, United Kingdom 16, Australia 17, New Zealand 7, U.S.A. 5, Fiji 7, Canada 2, not ascertained 3.

Table 36 provides a breakdown of the type of mixed marriage. Also included in Table 36 are some characteristics of the 30 Indians, 22 Fijians, and 57 Europeans who married women outside their own section in 1971. The husbands tend to be young with an average age under thirty. Most Indian and Fijian bridegrooms have the same or similar types of occupations. Most of their wives have very similar occupations or are recorded as being engaged in "domestic duties" at the time of marriage. The same is true for the women who have married Europeans, although the majority of European bridegrooms appear to be placed in higher occupational categories.

With respect to Indians, orthodox Hinduism appears to be an effective deterrent to mixed marriages. Only three of the husbands are orthodox Hindus, the remainder are followers of the Arya Samaj sect or are members of multisectional religions such as Christianity or Islam. Conversion to Christianity, Islam, or the Arya Samaj sect has always been a relatively easy process. To cite some examples: Under instructions from the Roman Catholic Church it is common practice for Catholics to marry someone of another religious faith. Also, in Fiji, if the bride-to-be is not a Muslim or an Arya Samaj she is encouraged but not forced to become a convert to her husband's religion.

Geographical separation appears to be another deterrent to mixed marriages. Evidence of this can be seen by comparing the percentage of mixed marriages as a whole with the percentage of mixed marriages recorded in Suva (Table 37). Apparently the urban environment of Suva provides sections with the opportunity to associate more freely with each other. Such associations may lead to more lasting unions. Nearly all of the Indian and Fijian mixed marriages recorded

in 1971 occurred in Suva. Other variables such as socio-economic status of spouses must be ignored in this account as such information for both parties to the marriage is not available.

Table 37
Mixed Marriages in Suva as Percentage of Total Marriages
in Suva for Each Section, 1956-1971

	1956	1966	1970	1971
Indians	1.5%	2.3%	3.5%	3.6%
Fijians	2.6	3.2	4.6	5.1

It is generally recognized that intermarriage is facilitated to the degree that the associated public institutions such as divorce and marriage, inheritance, and the like, are common to all sections.²¹⁷ The basis of a legitimate marriage, which was commonly applied to all sections, is still in force today. The Marriage Ordinance, for example, states the procedure and the conditions which must be complied with by members of all sections who wish to be married. Here are some of them:

- 1) the parties must be free to marry, i.e., they must both be unmarried and must not be within the prohibited degrees of kinship;
- 2) the man must be of the age of 18 years or upwards, or, in the case of the woman, of the age of 16 or upwards;
- 3) if one or both of them is under the age of 21 years and has never been married, the consent of the parent(s) must be obtained;
- 4) notice of intention to marry must be given to the civil authorities in the district in which the parties reside. The notice is displayed in a conspicuous place near the

²¹⁷ Smith, "Institutional and Political Conditions of Pluralism," Pluralism in Africa, p. 43.

Registrar's office, so that members of the public are given the opportunity to object to the intended marriage, if they have reasonable grounds for doing so. If no objections are received during this period, the person who gave notice may collect from the Registrar a certificate authorising the parties to marry.

When the Registrar has issued the certificate giving approval for the intended marriage, the parties can make arrangements for either a civil or a religious ceremony. The civil ceremony takes place before a District Registrar, or before the Registrar General if it is performed in the Suva area. Two witnesses must be present to sign the marriage certificate. A fee of \$F 1.00 is payable. The religious ceremony must be conducted by a registered marriage officer of the denomination concerned, and should include among other things the same form of words as that used in the civil ceremony. The marriage is then recorded in one of three registrars according to the sectional origin of the husband, Indian, Fijian, and General (i.e., sections other than Indian or Fijian).

In addition to these common and shared regulations which apply to members of all sections there are common and appropriate standards relating to divorce, separation, maintenance, property, and the like. Any person who goes to court for the settlement of a matrimonial or other disagreement will be told about the relevant parts of the law which apply to all sections alike. District offices of the Welfare Department provide conciliation services in matrimonial and other disputes.²¹⁸ They also handle destitute relief payments, and

²¹⁸ I am not sure how such disputes are resolved in rural areas. Traditionally small panchayats were set up to resolve disputes arising among Indians in rural areas but I do not know the extent to which the system operates today.

remission of school and medical fees, arrange for the payment of maintenance, and refer cases to other agencies if necessary. The District Welfare Officer and his multisectional staff in Suva handled a total of 1,630 such cases in 1970. It is not uncommon for an Indian or Fijian staff member to handle cases that concern members of sections other than their own. A sample of 83 cases recorded in Suva for that year included 39 cases involving matrimonial and family disputes. The nature of the disputes included desertion (Indian 8 cases, Fijian 11 cases), cruelty and assault (Indian 10 cases, Fijian 2 cases), maintenance (Indian 4 cases, Fijian 1 case), custody of child (Indian 3 cases). Marital problems involving in-laws made up at least 75% of the Indian cases and 50% of the Fijian cases. Two examples follow:

Fijian Case. The wife claims that her husband has deserted her after a quarrel. The wife refused to use part of the family income to purchase a suitcase for her husband's mother who was living with them at the time. The husband and his mother then left the household to stay with his relatives. The husband told the welfare officer that a man has only one mother but he can always get a second wife.

Indian Case. The husband claims that his wife has left home without his consent. She has returned to her father's household under police escort. She wants to establish a household of their own, but the husband has refused because he feels obliged to stay with and care for his widowed mother, younger sister, and brother. He blames his father-in-law for interfering in the marriage relationship and for influencing her decision. The wife insists that her husband has threatened to take her life and that her brother-in-law has blamed her for causing disunity in the household. She also claims that during one of the periods

of estrangement her father came to visit her but was chased away by her mother-in-law.

Most other types of marital conflict are caused by alcoholism, sexual promiscuity on the part of either spouse, and financial difficulties.

In fourteen months of fieldwork fifteen instances of mixed marriages, involving six Muslims, five Hindus, and four Fijian informants, were studied. Some cases are now described to show the circumstances involved in intermarital contact and the extent of opposition and other factors which may inhibit the incidence of mixed marriages.

The first case involves an orthodox Muslim whom I shall call Ahmad Hassan. When his father passed away about twenty years ago he and his mother and two younger brothers left from Suva to live with his mother's sister. They left his older married sister in Nandi. Several years later his mother remarried and the Hassan family moved to their present home. At this time Ahmad's future wife, Sotia, had left her village in Lau Province, to stay with her guardians, a paternal cousin and her husband, and they were at the time neighbors of the Hassan family. Ahmad and Sotia met frequently. "She used to hate me. She used to hate all Indians," Ahmad told me. In spite of these feelings the couple grew fond of each other. As their relationship developed they became more daring and it was not long before her guardians saw them together. Forseeing trouble ahead Ahmad hid Sotia in his sister's home in Nandi. When he returned alone that same evening Sotia's cousin, her husband, and her two brothers-in-law were waiting for him. A fight resulted and the police were called. The Fijian sergeant was sympathetic but ordered Ahmad to return Sotia to her guardians as she was not of age.

Three days later Sotia was sent back to her village. She informed her parents that she was desolate and was determined to marry Ahmad. Sotia's father then placed the case before his elder brother who was the roko tui or administrative official in charge of the Province. But the latter replied by saying that from henceforth Sotia was restricted to the island. This decision may have been influenced by Sotia's complaint that she had been ill-treated by her cousin and the daughter of the roko tui during her stay in Suva. One day, when the roko tui was away at a meeting, Sotia's mother arranged her passage to Suva. Upon arrival, she slipped over to see Ahmad. The next day Ahmad arranged a meeting with Sotia's grandfather who was her oldest living relative in Suva. Ahmad presented him with a whale's tooth, and then told him of their plans "to start a new family." The whale's tooth was accepted, and Ahmad and Sotia were married at the registry, Sotia's parents and her cousin no longer objecting. Afterwards, Ahmad's mother and his stepfather (a northern Sanatan) who had never once objected to the mixed marriage invited Sotia's relatives and friends to a reception.

Immediately on marriage Sotia went to live in Ahmad's joint household. But shortly afterwards Ahmad's stepfather passed away, and Ahmad's younger brothers left for New Zealand. Today, the household consists of Ahmad's widowed mother, Sotia, their two children, and Ahmad's step-brother.

Although they are no longer neighbors Ahmad works as a painter in the same firm as Sotia's cousin's husband. His relationship with his Fijian co-workers is very friendly and they take some interest in his marriage. "They ask me what kicks your mind to marry someone

from our race?" Ahmad could not give them an explanation except to say that he "fell in love."

Sotia, who is a registered nurse in a large hospital, earns more money than Ahmad. The couple frequently attend the social functions held by the staff at the hospital. Because the staff is largely Fijian Ahmad's contacts with Fijians have increased since his marriage. At the same time, Sotia attends all the Hindu and Muslim weddings and other functions that Ahmad gets invited to. She uses these special occasions as an excuse to dress up in the saris she has learned to make. When her relations from Lau are in Suva for a few days they stay with the Hassans. Last Christmas Sotia and Ahmad spent their vacation in Lau. Ahmad was embarrassed throughout his stay because Sotia's village kin-group insisted on treating him like a ratu (Fijian chief). But their mixed marriage does not always incur such comfort. Most Fijians tend to whisper or stare when the couple are seen together in public places such as the market. It even got them into an embarrassing situation. One day as Sotia and Ahmad were waiting at the bus stop they were approached by an Indian girl, one of Ahmad's former fiancées. The girl attempted to flirt with Ahmad and did not know that Ahmad was married, nor, because Sotia is Fijian, did she even suspect that Sotia and Ahmad were acquainted. Sotia refused to speak to Ahmad for several days after the incident. Such quarrels are rare and the couple seem to be well adjusted.

Ahmad did not attempt to convert his wife to Islam. In the early days of their marriage he had frequently accompanied her to the Methodist church afraid that "something might happen to her if she leaves her church."

Little by little, through her mother-in-law's influence Sotia became a convert to Islam. She has learned to cook in the Muslim style and speaks Hindustani at home even though Ahmad can speak Fijian fluently. Her daughter understands Fijian but does not speak it often. Sotia wants her to speak Hindustani as her first language. There is no doubt in Ahmad's mind that his daughter will be brought up in the Muslim tradition. But Ahmad himself admits that his marriage is atypical. He is continually searching his mind for a way to arrange a good marriage for her. "No Muslim," he told me, "is going to accept her because of her mixed blood."

Jimmy Naidu (25) was born in Suva and received his primary education at the Suva Methodist School. His parents came to Fiji as free immigrants from South India. His mother, who was a Methodist, was brought up in an orphanage. Shortly after her death Jimmy's father remarried and Jimmy was neglected. Jimmy went to live with his mother's elder sister in Nandi and completed his education there. He met his wife Litiana at a school dance, when he was nineteen years of age. His aunt, who disapproved of the courtship, sought to separate him from Litiana, but Jimmy resisted and returned with Litiana to his father's home. His father did not approve of their relationship either and after several quarrels the couple went to live with Litiana's uncle in a Fijian village near Suva. Jimmy told me that his relationship with Litiana's village kin-group was trouble-free. The villagers were polite and friendly and took an active interest in the welfare of the couple. After their first child was born about four years ago they moved to the housing estate and rented a flat there.

The block of flats in which they live is mostly occupied by working-class Fijians, who have come to know the couple and accept them. Among the couple's intimate friends are a Fijian couple living next door, two South Indian bachelors living several doors away, a Part-European couple, and a Chinese-Fijian couple living in the next block of flats. Recently Jimmy's childhood friend came to live in the estate. This friend, a South Indian, is married to a woman from the Solomon Islands.

The couple are not yet legally married. Jimmy has put it off because he still feels insecure about his relationship with Litiana and wants to give himself more time in making further adjustments required by marriage. Litiana has frequently chided him for returning home drunk and for his irregular attendance at work. She blames the quarrels on a constant shortage of money and hopes they will end when she begins part-time work and contributes to Jimmy's meager earnings as a clerk. She was educated in the Muslim Indian school in Suva and speaks fluent Hindustani. In private conversations the couple use Hindustani but in front of their son they speak English and Fijian. They eat Indian food except on weekends when dalo (taro) and other Fijian foodstuffs are included in the diet. Although the couple and their child are Methodist, they are not regular church-goers.

Tevita, a Fijian from Rewa, was orphaned at an early age and spent the rest of his childhood at his paternal aunt's home in Suva. At the age of nineteen he left home to share a room with two other Fijian friends and found work in a large firm as an apprentice electrician. He showed an interest in politics and was soon elected

as a representative of the local branch of the trade union. His prestige among his Indian workmates grew and he was invited to their homes. He became friendly with the sister of one of them. The girl was in a similar position. She too had been orphaned at an early age and like Tevita was brought up a Methodist. After meeting her several times Tevita proposed. She accepted and they were married in church. None of their relations or friends objected to the marriage. Immediately on marriage they established their own household. Today the couple have five children. They all attend the Muslim school in Suva and are trilingual. Although Tevita is skilled in his trade he has only completed two years of primary education. His wife, who is a primary school teacher, coaches him privately at home. Tevita has learned Hindustani and uses it occasionally with his wife but English is spoken in front of the children. There is little marital conflict, and the family appears to be happy.

The following major conclusions emerge from an analysis of these cases;

- 1) there is no condemnation of either spouse by either Fijians or Indians once the marriage has taken place. However, while the marriage is still being contemplated parents, relatives, and friends of either or both spouses generally counsel against it;
- 2) there is no social stigma attached to Indian-Fijian marriages. The couples may arouse some curiosity but are not considered outcasts by members of either section and ties with their respective sections remain strong;

- 3) the relative success and increasing tendency towards mixed marriages suggest that the kinship and marriage system of Fijians and Indians are common or at least symmetrically congruent. Nevertheless, the individuals involved in such marriages are usually well equipped for it, i.e., they are trilingual, have had considerable contact with members of other sections, and so on;
- 4) some concessions must be made by both spouses if the marriage is to be a success. These expectations relate especially to religion, diet, language, and the manner in which offspring are defined.

In view of the above, it appears that the increasing rate of mixed marriages is likely to persist in the future.

CHAPTER 11

The Role of Political Parties

Political parties, more than any other type of organized activity described so far, have the potential of functioning as an integrative mechanism. Many students of Fiji and other developing nations would agree that the fulcrum for creating a single nationally integrated society is political.²¹⁹ I support this view, but tend to emphasize more specifically the role of intrasectional divisions in providing the bases for intersectional alliances in political organization. One way of looking at the problem of political integration is to examine the extent of divisions within each political party and determine its impact on the separate integration of sections.

The formation of political parties in Fiji may best be described in terms of the development of sectional interests and the extent to which these give rise to collective sectional responses and movements which are specifically political. As we shall see, these struggles occurred not only between sections but also within each of the sections. The best way to illustrate this is to examine the political parties in historical perspective for each section.

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For example, the focus of attention in some recent studies of Fiji and other new nations have emphasized the theme of solidarity or potential solidarity between sections in the political sphere: Jean Grosholtz, "Integrative Factors in the Malaysian and Philippine Legislature," Comparative Politics, Vol. 3, No. 1 (October, 1970), pp. 93-113; Enloe, "Issues and Integration in Malaysia," op. cit., Meller and Anthony, op. cit., Roderic Ally, "The Politics of Constitutional Change," Weekend Seminar on Independent Fiji, (Victoria University, 1971), pp. 1-12.

Europeans

During the period of economic depression in the latter part of the nineteenth century some Europeans attempted to agitate for political changes favorable to themselves. This brought them into direct conflict with the British colonial administration whose policy favored the Executive dominance of the Legislature. At that time the Legislative Council consisted only of nominated members with the Governor presiding. As the economic position of the Colony declined the opposition began to agitate for federation with New Zealand or Australia. It formed the New Zealand Party and attempted to act on behalf of those Europeans who suffered most from conditions of acute socio-economic distress. The organization was led by Riemeschneider, the Warden of Suva. When its efforts to secure a change in government failed it demanded a system of elective representation in the Legislative Council.²²⁰ This was granted to members of the European section in 1904. A new constitution provided for ten official nominated members, six elected European members, and two Fijian nominated members. The Indians and other Pacific Islanders were represented by the Agent General of Immigration. Of the six elected European members two were based in Suva, one in Levuka, and three represented the planter community. The franchise was conferred only upon male adults who were born or naturalized British subjects, not of Indian, Fijian, or Polynesian descent, and who met appropriate property and literacy qualifications. While members of the New Zealand Party were willing to strengthen their cause by blaming the decline of

²²⁰ G.L. Griffiths, Federation of Fiji with New Zealand, p. 3.

the Fijian people on "the oppressive system of Government"²²¹ they opposed the granting of the franchise to Fijians. Comparisons may be drawn with other colonies. As Banton observes:

In the early stages of the growth of some colonies the European minority was united by a stronger sense of opposition to the metropolitan power than by any conflict with the indigenous peoples....The Colonists demanded liberty from rule by officials without envisaging any comparable liberty for the indigènes.²²²

Further agitation for a more representative assembly came in the form of a request, dated October 26, 1916, to the Colonial Secretary from the Fiji Reform League, which had recently been constituted and was operating out of Suva. Riemenschneider was once again elected as President. Evidence of increasing social divisions between the colonial administrators and some European settlers is partly revealed in the social characteristics of the League's executive members. Of the eight members, five were recent arrivals and three had been in the colony for a number of years. They came from England, New Zealand, and Australia. Seven were small business proprietors, including two who were serving in the Suva Municipal Council. One was a clerk. The division was aptly summed up by the League's secretary in his petition for an elected European assembly: "Although not highly placed in the social scale of this colony (we) are capable of making suggestions

²²¹ Ibid., p. 2.

²²² M. Banton, "Urbanization and the Colour Line," in Colonialism in Africa, Victor Turner, ed., (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 259.

for reforms."²²³ The Government's response was in the negative and the League was subsequently outlawed.

A more widespread and formal attempt at constitutional reform occurred in 1945 when the European Electors Association of Fiji was established. At that time the Legislative Council consisted of thirty-one members. Of the five European unofficial members two were nominated by the Governor and three were elected. The Association sought unsuccessfully to increase the number of elected unofficial members but, unlike previous European attempts at political reform, it endeavored to incorporate other sections in their proposals by suggesting that six Europeans, six Indians, and six Fijians be elected on three sectional rolls. Despite the fact that not all members of the Association were in favor of choosing the Fijian representatives by election the proposal represented the first attempt at cross-sectional political participation. The Association also appealed to Part-Europeans to register on the European electoral rolls in the hope that the added weight of the hitherto politically voiceless Part-European voters would secure their own political ambitions. Ironically, some ten years earlier the European members had expressed the fear that "before long the so-called European roll may become in practical effect a half-caste roll."²²⁴

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MP 8253/1916.

224 Legislative Council Debates, November 1, 1935.

Although Part-Europeans were first included in the European roll in 1910 most were not able to comply with the literacy and property qualifications applicable to them. With the spread of education and better wages, however, the number of Part-Europeans on the roll increased. By 1935 there were 1,036 electors on the roll and 459 of them were Part-Europeans.

The Association's activity in 1945 represented the first attempt by a predominantly European political body to organize on a national basis. Letters were sent to everyone on the European electoral rolls, meetings were conducted in the Suva town hall and in all the major urban centers of the colony, and the Association's constitution was widely circulated and broadcast throughout the colony. Criticism was once again directed at the colonial administration. According to the published version of the broadcast:

The purpose of the Association is to organize all members of European electors so that their combined views on the Government of this Colony may be put forward in no uncertain manner and upheld in the face of any opposition. Yes, this opposition exists. It is stronger than any of you standing alone. Only by combining can you hope to throw off Bureaucratic control which has outlived its wartime usefulness...There are already over 2,000 electors on the European Electoral Rolls, but this could be increased by hundreds if every eligible person to vote would register. Part-Europeans are entitled to be on European rolls. Many of you do not realize this... your sons are away fighting and you too have the right to stand side by side with the European wherever you may be....This is not a matter for Suva alone, it is a matter for the whole colony.

In subsequent years opposition to the colonial power was replaced by the threat of Indian political dominance. In order to maintain European political parity some European leaders made reference to the Deed of Cession. They argued that Fijians had handed over their country in trust to the Europeans and the latter were determined to "uphold that great responsibility." Just as they emphasized elements of similarity as a basis of political partnership between Europeans and non-Indians, some leaders attached great significance to socio-cultural differences between Indians and non-Indians as impediments to their association. More recently, European opposition to the increasing political influence of the Indian section has been channelled through the GEA (General Electors' Association). At present this is the only political organization which includes European electors and all other voters who are not qualified to register on the Fijian or Indian rolls.

The GEA was formed after the Constitutional Conference of 1966 where it was agreed that for political purposes Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders were to be joined with Fijians on one roll while Chinese and Part-Europeans were to be joined with Europeans as General Electors.

The GEA was from the outset almost entirely a European political organization. The first public meeting was attended by more than 400 persons, most of whom were Europeans. Of the twenty members of the Council only two were Chinese, one was a Part-European, and the remainder were Europeans. At that meeting, held in Suva in 1966, the members agreed to affiliate to any other association or alliance of associations having objectives compatible with its aims.

Subsequently, the GEA, together with two other sectional political bodies (the Indian Alliance and the Fijian Association) formed the political party known as the Alliance.²²⁵

According to a pamphlet circulated by the GEA prior to the 1966 election it is clear that the GEA joined with the two other sectional bodies to combat the potential threat of Indian political domination as expressed through the predominantly Indian political grouping, the NFP (National Federation Party):

If the General Electors are to have any effective voice in the Government of this country they must combine to form one representative body which can present their views to the other racial communities, who, as they far outnumber us, will be forming the Government after these elections. The General Electors' Association is part of the Alliance formed from our own Association, the Fijian Association, and responsible leaders of the Indian community. This is our alternative to the almost certain chaos and inter-racial fighting which could result if the Federation Party is able to join a majority and control the Government of the country. The days of independent candidates contesting elections are over. We are opposing an organized, and, presumably efficient political machine.²²⁶

European political representation was secured after the 1966 election when the Alliance became the governing party and some Europeans in the GEA were given key positions in the new administration. Leadership in the GEA was subsequently neglected and members seldom met.

²²⁵ Fiji Times, January 28, 1966.

²²⁶ Legislative Council Debates, May 19, 1969.

By March, 1971, when the first meeting of the Suva branch in two years was held, the GEA had moved some distance away from a position of European dominance. Despite their reduced political status there was no indication up to that point that European electors were likely to form a separate European political association. As we shall see, they have accommodated themselves to the increasing influence of other sections, especially Part-Europeans, in the GEA.

Part-Europeans

To use the Fijian Prime Minister's words, the "political awakening" of the Part-Europeans as shown by the recent formation of the Part-European Association and the Part-Europeans' bid to "take over" the GEA appear to be a distinctive feature of many newly-independent countries. For example, Geertz has emphasized the role of "primordial sentiments" in the politics of such countries, and Rabushka and Shepsle have described the strains of multisectional coalitions, especially in the early phase of the post-independence period.²²⁷ As the latter observe, one feature of politics in the post-independence period is the rise of the political entrepreneur, i.e., "the person who manipulates natural social cleavages, who makes certain of those cleavages politically salient."²²⁸ Thus, the analysis

²²⁷ Geertz, op. cit., pp. 105-157; Alvin Rabushka and Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Political Entrepreneurship and Patterns of Democratic Instability in Plural Societies," Race, Vol. 12, No. 4, (April, 1971).

²²⁸ Rabushka and Shepsle, loc. cit.

of recent political events involving the Part-European section should make discernible the extent and nature of these "natural social cleavages." The bases of these cleavages are inextricably linked to the political, economic, and social development of the Part-Europeans during the country's transition from colonial status to political independence. They form the background to some recent political trends among Part-Europeans and should therefore be considered first.

In 1910 a motion, introduced by the European members of the Legislative Council, recommended that Part-Europeans be eligible for admission to the European Rolls subject to literacy and property qualifications. The latter provisions tended to increase the division existing among the Part-Europeans themselves. One subsection consisted of Part-Europeans who were similar in life style and educational and occupational attainments to the majority of Fijians; a second subsection consisted of those who were more successful in oscillating between the Fijian and European sections as a result of their kinship ties with Fijians and their middle position in the hierarchy of urban workers; a third subsection was made up of a small number of Part-Europeans who shared many of the physical and social characteristics of Europeans and had shed their Fijian ancestry. As Government officials became increasingly aware of the many differences which divided the Part-European section, a District Commissioner (who was also the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs) was appointed in 1933 "to look after the interest of the Part-European section." His first task was to approach the Part-European President of the South Seas Association, which had been established in Suva a few years earlier and represented the first attempt by Part-Europeans at organizational

activity. The President was asked to select five Part-Europeans to act as an Advisory committee with the District Commissioner as Chairman.

The President replied as follows:

We look upon your advance with suspicion...we are what our fathers were; as they were Europeans, we are(sic), therefore, we are not natives, nor half-castes, or anything else but Europeans. This fact is the one and only basis we can do any business on. We will not sacrifice one jot of our birthright, as Europeans, and natives of this country, to the whims of a transitory element which remain here a short while and then pass on, having no claims on this colony by birth.

Before the Association would assist the Government in forming an Advisory committee it demanded that Part-Europeans be permitted to enroll in the European Grammar schools and discrimination against Part-Europeans in Government employ be ended.²²⁹ But the Association itself failed to act as a representative body of Part-Europeans. In the words of the District Commissioner, "there was suspicion and jealousy among the members."²³⁰ The matter was allowed to pass.

Tensions between Part-Europeans and the colonial government were heightened in the early post-war period. Many Part-Europeans, having contributed greatly to the war effort, felt it was only fair that they be accorded political and other rights such as were enjoyed by the other sections. Ambitious European politicians promised a "new era" for all Part-Europeans, and some offered to support any movement that would directly benefit this section. The Sons of the

²²⁹ CSO F114/1932

²³⁰ Loc. cit.

Pioneers was subsequently formed with European backing. The Government did not take it seriously. Owing no doubt to this political disadvantage the Association soon became defunct. In 1944, the United Improvement Association, later known as the United Club, was formed, with membership open to any male descendant of an European. For the next several years the Government kept its eye on the number of Europeans in the Association "lest the Association be swamped and used for ulterior motives."²³¹ The Association proved to be more permanent than its predecessors. Politics was not the only motivation, for the UIA provided its members with mutual aid and benefit such as education, economic relief, and funeral expenses. It also appears to have temporarily united the Part-European section.

In the 1960s Part-Europeans were again made aware of the role they could play in Fiji politics. In writing about the 1963 general election, for example, Meller and Anthony state that:

As this segment of the population continues to grow, so that its vote becomes even more decisive in the European contests, the support of the Part-European will undoubtedly be cultivated with ever greater assiduity.²³²

Furthermore, beginning in the early 1960s the predominantly Indian-supported NFP has on many occasions attempted to provoke some Part-Europeans into splitting from the GEA. This tactic was primarily aimed at Part-Europeans who identify with Fijian customary ways.²³³

²³¹ CSO F 6/28 1946.

²³² Meller and Anthony, op. cit., p. 100.

²³³ Pasifika, January 11, 1962; August 30, 1962; October 19, 1971; and Pacific Review, July 21, 1965.

The next General Election (which occurred in 1966) was disappointing to many Part-Europeans as not a single one of their candidates was successful in winning a seat. One such candidate blamed her defeat on Chinese and European bloc-voting for their own candidates.²³⁴ The Pacific Review, organ of the NFP, followed up this charge by accusing European electors of including Chinese in the GEA to bolster the strength of the former and to neutralize the influence of Part-Europeans.²³⁵

Post-Independence Conflicts

With the establishment of the new constitution in 1970 a provision was made for eight seats to be reserved for representatives of minority sections in the Upper House. Doctor Felix Emberson, a Euro-Tongan, was chosen by the Fijian Prime Minister to act as a representative of the Part-European section in the Upper House. Soon afterwards Dr. Emberson reactivated the Part-European Association, a political body which he had formed a year earlier, and which the Prime Minister has since described as "the biggest step towards racialism in Fiji since cession."²³⁶ It was obvious to the Prime Minister and to some non-Part-European members of the GEA that as the PEA increased in strength it would weaken the former organization and unduly strain the coalition within the Alliance. Dr. Emberson appears to agree with this point of view:

The formation of the Part-European Association is a retrograde step. But while there are Part-Europeans who

²³⁴ Fiji Times, February 19, 1971.

²³⁵ Ibid., October 19, 1971.

²³⁶ Fiji Times, March 4, 1971.

have been successfully assimilated into either the European or Fijian side, there are also a large number of us who are proud of being Part-Europeans. We want to be politically independent of either group.²³⁷

Almost immediately after Dr. Emberson announced his intentions to strengthen the PEA he had to contend with opposition from both the European-dominated GEA and the Vasu-i-Taukei Association. Let us examine the reaction within the GEA first.

On March 4, 1971, two days prior to the Suva branch of the GEA holding its first meeting in two years, the European President of the GEA and Fiji's Minister of Finance, W. Barrett, announced in the Fiji Times that he would not be seeking re-election at the forthcoming Annual General Meeting, thus opening the way for leadership to be assumed by a Part-European. More than 200 persons attended the meeting and, in contrast to previous meetings of the GEA, the majority who attended were Part-Europeans.

Barrett recommended a Part-European, Ted Beddoes, as the new President of the GEA. The nomination was seconded and since there were no other contenders Beddoes was nominated without ballot. Beddoes was a logical choice because of his "multiplex" roles, especially in the PEA and the VIT (Vasu-i-Taukei Association). He was also a member of the Suva City Council and an active fund organizer for the Alliance.

Beddoes showed too that he was capable of taking the lead in the move towards unity in the GEA. In his acceptance speech, for example, he attempted to gain the goodwill of Europeans and Chinese in the GEA by

²³⁷ Interview with Dr. Emberson, August 1971.

emphasizing the equally decisive roles they would have with Part-Europeans in the Association. Dr. Emberson, who was invited to the meeting, was then called upon to clarify the PEA's position in view of the changes in the structure of the GEA. He assured the new President and his committee that the PEA would "continue to use the GEA as our political arm." He added that his association being registered as a Friendly Society could take no active part in politics.

The outcome of this meeting may be summarized as follows:

1) the Europeans recognized the numerical strength of Part-Europeans in the GEA and made appropriate accommodation in its leadership; 2) this in turn prevented an open split between Part-Europeans and Europeans, and neutralized the PEA's attempt to generate sectional issues such as European dominance in the GEA; 3) an open break within the Part-European section was temporarily averted when Beddoes assumed the post of President of the GEA. As a member of the PEA and the VIT he was able to provide a link between the three predominantly Part-European organizations.

The PEA and the GEA have occasionally had to contend with opposition from Part-Europeans who are more closely linked with the Fijians' section. These Part-Europeans, who have called themselves the Vasu-i-Taukei (relation of the Fijian), founded a political association under the same name when some members of this subsection residing in Suva decided to collect funds as an Independence-day gift for the poor. The fund-raising committee was headed by Dunn, a Part-European of Fijian-Irish descent, who turned over the sum collected to the Government and received an official letter thanking all the Part-Europeans of Suva for this gesture. The committee feeling slighted

emphasized to the Government that the contribution came from only one sub-section of the Part-European community. After this episode Dunn and his close friends and kinsmen decided to form a more permanent association. According to Dunn, there were other reasons for forming the VIP. In the view of many Vasus, the PEA and the GEA have not been genuinely interested in helping Part-Europeans with the larger society. Dunn blamed the leaders for this. Several weeks before the GEA meeting in March, 1971, he told me:

For a long time now we have been included in the so-called European electoral roll. Why are we called 'Europeans' on election day only to be labelled 'half-caste' or 'Part-Europeans' the next? Europeans in the GEA beg for our support at the last minute, but they seem to have forgotten us the past four and a half years.

With respect to the PEA Dunn claimed that many Vasus have complained to him about its high membership fee and that of the United Club, two organizations led by Dr. Emberson whom the Vasus have accused of "showing favoritism" to Euro-Tongans, Euro-Samoans, and other Euro-Pacific Islanders. The PEA and the United Club, they add, have not been of much benefit to Indian-Fijians or Chinese-Fijians.

An incident that occurred several months before the 1972 General Election provided the basis for further open disagreement between the GEA, the PEA, and the VIP. The majority of members of all three Suva-based organizations had agreed in separate meetings to select Beddoes, the GEA President, as their candidate for the Suva constituency. Needless to say, Beddoes' membership in all three organizations meant that he could act without bias as a spokesman for all Part-Europeans. But as soon as these decisions were made Beddoes

was chosen by the Alliance National Council to stand as the Alliance GEA representative in another constituency. The Alliance was faced with a predicament because Yee, a leading Chinese member of the GEA, had previously represented the Alliance in the Suva constituency. The Alliance felt that Yee's chances of winning a seat would be severely reduced if he were made to stand elsewhere. Not until the Alliance heard that Beddoes was the logical choice of all three associations did it make its decision public. In this way, the Alliance felt that it could not be exposed to the charge of dividing the Part-European section. Most Part-Europeans in the GEA accepted the decision of the Alliance, but the VIT was furious. It interpreted the Alliance motion as a concession to the Chinese and Europeans in the GEA and to Dr. Emberson whom the Vasus saw as a potential political rival of Beddoes in Suva. The VIT argued that the Alliance had made this concession to Emberson because of the latter's assumed "blood ties" with the Prime Minister and Leader of the Alliance. The Alliance could not afford to nominate Dr. Emberson as a candidate after this episode. The latter resigned from the GEA and stood in the election as an Independent against Yee. By the time of the General Elections (April, 1972) the PEA was no longer a significant political force. In the meantime, the VIT had decided to support Yee as their candidate apparently because the latter had adopted a platform of intersectional cooperation in his campaign and was prepared to work with other sections, especially the Part-Europeans.

Fijians and Indians

In 1876, in accordance with the Colonial Government's policy of decentralization and indirect rule, a rural local government system

(the Fijian Administration) was established. This system, based on traditional Fijian chiefly structure was headed by a Great Council of Chiefs. In 1879, five years after Fiji was ceded to Britain, some members of the Council of Chiefs were anxious to know "whether one of us would be allowed to enter the Bose Vaka Matanitu (Legislative Council).²³⁸ Only when the Constitution was changed in 1904 to a partially-elected council were two nominated Fijians allowed to sit in the Council. By then such news was received with mixed feelings. As the Secretary for Fijian Affairs noted:

When they discovered that debates ranged over unheard of subjects that had little or nothing to do with native life, the Fijian as a whole quickly came to the conclusion that our councils were of much more importance and of more vital interest to them.²³⁹

But this statement only summarizes the position of the official Fijian political representatives in the early days. The impact of the new administration and the arrival of the Europeans promoted the formation of a number of socio-political movements among the rank-and-file. It will be recalled from Chapter 4 that one of the earliest and most pointed of these conflicts was in connection with the frustrated desire of some Fijians to form a cooperative society of their own. This movement, known as the Viti Kabani, soon developed into an organization which was essentially political in character. Significantly, the organizers promised to eject the European administrative power and "all white people" from the Colony. Furthermore, they challenged the

²³⁸ Notes on the proceedings of the Council of Chiefs,
(April, 1879).

²³⁹ Legislative Council Papers, CP 5, 1952.

leadership of the Fijian chiefs in the Fijian Administration. Fijians everywhere reacted with enthusiasm. Thousands of Fijians attended the meetings held by the organizers and many new villages were established in the name of the founder. But as previously noted the movement's popularity was to prove its downfall. In the end, the founder of the movement was exiled to Yacata Island where he died shortly after the Second World War.

Intra-sectional divisions among Fijians (and Europeans) seemed on the wane, especially after the Indians first use of the franchise in 1929. Not until 1959 did similar divisions openly appear among the Fijian section again. Also, the threat of Indian political and economic dominance, the narrowing of the Fijian-Indian population gap, and other factors "pointed to the subsequent alignment of the European with the Fijian in seeking maintenance of the constitutional status quo."²⁴⁰

The Indian Imperial Association was the first official political body for Indians in Fiji. Its formation in Suva in 1918 marked the entry of the Indian section into the political sphere. One of the first proposals made by the Association was the abolition of the Masters and Servants' Ordinance which permitted an employer of non-European labor to arrest and punish those who found it difficult to carry out their work contract. A few years later, in 1920, a branch of the Association was formed in Nandi. Like Indian associations elsewhere²⁴¹ the local movement sought to provide a meeting place, reading room and library,

²⁴⁰ Meller and Anthony, op. cit., p. 14.

²⁴¹ See, for example, DeWitt John, Indian Workers' Associations in Britain, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

and a venue for contact with members of their own section. Soon other associations were formed, such as the Indian Reform League in Suva, the South Indian Association in Nandi, and the Indian Association which was a splinter group of the IRL. The membership and activities of these associations were generally similar. Most catered to the educated upper and middle classes such as businessmen, lawyers, senior civil servants, and the like. Many became defunct soon after formation. Even the prominent ones like the IRL and the Indian Association soon succumbed to apathy and factionalism, especially when one subsection was entrenched in power for any length of time (for example, the Arya Samajis in the Indian Association).²⁴² Such intrasectional divisions were not lost to the Fijians, and they probably reduced the capacity of the Indian section to act against members of other sections, especially Fijians in the political field.

Another factor which checked to some extent tendencies towards basic cleavages between Fijians and Indians was the demand for political change among the Fijians themselves. The Burns Commission, which met in 1959, recommended that the Fijian Administration be eventually superseded by a single system of local government. The Commission based its recommendation on the representation of many Fijians. Arguments for and against this move also appeared in the vernacular papers, but the most common opinion of the rank-and-file was that the "Fijian Administration should not be abolished, but it certainly needs an overhaul."²⁴³

The Fijian Administration flatly opposed any change to its structure and argued that there was need for an established organization

²⁴² By the early 1930s the Colonial Government helped to form Indian Advisory Committees, and some Indians were made members of local boards, no doubt in part because of their leadership in the associations described above. These boards and committees provided the Indian section with a link to the Colonial Government.

²⁴³ Volagauna, April 14, 1962.

to represent Fijian interests. Behind this argument lay a general apprehension of change, for two years earlier two other Fijian organizations were formed and regarded as rivals to the more established political leadership. (These two organizations should not be confused with the left-of-center Mbula Tale Association, and the Fijian Chamber of Commerce, formed in the same decade and described in an earlier chapter.) The first is the Fijian Association, founded by two Fijian commoners in 1958. Although it was formed to reinforce the Fijian Administration under the Council of Chiefs,²⁴⁴ the latter saw it as a political rival possibly because the President of the Fijian Association had advocated that Fijians be allowed to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council. Initially, many of the leading personalities in the Fijian Administration were opposed to such reform, but as an increasing number began to occupy leadership positions in the Fijian Association itself they began to accept the pace of change advocated by that body. The second organization is the Suva Fijian and Rotuman Ratepayers' Association, formed specifically to agitate for the political representation of Suva-based Fijians. The Association asked that urban Fijians be represented on the Council of Chiefs. This was granted in 1960. The following year Suva Fijians went to the polls for the first time to elect their representatives to the Suva City Council. The importance of the Ratepayers' Association has more or less vanished with approval for adequate political representation for Suva Fijians.

²⁴⁴ The Fijian Association had several main objectives; "to protect Fijians from being exploited by non-Fijians; to foster closer relationship amongst ourselves; and to give general guidance to Fijians on the right course to be taken; and to foster the true opinions of the Fijian people." Volagauna, September 6, 1961. A relatively less sectional point of view is found in the Associations' constitution today.

It will be recalled that the Fijian Administration also had to contend with opposition from Fijian villagers. In 1961 four Fijian villages in Nadronga Province seceded from the Fijian Administration in protest against its regulations. The villagers formed their own organization known as the Mbula Tale. Although this organization was founded on an economic basis it was linked to Fijian intra-sectional divisions in the political sphere. The founder, for example, was a close relative of the leader of the Western Democratic Party. The latter organization was formed to coincide with the 1963 General Election and the Fijians' first use of the franchise. The quest for office that year also prompted another Fijian commoner to form the Fijian National Party. Both parties had a pronounced regional characteristic and relied upon Fijians in the Western Provinces for their voting strength. Although formed around the need for a body to speak for Fijian interests as a whole, the Fijian Administration and the Fijian Association had to all intents and purposes bypassed western Fijians, in the distribution of political rewards and opportunities.²⁴⁵

The Western Democratic Party and the Fijian National Party, taking advantage of this regional difference, questioned the continuance of the Suva-based Fijian organizations. Although in the end both lost the election to the Fijian Association, almost 10% of the total ballots cast in the Western Division were rejected (a much larger proportion than in any other constituency) apparently because of voting for two parties, the Fijian Association and one of the dissident parties, on the

²⁴⁵ Pasifika, July 26, 1963.

same ballot. On the basis of impressionistic evidence it appears that "ambivalence prompted the retention of Ratu Penia's name (the Fijian Association candidate) for in this manner, an open break with customary ways could be avoided. These informal ballots on their face thus recorded the very clash between the traditional order and the introduced political process, a tally, as it were, of people caught in the act of undergoing acculturation."²⁴⁶

Although the Fijian Association had made a clean sweep of the elections it took alarm at the type of "ambivalence" described above.

It was still far from being a viable political party. If it was to function effectively and retain its leadership role among Fijians it had to mold the latter into a cohesive section. This it set about doing with increasing speed after the General Election, mainly by manipulating natural social cleavages between Indians and Fijians. The following statements contained in Volagauna, the unofficial voice of the Fijian Associations, show this:

Now indeed is the time for each and every one of us to look ahead with mind and purpose to achieve whatever may be required of us either individually or as a community. When we have selected a goal, keep it in mind that it is for the Fijian race...for a Fijian Fiji. Differences existing within our own race must be destroyed.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Meller and Anthony, op. cit., p. 102. Later, this and the following chapter describe more fully the nature and extent of this ambivalence.

²⁴⁷ Volagauna, October 6, 1964.

The Fijian Association has not yet been taken seriously. It is high time we joined it.²⁴⁸

We must return to the true spirit of unity on which the Fijian Association depends to fight for everything concerning the Fijian race. The aim of the Fijian Association is to bring together Fijian people to be of one mind to fight for our political rights in our native country. The Fijian Association calls on every Fijian to join the association...and to be united to make our voice carry a wider and deeper sound in the preservation of all matters that are rightfully ours on our native soil.²⁴⁹

To increase its political influence and promote unity among Fijians the Fijian Association also established branches in all parts of the country. Any twelve or more Fijians could apply to the Secretary of the nearest Branch from where they resided to be registered as a Branch. Fijians between the ages of 16 and 21 could join a Junior Branch. The Association set no limit to the size of membership. By 1965 the Association, then led by the present Fijian Prime Minister of Fiji, had developed a firm base among members of the Fijian section.

The Indian section responded in a similar way. For example, Jagrithi, the official organ of the National Federation Party, said:

²⁴⁸ Ibid., June 26, 1964.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., August 24, 1964. As Coser observes, such scape-goating mechanisms will occur particularly in those groups whose structure inhibits realistic conflict within. Also, "rigidly organized struggle groups may actually search for enemies with the deliberate purpose or the unwitting result of maintaining unity and internal cohesion. Such groups may actually perceive an outside threat although no threat is present." L.A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p. 110.

...other races in Fiji are at present organized. There is a feeling of unity among them and there is room for Indians to learn a lesson from them in this connection....If Indians are to live with honour every person should become a member of the Federation Party otherwise very bad days will be seen by them.²⁵⁰

The National Federation Party had developed from an Indian canegrowers' association, the Maha Sangh, in the early 1960s which was formed in opposition to another canegrowers' association, the Kisan Sangh, that developed into the National Congress Party. Under A.D. Patel's leadership the National Federation Party was from the very beginning very eager to emphasize that there were no sectional or religious barriers to membership. Perhaps to ensure support from members of the various Indian subsections the party fielded three candidates in the 1963 General Election, namely, Patel, a Gujerati, Koya, a South Indian Muslim, and Madhavan, a Christian. Following the election the NFP became oriented towards the development of a mass base. It established branches throughout the country and attempted to gain more support from urban wage-earners. The attempt to incorporate non-Indians in the party was to come later.

Meanwhile, as Fiji moved towards greater self-government, the National Congress Party, a political outgrowth of the Kisan Sangh, attempted to negotiate alliances with Fijian and European leaders on the basis of shared views on the premature introduction of a common electoral roll, a primary goal of the NFP. This made good tactical sense since the Fijian and European leaders could now claim that prior to the 1965 Constitutional Conference "Our

²⁵⁰ Jagrithi, October 3, 1964, and July 7, 1964.

representatives will be voicing the widest possible cross-section of the people of Fiji.²⁵¹ Following the conference, representatives from the Fijian, Indian, Chinese, and European sections convened in Suva to form "an all-races political alliance."²⁵² At its inauguration Ratu-Mara said, "The outstanding achievement of the decade, if not of the century, is that all races are coming together to find areas of agreement."²⁵³

The Alliance was from the beginning very keen to emphasize its commitment to "hamony, goodwill, understanding, and tolerance" between the various sections. This approach proved so popular that most candidates in the 1966 election, irrespective of their sectional or party affiliations, stressed "multisectional cooperation" in their campaign speeches. Even the Fijian Advancement Society (later called the Fijian Independent Party), the National Independent Party, and the Liberal Party which to all intents and purposes were Fijian sectional parties extended their membership to all sections.²⁵⁴ Subsequently, however, the Fijian Independent Party attacked the Fijian Associations' revised policy of multisectional cooperation. In retaliation, the Fijian Association attempted to set the record straight:

...numerous Fijians have asked what is the real intention behind the Alliance. Some have stated the anxiety caused in their minds through the inter-racial composition of

²⁵¹ Volagauna, June 18, 1965.

²⁵² Fiji Times, July 22, 1965.

²⁵³ Loc. cit.

²⁵⁴ Volagauna, March 22, 1966.

its members. These are the people who cling to the doctrine that Fijians are not to mix with any other racial groups, especially Indians. Let it be stated briefly, the Alliance is the result of the amalgamation of one huge titanic political movement of the Fijian Association, the European and Chinese organization known as the General Electors' Association note, significantly, that Part-Europeans are not mentioned the Rotuman Association, Tongan Association, and the Indian movement from the western division known as the National Congress of Fiji, and those who have joined the Alliance individually.²⁵⁵

Although the election gave the Alliance a majority of 18 seats the leadership in the three sectional parties which make up the Alliance came increasingly under attack. I have previously described the divisions between Europeans and Chinese, on the one hand, and Part-Europeans, on the other, in the General Electors' Association. At the same time the NFP accused the Alliance of not making any real efforts to register the Indian voters and pointed to the absence of Indian leaders of stature in the Indian Alliance. In September, 1967, the Federation party members of the Legislative Council walked out in protest against the failure of the Alliance Government to call a new constitutional conference. A by-election was held the following year. The Indian Alliance candidates were defeated and all nine NFP candidates were returned with increased majorities. This is the way Ally describes the events which followed the by-elections:

...a wave of anger ran through the Fijian community, with reports of sporadic communal violence and hostility to

²⁵⁵ Nai Lalakai, September 15, 1966.

the Indian community openly expressed at Fijian Association meetings. Mercifully, this phase passed relatively quickly without a major eruption. Yet there can be no doubt that the political leadership of both major communities had been near enough to the brink of upheaval to realize the dangers of continuing to press political claims through the existing framework of communal politics...the 1968 by-elections had served a useful purpose. In further constitutional discussions which would be bound to follow before long, there would now be a grudging, if healthy, respect by Indian and Fijian alike of their respective communal political strengths....By November...the joint working group, containing representatives from both the Alliance and what is now the National Federation Party, could announce that Fiji would be seeking Dominion status within the Commonwealth.²⁵⁶

The move to political independence was facilitated by a number of factors, especially the National Federation Party's concessions on Dominion status and Common Roll (the party had previously contented that Fiji should become a Republic and had made demands for the immediate introduction of a Common Roll system of election). Such concessions were more easily effected following the death of A.D. Patel in 1969. The new leader of the NFP, S.M. Koya, appears to be more willing to cooperate with the leaders of other sections on matters of vital national interests. But just as the Fijian Association was criticised and challenged by some members of the Fijian section for adopting a multisectional stance in the Alliance, so too was the

²⁵⁶ Roderic Ally, "Independence for Fiji: Recent Constitutional and Political Developments," Australian Outlook, Vol. 24, No. 2, (August, 1970).

more restrained position of the current leader of the NFP criticised and challenged by some members of the Indian section. A small but disillusioned group of formerly staunch NFP supporters threatened to split the party. They said:

The main weakness is in the leadership of our party. The President has failed to maintain the dignity, standard, quality, contact, and control of the party machinery. This is intolerable and accounts for the high percentage of decline, frustration, and weakening of party spirit among the rank and file....His deep romance with our political foes developed to such an extent that members became openly and highly suspicious of his activities.²⁵⁷

Reference was previously made to the regional differences among Fijians and the political grievances of some Part-Europeans, which have caused them to look with disfavor upon their own established sectional parties. The NFP, taking advantage of these grievances, attempted to incorporate these sections in its policies and made appropriate accommodation in its leadership. Thus, the two Fijian leaders of the now defunct Fijian National Party, and the Western Democratic Party became key members in the NFP. They successfully contested the 1972 General Election as NFP candidates. (The NFP's Part-European candidate, however, lost out to the Alliance incumbent.) Except for a short period following the 1968 by-elections when intrasectional divisions among Fijians and Part-Europeans were temporarily forgotten, the NFP has slowly but steadily secured the confidence of a small number

²⁵⁷ Should NFP Go To Blazes, op. cit., p. 1.

of non-Indians, especially Fijians. The NFP's major objective, and hence its major impression on many members of the working-class population, has been its attempt to secure better wages and working conditions. These multisectionally encompassing policies together with the relatively less sectional stance of the current NFP leader are some of the factors which make for better intersectional relations in the political field.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that divisions within the various sections not only reduces the capacity of one section to act against the members of other sections in the political field, but it also provides the bases for cross-cutting political alliances between members of different sections. Ironically, the bases of one such intra-sectional division common to both the predominantly Indian-supported NFP and the Fijian-supported Alliance has been the attempt by both parties to develop into national multisectional political organizations. But this does not mean that the splinter groups which have developed from these disputes within the NFP and the Alliance are respectively anti-Fijian, or anti-Indian organizations. The next chapter on the 1972 General Election shows, for example, that the Fijian sectional party, the FIP, appears to have much in common with the predominantly Indian-supported NFP.

Voting Behavior

Because of the nature of the political environment and the secrecy surrounding General Elections in Fiji there was little information on the political behavior and opinions of the electorate. To secure such information prospective voters were interviewed as part of our survey three months before the 1972 General Election. The primary

object of this part of the survey was to examine the impact of sectional affiliation and socio-economic status on party preference and the way in which the two major political parties are conceptualized by respondents. The influence of sectional affiliation on party preference will be discussed first.

Given the development of political parties on sectional lines, as was previously shown, one would expect that sectional affiliation would have an important influence on the individual's choice of a party, that preference for the Alliance would be highest among Europeans and Fijians, while voting for the NFP would be highest among the Indian section, and that these preferences would constitute a serious obstacle to multisectional political integration. Table 38 shows the link between sectional affiliation and party preference.

Table 38
Comparison of Sections with Respect to Party Preference or
Voting Intentions

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians	
Alliance	19%	80%	16%	
NFP	-	2	29	
Independent	2	1	3	
Undecided	10	11	42	
Not Eligible	67	3	7	
Not Stated	2	3	3	
Total	100	100	100	
Number of cases	(53)	(152)	(139)	$p < .05$

That most Europeans were ineligible to vote in the 1972 elections accounts for more than three-fifths saying that they would not vote. However, the majority of those who were eligible and intended to vote

indicated the Alliance as their choice. The vast majority of Fijians also intended to support this party. Only one-sixth of the Indians interviewed said they would vote for the Alliance. It is clear that sectional affiliation is a very important factor in the choice of a party for both Europeans and Fijians. It is not so clear with respect to the Indian section. Although Table 38 indicates that the NFP would receive its major support from the Indian section only 29% of the latter were firmly committed to this party. That many more Indians who were interviewed were undecided as to the party they would vote for is not surprising for several reasons. Firstly, the relative lack of party attachment among Indians stems in part, as previously discussed, from a certain amount of disenchantment among them with respect to politics in general and the NFP in particular. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, Indians are comparatively less cohesive than other sections. For example, the majority of Indian prospective voters had not read any political party newspaper in the month preceding the interview, while more than half of the prospective Alliance voters subscribed to or regularly read such newspaper. Thirdly, participation in organizations and political activity probably influence each other indirectly.²⁵⁸ While the area of organizational participation has been discussed more fully in Chapter 9, it may be worthwhile to re-examine the relationship of organizational participation to voting behavior. The survey shows that more than 90% of the Fijian

²⁵⁸ See, for example, Mayntz, "Leisure, Social participation, and Political Activity," op. cit., p. 567.

and European prospective voters as compared to 47% of the prospective Indian voters, belonged to voluntary associations, and that more than half of the Fijians belonged to sectional associations, i.e., associations which restrict membership to one's own section, while a smaller proportion of Indian prospective voters who are involved in associational activity were members of similar types of associations. Therefore the majority of Europeans and Fijians who intended to vote for the Alliance were more cohesive than members of the Indian section.

Evidence of the significance of membership in multisectional associations on sectional attitudes also suggests that membership and interaction in multisectional organizations have a wearing effect on the sectional political views of the Indian sections. For example, of the 21 (or 17% of the total) Indian respondents who indicated they would vote for the Alliance party only 2 belonged to sectional associations; 8 belonged to both sectional and multisectional associations; and 9 belonged to multisectional associations only. The remainder did not belong to any association. In other words the possibility of political socialization in the Indian section apparently increases in proportion to an individual's number of memberships in multisectional associations.

Socio-economic Status and Party Preference

The NFP has from its inception projected an image as a party for farmers and the working class; the Alliance was, by way of contrast, formed initially on the basis of a multisectional coalition of Suva-based elites. Although both parties have subsequently attempted to broaden the base of their support one of the ways to investigate the influence of socio-economic status on voting behavior was to see

if the NFP which is the party left of center was supported by Fijians and Indians of lower socio-economic status and if the Alliance was supported by Fijians, Indians, and Europeans of middle and higher socio-economic status. Table 39 compares the voting intentions of respondents with respect to their socio-economic status:

Table 39

Comparison of Voting Intentions with
Respect to Socio-Economic Status

	Alliance	NFP	Indepen- dent	Unde- cided	Not Voting	Not Stated	
Low	66%	70%	66%	64%	21%		
Middle	17	30	17	20	8		
High	17	-	17	16	71		
Total	100	100	100	100	100		
Number of cases	(148)	(43)	(6)	(84)	(53)	(10)	$p < .05$

It will be seen that the majority of prospective Alliance voters, many of whom are Fijians, are found in the lowest socio-economic strata. Similarly, the majority of NFP supporters, all of whom are Indians, share the same socio-economic status as many of those Fijian respondents who intended to vote for the Alliance party. However, this does not mean that socio-economic status has no noticeable influence on voting behavior. Firstly, many Indians and a few Fijians in the lowest income, occupational, and educational levels are not firmly committed to either party. Secondly, the net political difference between the three sections is not so clear with respect to the next two status levels. No Fijian or European of middle or high status, for example, intended to support the NFP

in the General Election. Any semblance of support for the NFP from persons of high socio-economic status has disappeared with the reported swing of prominent and wealthy members of the Gujerati community to the Alliance in recent years.²⁵⁹ More Indians of higher socio-economic status however indicated support for the Alliance than in either of the lower statuses. Thus, of the 21 Indians who intended to support the Alliance, 9 were of high status, 6 were of middle status, and the remaining 6 were of low status. Finally, in determining the impact of socio-economic status on voting behavior there is the connection the individual makes between his status identity and his choice of a party on election day. This is examined next.

Differences Between the Two Parties

Another way of testing the strength and impact of sectional affiliation and socio-economic status on voting behavior was through two questions which asked respondents to explain, as best they could, why they intended to vote for the party of their choice and their perception of the major difference between the Alliance and the NFP.

Table 40 shows that the majority of NFP voters, representing 29% of the Indian section, gave ideology as their primary reason. By way of contrast, Alliance supporters, represented by 80% of the Fijian section, emphasized habit and tradition, followed closely by record to explain their vote. The majority of prospective voters for

²⁵⁹ Interviews and observation suggest that Gujeratis of low socio-economic status continued to align themselves with the NFP during the 1972 General Election.

independent candidates, more often found among Indian voters, were suspicious of party politics in general and were not inclined to vote for either of the major parties. The vast majority of those who adopted a "wait and see" attitude were not firmly committed to either party; they were more often found among Indian voters (43%) than European (15%) or Fijian voters (11%). The most commonly chosen reason for this attitude among this group of respondents was personality. They said that their choice of a political party on election day would depend on the type of candidate sponsored by the parties concerned.

Table 40

Comparison of Voting Intentions with
Respect to Reasons

	Alliance	NFP	Indepen- dent	Unde- cided	Not Voting	Not Stated
Ideology	39%	86%	-	-		
Habit and tradition	42	12	-	-		
Record	19	-	-	-		
Suspicious of party politics	-	-	84	2		
Personality	-	2	16	93		
Total	100	100	100	100		
Number of cases	(148)	(43)	(6)	(84)	(55)	(10)

Table 41 shows the perception of differences between the two major parties among members of the three sections. The most commonly stated difference for both prospective Alliance and NFP voters and for all three sections was ideology. Almost all prospective NFP voters who stressed this category chose "class" or status as the basic difference between the Alliance and the NFP.

Table 41

Comparison of Voting Intentions and Sections with Respect to
the Major Differences Between the Alliance and the NFP

	Alliance	NFP	Indepen- dent	Unde- cided	Not Voting	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Ideology	44%	59%	50%	20%	43%	47%	44%	31%
No difference	13	26	34	51	17	23	15	38
Record	35	5	-	3	6	5	28	11
Issues	2	5	16	-	-	4	-	1
Not stated	6	5	-	26	34	21	13	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	(148)	(43)	(6)	(84)	(53)	(53)	(152)	(139)
								p < .05

The Alliance works for the wealthy; the Federation works for the poor (Accounts clerk, Indian).

Alliance is on the side of the capitalist; the NFP fights for the poor people (Primary school teacher, Indian).

The Government (Alliance) favor themselves; the Federation is in favor of the working public (Carpenter, Indian).

Despite the fact that a few high status Europeans supported the view that "The Alliance is a party for the 'haves'; the Federation is a party for the 'have not's,'" socio-economic status had little noticeable influence on the Europeans' choice of this or any of the other categories in Table 41 that constitute the major differences between the two major parties.

The majority of Alliance supporters (mostly Fijians) who chose ideology emphasized the sectional differences between the two parties. But even if some Fijians looked to the Alliance to defend their sectional interest (for example, "The Alliance fights for Fijian interests. Its

policies are more understandable to me"), the majority of Alliance supporters regarded the opposition party as sectionally exclusive in comparison with the Alliance which, in their view, was a more representative party;

The NFP is a racist party; the Alliance is multi-racial (Company Manager, Australian).

The Alliance covers a greater cross-section of the public; and it is more nationalistic in outlook; the NFP is a racist party (Garage Manager, Australian).

Alliance is a multi-racial party and cares for all; the NFP is solely devoted to Indian affairs (Senior civil servant, Fijian).

Alliance aims for the betterment of all races in Fiji; the opposition party is selfish particularly in regards to Fijian land (Clerk, Fijian).

Alliance multi-racial policy works for the benefit of all; the NFP is a racially extremist party (Clerk, Indian).

Twenty-six per cent of the prospective NFP voters, a smaller proportion of prospective Alliance voters, and a substantial number of those who were not firmly committed to any party saw little difference between the Alliance and the NFP. They can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there were those who were clearly discontented with both parties in general;

The Alliance is a party of big businessmen; the NFP is a party of greedy Indians (Dookworker, Fijian, Alliance supporter).

Alliance is a party of elites and rich businessmen; the NFP is a party of loud talkers and land grabbers (Civil servant clerk, Fijian, Undecided).

Neither have any particular sense of direction (Merchandising Manager, UK national, not eligible to vote).

Alliance is not endowed with intellectuals; the NFP politicians have a higher brain content but they are irresponsible (Engineer, New Zealander, not eligible to vote).

The aims of the Alliance party are straightforward, but will they carry it out? No, I don't see much difference between the two parties. The country is becoming a place for coloured people; the whites will soon be forced to leave (Airline pilot, New Zealander, Undecided).

Both parties are anti-European; the NFP is more so (Ship's Captain, New Zealander, Not eligible to vote).

The Alliance is controlled by a small but economically powerful group of Europeans. Since the European seats were reduced they are siding with other races and trying to keep the Indians apart. The NFP is no better. It attracts the uneducated who accept their lies blindly; the party plays on their ignorance (Clerk, Indian, Independent).

No difference--both are selfish (Primary school teacher, Indian, Not voting).

Then, there were those who found certain facets of both parties attractive. They were probably faced with a certain amount of predicament at election time as the following statements show:

The Alliance helps to safeguard Fijian customs; the NFP helps to provide more jobs for workers. I'll just have to wait and see (Boat Builder, Fijian, Undecided).

The Alliance helps to safeguard Fijian land rights; the NFP promises general prosperity and their policies appear very attractive, but I don't think I will vote for them as I have always voted for the Alliance (Clerk, Fijian, Alliance supporter).

The Alliance is the ruling party, although not brilliant. The opposition stimulates their thinking (Laborer, Fijian, Undecided).

An Alliance government will ensure the safety of Fijian land rights, but I think the NFP are better qualified to run the country (Clerk, Fijian, Alliance supporter).

The Alliance is a good stable government, but the opposition is certainly playing their part extremely well (Company Director, Indian, Alliance supporter).

No difference, they both working same, one fellow just pressing the other (Taxi driver, Indian, Alliance supporter).

Basic intentions are the same, NFP attempting to achieve similar goals in a more radical manner (Surveyor, Indian, Undecided).

Fijian voters who subscribed to the above point of view including those who criticized the Alliance have not been attracted to the NFP as an alternative party partly because their intention to vote for the Alliance has already been shaped by habit and tradition. Most of them indicated support for the Alliance simply because they had voted for that party in the last election or had joined the Alliance since its inception. This explains the persistence of sectional voting behavior among Fijians in the last General Elections (to be described subsequently). But there are indications that this attitude is changing:

If our chiefs send us a message asking us to vote for them we vote for them. That is why I have always voted Alliance. But I recently heard Ratu Mosese (a Fijian vice-president in the NFP) speak in the senate; I read his articles; and heard him on the radio. I like what he says. I am beginning to doubt whether the Fijian people are going to stick with the Alliance for long, at least not the working-class people (Dockworker, Fijian, Undecided).

Most of the Indian and European voters who shared the view that both parties were becoming similar were not firmly committed to any party and some of the most common reasons they gave have already been described. Many Indians said they would be a little more inclined to favor the candidate rather than follow past political allegiance to the party. Unlike many of the Fijians their preference appeared to be shaped by situational needs and personal interest (but not necessarily sectional) rather than by habit and tradition. This stands in marked contrast to some Europeans, mainly expatriates, who regarded both parties as being unsympathetic towards them as a section.

The second largest category chosen by Alliance supporters as constituting a major difference between their party and the NFP was record. Many (35%) looked to the party's record and proudly proclaimed that;

The Alliance is acting; the NFP is talking (Travel consultant, UK national).

The Alliance has been able to unite a multi-racial society; the opposition is radical and there is disunity even among themselves (Lighthouse keeper, Fijian).

The Alliance record is stable and smooth, they don't hide anything. The opposition has only created chaos (Secondary school teacher, Fijian).

Alliance helps the public; the Federation help themselves. What they brag about never seems to materialize (Barman, Indian).

Since the NFP has never formed the Government it is not surprising, then, to find that comparatively fewer NFP supporters looked to record as a major point of difference between the two parties. Those who fell into this category, however, chose to emphasize the effectiveness of the NFP as an opposition party.

Very few Alliance or NFP supporters pointed to issues as a possible source of difference between the two parties. The most commonly stated point of difference with regard to issues came from several European and Indian voters on the question of common roll. Generally, the NFP was seen as a strong supporter of common roll in comparison with the Alliance which was satisfied with the present system of election. Another difference brought out by some members of the European section was the NFP's avowed goal of nationalizing basic industries; the Alliance had a more favorable attitude towards foreign businesses and investments in Fiji. However, the Alliance policy of localization was also criticized by a few Europeans.

Another way of testing the nature and strength of the links between sectional affiliation and party preference and the significance of issues was through a question that asked respondents what major problems the country would have to face in the next five to ten years.

As can be seen in Table 42 a substantial number of voters and non-voters irrespective of their sectional affiliation pointed to economic problems such as unemployment and inflation. Significantly, only a minority of Alliance or NFP supporters and members of the three sections pointed to sectional or other problems which were likely to affect only one particular section, such as land (Fijians) or localization (Europeans).

Table 42

Comparison of Voting Intentions and Sections with Respect to the Major Problems the Country Would Face in the Next Five to Ten Years

	Alliance	NFP	Indepen- dent	Unde- cided	Not Voting	Europeans	Fijians	Indians
Economic	48%	48%	34%	63%	48%	50%	48%	55%
Sectional	12	12	34	7	23	25	17	5
Land	13	-	-	5	8	8	11	5
Localization	2	-	-	-	10	15	-	-
Don't know	20	35	16	19	11	2	20	27
None	5	5	16	5	-	-	3	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	(148)	(43)	(6)	(84)	(53)	(53)	(152)	(139)

To summarize: the findings on political attitudes and voting behavior are that socio-economic status and sectional affiliation have varying degrees of impact. Status has greater impact on Indian voting behavior, and Indians as a whole are inclined to cross party lines. In contrast, sectional affiliation appears to have a greater influence on European and Fijian political attitudes and behavior. Many

Europeans and Fijians continue to perceive of politics in terms of sectional relevance. Both sections, notably Fijians, are more likely than Indians to follow past political allegiances. But the data also indicate that new political links are gradually emerging. This will be seen more clearly in the next chapter where a major political change in Fiji is described.

CHAPTER 12

The 1972 General Election

During the last two weeks of April, 1972, the citizens of Fiji--Indians, Fijians, Chinese, Europeans, Part-Europeans, Rotumans, and other Pacific Islanders--participated in one of the quietest election campaigns in the nation's history.²⁶⁰

The combined cross-voting and sectional system, first introduced in 1966, permitted each elector, regardless of sectional affiliation, to vote for a Fijian, an Indian, and a General candidate in a national (cross-voting) constituency, in addition to a candidate of his or her own section in a sectional constituency. For political purposes Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders were combined with Fijians; and Chinese and Part-Europeans were joined with Europeans as General Electors. Each of the 10 national constituencies elected one Fijian and one Indian member. The 10 areas were further grouped in pairs to form 5 more national constituencies in which all electors chose 5 General members. There were twenty-seven sectional constituencies (12 for Fijian, 12 for Indian, and 3 for General electors). By November, 1971 the registration process was completed and more than 200,000 persons were registered to vote.

Selection of Candidates

All told, there were 122 contenders for the 50 seats in the new House of Representatives: Government Alliance Party, 50; Opposition

²⁶⁰ A revised version of this chapter was published in Australia's Neighbours, Fourth Series, No. 81, (July-August, 1972).

NFP (National Federation Party), 40; FIP (Fijian Independent Party), 6; and Independents, 26.

As was previously noted, the Alliance, composed of three sectional parties, namely, the Fijian Association, the Indian Alliance, and the General Electors' Association was originally formed to parry Indian demands for the immediate introduction of a common electoral roll. Since its inception in 1966 the Alliance has been primarily dependent upon the Fijian community for elections. In contrast to the Alliance, the NFP has relied upon a predominantly Indian electorate for its voting strength, partly because the party grew out of an Indian canegrowers' association in the early 1960s. At about the same time a small and loosely-organized group of Fijians, disenchanted with Fijian Association compromises in the Alliance, formed the Fijian Advancement Society, later known as the FIP.

Despite the parties' sectional origins, the 1972 election was characterized by greater cross-sectional participation than ever before. This was partly because a record number of candidates were needed to fill the enlarged Lower House and partly because the major parties had pledged to promote a national image. The sectional origin of candidates in the election is shown in Table 43.

Table 43

Sectional Origin of Candidates

	Indians	Fijians	Europeans	Part- Europeans	Chinese	Total
Alliance	22	21	4	2	1	50
NFP	22	15	1	1	1	40
FIP	1	5	-	-	-	6
Independent	7	13	1	5	-	26
Total	52	54	6	8	2	122

The FIP's early drive for candidates to stand in the election produced only six. Essentially a one-man operation, the FIP lacked the technique of such nationally powerful organizations as the Alliance and the NFP for holding recruitment meetings.

The NFP also began its selection process months before the election. On July 13, 1972, nine Fijian candidates were publicly endorsed by the NFP. In that meeting the President, S.M. Koya said: "We have always been a truly multi-racial party, and these nominations are a demonstration of the fact to the public." As the election approached, Koya left the task of selecting other Fijian candidates to the NFP's Taukei (Fijian) committee.²⁶¹ He then met with Branch delegates to discuss the selection of nominees. The supreme decision-making body of the party, the multisectional Working Committee, of which Koya is also President, subsequently endorsed or rejected the nominations received. Disputed matters were not submitted to a vote, but were resolved through consensus.

The Alliance followed another procedure in endorsing its candidates. Branches were required to submit their selection of national seat candidates to the multisectional district councils for consideration. The final decisions were made by the national council. Candidates for the sectional seats were selected by the constituent bodies of the Alliance--the Fijian Association, the Indian Alliance, and the General Electors' Association. Balloting was required when more than one nomination was received.

²⁶¹ Following the 1966 election the late leader of the NFP, A.D. Patel, entertained the idea of forming a separate Fijian committee to recruit Fijians to the party.

PLATE V

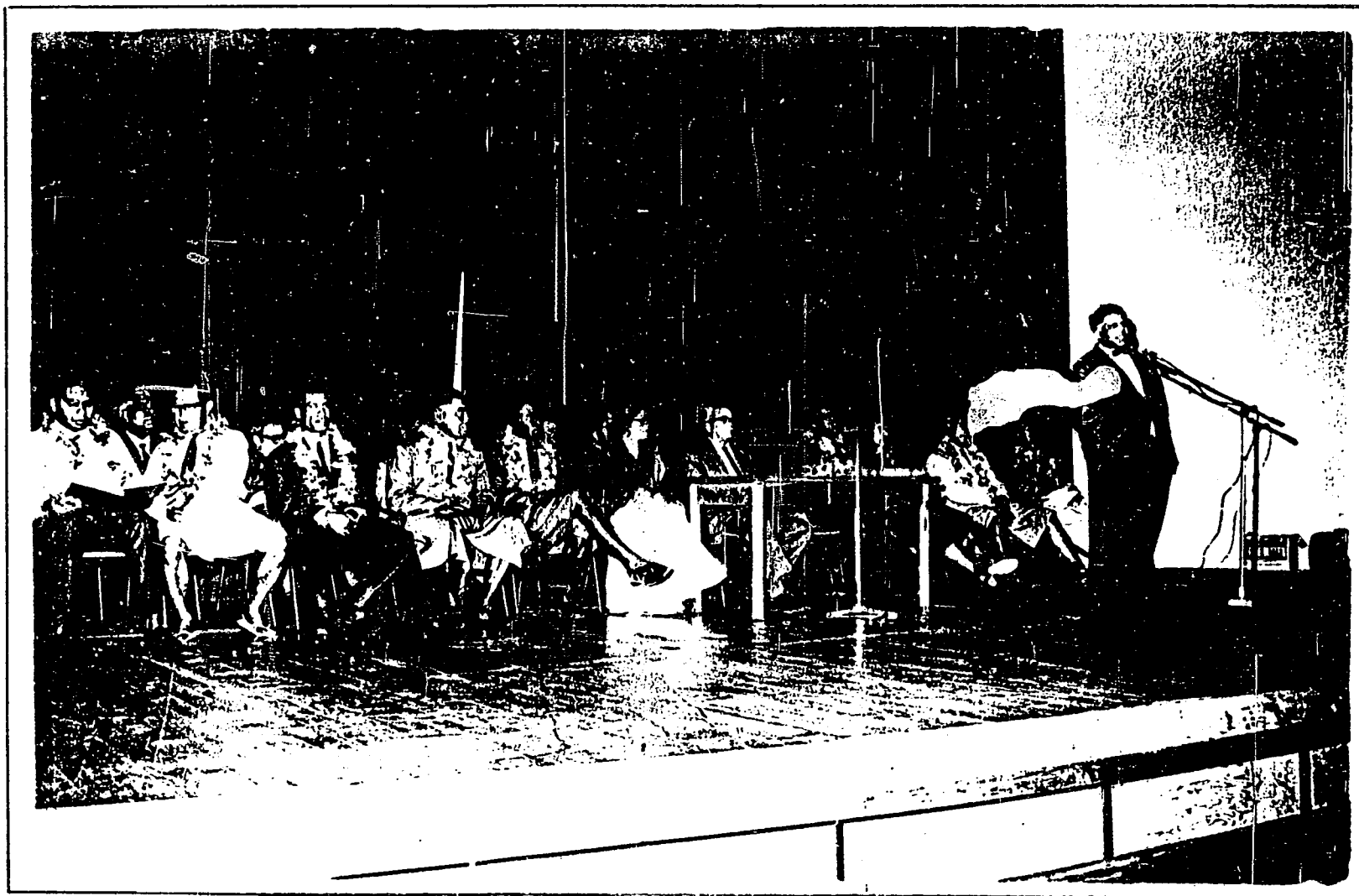


Figure 12

Prominent Fijian and Indian Members of the National Federation Party. The President, S.M. Koya, is addressing the Audience in Suva's Town Hall.

Rumours of "clique work," "dictatorship of party bosses," and so on surrounded the selection process of both major parties. Unsuccessful aspirants, many of whom were Alliance members, tended to join the ranks of the Independents.²⁶² While many (38) Independents ran in the 1966 election, this was primarily because political parties had not yet assumed definite shape. In the 1972 election, however, the Alliance and the NFP shared the view that "...the democratic process of Fiji should be through political parties...and that all should work to this end."²⁶³

Campaign Issues

A flexible approach to potentially divisive issues is a characteristic of early post-independence politics in new nations.²⁶⁴

²⁶² An Alliance district council leader provided me with one explanation: "Previously the Indian Alliance tended to field Indian candidates agreeable to the Fijians; but these political veterans are not imbued with the party's new ideology and program of providing candidates more in sympathy with the Indian electorate."

²⁶³ Legislative Council Paper, No. 1, (Fiji, 1970).

²⁶⁴ See, for example, A. Rabushka and K. Shepsle, "Political Entrepreneurship and Patterns of Democratic Instability in Plural Societies," op. cit., pp. 461-475. The authors argue that nationalist parties in most new nations tend to protect themselves from sectional strains by directing the public's attention to national issues and by treating sectional issues ambiguously. For a similar point of view see C. Enloe, "Issues and Integration in Malaysia," op. cit.; David Apter, "Some Reflections on the Role of a Political Opposition in New Nations," Comparative Politics, in Society and History, (June, 1963), p. 167; and P.M. Leslie, "The Role of Political Parties in Promoting the Interests of Ethnic Minorities," Canadian Journal of Political Science, (December, 1969), p. 426. In the case of Fiji this strategy was more ardently adopted by both major parties especially in the national contests. There was no indication that the parties at any time felt endangered in the political sense by the sectional stance of the FIP.

In the case of Fiji a fundamental explanation is that both the Alliance and the NFP have attempted to develop on national rather than sectional lines. One technique employed by both parties has been to frame their appeal on the basis of non-sectional issues.

Land and Common Roll. Fiji is an agricultural country with about four-fifths of the land owned by the native Fijians who are 40% of the population. Since much of the leased land is used by the numerically dominant Indians for cane planting, many Fijians fear the introduction of a common electoral roll could lead to alterations in land tenure.²⁶⁵

In the 1972 election such sectionally-based issues were avoided by both parties whenever possible or were framed on the basis of national interest. In regard to land, for example, the Fiji Nation, organ of the ruling Alliance party, ran the following item in February, 1972:

At a time when new attitudes are being adopted towards the much discussed question of land...it might be an opportune moment to consider the whole question of new land legislation in as much as it concerns not only the speculator, but the fullest possible utilization of land for the national good by the citizens of this country.

The Alliance also observed that land ownership and the questions of compensation for improved land were adequately treated in the Constitution.

²⁶⁵ Alley suggests the more equitable proposition that "...commercial jealousy lends itself more readily as a generalization underpinning European hostility to the introduction of a common roll than any explanation governing Fijian fears" in "Independence for Fiji: Recent Constitutional and Political Developments," op. cit., p. 180.

The NFP emphasized "utilization" rather than "ownership," and attempted to incorporate Fijian interests in its proposals. Evidence of this is in a policy speech prepared by the President of the NFP:

On the question of land policy may I say that the National Federation Party has proved it does not intend to destroy anyone's land rights. We are seeking to enhance them. We were the first to question economic backwardness of tauveis in a forthright manner; to question why when they own four-fifths of the land, they are the poorest. We say to our tauvei brothers; we will protect you; we will enhance your ownership of land; we will assist you to use your land for the good of your country.

The FIP was more aggressively patriotic. It demanded "an immediate return of all Crown and Freehold lands in Fiji to the rightful Native owners with the present holders being given priority by the Native owners to lease."²⁶⁶ A chauvinistic approach was preferable to "hiding behind the skirt of multi-racialism," the FIP President assured me.

What could have been a volatile and divisive sectional issue in the election was overshadowed, however, by the so-called Lambasa letter, a personal letter written in 1967 by the President of the Indian Alliance and Cabinet Minister to an Alliance supporter in the Lambasa area. The contents of the letter were interpreted by some Indian leaders of the NFP as an Indian Alliance promise of 'land for votes,' and copies were reproduced and sold by the NFP during the election. The obvious division among Indian political leaders significantly replaced

²⁶⁶ pasifika, January, 18, 1972.

the traditional sectional lines of strain over this issue in previous elections.

Common roll or "one man, one vote" has also been a potentially divisive issue in the history of Fiji politics. In the past NFP demands for a common roll system of elections were viewed by most non-Indians, particularly Europeans, as an attempt at Indian numerical domination of the legislature. Any public debate on the issue might have aroused deep emotional response from the non-Indian sections, no doubt hindering the NFP's attempt to obtain support from the Fijian and General electorates. Given this condition, the NFP avoided discussion of the issue whenever possible²⁶⁷ or directed the public's attention to more substantive national issues as economic and social development. To provide an instance: after addressing the NFP election meeting in the Navua area, the President invited questions from the audience. He was asked to elaborate on common roll and land tenure. After a short pause he said: "No one has questioned me on rising food prices."

The Alliance also developed a flexible approach to the issue. Several months before the election the Fiji Nation (2nd February issue, 1972) wrote:

The sincerity of persons who hold opinions against common roll is not being called into question just as the sincerity

²⁶⁷For example, a NFP Taukei committee member told me that the party had advised his committee to skirt the common roll and land tenancy issues whilst campaigning at the village level.

of the advocates of such a system is not doubted...the Alliance Party and Government have had a consistent policy on common roll. A policy which has stated clearly the very real reservations that the Party has about such a system, but that in the spirit of 'give and take', they would be prepared at some time to test the theory in the field of local government.

Shortly afterwards, the Urban Local Government Bill was passed, providing for common roll in all municipal elections.

Interviews suggest that new attitudes on common roll may be emerging. For example, most of the Alliance candidates (both Indian and Fijian) interviewed felt the introduction of common roll was "only a matter of time." While most Independents avoided the issue, the FIP candidates were mixed in their views.

Economic and other issues. The NFP's economic policy aimed at the heart of Fiji's post-independence problem. In his policy speech Koya referred to the Government's failure to control inflation. He promised to abolish the basic tax, establish a minimum living wage, nationalize basic industries, and end foreign economic domination. The theme of "neo-colonialism" was also emphasized by the FIP. The Alliance countered with reiterations of its past achievements in the field. It argued that Government sponsorship of a consumer council, a committee to consider inflation, and a program of import substitution would ensure eventual success in the battle against inflation.

Another issue of the campaign was related to the sugar industry. Following the Denning award of 1970, in which both major parties played a major role, Fiji's canegrowers received an improved cane contract price. But the unstable sugar market and the debts incurred by growers have continued to plague the industry during the

post-independence period. Among other things, the Alliance promised to continue the small loans scheme, while the NFP pledged to establish an Agricultural Bank for the purpose of providing financial assistance to farmers at low interest rates.

The NFP also promised to introduce free and compulsory education immediately. The Alliance said they were just as dedicated to this policy and were taking practical steps to achieve it.

Finally, the NFP raised the question of Fiji's political status. It revived the idea that Fiji should become a Republic with a Fijian replacing the Queen as Head of State. This was no doubt intended to attract Fijian votes since the essentially sectional FIP also aimed to replace the Queen's representative with a Fijian. Nevertheless, the NFP's stance was obviously incompatible with its professed multisectional ideology and was to prove embarrassing for the party later in the election.

Campaigning

The campaign lasted six weeks. During this time multisectional political meetings were held in principal villages and towns throughout the Dominion. Party leaders were generally the main speakers at these meetings, although most of the leading candidates also participated in constituencies other than their own. In this way sectional and national constituency candidates, varying in their approach, political capabilities, and sectional background, campaigned jointly in the final weeks of the election.

Both parties attempted to project a multisectional image and to identify with their mixed audiences at these meetings. For example, Fijian candidates sponsored by the Alliance usually began their campaign speech with a traditional Hindi greeting. They acknowledged that the opposition party was originally formed to protect Indian interests, but argued that the latter's basic rights and full citizenship status were now assured by the Constitution.²⁶⁸

NFP candidates addressed their audiences as "Indian and Fijian brothers." NFP Fijian candidates attempted to placate any fear the prospective Fijian voter might have in voting for the party. They said, "The Federation will not drive you into the sea as the Alliance would have you believe. Be brave enough to change. Fear is a disease. Let it be erased forever when you vote for the National Federation Party." The Indian candidates, many of whom spoke in Fijian, vigorously denied that the party was "for Indians only."

The Alliance candidates pledged to continue their policy of multisectional harmony. Their spokesmen pointed to the anomalies manifested in the NFP's approach to non-sectionalism. Firstly, the NFP's intention to set up a Republic with a Fijian permanently installed as Head of State was discriminatory. Secondly, as avowed representatives of all races, the leading members of the party should have forsaken their sectional nominations and contested the national seats. National candidates, it will be recalled, sought support from voters of all sections while sectional candidates derived their support from members of their own community. (The stance taken by the leading candidates

²⁶⁸ Since the 1968 by-election the Alliance has been very keen "to indicate to the Indians that we as a party are vitally interested in their welfare." The Alliance Report on District Councils, September 15, 1969.

of the NFP to contest the sectional seats is one of the more puzzling aspects of the election.) And finally, the NFP failed to secure candidates (particularly Fijians) for 23% of the constituencies. Campaigning under the slogan "Peace, Progress, and Prosperity,"²⁶⁹ the Alliance warned that the opposition offered "drastic and irresponsible" policies which, if implemented, could "bankrupt" the country.

Defining their policies in local terms the NFP candidates appealed to the material interests of the voter--a minimum wage, cheaper foodstuffs, rent control, provision of a new road or bridge, water supply, an outboard motor, or a market for local products. Like the Alliance, the NFP launched a campaign designed to provoke the voter; "Anyone who votes for the Alliance is putting a match to his own home." Finally, they asked prospective voters to compare the political capabilities and personal qualities of their candidates with those of the Alliance.

Although the influence of sectional appeal was less prevalent in 1972 than in previous campaigns, there was plenty of contradictory evidence. For example, some Indian Alliance candidates recalled the violence that followed the 1968 Indian sectional by-election. To many Fijians the defeat of the Alliance-sponsored Indian candidates in that election had represented NFP monopoly of

²⁶⁹ The slogan proved so popular that in some districts the NFP and some Independents included it in their posters, pamphlet materials and campaign speeches.

the Indian vote. The Indian Alliance now implied that Fijian retribution was a possibility if their candidates lost the election in 1972. The NFP, on the other hand, launched a campaign that challenged the credibility of the Indian Alliance. Some of its Indian sectional candidates also warned that Indian viewpoints would be ignored in a political party dominated by "white foreigners."

The FIP and the NFP's Taukei committee also attempted to emphasize sectional matters in their campaigns. In some villages, for example, the FIP distributed pamphlets that described how Fijian land was illegally acquired by Europeans in the 1870s. Like the Taukei committee, the FIP opposed European control of the Alliance in general and the Fijian Association in particular. In their view Fijians were "second-class citizens in their own country," and Fiji was "a paradise of the white man."²⁷⁰

Many candidates canvassed from door-to-door. Within the confines of the home the candidates would "abrade" their rivals and generate support for themselves on the basis of status, regional, and subsectional loyalties--Muslim against Indian, local against foreign-born, villager against government minister or urban-based politician, and so on.

²⁷⁰ This attitude stems from the limitations which are put on the activities of some Fijians and Indians by a powerful minority European group. Many articles and editorials printed between 1971 and 1972 in the Pacific Review, and the Pasifika (unofficial organs of the NFP) make the same point. Significantly, the FIP singled out these newspapers for outlining their position and campaign statements.

Having reviewed, however summarily, the sectional relevance of the campaign, the 1972 election it should be recalled, was characterized by a greater degree of cross-sectional co-operation and interaction than ever before. These were not limited to political rallies but were also conspicuous in the campaign headquarters of both major parties. In these generally well organized headquarters the day-to-day tasks of running the campaign were shared by Fijian and Indian candidates and campaign committee members, particularly in the national contests.

While the Government's Rural Development Plan provides a framework for cooperation between members of the various sections, some committees continued to divide on political lines. Nevertheless, in many canefarming districts the Alliance was able to garner support from Indian and Fijian farmers for its campaign activities. According to some informants, this demonstration of cross-sectional cooperation was in marked contrast to previous elections. The presence of Indians outside the Alliance sheds in many polling stations was regarded by informants as "a good sign." Similarly, many Fijians used the NFP sheds.

Campaign activities reached a peak in the final days of the election. As the voting got under way, many candidates stood outside their respective sheds welcoming prospective voters, while tireless campaign workers pinned party badges on them, checked their voting numbers, handed them their ballot papers, and directed them to voting booths, where their ballots were marked in full secrecy. Voting was quiet and well-organized. There was relatively little excitement, and on the crucial day no crowd gathered outside to hear the results.

PLATE VI

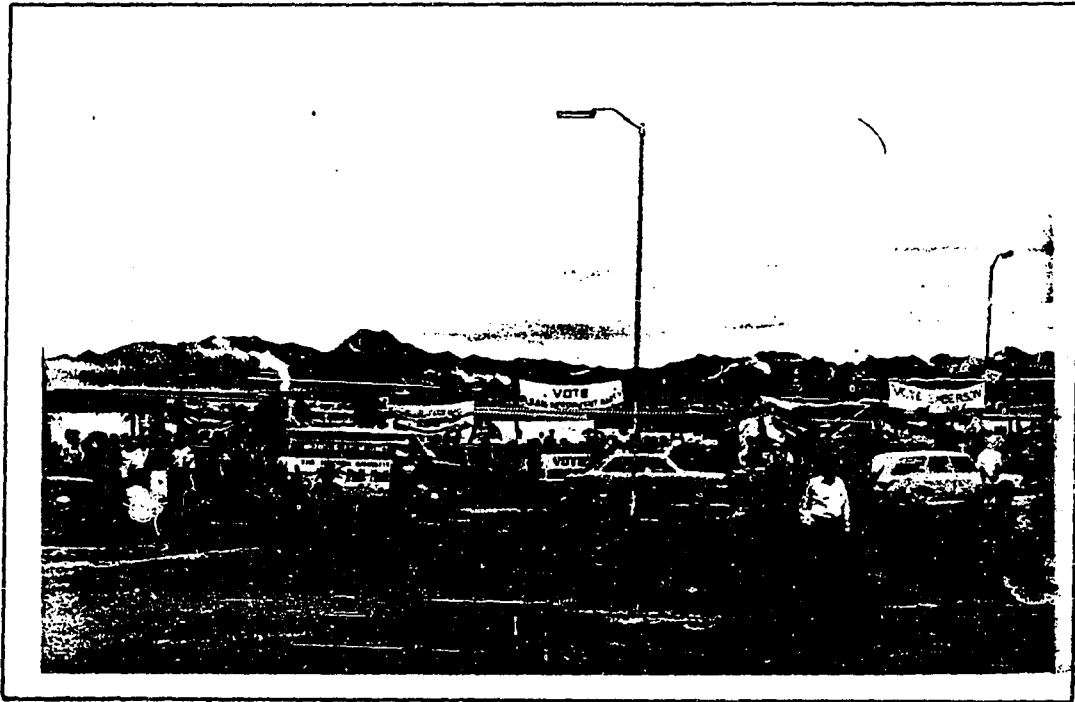


Figure 13

A Polling Station in Suva



Figure 14

Fijian Supporters of the National Federation Party



Figure 15

Raiwanga Polling Station



Figure 16

Alliance Campaign Workers Pinning
Party Badges on Voters

The Results

On Sunday afternoon, April 30, barely nineteen hours after the last ballot was cast, the Alliance captured its twenty-seventh seat to ensure its return to power. All told, the party won thirty-three of the fifty-two seats in the new House of Representatives; the NFP gained the remaining nineteen seats. None of the FIP or Independent candidates was elected, and most (13) lost their deposits.

Although the NFP performed less well than expected,²⁷¹ its position was strengthened as a result of the election. Whereas in 1966 the NFP polled only 25% of the popular vote and the Alliance won 75%, in 1972 the NFP polled 36.5% as compared to 64.5% polled for the Alliance.²⁷² The Alliance also lost some support for its Fijian and General candidates, but significantly gained more support for its Indian candidates as compared to 1966;

Table 44

Sectional Background of Successful Candidates 1966*-1972

	Indian		Fijian		General	
	1966	1972	1966	1972	1966	1972
Alliance	25%	31.8%	100%	86.4%	100%	87.5%
NFP	75	68.2	-	13.6	-	12.5

* Alliance figures for 1966 include independent candidates who supported the party.

²⁷¹ The NFP was confident of winning the election with twenty-eight seats, while the Prime Minister and Leader of the Alliance was confident of a majority of between six to ten seats. One political correspondent for the local daily even more conservatively narrowed the Prime Minister's prediction to between four and six seats.

²⁷² This is partly because the new constitution provides for an enlarged House in 1972. However, the NFP contested only 40% of the available seats.

Lack of space precludes a district by district analysis of the election, but the obvious features of the results will be summarized. The results followed a similar pattern to that of previous elections, with the sectional constituencies once again reflecting the traditional voting strength of both major political parties. The NFP captured all twelve Indian sectional seats, polling 74.56% of the valid votes cast as compared to 24.22% cast for the Indian Alliance. On the other hand, the NFP Fijian candidates lost all six of the Fijian sectional seats contested, polling 2.03% as compared to 83.42% for the Fijian Association (i.e., Alliance). All the General sectional candidates sponsored by the Alliance were returned with comfortable majorities. The FIP and the Fijian independent candidates together gained less than 15% of the votes.

With regard to the national constituencies, the Alliance captured a total of eighteen seats (seven of the ten Indian, seven of the ten Fijian, and four of the five General National seats). The NFP won the remaining three Indian, three Fijian, and one General, or a total of seven seats.

Table 45

Seats Won by the Alliance and the
National Federation Party

	General Communal Roll Seats	Fijian Communal Seats	Indian Communal Seats	Total
Alliance	3*	12*	-	15
NFP	-	-	12	12
	General National Roll Seats	Fijian National Seats	Indian National Seats	
Alliance	4	7	7	18
NFP	1	3	3	7
Total				52

* Includes one unopposed seat.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine with certainty the extent to which each section supported the various parties in the national contests. Comparative analysis of the electoral data, however, can provide some rather tenuous assumptions. Closer examination of the results in the National contests suggests that traditional political (i.e., sectional) preferences were modified. In some national constituencies, for example, the Alliance received as much as 40% of the Indian vote as compared to 24.22% received in the Indian sectional contests. It also captured five seats (two Indian, two Fijian, and one General) in constituencies inhabited predominantly by Indians. Significantly, the successful candidates attributed their victory to support received from the Indian electorate. In another predominantly Indian national constituency the Alliance candidates were barely defeated by about 53% of the votes.

Similarly, the NFP's share of Fijian votes in some national constituencies is roughly estimated at about 10%, as compared to 2.03% received in the Fijian sectional contests.

Obviously, the cross-voting system enabled the Alliance and the NFP, respectively, to receive relatively more support from the Indian and Fijian electorate in national constituencies than from members of the same sections in sectional constituencies. The cross-voting system opportunely provided both major parties with an increased scope for widening their bases of support .

But despite their avowed goal of political homogeneity or integration, plenty of evidence indicated that both parties shared the fundamental belief that sectional voting would persist in the election.

For this reason, the leading candidates of both major political parties relied on their traditional areas of voting strength to ensure their return to power.²⁷³ One consequence of this strategy was that candidates were unevenly matched in terms of political capabilities and personal influence in both types of constituencies.

On reconsidering the sectional constituencies, one finds that in the Indian communal contest almost all of the Indian Alliance candidates compared less favorably with their NFP rivals. Conversely, the NFP Fijian candidates compared less favorably with the Fijian Association candidates, many of whom are high ranking officials of the Association.

In the national contests six of the seven successful Indian Alliance candidates are professional politicians, the seventh is a prominent trade unionist.²⁷⁴ In contrast, most of the NFP-sponsored candidates were relatively unknown to the electorate. Furthermore, all the prominent NFP Fijian candidates ran in constituencies with a sizable Indian population.

With the advantage of twenty/twenty hindsight it is reasonably certain that the NFP might have gained six or seven additional seats, thus tying the election, had some of its leading candidates contested the marginal national constituencies. Conversely, although perhaps less successfully, the Alliance might also have increased its present majority by employing a similar strategy.

²⁷³ Some Alliance candidates were notable exceptions. Significantly, however, their behavior was described in terms of "acting in the national interest."

²⁷⁴ The Alliance appears to have received some support from organized labor. Two of their successful candidates are prominent trade unionists. Another prominent trade unionist standing as an independent was defeated. Of the NFP's three unionists running the election only one won a seat.

In view of these facts, it is evident that sectional salience in an election of this type is extremely difficult to determine without precise data. While sectional affiliation continued to be a major organizing principle for some political elites, voting behavior (especially Indian voting behavior) was not simply the product of the machinations of sectional political leaders but of a sectional system of election which offered the electorate relatively less possibility of political choice. This applies in particular to the Indian section. Most political observers (and party leaders in Fiji) continue to measure the extent of sectional voting in terms of the parties' performance in sectional elections. This is misleading because (1) in a sectional contest individuals vote for or against candidates belonging to their particular section; (2) one political consequence of a sectional election system is sectionalism. Politicians are more likely to enhance the political relevance of sectional affiliation when purporting to be the sole voice of the section they wish to represent. The parties' attempt to develop in this election an ideology that cuts across sectional boundaries cannot by itself reduce the political importance of sectional affiliation. Unhappily, the combined cross-voting and sectional system leads only to ambiguity and ambivalence. The result of this election therefore cannot be explained in terms of sectional affiliation.

Conclusion

Political change in many multisectional societies is generally

accompanied by instability and violence.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the most recent political change in Fiji was remarkably peaceful and free of incidents. A partial effect of the election was the generation of greater cross-sectional political cooperation and participation than ever before. Not only were Fijians and other non-Indians actual candidates for the NFP, but for the first time, in such proportions,²⁷⁶ the party actively sought the 'non-Indian' vote. Despite the election set-back the NFP has pledged to continue its attempts to attract greater Fijian support. In that case, with three Fijians already elected to office by the party, less conservative Fijian views will be accommodated and the possibility of totally sectional parties such as the FIP emerging is lessened.

The Alliance, for its part, described the election as "a people's victory" and a triumph for its policy of multisectional harmony. The Fijian Prime Minister's wish "to see more Indian faces" in government has been realized. Indian values may be given greater representation than ever before.

Table 46

Sectional Composition of Lower House
1966-1972

	Indian	Fijian	General
1966	33.3%	39.0%	27.7%
1972	42.3	42.3	15.4

²⁷⁵ The problem is generally associated with the struggle for power between members of different "cultural groups." See L. Despres, Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

²⁷⁶ The NFP sponsored a record number of Fijian candidates in the election, fifteen as compared to one in 1966.

It would be misleading, however, to see in these new conditions evidence of increasing national integration or the creation of a single national society. They merely reaffirm that the combined cross-voting and sectional roll system of election helps to generate ambiguity and ambivalence that tend to affect elite-mass relationships. Barring any major changes in party organization (e.g., coalition)²⁷⁷ or in the system of election, these two distinctive features of the election, namely, ambiguity and ambivalence, will no doubt continue, at least for some time. However, multisectional social integration is not lacking between Indians and Fijians; evidence has been provided to suggest that social integration and political integration may vary independently.

²⁷⁷ Immediately after the election the Fiji Nation ran the following: "Coalition may be as dead as the proverbial doornail, but it could not be conceivably wrong for such a matter to be approached on an all party basis. One immediate advantage that comes to mind is that it would serve the opposition with an opportunity to demonstrate, in some way, the genuineness of their laudable sentiments expressed during the general election campaign that has just come to an end," (2nd May issue, 1972).

CHAPTER 13

Summary and Conclusions

Pluralism in Suva is the central problem to which this study has been addressed. Pluralism has been defined as a condition of mutually exclusive activities at both the local and national levels of society. Specifically, it was suggested that pluralism exists (1) when members of a section have more in common with one another than with members of other sections in the sense that the activities in which they engage are valid only for them, and (2) when such activities are organized on a national basis.²⁷⁸ In addition to identifying the extent of pluralism in Suva it has been equally important to indicate whether social activities were becoming more mutually exclusive, common, or shared. The words "pluralization" and "depluralization" indicate this alternative sense of pluralism as a process. The conditions making for pluralization or deppluralization, and the consequences of participation in the named types of social activity at both the local and national levels were described in the preceding pages. In this chapter I will limit discussion mainly to some of the results of using a modified approach to pluralism rather than attempt a complete summary.

Although this study has focused on the city of Suva, it was necessary as a result of the definition of pluralism to include the national perspective in the analysis. Furthermore, the national perspective provided a comparative basis for examining the extent of

²⁷⁸ Cf. p. 5.

pluralism in Suva. Thus, in terms of demographic balance it was noted that in comparison to most rural areas Suva's major sections, especially Indians and Fijians, have a more even intersectional distribution or relative proportional parity.²⁷⁹ Demographic imbalance in the rural areas is due in part to the sectional differentiation of rural occupations. One may contrast, for example, the widely dispersed Fijian villages in which the majority of its inhabitants engage in subsistence agriculture with the sugargrowing coastal areas where the population is heavily Indian. But such demographic bases of pluralism are gradually being transformed. It was noted, for instance, that many rural Fijians are becoming increasingly involved in specialized agriculture, including the predominantly Indian activity of sugargrowing. Such changes in the pattern of rural economic activities may involve corresponding changes in spatial distribution and in intersectional relations, for informants were unanimous in citing the extent of cooperation between Indians and Fijians in the rural political campaign of 1972. And at least one writer has pointed to increased understanding, cooperation, and friendship between Indians and Fijians

²⁷⁹ In some developing countries the unequal allocation of development funds to rural or urban areas may enhance pluralism when one of the major sections is predominantly resident in one of these areas while the others are not. See, for example, Despres, *op. cit.*, p. 245; and Enloe, *op. cit.*, p. 181. Such a condition of pluralism is not present in Fiji because not only are the majority of Indians and Fijians rural-oriented, they are also the two numerically predominant sections in Suva and in other urban centers of the Dominion.

in sectionally mixed rural areas.²⁸⁰

But Suva is perhaps the only location in the Dominion in which social change is easily identifiable. Various processes described in this study as contributing to depluralization include rural-urban migration and settlement, involvement in the urban-industrial economy, and participation in such typically urban-centered activities as trade unions, political parties, and other types of voluntary associations. In most cases the source or condition for such transformations is in the presence of a third section (e.g., the European), and/or in the degree of heterogeneity e.g., status (labor?) divisions in one or more sections.

Let us first look at rural-urban migration and settlement. Although only a small proportion (12%) of the Dominion's inhabitants live in Suva, it is growing rapidly. Migrant members of the Fijian and Indian sections come to the capital for various reasons but their subsequent pattern of adjustment to the urban environment is substantially similar. Instead of a territorial clustering of these sections (peri-urban Fijian villages are an exception) most Indians and Fijians are dispersed in a geographical as well as a social sense. The multi-sectional neighborhood provides the basis for greater cooperation and the development of intimate intersectional relations. Such relations were no doubt reinforced, in the early days, by discriminatory building regulations which tended to treat Indians and Fijians alike.

²⁸⁰ Belshaw, Under the Ivi Tree: Society and Economic Growth in Rural Fiji, p. 283.

But the relationship between sectional differentiation and demographic balance in Suva's major residential areas is no longer so clear cut. As some occupational roles became increasingly multi-sectional rather than distinctly sectional with reference to Europeans and non-Europeans, socio-economic status²⁸¹ began to have an important effect on sectional distribution in the various residential areas. Thus, the pattern of residential mobility and settlement is becoming increasingly similar especially if the members of the major sections share the same status. But such changes have come about only in recent times because of the long period that status discontinuity was maintained.²⁸²

With the exception of a few urban-occupational roles most Fijians and Indians seem to participate in an economic structure that is, to use Despres' words, "uniformly valid for all," that is, shared. Despres, it will be recalled, suggested the following criteria for ascertaining the extent of pluralism: "Is the structure of the institutional activity valid only for particular groups (that is, mutually exclusive)? Is it valid for all groups but modified by some (that is, common)? Or, is the structure of the institutional activity uniformly valid for all groups (that is, shared)?"²⁸³ These criteria imposed problems of interpretation. Firstly, Despres used

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Cf. p. 15.

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Cf. Chapter 4, especially p. 90, and Chapter 6, especially the description of the Fiji Public Service Association.

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Cf. Chapter 1, and Despres, op. cit., p. 23.

his criteria in terms of sections, that is, his "groups" refer to sections alone; and secondly, he used his criteria for the comparison of only two sections in Guiana, namely Indians and Africans. In terms of the Suva data, the structure of economic activities apparently is (1) mutually exclusive with reference to the majority of Europeans and non-Europeans (Fijians and Indians); (2) common or valid for most Fijians and Indians but "modified" by some with reference to low and high status Fijians and Indians (as shown, for example, by the clearly different attitudes to, and distinct patterns of, participation in trade union activities by members of these two "status groups"); and (3) shared or uniformly valid for most Fijians and Indians, that is, the majority engage in similar economic activities and share the same preferences and goals. Such ambiguity that arises from the use of Despres' criteria results mainly from their limited application to members of particular sections only. The same criteria can and should be used to measure the extent of heterogeneity in a section. For example, in economic activities, while most Europeans and some Indians (especially Gujeratis) and Fijians (that is, those involved in strictly Fijian commercial enterprises) engage in mutually exclusive activities these activities are "modified" by some of the sectional members. In other words, each section has individuals who express distinct preferences and goals despite their membership in the sectional organization. This proposition was demonstrated among Europeans by the decreasing social solidarity in the European Employers' Consultative Association and the European Civil Servants

Association and the extent of the commercial and professional jealousies, (most commonly expressed in the European social clubs). It was also demonstrated among some wealthy Gujeratis and Indian businessmen and by factionalism in such Indian business organizations as the Indian Chamber of Commerce. In the same way, some Fijian sectional organizations and social movements with economic aims (e.g., Viti Kabani, Mbula Tale, and the Fijian Chamber of Commerce) developed not only in reaction to other sections (e.g., the European) but in response to deep internal divisions within their own mutually exclusive organizations (e.g., the Fijian Administration). A similar argument may be made for the formation of the Fijian Independent Party, Western Democratic Party, and the Fijian National party in the political field.

The extent of heterogeneity within a section may modify traditional differences between sections and foster the growth of cross-sectional alliances. Such was the case when Fijians enlisted the aid and sympathy of the Indian section in their struggles against the Fijian Administration, and when the predominantly Indian National Federation Party successfully incorporated some Fijian political parties by making appropriate accommodation in its leadership.

But leaving the problem of criteria aside for the moment, what were some of the conditions making for depluralization in the economic field? And what are the consequences of participation in common, or shared economic activities? Several factors fostered depluralization. One was industrial unrest among Indian laborers in the 1920s which allowed some Fijians to enter occupational

niches Indians had previously occupied. Also, Suva boomed, especially after World War II. More and more Indians and Fijians migrated to Suva to take part in this economic expansion. Although the creation of artificial barriers to rural-urban migration, limited the socio-economic advance of the Fijian section, such sectional organizations as the Fijian Development Institute by encouraging Fijians to develop commercial and industrial skills made for a more even sectional distribution in urban economic activities. Localization and the officially stated policy of multisectional equality of opportunity are two more counter factors to economic pluralism with reference to Indians and Fijians.

In conjunction with other factors, shared economic activities have led to increased understanding, cooperation, and friendship between Fijian and Indian workmates, not only at the place of work but outside it. The workplace involves them in new sets of relations. For example, it promotes the development of cross-cutting ties between members of different sections who share similar socio-economic status. But the urban work-setting is only part of the total urban social environment. The social relations and situations of the workplace affect and are affected by other spheres of social activity. Trade union activity provides a good example. Trade unions were at first sectionally or mutually exclusive partly because of sectional tensions generated in the political field and partly because in the early days low-status Indians entered into competitive relationships with low-status Fijians. But from the early 1960s trade unionism assumed the function of integrating the two major sections. Nowadays, trade union activities

are mostly shared. One reason perhaps has been the growth of a working-class "consciousness" that has superceded sectional salience as a criterion of trade union recruitment. Fijians and Indians have joined organizations which appear to them more rewarding than organizations which have little to recommend themselves other than sectional affiliation. The multisectional (or more correctly bisectional) Fiji Public Servants' Association (FPSA) was formed because of these conditions and also in reaction to the sectional European Civil Servants' Association. Tracing the growth of the FPSA showed how participation in common activities can lead to participation in shared activities. The growing division between some trade unions on the basis of status-affiliation, as shown by tensions developing between Fijian and Indian civil servants in the FPSA, on the one hand, and between Fijian and Indian lower-paid workers in the Municipal Workers' Union, on the other hand, perhaps indicates the next stage of organizational development.

Evidence has been advanced to indicate that similar interests and goals may in the end lead the two sectionally exclusive and parallel teachers' organizations to amalgamate.²⁸⁴ These two organizations present an interesting phenomenon with reference to our notion of pluralism. They show, firstly, that mutually exclusive activities (and organizations) can coexist, at least temporarily, despite shared preferences and goals (thus suggesting another criterion to those cited by Despres; and secondly, that the extent of sectional

²⁸⁴ Cf. Chapter 7.

membership is only one variable of pluralism. The Fiji Teacher's Union is of special interest because it provides further evidence that mutually exclusive national activities (and organizations) can themselves be internally divided. The General Elector's Association is another example.²⁸⁵

The discussion of religious activities showed that Indians do not tend to form a unitary section at either the local or national levels. The division into Indian religious subsectional organizations, many of which are national in scope, provides the evidence for this proposition. Moreover, many of these Indian subsectional national organizations (e.g., the Fiji Muslim League, and the Sanatan Dharma Pratinidhi Sabha) are themselves internally divided. Factors responsible for this state of affairs include the intrusion of political parties into Indian religious activities and the competition for office. Despres would probably approach the subject of religious activities in Fiji quite differently. He would perhaps emphasize the religious differences between sections at the expense of ignoring the extent to which each section is internally and externally divided.²⁸⁶ While it is true that religious activities with reference to the major sections in Fiji are mutually exclusive, deep internal religious divisions in the Indian section have perhaps

²⁸⁵ Cf. pp. 267-271.

²⁸⁶ Despres' discussion of religion in Guiana, for example, is based wholly on "differences between Hindu (Indian) and Christians (Guianese) religious activities." Ibid., p. 97.

precluded it from thinking and acting as a sectionally united group.²⁸⁷

The incidence of mixed marriages is increasing because of a Marriage Ordinance that is uniformly applicable to all sections and also because of the extent of intersectional mixing that is characteristic of Suva's urban environment. The growth of Suva, geographically and socially, has spurred associational life; the number of multi-sectional voluntary associations is increasing little by little. Because of Suva's transitory stage of social development activities in some associations are mutually exclusive while activities in others are common or shared. But another feature of the city's associational life is the type of membership that combines sectional and non-sectional associations. As previously noted, an individual who belongs to non-sectional or a combination of non-sectional and sectional voluntary associations also generally tends to have more informal and intimate social contacts with members of other sections. With reference to status differentiation, however, associational activity serves to differentiate members of distinct status groups. In other words, one function of most voluntary associations is to link the activities of different status groups separately. Many low status Fijians and Indians share much in common with respect to the type of membership and association they belonged to.²⁸⁸ Conversely,

²⁸⁷ Cf. Chapter 8, p. 198.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Chapter 9.

many high status members of the three sections have much in common with respect to the nature and extent of their associational affiliations. That more Indians and Fijians are not linked with Europeans in voluntary association activity is partly because the majority do not share the same status as Europeans.

Finally, status also affects to some extent political attitudes and behavior, especially with reference to the Indian section. Most Indians and an increasing number of Fijians perceive political parties in terms of status affiliation. The data on voting behavior demonstrates this proposition. And while most Fijians are consistently supporters of the Alliance they look upon it and its activities as uniformly valid (that is, shared) for all sections in contrast to the opposition National Federation party which they perceive as a sectional organization.

The country had for a while maintained competitive sectional political parties. The growth of these political parties corresponded with the development of sectional interests.²⁸⁹ But the relationship between sectional interests and political parties, it seems to me, is becoming less clear. This is partly because the internal divisions in most sectionally and mutually exclusive national organizations (e.g., the GEA, Fijian Association, NFP) have led to the formation of new alliances and new organizations which are non-sectional. Also, the sectional Fijian Association developed more as the result of a "rigidly organized struggle group" attempting to contain the potentially

²⁸⁹ Cf. Chapter 11, especially pp. 256-284.

divisive forces within its own organization than as a reaction to the threat of political dominance by other sections. In short, most political parties which developed in Fiji did not remain sectionally exclusive for very long. Partly because of these reasons, it is not surprising, then, that the extent of sectional relevance in the 1972 General Election was extremely difficult to gauge.

These conclusions raise important questions regarding the concept of pluralism. Most definitions of pluralism as supplied by Despres and others are based on the notion of sectional differentiation. However, it has become increasingly clear that sectioning is not the only way by which individuals in Suva, Fiji have grouped themselves. Thus, despite the fact that in some periods Indians were loosely united in their efforts to better their conditions as members of a common section they have become internally differentiated, especially on the basis of religion, status, and political affiliation. Similarly, Fijians are divided on the basis of dialect, place of origin, and status. Internal divisions have developed among the Europeans as well, especially on the basis of national origin and occupation. That many of these subsections are organized on a national basis not only precludes the formation of national sections (a crucial index of pluralism and pluralization) but it also makes other sections aware of the differences existing within a section.

The present definition of pluralism does not attempt to cover all such types of divisions. But this does not mean that a satisfactory definition of pluralism would have to be couched in more general terms or used in a wider sense than Despres' definition.

What I am suggesting is that the same criteria used to ascertain the extent of "separation" between sections can and should be used to measure the extent of heterogeneity in a section. In doing so no attempt is made to cover all types of social phenomena but to determine, firstly, the changing pattern of differentiation, for example, from mutually exclusive activities based on sectional affiliation to mutually exclusive activities based on other types of differentiation (e.g., status differentiation), or, in other words, the process of depluralization; and secondly, the bases for such transformations.

I have attempted to show that in Fiji sectional separation (pluralism) and the potentiality for conflict between sections have become modified by the many internal differences found in each of the sections. At the same time, the internal differences within a section have been modified by the new or existing differences between sections.²⁹⁰ To put it another way, intrasectional cleavages preclude the separate integration of these sections nationally, and thus reduce the capacity of each to act against the other as corporate groups or national sections. (The relative presence of national subsections can be taken to indicate the extent of intrasectional cleavages in a society.) Such a state of affairs promotes intersectional relations by providing the bases for cross-cutting alliances between sections previously unrelated (e.g., Fijian and Indian organized labor). It prevents alliances along one major line of cleavage, which would occur on the basis of sectional affiliation and tensions which would be likely to

²⁹⁰ Cf. pp. 178-184.

develop from competition between two or three big units. Conversely, intersectional cleavages tend to reduce internal conflicts as evidenced in some of the earlier stages of growth of the two major political parties. This may be an important way of balancing and maintaining the society as a growing concern as one process more or less cancels the impact of the other, although in some periods one type of division tends to supercede the other (e.g., the labor disturbances in Suva in 1959, and the sectional by-election of 1968).

In previous studies of pluralism, the emphasis has been on the amount of separation between two major sections (defined either in terms of numerical, political, or economic dominance).²⁹¹ But when the activities of a third section, namely, the European, is included, as in this study it is evident that in comparison to the European the activities of most Indians and Fijians have been more closely linked and for a greater period of time than is commonly assumed by interested outside observers. Not only does the presence of a third section increase the chances for cross-sectional alliances, but it also provides the two major sections with a common "enemy." Up to this point the major factor contributing to pluralization has been status differentiation between Fijians and Indians, on the one hand, and Europeans, on the other.

²⁹¹ For example, Indians and Africans in Guiana, Despres, op. cit., Malays and Chinese in Malaysia, Enloe, op. cit., and Rabushka, op. cit., Mestizos and Indians in Mexico and Guatemala, van den Berghe, op. cit., 1969.

But what of the future? Would the "removal" (for example, by localization) of the third section lead to pluralization among the two remaining sections? Such a state of affairs is becoming increasingly evident in some former colonial states (e.g., Uganda), where inequalities, notably economic, are highly correlated with sectional affiliation. In contrast, the majority of Fijians and Indians in Fiji are concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments. Recent developments in the country indicate an increasing rate of depluralization in the manner described in this study. For example, a perusal of the local daily one year after completion of fieldwork shows that unity of action among most Fijian and Indian workers in the context of industrial unrest is claiming most of the headlines. In attempting to predict future trends one must also take into account the present government's "pluralistic ideology"--the notion of combining sectional consciousness (mutual appreciation) with greater socio-economic and political interdependence between Fijians and Indians--which may provide a less hazardous base for depluralization.

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

1. HOUSING UNIT TYPE
2. LOCATIONADDRESS
3. OWN OR RENT? (circle one): 1. Owned 2. Renting 3. Other
4. MONTHLY RENTAL/LOAN REPAYMENTS: \$
5. NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THIS HOUSE/FLAT WHO SHARE FACILITIES
6. WHAT IS SHARED? (e.g., toilet, kitchen, etc.)
7. DO YOU OWN A CAR? (circle one): 1. Yes (how many?).....YEAR..... 2. No.
8. DO YOU HAVE A RADIO (circle one): 1. Yes 2. No
9. WHICH PROGRAMME SECTION/S DO YOU LISTEN TO MOST OFTEN (circle one):
 1. English
 2. Fijian
 3. Hindustani
 4. Mostly (E, F or H)
 - and some (E, F or H)
 5. Other
10. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING NEWSPAPERS HAVE YOU READ IN THE PAST WEEK? (circle as many as apply):
 1. Fiji Times
 2. Pacific Times/Pasifika
 3. Volagauna
 4. Nai Lalaikai
 5. Shanti Dut
 6. Nation/Tovata
 7. Any other local or overseas papers
11. MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS (read list):

CREDIT UNION	INTERNATIONAL SER-	TENANT'S ASSN.
TRADE UNION	VICE CLUBS	COMMUNITY ASSN.
PROFESSIONAL ASSN.	COOPERATIVES	PARENT'S/TEACHERS ASSN.
BUSINESS ORGS.	PROVINCIAL ORG.	EX-SERVICEMEN'S ASSN.
SOCIAL CLUBS	RELIGIOUS ORG.	OLD BOYS ASSN.
ATHLETIC/SPORT	CHURCH-AFFILIATED	ANY OTHERS?
YOUTH ORGS.	GROUPS	
CHARITABLE ORGS	POLITICAL ASSOC.	

 1. I do not belong to any (go on to Question 13)
 2. I belong to the following:

FULL NAME	PRIMARY FUNCTION	YEAR JOINED	PRESENT TITLE	ATTENDANCE (in a year)	LAST TIME ATTENDED	ANNUAL DUES
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						

12. WHICH OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS ARE MOST IMPORTANT OR USEFUL TO YOU AND WHY:

13. ARE THERE ANY (OTHER) ORGANIZATIONS YOU WOULD LIKE TO JOIN BUT COULD NOT OR HAVE NOT? (state name and reason)
14. WIFE'S MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
 (same as for Question 11)
15. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES: HOW DO YOU NORMALLY SPEND YOUR TIME OUTSIDE WORKING HOURS? LIST YOUR ACTIVITIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR IMPORTANCE TO YOU, AND STATE WHETHER THIS TIME IS SPENT ALONE, WITH YOUR FAMILY, OTHER RELATIVES, FRIENDS, AND/OR IN ONE OF THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ALREADY MENTIONED?

ACTIVITY
 (in order of importance) TIME SPENT WITH: (check as many as apply)
 ALONE FAMILY (hh mbrs) OTHER REL. FRIENDS VOL. ASSOC.

1.
2.
3.

16. WHICH OF YOUR RELATIVES (NOT LIVING WITH YOU) DO YOU REGULARLY SEE? WHERE DO THEY LIVE? WHAT IS THEIR OCCUPATION? HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU SEE THEM IN A MONTH? (circle one):

1. I see the following regularly:

RELATION	ADDRESS	OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY (monthly average)
1.
2.
3.

2. I do not see them regularly. REASON?

17. HAVE MEMBERS OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS (NOT YOUR RELATIVES) INVITED YOU TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY OF THEIR ACTIVITIES DURING THE PAST MONTH? (OR HAVE YOU INVITED THEM?) ON WHAT OCCASIONS? HOW FREQUENTLY? DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM (E.G., NEIGHBOR, WORK ASSOCIATES - CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY):

GROUP	OCCASIONS	TOTAL PAST MONTH	RELATIONSHIP
1. Chinese/Part Ch.
2. European
3. Fijian
4. Indian
5. Etc.

2. None in past month.

18. GROUP IMAGE: DO YOU FIND THE FOLLOWING GROUPS EASY OR DIFFICULT TO ASSOCIATE WITH IN GENERAL? WHY? (Check and complete):

GROUP	EASY	DIFFI- CULT	BOTH	DON'T KNOW	REASON
1. Chinese/Pt. Ch.					
2. European					
3. Fijian					
4. Indian					
5. Part-European					
6. Pacific Islander.....					
7. Other (state)					

19. VOTING INTENTIONS: WHICH CANDIDATES WILL YOU VOTE FOR IN THE COMING GENERAL ELECTIONS?

1. I do not intend to vote. Reasons
(Go on to Question 21)

2. FOR THE COMMUNAL CONSTITUENCY (circle one representative of his section)

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Fijian Association | 6. Indian Independent |
| 2. Indian Alliance | 7. Fijian Independent |
| 3. General Elector | 8. European Independent |
| 4. NFP Indian | 9. Undecided |
| 5. NFP Fijian | 10. No comment |

3. FOR THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY (circle one Fijian and one Indian rep.)

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Fijian Association | 5. Indian Independent |
| 2. Indian Alliance | 6. Fijian Independent |
| 3. NFP Indian | 7. Undecided |
| 4. NFP Fijian | 8. No comment |

4. FOR THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY (circle one):

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Chinese candidate | 5. Do not intend to vote. |
| 2. European candidate | Reason |
| 3. Part-European candidate | 6. No comment |
| 4. Undecided | |

20. WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR YOUR ANSWER (e.g., party policy, candidates personality, promises, issues):

21. WHAT ARE THE MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ALLIANCE AND THE NFP? (list in order of importance - if no comment leave blank):

ALLIANCE

NFP

22. HAVE YOU REGISTERED AS A VOTER? (circle one): 1. Yes 2. No (reason)

23. PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE TO LOCAL AND NATIONAL CONDITIONS- WHAT MAJOR PROBLEMS DO YOU THINK THE COUNTRY WILL BE FACING IN THE NEXT FIVE TO TEN YEARS? (list in order of importance):

- 1. 1..... 3.....
 2..... 4.....
- 2. Don't know.

24. WHAT WERE SOME OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS YOU HAD TO FACE WHEN YOU FIRST CAME TO SUVA? (If Suva born ask: WHAT PROBLEMS DO YOU HAVE TO FACE AS A CITY RESIDENT?) List in order of importance:

- 1. 1..... 3.....
 2..... 4.....
- 2. None

25. DID ANY INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP OR ORGANIZATION ASSIST YOU WITH HOUSING, FINDING A JOB, ETC?

- 1. Yes (specify what, who, and how?).....
- 2. No.

26. DO YOU BELIEVE SUVA IS A GOOD PLACE TO LIVE IN GENERAL? WHY OR WHY NOT?

- 1. Yes (reason?).....
- 2. No (reason?).....

27. DO YOU PLAN TO LIVE HERE PERMANENTLY? (circle one):

- 1. Yes WHERE? WHY?
- 2. No (moving to other part of city)
- 3. No (returning to country/village of birth).....
- 4. No (moving to other part of Fiji)
- 5. No (migrating to another country)
- 6. Don't know.

28. CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD:

RELATIONSHIP	AGE	SEX	RACIAL GROUP	MARITAL STATUS	RELIG.	B/PLACE P of B	YEARS IN WORKPLACE/ SUVA	WORKPLACE/ SCHOOL
--------------	-----	-----	--------------	----------------	--------	----------------	--------------------------	-------------------

Head								
.....								
.....								
.....								

29. (IF HEAD NOT BORN IN SUVA) REASON FOR COMING TO SUVA

.....

30. WHERE DID YOU LIVE BEFORE COMING TO SUVA? (circle one):
 1. Village (Fiji) 2. Town (Fiji) 3. Outside Fiji.....
31. WHEN WAS THE LAST TIME YOU VISITED YOUR: (state in years/months)
 1. Home town (village)PURPOSE OF VISIT
 2. Wife's villagePURPOSE OF VISIT
32. EDUCATION (in years).....
33. WHAT TYPE OF WORK DO YOU DO? (state precisely).....
34. TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME LAST MONTH (combined household earnings):
 \$
35. CAN YOU CONVERSE IN THE FOLLOWING: (circle as many as apply):
 1. English 2. Fijian 3. Hindustani 4. Other.....
36. (IF CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL ASK)- IF YOU COULD CHOOSE ANY SCHOOL FOR YOUR CHILDREN TO ATTEND WOULD YOU CHOOSE THE SAME ONES?
 1. Yes
 2. No (reason?).....
37. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS ABOUT THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN FIJI?
 (Probe for additional attitudes on multisectional schools, teaching staff, syllabus, school fees, etc.)
 1. Yes
 2. No comments
38. NAME OF HEAD
- NAME OF INTERVIEWER DATE..... TIME.....
- ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

APPENDIX B

Minutes of an Emergency Meeting Held by Technical Staff of the Posts and Telegraphs Department and Members of the Fiji Public Servants Association on November 10, 1971, at 6 P.M., in Suva.

(In the following description of the meeting localization as a unifying factor becomes apparent.)

The Chairman, Mr. S (Indian), opened the meeting with words of welcome. He outlined to the members present that such a meeting did a lot of good in bringing to light issues which otherwise are seldom aired. He then pointed out that the main issue at stake was the disturbing rate in which localization was proceeding in the P & T. He said it was becoming evident that some expatriates were looking down on the locals; that there was a general feeling by some expatriates that locals were destined to serve under them; and that most expatriates had the "unnatural habit" of acting superior, extra-smart, and bossy towards their junior local officers. Mr. S. maintained that these grievances would in future be brought to the attention of Government.

Mr. N (Fijian), said that there were plenty of local officers in the P & T who have sufficient experience and qualification to fill the posts presently occupied by the expatriates. He maintained that the Department has never exerted any effort in the past to transfer such posts into the hands of locals.

Mr. V (Indian) referred to a letter the Association had received from the Secretary for the Public Service in which it was pointed out that expatriate engagement in the P & T was inevitable on account of the technical nature of the work. He disclosed that

while this was partly true some expatriates who were recruited for one specific post were shifted after their arrival to other posts for which locals were available.

The meeting then shifted to the main agenda. The Chairman outlined the circumstances leading to Mr. O's dismissal. Mr. O, a Euro-Tongan, has just received a letter of disciplinary proceedings from the Public Service Commission. The Chairman pointed out that the allegations adduced by Mr. O's department head, a Mr. F (European), were unfounded and unsubstantiated. He indicated that circumstances pointed to Mr. O being victimised by Mr. F for taking a vocal stand on matters relating to a duty roster. He also expressed the possibility that Mr. F might be under the impression that Mr. O was a ringleader and an Association informer.

The members of the Association then entered upon a joint resolution by telling the Chairman that they were willing to stage a lockout in support of Mr. O. They also implored the Association to assist in presenting his case to the Commission. The members suggested that a mass petition be organized and presented to the Government asking for the removal of Mr. F. They stated that a certain Mr. E (European) was removed a few years back after a petition was lodged by members of the P & T staff in Lautoka. They pointed out that Mr. F was a liability to the Department, and that he be asked to terminate his services in view of the fact that he did not have any knowledge of postal systems in Fiji.

The Chairman assured the members that the Association was going to make a detailed submission to the Government of all the anomalies in the P & T. He asked that patience and forbearance should not be overlooked. The meeting terminated at 7 P.M.

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