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THE ROLE OF MIGRATION AND REMITTANCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROTUMA

by

Jason Wesley Ravai Titifanue

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Development Studies

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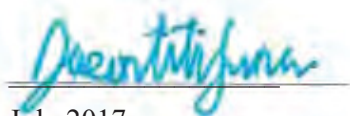
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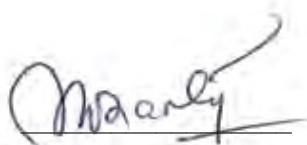
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ABSTRACT

Migration and development are inextricably linked. Migration has existed throughout human history. The focus of this study was to establish the linkages between migration, remittances and development with particular reference to the island of Rotuma.

The socio-economic, cultural and political facets of migration were examined at both the macro and micro level. Historical migration and remittance patterns and key concepts relating to migration and remittance were conceptualised. This guided the household survey carried out in Rotuma. The livelihood and economic activities of Rotumans, as well as reasons for Rotuman migration, and the destination of Rotuman migrants was examined. The study also assesses how remittances have impacted education, health and livelihoods in Rotuma. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies were employed using a triangulation approach. However, the research has a more quantitative orientation. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected from the island of Rotuma, and all seven districts in the island of Rotuma were surveyed. The sample size covered 75 households in the study area.

The study finds that the main driver for Rotuman migration is ‘poverty of opportunity’. Despite the fertility of the island, there is a dearth of socio-economic and educational opportunities. From an early age, Rotumans are encouraged to seek their fortunes beyond Rotuma’s shores. There are more Rotumans living outside Rotuma especially in the Fiji islands and abroad. Remittance from Rotuman migrants has fuelled a consumerist culture with the island of Rotuma being increasingly dependent on imports. The study finds that much of the remittances received in Rotuma are channelled into consumption, with very little being saved or invested for developmental purposes.

The study recommends that more efforts need to be made to facilitate the use of remittances for developmental purposes. There is potential for remittances to assist rural communities in attaining better livelihoods. However, this is unrealised as most

of the remittance money is used for consumption. Greater awareness is needed on the importance of financial literacy for remittance recipient communities. Greater efforts must be made to make banking and financial services more accessible to rural communities.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
CEE	Central and Eastern European
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFID	Department for International Development
EFTPOS	Electronic Funds Transfer at Point Of Sale
EU	European Union
FBoS	Fiji Bureau of Statistics
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIT	Fiji Institute of Technology
FJD	Fiji Dollar
GCIM	Global Commission on Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFCF	Gross Fixed Capital Formation
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation on Migration
KNOMAD	Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration & Development
LAC	Latin America and Caribbean
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MIRAB	Migration, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PIC	Pacific Island Country
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PSIDS	Pacific Small Island Developing States
RFMF	Republic of Fiji Military Forces

RIC	Rotuma Island Council
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SPC	South Pacific Commission
TMO	Telegraphic Money Order
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission For Asia and the Pacific
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
USD	U.S Dollar
USP	University of the South Pacific
WU	Western Union

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Background

Globalisation¹ is increasingly altering the world. In this day and age, states and societies have increasingly become more interconnected. Technological advances have resulted in the streamlining of communications and transport systems. As a direct result of this, the volume of information, capital, goods and services that is moving around the world is higher than at any point in human history. This interconnectedness has extended to the economic realm with countries becoming ever more interconnected and economically interdependent upon each other. This has resulted in a phenomenon that scholars refer to as economic globalisation².

Migration is as old as human history. However, in this interdependent and interconnected world, migration has come to play a crucial role in fostering development in both developed and developing countries. As a result of the expanding global economy, people from around the world have been presented with a multitude of opportunities to travel from their countries to work elsewhere. International migration has come to play a significant role in the economies of many countries with people dwelling in areas lacking development tending to migrate to more developed areas for better education and/or employment. Migration has several socio-economic implications and has the potential to both drive and hinder development³.

Migration plays a prominent role in the economic advancement of many developed and developing countries. In the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and other Middle East

¹ Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann (2006: 5) define globalisation as “a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities.”

² Economic Globalisation as defined by Shangquan (2000: 1) refers to increasing interdependence amongst world economies due to the increasing scale of cross border trade of goods, services capital and technology.

³ For the purpose of this thesis, Development refers to the definition proposed by Chambers (1995: 196) whereby development means ‘good change’ this definition transcends simple economic growth and income and encompasses the concepts of well-being as well as improved quality of life.

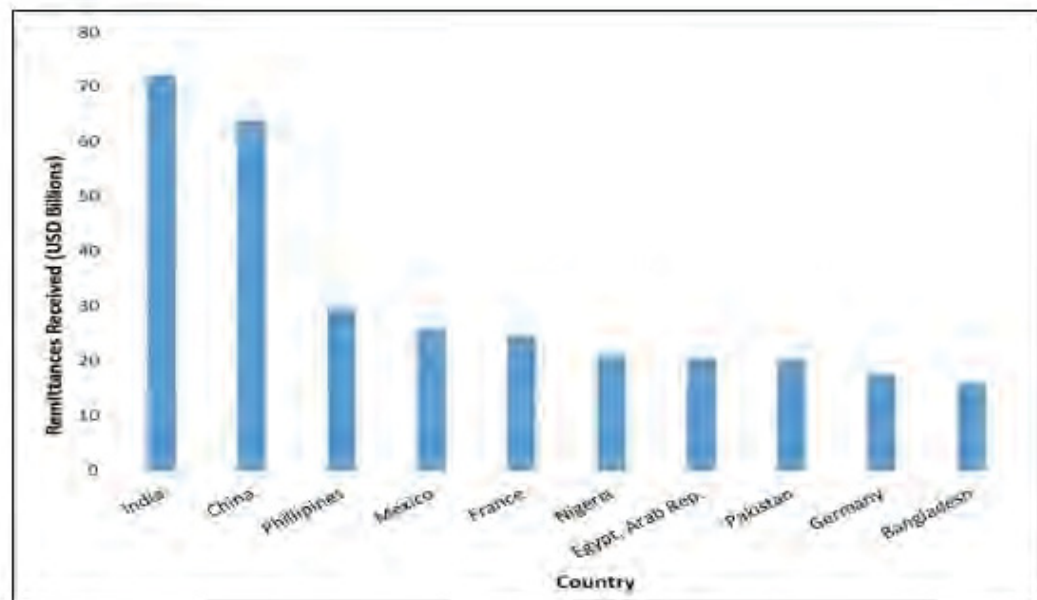
countries, migrant workers from developing nations play an important role in providing manpower and skills to drive development. Such migrant workers tend to remit portions of their earnings back to their home countries and thus provide much needed finance to facilitate development in their home countries. In some developing countries, remittances from migrants make up a significant portion of a country's income to the extent that in some cases it surpasses official developmental aid (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005b). In 1998, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) reported that there were more than 42 million migrant workers around the globe. The total global migrant population across borders are now more than 247 million (KNOMAD, 2016: xi). While astonishingly high, this figure does not take into account the large number of illegal migrants.

Migration trends have risen over the past decade and now various states and supranational bodies have awoken to the many challenges and opportunities presented by international migration. The former UN Secretary General established the Global Commission on International Migration, *“with a mandate to provide the framework for the formulation of a coherent, comprehensive and global response to the issue of international migration”* (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005b: vii). The present day migratory trends have emerged due to migrants seeking to evade inequalities or extreme hardships within their home countries. Such hardships are due to a lack of employment and educational opportunities, inadequate health care systems, and in extreme cases, war and natural calamities. Resultantly, migrants cross borders or migrate within their home countries to locations where they can attain better educational and employment opportunities as they seek to uplift their living standards. Such migrants also tend to remit portions of their earning back to their families or relatives. In developing countries, remittances are viewed as a highly viable source of development finance.

Remittance cash flows have dramatically increased over the past two decades or so. In 1990, remittances received by developing countries totalled about USD 31 billion. By 2000 this had increased to almost USD 77 billion and by 2005 had further increased to reach USD 167 billion (Haas, 2008: 1). Remittances predominantly flow from developed to developing countries. Figure 1.1 clearly demonstrates this trend

showing that the top ten recipients of remittances were primarily from developing countries, and the top ten sources of remittances were mainly developed countries. Remittance flows have continuously increased since then and in 2015, it was reported that remittance flows from developed countries to developing countries, stood at USD 441 billion (KNOMAD, 2016). This growth in remittance flows has led to a resultant increase in the importance of the role of remittances in the economies of many developing countries, comprising of more than 20 per cent of their GDPs (Banga & Sahu, 2010). It can thus be seen that at a global scale, migration and remittances play a significant role in the development of economies and livelihoods, especially in developing countries.

Figure 1.1. Top Ten Remittance Receiving Countries, 2014



Source: KNOMAD, 2016.

Migration trends in the Pacific context have followed a similar pattern to global trends. Migratory trends in the Pacific have reached phenomenal levels with a large number of Pacific Islanders undertaking cross-border migration. Contemporary scholars theorise that the Pacific tradition and history of long voyages and navigation have carried down to this modern age as Pacific islanders continue to migrate within their home countries and across borders. Often, Pacific islanders migrate as a means to help their households and communities by remitting cash and kind back to their

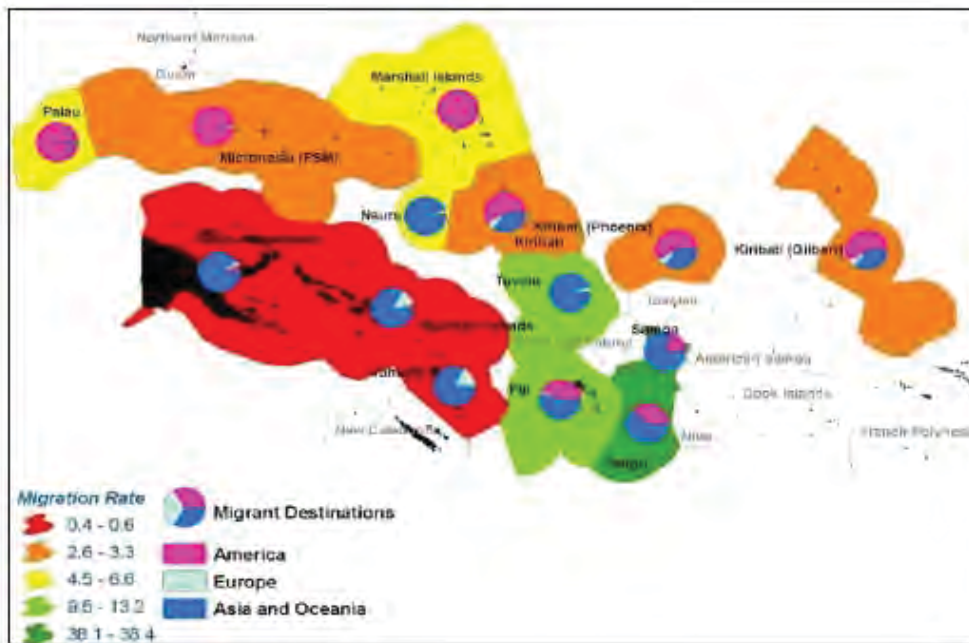
households and communities. Such remittances greatly help in ameliorating the livelihoods of Pacific islanders as well as helping foster developmental activities. In essence, for development to occur in the Pacific, personal livelihoods need to be ameliorated. Migration provides the potential for the improvement of livelihoods, and development. Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in the Pacific have extremely high rates of emigration. A prevalent trend has emerged whereby many Pacific islanders migrate from their home islands to what they perceive as more developed countries. This is done in order to seek and attain higher education and employment.

With increased globalisation, the migration rates of Pacific islanders have significantly increased over the last decade. Migrants tend to move as a means of responding to real and perceived deficiencies in socio-economic opportunities within their islands and consequently migrate to seek better access to education and employment opportunities (Connell, 2006b). Upon migrating to the host countries, migrants often seek to attain higher education and/or employment. Migrants who have managed to attain employment tend to remit portions of their earnings back to their home countries in the form of remittances and merchandise. In small island communities with limited formal employment and/or income generating activities, remittances play a potential role in improving livelihoods at household level. The receipt of monetary remittances offers households not only the opportunity to meet their basic needs but also increases the developmental opportunities.

Historically, Pacific islanders began migrating from their home islands in significant numbers in the post-war/decolonisation period. In essence, in the post-World War Two period, many Pacific islands which were former colonies began to go through a decolonisation period, gaining political independence and sovereignty. During this time, countries such as the USA and New Zealand opened pathways of migration for Pacific island countries and territories with which they had colonial ties (Lee, 2009). As a result, a large volume of Pacific islanders migrated to countries with which they had colonial ties. Islands such as Niue, Tokelau and the Cook Islands stand as testimony to this fact with the vast majority of the indigenous people of these islands dwelling in New Zealand. For instance, as of 2006 in the Cook Islands, only 12,000

Cook Islanders dwelt within the Cook Islands, and approximately 58,000 Cook Islanders lived in New Zealand, and an estimated 8,000 in Australia (Alexeyeff, 2009; Lee, 2009). While not all former colonial powers provided such preferential treatment to migrants from their former colonies, migration still took place at a high rate towards the United States of America (USA), Australia and New Zealand (Map 1.1).

Map 1.1. Pacific Migration Rates 2006 and Major Migrant Destinations



Source: Bedford and Hugo, 2008: 3.

Migration trends are apparent in Pacific states such as Tonga and Samoa. In the case of Tonga, although Tonga did not have preferential migration treatment, significant proportions of Tonga's population have migrated overseas especially to Australasia. In fact, Lee (2009: 8) states that if overseas born Tongans are taken into account then at this point in time there are more Tongans dwelling overseas than in Tonga. In the case of Samoa, the volume of migration has followed a similar trend to the rest of the Pacific, with a significant population of Samoans dwelling outside of Samoa. Many Samoans live in New Zealand with the New Zealand Samoan quota (established in 1970) permitting 1100 Samoans to migrate into New Zealand each year (ibid.). As a result of such trends in Tonga and Samoa, migration and remittances have come to

play a crucial role in the development of not only households and communities, but the economy as a whole. In Tonga for instance, Radio New Zealand (2016) reported that Tonga was the most remittance dependent country in the Pacific, with remittances making up almost 33 per cent of the country's GDP. Remittances to Tonga have not only improved the livelihoods of households and communities but have also contributed to the national economy. Studies have shown that remittances directly contributed to a substantial increase in household income, which in turn contributed to various household expenses such as subsistence costs, school fees and medical fees (McKenzie & Gibson, 2010). Samoa also follows a trend similar to Tonga in terms of remittance flows, but on a lesser scale. Personal remittances to Samoa made up more than 20 per cent of the national GDP between 2009 and 2012 (World Bank, 2014). In 2015, remittances made up 17 per cent of the national GDP (World Bank, 2017). Similarly to Tonga, such remittances have greatly contributed to the incomes and livelihoods of Samoans at the household level. Thus, it can be clearly seen that migration and remittances have played a crucial role in development, in many Pacific states.

In the case of the Republic of the Fiji islands, migration has had an influence in the development of the country. Fiji did not enjoy preferential immigration treatment from Great Britain which was its coloniser. However, many Fiji citizens have emigrated since the 1970s (Mohanty, 2006), and such migration had greatly increased due to the coups that took place in Fiji in 1987, 2000, and 2006 (Lee, 2009). The upheavals of 1987 and 2000 were instigated by ethno-nationalist elements of Fiji society who feared that indo-Fijians were beginning to dominate the political and economic spheres of the country (Lal, 1993: 276). A direct result of this was the mass emigration of indo-Fijians from Fiji. In this case, migration did not play a direct role in Fiji's development. Basically, a significant portion of Fiji emigrants in the 1980s and 1990s were skilled professionals. As a result while Fiji remained a recipient of remittances, since the early 1990s due to the recruitment of peacekeepers, the amount of remittances received were negated by the loss of human capital (Mohanty, 2006).

In the case of Rotuma, Rotuma is an island that is fully politically integrated with the Republic of the Fiji Islands. Consequently, Rotumans enjoy easy access to Fiji in terms of travel between Rotuma and mainland Fiji. Rotuma is geographically isolated and located 465 kilometres north of the northernmost island in the Fiji group and located closer to Wallis and Futuna which is its nearest neighbour (Rensel, 1993). Due to its geographic isolation and distance from the Fiji mainland, there are limited socio-economic opportunities available for Rotumans on the island. This was exacerbated in the late 1960s when firms that formerly operated on the island such as Burns Phillip, and Morris Hedstrom, withdrew their business operations from the island. This resulted in a substantial loss of jobs at a time when there was already a scarcity of wage earning opportunities (Rensel, 1993). This has led to an increasing migratory trend of Rotumans to mainland Fiji over the past decades.

With such a large volume of Rotumans migrating, Rotuman households and communities tend to receive a significant amounts of remittances from Rotuman migrants. This money and merchandise has great potential to ameliorate the livelihoods of households by enhancing their accessibility to the various livelihood capital necessitated to better livelihoods and foster development. However, it must be noted that the receipt of large amounts of remittance money and merchandise may also foster lassitude and dependency on the part of remittance recipients. While the receipt of remittances can ameliorate the access households have to the economic, social and human capital needed for improved livelihoods and development, however, through a dependency syndrome, it may degrade livelihood systems and the self-sufficiency of households.

1.1.1: Research Problem Statement

Migration and remittances play a critical role in changing people's lives. Remittances have played a critical role in poverty alleviation, and development in developing countries. In many PICs, such as Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji, migrant remittances have uplifted poor families and households. Thus, in order to assess the potential that migration and remittances have to improve livelihoods and facilitate in Rotuma, it is necessary to examine and explore the influence that migration and the receipt of remittance has had on the various facets of the Rotuman way of life. This includes

their culture, leadership systems and the livelihood activities that they undertake. In essence, migration and remittances in the Rotuman context must be examined in a social, cultural and economic context.

1.1.2: Research Questions

The general question this research seeks to answer is, ‘how have migration and remittances influenced livelihoods and development in Rotuma?’ The study seeks answers to several specific questions as mentioned below;

- a) What are the typical livelihood activities undertaken by the people on Rotuma to cater for their day-to-day living?
- b) How have remittances been used by the recipient households?
- c) What impact has the remittance money had, on the livelihoods of migrant households and families?
- d) Has the receipt of remittances prompted small scale development projects to ameliorate livelihoods in Rotuma?

1.1.3: Rationale of Research

Examination of the linkages between migration and development is crucial for the island of Rotuma.

Firstly, Rotuma’s small size and isolation means that there are few viable revenue generating activities on the island. Consequently, migration and remittances have a part to play in providing an alternate means to ameliorate livelihoods in Rotuma. Secondly, the large number of Rotumans who have migrated from the island in search of greener pastures and assisting their families back on the island, have been continuously increasing. As a result of these migratory trends, there have been a number of research projects undertaken on Rotuma in relation to migration and development. But, a systematic academic study that examines the impact of migration on development, particularly with regard to the role of remittances in the process of people’s livelihoods and development has been lacking.

This study seeks to bridge the knowledge gap that exists, and it will assist policy makers to design appropriate policies pertaining to the development of Rotuma. The research attempts to analyse how the migration of Rotumans and the consequent receipt of remittances from migrants have impacted the livelihoods of Rotumans on the island. The research focuses upon families and households on the island of Rotuma who have members that are migrants. The research assesses the purposes and the extent to which migrants send remittances, and how such remittances have been utilised by recipient households on the island. The research adds to the knowledge on how migration and remittances can influence livelihoods and development in the context of small island economies such as Rotuma.

1.2: Research Objectives

The general objective is to study the influence of migration and remittance on livelihoods and development in Rotuma. The specific objectives are to:

- i. Study the migratory trends and the drivers of migration from Rotuma.
- ii. Identify the key livelihood activities undertaken by families in Rotuma.
- iii. To assess the amount of money that households and the island of Rotuma receive from remittances.
- iv. To investigate how remittance money is being channelized to Rotuma.
- v. To study how remittances are being utilised by recipient households.
- vi. To investigate the impact of remittances on the recipient households.
- vii. To study whether remittances have been utilised to facilitate undertaking of development projects.
- viii. To make policy recommendations based on the findings of the study.

1.3: Sources of Data and Methodology⁴

In acquiring data for this research, a mixed approach using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies was adopted. Both primary and secondary sources of data were employed to acquire required information. The primary research was carried out in the island of Rotuma. The primary research involved administering structured questionnaires in 75 migrant households in Rotuma. Key person interviews were also carried out with the Post Master of Rotuma as well as selected members of the Rotuma Island Council. Data gathered from the questionnaires and interviews were also supplemented by ethnographic observations by the researcher. Being a Rotuman, the researcher utilised his own knowledge of the Rotuman lifestyle and society to carry out ethnographic analysis.

In addition to the primary research carried out, secondary sources were used. Data relevant to the research was obtained from the Rotuman rural hospital, post office, Rotuma Island council and the Rotuma police post. The data acquired from these sources was tabulated and used as a means to supplement the analysis of primary data.

1.4: Significance of Study

Little research has been carried out in the Pacific region in relation to migration and remittances. However in-depth research at household level that focusses upon how remittances can impact the livelihoods of households has not been carried out systematically in Fiji especially in Rotuma. This study fills the knowledge gap by adding an array of analysis pertaining to how migration and remittances impact household livelihoods. Additionally, the study examines the influence of migration and remittances on development at a household and community level thus adding significant insights to the horizon of knowledge relating to household and community development within small island economies.

⁴ A detailed methodology is provided in Chapter Three.

Furthermore, despite its unique political, geographic and demographic realities, very limited research has been conducted on the island of Rotuma. From a migration scholar's perspective, Rotuma has offered an intriguing case study of an island that is politically integrated with a host country and thus has ease of access in terms of migration and employment opportunities. Rotuma is politically integrated with the Republic of the Fiji islands. There are significant challenges on the part of policy makers on how to develop Rotuma to increase its self-sufficiency and become self-reliant.

This research provides significant insights into how remittances from migrants are being utilised in Rotuma, as well as the impact that remittances have on the Rotuman way of life, and the livelihoods of families. The author believes that the findings drawn from this research shall benefit development policy makers, academics, and more significantly, the Rotuma Island Council and the people of Rotuma.

1.5: Organisation of Thesis

This thesis comprises of six chapters. A brief summary of each chapter is outlined below.

Chapter one provides an introduction and lays out a brief background of the study as well as outlining the research rationale, research problem, objectives of the research, and the research questions. This chapter also contains a brief description of the sources from which data were acquired as well as the methodology used.

Chapter two provides a conceptual framework of migration, remittances and development through a thorough literature review. This chapter analyses and provides insights into the linkages between migration, remittances and development. This chapter examines various examples, models and theories relating to migration, remittances and development, and evidence from around the world. It also provides a review of previous works done on the subject in the Pacific region and Rotuma.

Chapter three describes how the research was carried out. This section describes the methodology and methods employed in this research. Research instruments and methodological approaches used as well as sources of data are described in this chapter. This chapter also outlines the research limitations and the ethical considerations that this research has taken into account.

Chapter four provides a background of Fiji and Rotuma. This chapter briefly describes Fiji and Rotuma's geography, and history, as well as economic, political and demographic structures. Additionally, this chapter describes the phenomenon of Rotuman migration to mainland Fiji and its relevance to how migration and remittances impact Rotuma's development.

Chapter five provides the findings of the research. The chapter provides an analysis of documentation and field survey data that were gathered from the study area. In this chapter, the data gleaned from field research is collated, refined and presented in the forms of tables, graphs, figures, and maps to facilitate ease of analysis.

Chapter six outlines the conclusions drawn from the research and the recommendations made. The findings of research were linked to the theoretical approaches previously analysed. This section also provides a summary of broad findings of the research. The chapter provides some recommendations and also identifies the research gaps in this study for the future researchers to undertake on the subject.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION, REMITTANCES AND DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1: Introduction

This chapter lays out the conceptual framework that guided the discussion of the issues related to migration, remittances and development. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first section provides a global perspective on the issues associated with migration, remittances, and development. Firstly, it provides a brief historical overview of migration, and the trends and dimensions of international migration. Secondly, it examines the contemporary phenomenon of labour migration with particular regard to how it has been fostered by the phenomenon of globalisation. Thirdly, an overview is provided of the theories that have guided the conceptualisation of migration and its linkages to remittances and development. Fourthly, an overview is provided of the various methods and instruments that have been developed to measure the influence that migration and remittances have on development. An analysis of the linkages between migration and development is then provided.

The second part of this chapter examines migration and development in the Pacific region. This is done by examining previous studies that have analysed migration and examined the linkages between migration and development in the Pacific region and Fiji.

2.2: Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

2.2.1: Historical Overview of Migration

Migration has occurred since the advent of humanity with people constantly seeking for better socio-economic opportunities. There are grounds to argue that throughout its history, humanity has been a perpetual migrant, from the primitive wandering of nomadic tribes to current labour migration (Rystad, 1992: 1169). Migration has

played a crucial role in human history. It has supported the growth of economies, and helped societies and cultures for their evolution (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005b: 5).

While migration is not a new phenomenon, mass migration began with the great wave of industrialisation that took place from the 19th to the 20th century (Castles, 2010: 3). The process of industrialisation led to what Hatton and Williamson (2005) refer to as the 'first age of mass migration'. This was typified during 1850-1914, which was known as Europe's "age of mass migration" (Abramitzky, Boustán, & Eriksson, 2010: 1836). This period is especially significant in migration and development studies. In contrast to previous migration patterns, this period experienced migration on a phenomenal scale with almost 50 million Europeans migrating to the United States and other developing colonies and states (Glynn, 2011). In migration and development discourse, this period is crucial as it represents the first phase of economic globalization characterised by large flow of capital and goods as well as migration around the world (Massey, 2003: 2). These phenomenal migratory trends dwindled during the First World War and the years following. From the end of the First World War to the mid-1960s, restrictions on international trade and investments exacerbated by the Great Depression and the advent of the Second World War, led to a four decade of limited migration (Massey, 1995, 2003).

From the mid-1960s there was an upsurge in migration, with trends that differed greatly from the preceding migration phases (Castles, 2010). This period is commonly referred to as 'post-industrial migration' (Castles, Haas, & Miller, 2013). During this period, migration was no longer dominated by migrant outflows from Europe (Massey, 2003: 3). Previous key migrant providers in Europe evolved to become key migrant destinations (Ciprian, 2013). Immigration thus became truly global with the majority of immigrants being supplied by the developing countries of the global south (Castles & Miller, 2009).

The start of the 21st century marked a profound advance in migration and development discourse (Haas, 2008: 15). Ongoing and unprecedented globalisation led to global interest in migration and development. Supranational organisation such

as the United Nations recognised many advantages this could bring. At its 68th General Assembly, a report by the UN Secretary General noted how migration reduced poverty at an extraordinary scale (United Nations, 2013a: 2). This extraordinary interest in migration has arisen due to ongoing globalisation that has led to increased labour mobility and a resultant growth in migration. Such migration is seen to have many advantages to both host countries and homelands. Many scholars recognise that migration does have significant contribution towards development both in terms of labour gain for host countries and remittances as well as ‘brain gain’ for home countries (Simati, 2009: 16).

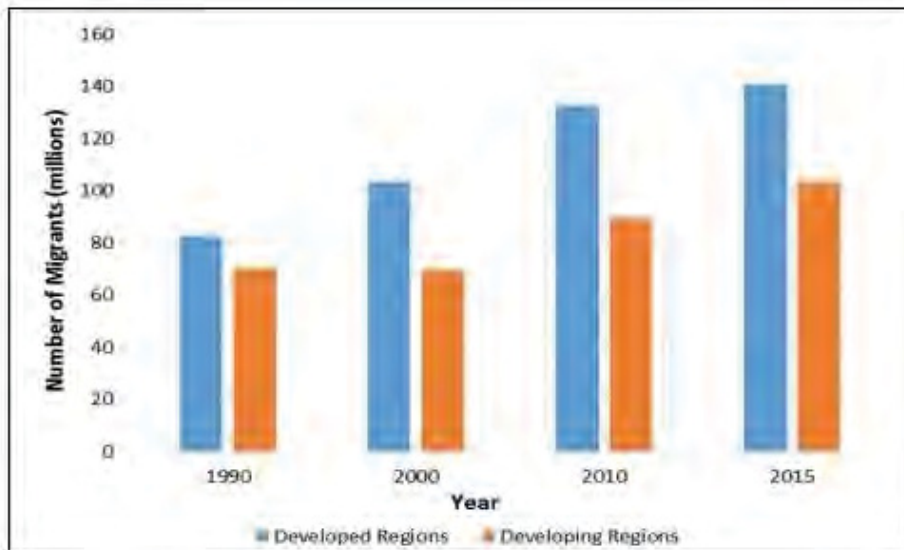
2.2.2: Trends and Dimensions of International Migration

Historically, migration has taken place for varied reasons and in different forms such as refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants (IFRC, 2012: 2). Today, nearly every country in the world is affected by the phenomena of labour mobility, and no society can plan for the future without accounting for this phenomena (United Nations, 2013a: 2).

2.2.2.1: Distribution of International Migrants by Destination

In the context of the magnitude of international migrants, the United Nations estimated that there are over 244 million migrants worldwide, with the majority residing in developed countries (United Nations, 2013c, 2016). The UN statistics also reveal that since 1990, the number of international migrants rose by 50 per cent with the majority of these migrants originating from developing countries (United Nations, 2013b: 1). Figure 2.1 shows the trends and patterns of international migration in major world regions.

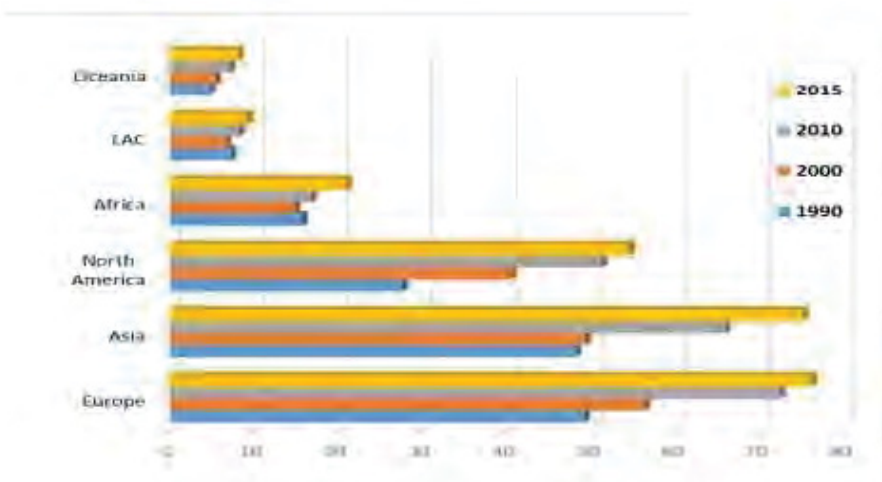
Figure 2.1. Trends & Patterns of International Migrants by world region 1990-2015



Source: United Nations, 2016.

People choose to migrate for a variety of reasons ranging from economic to social, cultural, political and environmental reasons (European Commission, 2000; Thet, 2004). While migrants can be found in any country and region of the world, the vast majority of migrants can be found in Europe and Asia which host two-thirds of the world's migrants (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. Distribution of International Migrants by Destination Region, 1990-2015



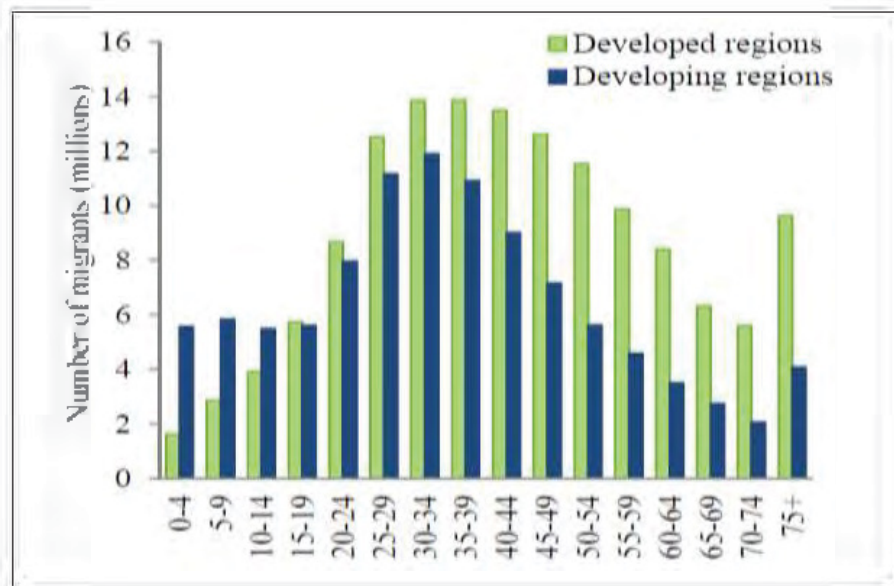
Source: United Nations, 2016.

As of 2015, Europe hosted 72 million migrants while Asia hosts 71 million migrants (United Nations, 2013b, 2016). North America is the third largest migrant destination while other migrants are distributed in varying proportions around Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Oceania region (Figure 2.2).

2.2.2.2: Distribution of International Migrants by Age Group

In terms of the demographics of migrants, one in eight migrants are between the ages of 15 and 24 which the UN defines as belonging to the ‘youth’ category (ILO, 2014a). A further trend was that, the majority of working age migrants (20- 64 years of age) reside in developed regions (United Nations, 2013c). This is ascribed to the fact that developed regions have long acted as employment attractions for migrants. This, coupled with the tendency of elderly migrants dwelling in developing regions to return to their home country has led to a large rise in the proportion of migrants over the age of 65 dwelling in developed regions (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. International Migrants in Developed and Developing Regions (million) by Age-group 1990-2015

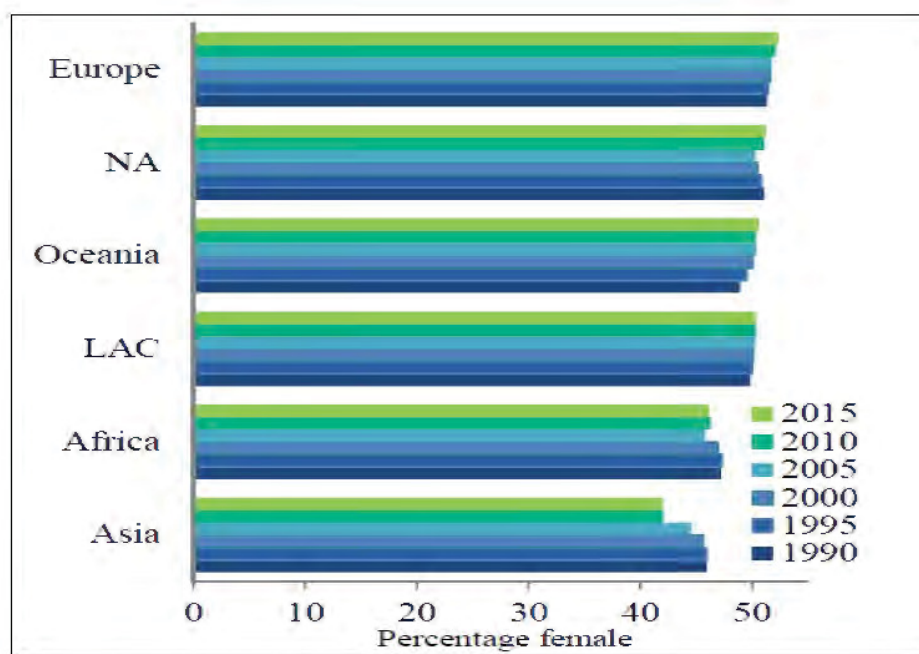


Source: United Nations, 2016.

2.2.2.3: International Migration by Gender

Almost half of migrants are women, and this is due to an increasing number of women migrating for work purposes (ILO, 2014b; United Nations, 2013b, 2016). However, while the overall number of women migrants has increased since 1990 this trend has differed widely across many migrant destination regions (Figure 2.4). In the global North, women account for more than half of migrants. This was primarily attributed to women's longer life expectancy (United Nations, 2013b). In contrast, men make up more than half of migrants in the global South and annual increase in male migrants have surpassed the female migrants. This has been attributed to the large increase of male migrants in the Asian region who have migrated due to the high demand for migrant workers in oil producing regions (Lim, Pham, & Cheong, 2015; United Nations, 2013b).

Figure 2.4. Trends in Women Migrants by Region, 1990-2015



Source: United Nations, 2016. NA= North America. LAC= Latin America and the Caribbean.

2.3: Theoretical Approaches to Migration

Over time, many theoretical models have been developed to help guide planners, academics and policy makers in understanding the nature of migration. The following section discusses various theories related to migration.

2.3.1: Ravenstein's Laws of Migration and Neoclassical Theories

In 1885, Ravenstein, a 19th century geographer formulated what he called 'laws of migration'. In his work he referred to migration as an inseparable facet of development and that migration was purely driven through economic incentives (Ravenstein, 1885). Ravenstein articulated that migrants would only move a short distance and typically to major cities. The resultant population gaps caused in rural areas, would in turn be filled by people from outlying areas. Ravenstein (1885) firmly believed that the major determinants of migration were employment and wage opportunities, and stated that; *"the call for labour in our centres of industry and commerce is the prime cause of these currents of migration"* (Ravenstein, 1885: 198). These laws form the early basis of the push-pull framework of understanding migration. This assessment evolved and has been refined over time to the now general developmentalist and neoclassical view that migration takes place from low income to high income areas, or areas of high population density to areas of low population density (Castles & Miller, 2009).

Generally, neo-classical theories view migration as a part of the development process whereby the surplus labour in rural/developing areas is transferred to urban centres (Haas, 2008; Taylor et al., 1996). These theories and models dominated migration thinking until the late 1960s. Their popularity was owed to the fact that the push-pull dynamics of the neo-classical model worked well in understanding migration at both macro and micro level (Massey et al., 1999). At the macro level, the theory helps in comprehending the dynamics of migration that results in migrants moving from low wage to high wage economies. At the micro level, the theory addresses how people migrate as a result of decisions made after weighing up available information and options.

From a developmental perspective, migration is generally perceived in an optimistic light as theorists believe it is the development instrument that enables labour movement and helps facilitate development in rural areas (Taylor et al., 1996). Such theorists perceive that migration leads to a North-South exchange of labour, capital (economic remittances) and knowledge (social remittances). Development theorists believe that labour movements help expose migrants to liberal ideas and modernisation and that return migrants will become instruments of modernisation, enlightenment, and development once they return to their communities, with developmental projects being driven by the social and economic remittances derived from migrants (De Haan, 2000; Haas, 2008).

2.3.2: Push-Pull Approach to Migration

As earlier mentioned in this chapter, migration is a practice that dates back to the advent of humanity. The reasons of migration are multi-faceted and often interlinked. Migrants tend to move for various reasons, these include, economic, social, cultural, political and aesthetic reasons (Castles et al., 2013; Lucas, 2005). Migration can be forced or voluntary, and temporary or permanent. Consequently, there is typically no single factor that can comprehensively explain the reason for migration. However it can be argued that the most common denominator on reasons for migration is the quest for better economic opportunity and development. Development as defined by Chambers (1995: 196) means “*good change*” this definition transcends simple economic growth and income, and encompasses the concepts of well-being, as well as improved quality of life. By such a definition, all migration can be construed to have a linkage to development.

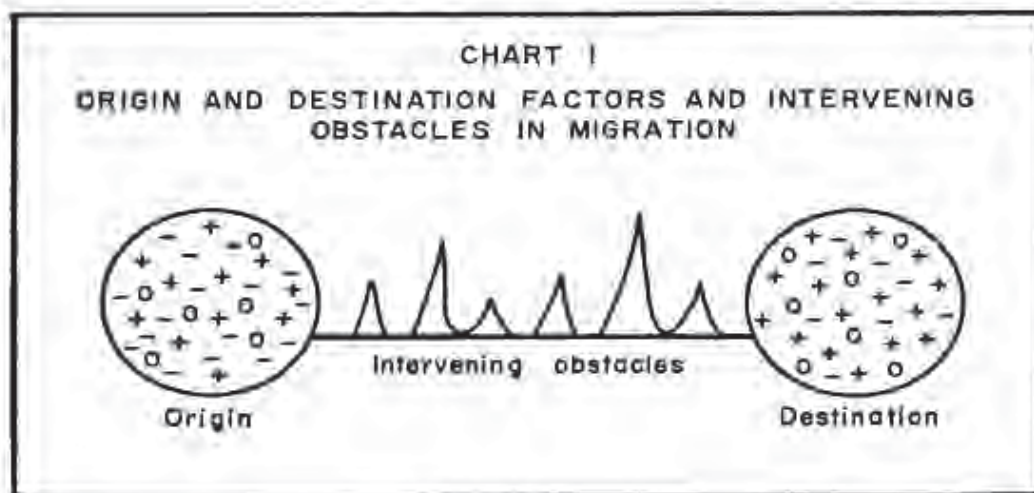
Lee (1966) re-examined Ravenstein’s (1885) ‘Laws of Migration’. He argues that there are additional factors that influence people’s decisions to migrate. Factors such as area of origin, area of destination, intervening and personal factors, all play key roles in influencing migration (King, 2012; Lee, 1966). In essence, Lee (1966) argued that the aforementioned factors are key push and pull factors that influence people’s migration decisions. However, different individuals respond differently to the push and pull factor. For instance, King (2012: 13) says that:

“A single, unemployed young adult will respond more directly to job and income factors and be less concerned about the education system of a destination, which would be more relevant to the decision-making of a family with children”.

Figure 2.5 shows Lees’ (1966) push-pull model. The ‘+’ symbols represent positive factors, while the ‘-’ symbols refer to negative factors. The ‘0’ symbol refers to neutral factors. The push and pull factors outlined in the model vary from the materialistic desires of people for better services, to people seeking a safer environment and the emotional solace of being with friends and family. All these factors can be related by reason of humans migrating for the purpose of seeking ‘something better’. This sentiment is put into a nutshell by Parker (2007) who states:

“Migration is an integral aspect of life on this planet. People move to survive. They move in search of food. They move away from danger and death. They move towards opportunities for life. Migration is tied to the human spirit, which seeks adventure, pursues dreams, and finds reasons to hope even in the most adverse circumstances”.

Figure 2.5. Push Pull Migration Factors & Intervening Obstacles



Source: Lee, 1966.

Lee’s (1966) Push-Pull theory demonstrates that at its core, migration is caused by people who move from one place to another in the hope of finding something better.

2.3.3: Harris-Todaro Migration Model

Harris and Todaro (1970) examined ongoing rural-urban migration trends in developing countries. They noted a curious paradox exists whereby in many less developed countries, despite the existence of “*positive marginal products in agriculture and significant levels of urban unemployment*”, rural-urban labour migration remains an ongoing trend (Harris & Todaro, 1970: 126).

Despite the existence of opportunities in the rural sector, and the high unemployment rates found in urban areas, individuals in rural areas still preferred to migrate to urban centres in search for better opportunities. While this may seem to essentially be a simplified regurgitation of Ravenstein’s (1885) ‘Laws of Migration’, Harris and Todaro (1970) argue that previous migration theories and models have offered a simplistic analysis of rural-urban migration. In essence, previous models assume that workers migrate from rural to urban areas for the purpose of attaining employment. However, such models do not consider whether or not an individual is truly able to find employment in urban centres (Todaro, 1969: 138). Harris and Todaro (1970) thus add to the body of theoretical literature by postulating that workers typically seek the highest wage. Thus, due to the wage differentials that exist between urban and rural centres, workers will constantly move between urban and rural centres as they seek higher “*expected earnings*” (Todaro, 1969: 140). Expected earning in this case refers to “*real earnings weighted by the probability of finding employment*” (Salvatore, 1981: 499). Thus, if wages in urban areas are higher than in rural areas, the expectation of higher wages will pull workers migrate to urban centres. The migration takes place despite the possibility of becoming unemployed.

2.3.4: Dependency Approach to Migration

While developmentalist and neo-liberal theories view migration in positive light, dependency theorists believe that migration reinforces underdevelopment rather than facilitating development. For instance, followers of the dependency theory and historical structural paradigm hold that migration is a manifestation of the increased dependency of developing states on the economic and political systems advocated by the developed western world (Massey et al., 1993; Uche, 1994). Basically, migration

can be perceived to be a manifestation of dependency whereby developing states come to rely on migration to developed states to foster development. Consequently, the ability of developing countries to develop in a self-reliant manner is hindered.

Scholars also argue that migration is a process whereby the best workers are netted by host countries (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005a). As a result, in the development context, the remittance advantages derived from migrant workers is far outweighed by the loss of the best and most capable workers in a country (Mahmud, Sabur, & Tamanna, 2009: 140). In essence, migration is typically carried out by the more educated rather than uneducated and the poorest section (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005a). Countries are concerned by the 'exportation' of high skill labour through migration (O'Neil, 2003). From a dependency perspective, migration is also negatively perceived as being part and parcel of the global capitalist system that requires cheap labour from developing countries in order to function (Morawska, 2012). Due to this, many rural individuals are displaced from their homes and forced to either relocate to urban centres or migrate to other countries in order to make a living (King, 2012).

Overall, the dependency and structuralist paradigms are in direct opposition to the developmentalist and neoclassical stances towards migration as they perceive that migration is a disabler rather than an enabler of development. Furthermore, such theories highlight the potential of migratory trends to exacerbate rather than ameliorate the prevailing inequalities in developing states.

2.3.5: Poverty and Migration: the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)

The correlation between remittances and economic growth is an ongoing debate in development discourse. Taylor (1999) took a positive developmental viewpoint and posited that with the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM), migration not only benefits receiving countries, but also benefits countries of origin. The NELM theory seeks to move away from this viewpoint and add more nuance to existing theories on migration (Abreu, 2012). In essence, neo-classical theories tend to be overly simplified and unrealistic in their analysis of migration. An example could be

the oversimplified neo-classical view that migration is a permanent act whereby migrants move permanently in order to raise and maximise their economic status, while return migration is viewed as a failure (Porumbescu, 2015). The NELM however seeks to provide a greater nuance in the dynamics that influence migration. For instance, the approach posits that individuals migrate for the purpose of meeting households needs. Thus, the duration of a migrants stay in a host country is dependent upon the needs of a household. Upon the attainment of such needs, the migrants then return to their home countries (Stark & Bloom, 1985).

2.3.6: Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) focusses on understanding the realities faced by individuals, families and communities, and how these realities impact the decisions that they make (Farrington, Ramasut, & Walker, 2002). The approach focusses on livelihoods by assessing factors that impact the well-being and livelihoods of people dwelling in a particular context (May, Brown, Cooper, & Brill, 2009). This approach examines the various vulnerabilities that communities and/or households experience. The approach also examines the physical, social and economic context in which households and/or communities exist, and assesses the various vulnerabilities that such households or communities could face. This is done by identifying the various capitals available to communities and households that can be called upon to facilitate the development of livelihoods (Scoones, 1998: 9). The framework assesses the extent to which households and communities can access natural, financial, human and social capital⁵ (Serrat, 2008: 1). Furthermore, the framework evaluates how accessibility to such capital can assist communities and households in influencing the policies and institutions that have an impact on their livelihoods, development and accessibility to livelihoods assets. Another integral

⁵ As defined by Serrat (2008) and Scoones (1998):

Natural Capital refers to the natural resources and environmental services that communities have access to.

Financial/Economic Capital refers to the capital that communities have access to e.g. cash, debt.

Human Capital refers to the knowledge, expertise, and work capability of the members of a community.

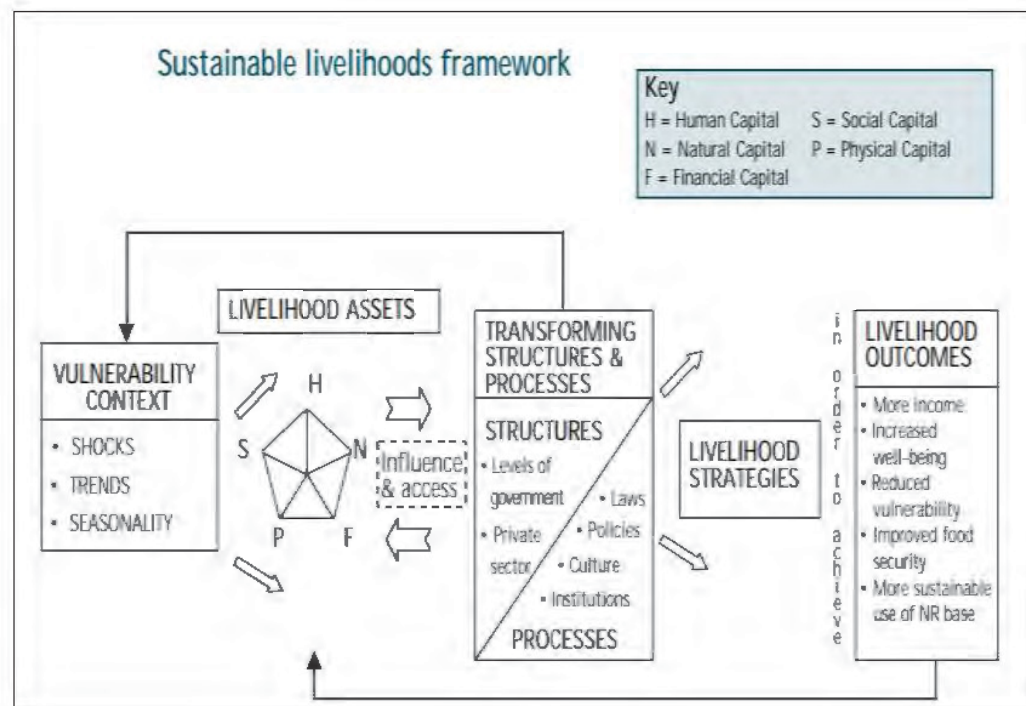
Social Capital refers to the networks that people and communities can draw upon in order to facilitate the pursuit of livelihood strategies. E.g. familial connections.

Physical Capital makes reference to infrastructure that communities have access to e.g. roads, vehicles, and shelter.

facet of the framework is that it examines how such capitals can be strengthened and ameliorated in order to improve the livelihood outcomes of households and communities. This entails assessing what can be done to not only strengthen the capital available to households and communities, but also to examine how institutions and legislations that shape livelihood access can contribute towards ameliorating the livelihood outcomes of households. Figure 2.6 provides a diagrammatic scheme of the Sustainable Livelihoods framework.

In the context of migration and its impact on development, Sustainable Livelihoods framework provides a valuable means to holistically examine how migration impacts individuals and communities. Ellis (2003) states that migration can play multiple and complex roles in reducing household vulnerability and improving livelihoods. He argues that migration plays a significant role in the livelihoods of the lower and middle classes in developing countries. Thus, the livelihoods approach helps in providing a more clear understanding of the role that migration plays in development.

Figure 2.6. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



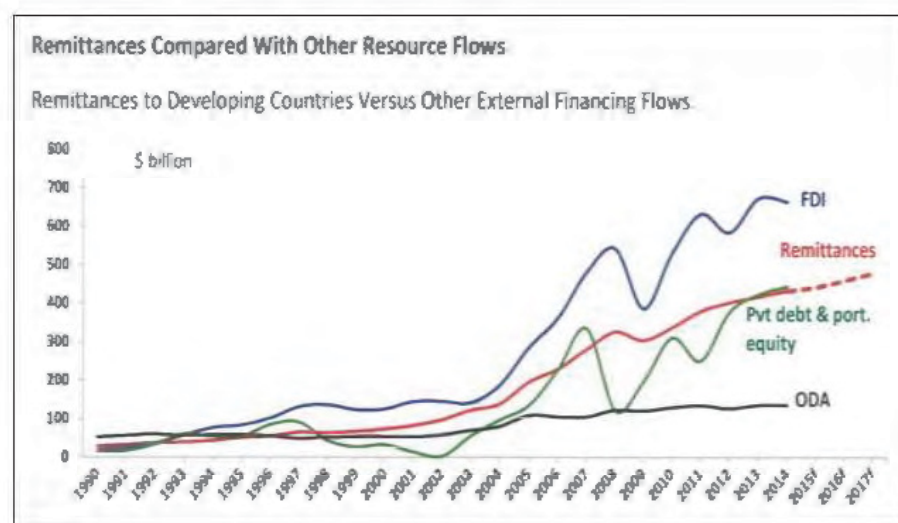
Source: Department for International Development, 1999.

2.4: Migration and Remittances

Migration and remittances are inter-twined. Migrants have a tendency to remit portions of their earnings back to their place of origin. For many developing countries, remittances from migrants constitute the largest source for external finance after direct foreign investment (Giuliano & Ruiz-Arranz, 2009). The volume of remittances has been growing exponentially and in the early 2000s, it rose to twice as much as the level of aid inflows to developing countries (Adams & Page, 2005). This has further increased, and remittance flows are presently estimated to be three times as much as the level of aid inflows to developing countries (KNOMAD, 2016).

The United Nations (2016: 1) report on migration reveals that in 2015, there were 244 million international migrants (approximately 3.3 per cent of the world's population), and 93 per-cent of these migrants are economic migrants. This number is set to continue increasing in the future (Ratha, 2013). These migrants remit earnings back to their homes and the volume of such remittances have reached to an estimated USD 441 billion (KNOMAD, 2016: xii). Overall, international trends clearly show that over the past decades, the amount of remittances flowing into developing countries has far superseded Official Development Assistance (ODA). These remittance flows are predicted to increase (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7. Trends in Remittances and Other External Financial Flows



Source: KNOMAD, 2016.

Overall, international trends clearly show that over the past decades, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) remains the highest resource flow into developing countries. However, as aforementioned, official records show that remittance flows have far exceeded the flow of Official Development Assistance. It must be noted that when unofficial (unrecorded) flows of remittances are taken into account, this figure is likely to further increase (Page & Plaza, 2006).

2.5: Migration, Remittances and Development

In contemporary times, the potential development impact of migration, and remittances, have that has risen to the top of global agendas (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005b). Much of the remittances that migrants send is channelled into developing countries but relatively little research has been done to assess the impact of these financial flows on poverty (Adams & Page, 2005).

In today's globalised world, there is constant international flow of labour and capital. Understanding the role of migration and remittances in relation to development has thus become an area of interest. Resultantly, over the past years, there has been a surge in interest by academics, policy makers and institutions in seeking to assess the developmental impact of remittance flow (Fajnzylber & Lopez, 2008). Remittances from migrants are often seen as one of the most tangible and least controversial links between migration and development (Ratha, 2013).

2.5.1: Remittances and Economic Growth

Remittances have been a stable source of income and have been resilient during global economic downturns. For instance, during the 2009 financial crisis, remittance flows experienced a 5 per cent decrease, but recovered within the span of a year (Mohapatra, Ratha, & Silwa, 2010; World Bank & KNOMAD, 2017). However, as of the year 2016, remittances to developing countries had declined by an estimated 2.4 per cent (World Bank & KNOMAD, 2017). The World Bank (2017) notes that despite this decrease, remittance flows remain larger than Official Development Assistance (ODA) and are more stable than private capital flows. Additionally, the World Bank (2017) estimates that in 2017, the flow of remittances to developing

countries is expected to increase to USD 444 billion, an increase of 3.3 per cent. It must also be noted that these figures refer to the volume of remittances sent through official channels. When informal channels of remittances are added, the volume of flows would be significantly larger (KNOMAD, 2016: 23). With remittances contributing significantly towards the capital flow into developing countries, its potential in economic development is worth examining.

This high flow has resulted in international remittances becoming an important source of finance for developing countries (Acosta, Fajnzylber, & López, 2008). However, in terms of the efficacy of remittances on economic growth, scholars have come up with mixed results (Matuzeviciute & Butkus, 2016). For instance, scholars such as Stahl and Arnold (1986) and Azam and Gubert (2006) have carried out research examining the impact of remittances in Asia, and Africa. They have found that remittances positively impact economic growth. However, scholars such as Chami, Fullenkamp, and Jahjah (2005) in their research have found that there is a negative correlation between remittances and economic growth. Matuzeviciute and Butkus (2016) note that the variations in scholarly findings can be attributed towards the fact that remittances affect economic growth through multiple channels, and that the impact of remittances is dependent upon countries socio-economic conditions. Table 2.1 provides a summary of the various findings of scholars who have examined the correlation between remittances and economic growth.

Table 2.1. Summary of Research on the Impact of Remittances on Economic Growth

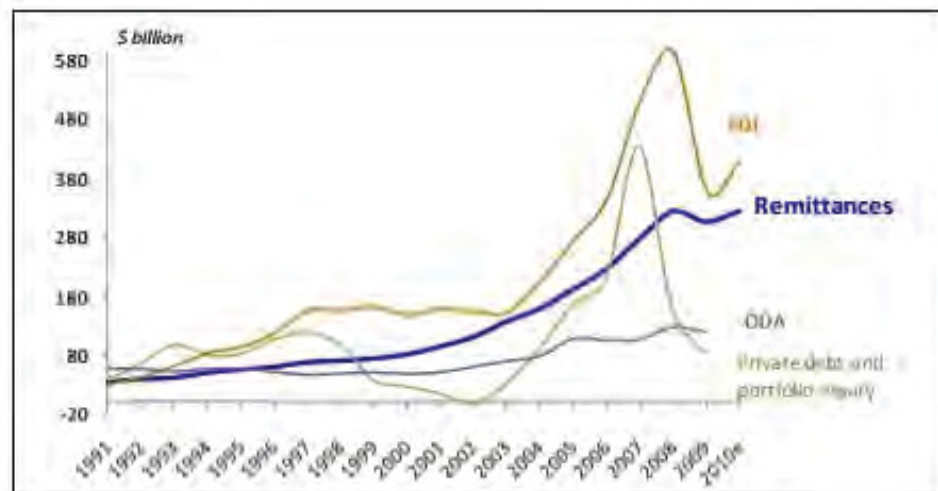
Author	Research Period	Research Sample country/region	Research Results
Feeny et al.	1971-2010	136 Developing Countries	Remittances have no impact on per capita economic growth
Nwaogu, Ryan	1970-2009	53 African, 34 LAC countries	Positive impact of the remittances on economic growth
Tahir et al.	1977-2013	Pakistan	Remittances have significant positive impact on economic growth
Olubiyi	1980-2012	Nigeria	Unidirectional causality
Zizi	1995-2011	CEE countries	Remittances have positive impact on economic growth
Kumar, Vu	1980-2012	Vietnam	Bidirectional causality between remittances and economic growth
Imai et al.	1980-2009	Asia and Pacific Countries	Remittances have positive impact on economic growth
Nyeadi, Atiga	1980-2012	Ghana	Unidirectional causality from remittances to economic growth
Kumar, Stauvermann	1979-2012	Bangladesh	Positive in the long run, bidirectional causality
Salahuddin, Gow	1977-2012	Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines	Positive in the long run, statistically insignificant impact on the short run
Lim, Simmons	1990-2012	Caribbean Community and Common Market	No significant relationship between remittances and economic growth in the long run
Jouini	1970-2010	Tunisia	No impact on the economic growth in the long run and bidirectional causality between remittances and growth in the short run

Source: Adapted from Matuzeviciute and Butkus, 2016.

However, remittances do positively impact national economies on several levels. Taylor et al. (1996) note that at the very basic level, remittances from migrants can contribute to the economy of the home country by increasing national income both directly and indirectly. Remittances contribute directly by increasing national income, and indirectly by increasing national income through foreign exchange and savings. Furthermore, at the macroeconomic level, the United Nations (2007) noted that remittances increase a household's purchasing power and consumption of goods and services as well as investment in education. This has the multiplier effect of facilitating the development of a more productive workforce. Furthermore, remittances serve to increase the availability of financial capital, which in turn, can

be channelled into credits for productive investments (Matuzeviciute & Butkus, 2016; United Nations, 2007). Additionally, remittances can potentially boost the financial resiliency of a country during times of global economic turmoil. During the period of the global financial crisis, remittances proved to be a stable source of finance for many developing countries (Melde, 2013). In African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries for instance, while there was a slight decrease in remittance inflows, these decreases were relatively negligible when compared to the decline in Foreign Direct Investment (Gallina, 2010). Remittances were generally resilient during the financial crisis and recovered relatively quickly in comparison to other financial flows (Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8. Capital Flows to Developing Countries, 1991-2010



Source: Mohapatra, Ratha, and Silwa, 2010.

2.5.2: Remittances, Poverty Alleviation and Social Development

Poverty due to income inequality is an ongoing problem faced around the world. The role of remittances in addressing poverty is worth examining. Studies on the influence that remittances play on income levels have received mixed findings. For instance, scholars such as Taylor (1999) and Ahlburg (1996) find that remittances do act to equalise income inequalities. Ahlburg's (1996) research in Tonga, found that with the receipt of remittances, the Gini coefficient for total income declined from 0.37 to 0.34 (Ahlburg, 1996; Straubhaar & Vâdean, 2005). Other scholars however, have discovered negative correlations between remittances and income levels,

whereby income inequality is exacerbated by the receipt of remittances (Straubhaar & Vâdean, 2005). Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki in their 1986 and 1988 papers posited that such divergent findings were dependent upon migration histories in communities. In essence, they posited that wealthier families had easier access to migration, and so would be the first to benefit from remittances, thus contributing to the income inequality. However, over time migration would be more greatly accessible to other income classes and so poorer households would also be able to benefit from migration, thus minimising income inequalities (Stark, Taylor, & Yitzhaki, 1986, 1988; Straubhaar & Vâdean, 2005).

Remittances sent by migrants to their home countries are often sent for household support. Remittances can act to supplement household income and studies have shown that remittances can act to reduce poverty and positively contribute towards development goals and agendas (Mashayekhi, 2013). Remittances help ameliorate rural access to finance and can potentially encourage investment and entrepreneurship in rural areas (Vasconcelos & Meins, 2013). Through financial injections in the form of remittances, recipient households can potentially have better access to services and livelihood resources. Improved access to nutrition, education and housing are simply a few of the services and livelihood resources that can be ameliorated by remittances (Diop, 2013).

2.5.3: Migration Sustainability: Brain Gain vs Brain Drain

Brain drain is a facet of migration that is very often discussed. Dependency theorists for instance, view migration as a means for developed countries to pick the best workers from developing countries (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005a). Thus, migration is perceived as a means by which developing countries are deprived of human capital and thus remain poor (World Bank, 1995).

Migration has therefore been seen as detrimental to source countries as it results in the loss of skilled workers. Recently however, scholars such as Beine, Docquier, and Rapoport (2001) have sought to analyse how migration can in fact prove to be beneficial for both source and host countries in terms of its potential to develop human capital. The brain gain argument is one such view acting to supplement the

brain drain views by emphasising on the positive impacts that can be associated with brain drain.

The traditional brain drain views by early scholars asserted that migration is adversely impacting developing countries due to the loss of skilled labour (Mahmud et al., 2009). The brain gain view posits that migration is more accessible to the higher educated and wealthy sections of society (Docquier & Marfouk, 2006). Thus, as Stark and Wang (2002: 30) note, this “*induce[s] individuals to form a socially desirable level of human capital*”. In essence, because it is typically the more affluent and/or educated segments of society that have ease of access to migration, individuals in societies are induced to invest more in building up their human capital through education (Schiff, 2006). This in turn, results in improving the education and welfare levels of society. Thus, even with the ongoing migration of skilled individuals, the overall improvement of a society’s human capital can result in a net brain gain for source countries (Stark, 2004; Stark & Wang, 2002). Additionally, Taylor et al. (1996) note that despite the loss of labour for the migrant sending country, the earnings that migrants remit to their home countries, is larger than what the migrants would actually earn in their home countries.

The brain drain vs brain gain debate is ongoing. Traditional brain drain scholars viewed migration as an unsustainable process that deprives developing countries of crucial human capital. Proponents of the brain gain view it as an avenue that encourages human capital development in developing countries, thus offsetting the loss of skilled workers.

2.6: Migration and Remittance in the Pacific

2.6.1: Nature and Scale of Migration in the Pacific

Many Pacific Island Countries (PICs) face unique realities that handicap their ability to develop. PICs either lack natural resources that can readily be converted to tradable commodities (Connell, 2006a) or where such resources exist, they are in insufficient quantities to be traded competitively in the international market (UNESCAP, 2007). Consequently, there is a dearth in the opportunities available to

many Pacific islanders in terms of education, employment and livelihood generating activities. This dearth in opportunities means that to a certain extent, there is a '*poverty of opportunity*'⁶ in many PICs (Abbott & Pollard, 2004; Yari, 2003).

Pacific Islanders have a history of migration and traversing the Pacific region. Hau'ofa (1993) in his seminal essay, 'Our Sea of Islands', refers to the navigational skills accrued by Pacific islanders over generations that allowed them to traverse the Pacific Ocean and expand their networks. With the advent of colonialism, and the implementation and enforcement of national borders by colonial powers, migration was hindered (Cangiano & Torre, 2016: 6). Migration in the Pacific region was at times also achieved through coercion or deception such as the forced evacuation of Marshallese communities due to nuclear testing (Connell & Rapaport, 2013: 277). The indentured labour system in Fiji is another example of coerced or deceptive migration. In essence, while there were many '*girmitiyas*'⁷ who came to Fiji on their own volition, a significant number had been recruited through kidnapping or being deceived (D'Souza, 2000: 1072).

The advent of decolonisation in the Pacific proved to be both a boon and hindrance to migration. Decolonisation was a hindrance to migration due to the notion of the 'nation state', 'national boundaries' and 'citizenship' (Opeskin & MacDermott, 2010). However, decolonisation also opened up more avenues for migration as former colonial powers provided preferential migration opportunities to citizens of their former colonies. For instance, Cangiano and Torre (2016) cite how the USA and New Zealand provided migration opportunities to citizens of their former colonies.

In the quest for better opportunities, many Pacific islanders have continued to migrate in the search for better opportunities. Connell (2006b) notes that since the 1960s, there have been accelerated international migration rates in the Pacific region.

⁶ Poverty of Opportunity as defined by Abbott & Pollard (2004) and Yari (2003) refer to how in PICs, there are many shortcomings in terms of people access to education, infrastructure, medical facilities, and employment opportunities. Thus, while Pacific Islanders do have access to resources to sustain subsistence livelihoods, there is a dearth in their access to opportunities for better education, livelihoods, health, and employment.

⁷ *Girmitiyas* refer to the Indian migrants who travelled to Fiji under the British indenture system in order to work in the cane fields.

Basically many workers have sought to migrate to other countries for the purpose of accessing the greater services and opportunities offered (Connell, 2006b). Such workers often seek to attain employment, and send remittances back home (UNESCAP, 2007). International migration has reached to such a scale that in PICs such as the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Samoa, and Tonga, despite high annual rates of natural increase, there is a very low rate of intercensal population growth (Haberhorn, 2008). The high rate of emigration is evidenced by population statistics showing high numbers of Pacific islanders dwelling abroad. The KNOMAD (2016) report on migration reveals that Tonga and Samoa are amongst the world's top ten source countries of migrants. In Tonga, according to KNOMAD (2016), 53.6 per cent of the population have emigrated from the country, while in Samoa, 60.2 per cent of the population have emigrated. In 2014, the UNFPA reported that on average, there are around 16,000 Pacific Islanders leaving their islands every year (UNFPA, 2014).

Australia and New Zealand have been the most popular destination countries for PIC migrants. Woolford (2009: 1) notes in New Zealand's 2006 census, it was reported that 6.9 per cent of New Zealand's population was comprised of Pacific Islanders. Woolford (2009) also notes that in 2006, Australian government statistics reported that there were 131,593 Pacific islanders dwelling in Australia. The numbers have further increased, and the New Zealand Ministry of Pacific peoples reported that Pacific islanders were the fourth largest ethnic group in New Zealand. It is projected that by New Zealand's 2026 census, Pacific islanders would make up 10 per cent of New Zealand's population (Ministry of Pacific Peoples, 2016). In Australia, Pryke (2014) reports that as of Australia's 2014 census, there were 150,061 Pacific islander migrants residing in Australia. He further notes that while this is not a high figure in comparison to Australia's total population, it must still be noted that Australia is a key migrant destination for Pacific Islanders. This is evidenced by Pryke's (2014) observation that the ratio of Melanesians in Australia to Melanesians in Melanesia is 0.7 per cent, while the corresponding figures for Polynesia and Micronesia are 15.9 per cent, and 0.2 per cent respectively. At this point in time, migration of Pacific Islanders to Australia has been further facilitated by the introduction of seasonal labour mobility schemes (ILO, 2012). In 2009 a pilot scheme commenced which

allowed for the granting of up to 2500 visas, whereby Pacific Islanders would be able to travel to Australia and work in the horticultural industry (ILO, 2012).

On another level, is the internal migration of Pacific islanders within their home countries whereby Pacific islanders migrate to urban centres from rural areas and outlying islands (Maclellan & Mares, 2006). Internal migration is seen as a potential means for regions to adjust to economic changes, whereby individuals can improve their wellbeing by moving to regions that have a better economic status (Mare & Timmins, 2000). In the Pacific this can be seen as being symptomatic of the poverty of opportunity that is present. In essence, while absolute poverty is absent in the Pacific region, there is a poverty of opportunity whereby individuals in rural communities lack adequate access to health, education, and employment opportunities. Connell (2006b); and Russel (2009) note that the aforementioned factors have led to a trend of sustained rural-urban migration as Pacific islanders move to urban centres in a quest for better opportunities.

2.6.2: Theoretical Perspectives on Migration and Development in the Pacific

Earlier in this chapter, theories and paradigms that have sought to assess migration and development from a global perspective were discussed. In the case of the Pacific, there exists a specific model that seeks to assess the influence that migration has on the economies and development. This is the MIRAB model as proposed by Bertram and Watters (1985).

Due to hindrances that Pacific islands face in attaining development following traditional models, alternative systems of development have been sought (Poirine, 1998). One example is the MIRAB model that seeks to assess the linkage between migration and development in Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS). The model by Bertram and Watters (1985) has now been utilised to classify the economies of many Pacific islands. The model advocates that Pacific small island economies are driven primarily by a reliance on *migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy* (MIRAB) as sources of income for their economies (Bertram & Watters, 1986). Consequently, it can be seen that in this theoretical discourse that migration and remittances play a significant role in the development of the

economies in Pacific states. The model further advocates that while global theories may perceive migration and remittances as a blight that exacerbates dependency; the reality is that the Pacific faces unique challenges that make such modes of development the best alternative (Bertram, 2004). Such realities can be perceived in the cases of islands such as Tonga and Samoa which are heavily reliant on the receipt of remittances from overseas to help develop their economies (Connell & Brown, 2005). In Tonga for instance, remittances make up a significant portion of the national GDP averaging 45 per cent of the national GDP over the past decade (Lin, 2011: 3). Furthermore, remittances were the main source of foreign exchange and accounted for 67 per cent of all imports and the highest in the Pacific (ibid.). In fact, Tonga has received such large amounts of remittances to the extent that Taufatofua (2011) noted it to be the world's second highest remittance recipient relative to the size of its economy.

2.7: Previous Works Done in the Pacific, Fiji and Rotuma

Migration has come to play a crucial role as an alternate means of fostering and facilitating development through improving the livelihoods of households in the Pacific. Given the rapid globalisation that has occurred over the past decade, borders have shrunk through greater global interconnectivity (Mohanty, 2006). Consequently, increased global connectivity has resulted in cross border migration increasing at phenomenal rates (Castles, 2002). Such increased migratory trends have resulted in not only phenomenal increase of cross border flows but also resulted in the formation of transnational social networks (Castles, 2002; Mohanty, 2006). Consequently, given the greater interconnectedness currently being experienced, Pacific islanders have embraced migration as a means of facilitating development in their home islands.

For Small Island Developing States (SIDS) especially in the Pacific, migration has assisted in keeping the populations of such islands at 'manageable' levels and helps in avoiding issues of overcrowding and strains upon the available resources. Furthermore, individuals tend to migrate for the purpose of attaining higher education and employment (Connell, 2006a; Connell & Brown, 2005; Maclellan &

Mares, 2006; Rallu, 2008; Rokoduru, 2006). In doing so, migrants acquire a large variety of the skills necessitated to facilitate development and improve livelihoods. In addition to this, upon attaining employment in their host country/island, migrants tend to remit portions of their earning back to their households and communities in the form of monetary remittances and/or merchandise. Such remittances are invaluable in assisting small islands attain development outcomes, and have often been utilised by households and communities to formulate and sustain a great variety of developmental activities on a household level (Barcham, Scheyvens, & Overton, 2009). Examples include the use of remittances to develop business ventures, support household consumption as well as the development and construction of new dwellings and amenities (Connell & Conway, 2000). Thus, it can be seen from the literature surveyed that remittances play a pivotal role in facilitating development in small island communities through the strengthening and improvement of the livelihood activities that households and communities partake in.

Fiji has been undergoing migration trends that are similar to the rest of the Pacific. Mohanty (2006: 111) notes that labour migration in Fiji falls into three broad categories. The first phase was the *mass immigration phase* which took place from 1879–1919 and from 1920–36. Following colonialism, the British colonial government felt that indigenous Fijian society needed to be preserved, with the colonial governor (Sir Arthur Gordon) being opposed to the use of village labour (Sohmer, 1984). This prompted the decision to implement an indentured system under which migrant workers from India could be brought to Fiji to work in the cane fields (Macnaught, 1982; Sohmer, 1984). As a result, 60,000 labourers from India came to Fiji between 1879 and 1916 (Lal, 2003).

The second migration phases that Mohanty (2006: 111-112) identified was the permanent labour migration phase. This phase has been ongoing since 1970 with the advent of Fiji's independence. During this time, there were mass waves of migration that took place due to political upheavals. The coups of 1987, 2000 and more recently 2006 have resulted in the migration of Fiji citizens abroad. This has resulted in the loss of many professionals, with many of the professional migrants being teachers (Mohanty, 2006).

The third migration phase Mohanty (2006: 113) identifies is the temporary labour migration phase which has been ongoing since the early 1990s. The high migration rates especially in terms of temporary migration have led Fiji to become a remittance receiving country in the Pacific next to Tonga and Samoa Mohanty (2006: 115). Cangiano and Torre (2016) note that between 2004 and 2013 remittances made up an average of 5.5 per cent of Fijis GDP. Wadan Narsey (2015) has commented that while Fiji is suffering a brain drain due to the out migration of skilled workers, the personal remittances that they send act to boost the economy.

In Rotuma, the only source of data on migration to and from Fiji is the 2007 national census. This data shows the number of people living in Rotuma during the time of the census and is not disaggregated to clearly exhibit migration rates and trends. The data that is available simply shows the number of Rotumans who dwell on the island of Rotuma and those who dwell around mainland Fiji. Furthermore, accessing institutional data related to remittances sent to Rotuma is difficult as institutions such as the Fiji Postal service which facilitates the sending of money to Rotuma, consider remittance data to be confidential and not for general dissemination.

In Rotuma, a migratory trend has emerged with many Rotumans migrating to mainland Fiji and/or overseas countries to pursue further education and/or secure employment (Howard, 1999). According to Howard (2012), the scale of Rotuman migration over time has reached such proportions as to be referred to as a diaspora. Upon attaining employment, many migrants remit portions of their earnings back to their households and communities in the form of monetary remittances and/or merchandise. Such remittances have great potential to foster developmental activities as well as improving households' livelihoods by encouraging the formation of small scale businesses (Rensel, 1993). Furthermore, such remittances can potentially be invaluable in easing the accessibility of Rotuman households to social services such as education, healthcare and transport. For instance, De Haan (2000) argues that the monetary remittances that migrants send, can reduce income uncertainties amongst communities. Consequently, communities can move on from previous livelihoods systems which focussed upon simple day to day subsistence living in order to meet their immediate needs. Instead, the removal of income uncertainties can encourage

communities to undertake long term planning in terms of their expected income the most efficacious way in which it can be utilised. Similarly in the Rotuman context, so too can the receipt of remittances facilitate more long term planning and in terms of the utilisation of income and the development of remittance funded livelihood activities. For instance, livelihood amelioration development projects in Rotuma are often funded through capital and materiel sent by migrants (Rensel, 1993). Rotuma receives large amounts of remittance monies and such remittances have become one of the main drivers of the local Rotuman economy with annual remittance receipts estimated to average between FJD 1 to 1.5 million (Hannan, 2009; Zieroth, Gaunavinaka, & Forstreuter, 2007). In fact, there have been occasions where monthly remittances have supplanted this figure with Rotuman migrants being reported to have remitted 1 million dollars in a single month back to their families and households on the island (Fiji Times 12 June, 2007) . Such remittances have become integral drivers of the Rotuman economy and have contributed greatly to households starting and sustaining small scale business ventures, constructing new houses and further developing livelihood activities such as agriculture (Hannan, 2009; Rensel, 1993).

2.8: Conclusion

This chapter has provided a conceptual framework for studying issues related to migration and remittances, and how these link development. The chapter has also provided an insight into the various theories and models that have been developed to understand the notion of migration and development both internationally and in the Pacific context. The chapter has examined the nature, and scope of migration in the Pacific, and has also provided a review of previous studies conducted in the Pacific and in the study area of Rotuma. Finally, the chapter has provided a brief summary of emerging issues identified by the author, related to migration, remittances and development in the Rotuman context.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1: Introduction

This chapter focusses on the methodological and research approaches employed in this study. The chapter begins by describing the conceptual underpinnings of the methodology. The sources of data utilised for this study are then discussed. The tools and instruments used to gather data are described in addition to the sampling, and methods of analysis used. A summary of the research limitations and the ethical considerations that were taken into account in the research is also provided.

3.2: Methodological Approaches

According to Walsh (2005: 88) , methodologies refer to:

“the general positions adopted by researchers resulting from their philosophy, ontological and epistemological assumptions which influence their research design and determine their choices of research methods”.

In this research, both qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches were used. These two approaches seek to describe and explain phenomena. However they significantly differ in the manner data is collected and analysed.

Quantitative research is fundamental for studies that seek to measure and quantify reality. Such research is invaluable when seeking to assess the relationship between empirical data and what is happening in reality. Cohen and Manion (1980) assert that quantitative research is research that employs both empirical data and statements. These empirical statements are in reference to descriptive statements “*about what is the case in the real world rather than what ought to be the case*” (Cohen & Manion, 1980 as cited in Sukamolson, 2010). This approach employs empirical data in order to quantify phenomena and produce findings (Carr, 1994). For the purposes of this research, a quantitative methodology was employed to assess empirical data.

The quantitative approach employs sampling as a means of selecting research participants and/or objects. There are many sampling approaches that utilise different techniques to isolate a subset of a population. For the purpose of research, the two main categories of sampling methods employed were probability, and non-probability sampling.

Probability sampling (also known as random sampling) is a method that utilises random selection. The system attempts to ensure that all units in a population under study have an equal chance to be selected, and that the sample size is representative of the population of the community under study. Fridah (2002: 7) notes that this method is similar to raffles and/or lotteries. A simplistic example would be if a researcher wished to select a sample of 20 individuals from a population of 50, the researcher could write their names on pieces of paper, mix the papers thoroughly, and then select 20 names.

Non-probability sampling on the other hand, is a sampling approach that assists researchers in isolating specific units of interest from a population that they wish to study. In this approach, the sample is not randomly selected but is typically based on the judgement of the researcher. Simply put, non-probability sampling would entail purposefully selecting portions of the study population in order to acquire relevant data. For instance, an individual carrying out research on fishing methods in a coastal community would utilise non-probability sampling methods to identify and interview members of the community who are relevant to the research. This would require that the researcher identify fishermen/women and specifically interviewing them in order to garner their knowledge.

Qualitative research on the other hand, focuses upon the assertion that reality is not fixed or quantifiable. Rather, reality is something that individuals construct during their interaction with the world at large (Merriam, 2002). Ambert, Adler, Adler, and Detzner (1995: 880) look at qualitative research as a research that;

“Seeks depth rather than breadth. Instead of drawing from a large, representative sample of an entire population of interest, qualitative researchers seek to acquire in-depth and intimate information about a smaller group of persons”.

A qualitative approach is thus more fluid and dynamic, and allows a researcher to more greatly interact with participants. This approach also permits ongoing changes in the research as more findings are revealed. In essence, qualitative approaches seek to understand why things happen the way they do by studying phenomena in their natural setting. Also, as noted by Atieno (2009: 16) , qualitative data offers the strength of being able to simplify and manage data without destroying complexity and context.

In the case of this research, a mixed methodology approach has been employed. A quantitative methodology was employed in analysing data derived from field work. Qualitative approaches were used to collect supplementary data from communities and households for the purposes of detailing how remittances were influencing livelihoods and development in Rotuma. This provides a more nuanced analysis on the role that socio-economic factors play in migration and remittances.

3.3: Sources of Data

Primary and secondary data sources were used in this research. Primary data was derived by self-administering questionnaires to remittance receiving households in Rotuma. The questionnaire comprised of close-ended questions that had optional open-ended components for supplementary data. The closed questions acted as spurs to generate discussion on other aspects related to remittances and development that were not covered in the closed questions. ‘*Talanoa*’⁸ style interviews were also carried out with select business operators in Rotuma, as well as after administering the questionnaires at the household level. Additionally, after administering the questionnaires at the household level, informal ‘*talanoa*’ style interviews were carried out.

Secondary data was derived from past research undertaken. This was done through a review of available literature. Previous statistics and facts related to the subject were derived from previous academic research, government agencies, and from non-

⁸ ‘*Talanoa*’ interview refers to an informal style of interview that is carried out in research. A detailed explanation of this research method is given under the ‘data collection methods’ section.

governmental (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs). Secondary data was also derived from books, periodicals, and international organisations' reports.

3.4: Research Design

This section examines the overall design of the research. This section elaborates upon the data collection methods, the sample design and justification for its use, and the methods of analysis used for this research. Designing the research was a multi-faceted task as it needed to identify migratory trends in Rotuma, identify the amount of remittances that households were receiving, examine how remittances were being utilised in Rotuma, and finally to assess the influence that the receipt and usage of remittances had on livelihoods and development.

With limited resources (time and money) available, the research was designed to make optimum use of what skills and resources were readily available. Language was not a barrier as the researcher spoke fluent and colloquial Rotuman. However, given Rotuma's geographic isolation and the irregularity of boat visits, the researcher had to opt for air travel which while though costly, was more reliable. Given transportation difficulties on the island owing to short fuel supplies due to shipping delays, the fieldwork was planned to take place over a period of two months. This facilitated for visiting various villages around the island on foot, in the absence of adequate wheeled transport.

3.4.1: Data Collection Methods

In this section the methods of data collection that were employed in this research are described. The questionnaires, interviews, ethnographic observation, and key informant discussions that were utilised are described in detail.

3.4.1.1: Questionnaire Method

A period of one month was spent on formulating and designing the questionnaires. It was essential that they be perfectly designed in order to maximise their usefulness in

helping to answer the research questions. As noted by Passmore, Dobbie, Parchman, and Tysinger (2002: 281):

“Survey instruments, or questionnaires, are used to collect data about subjects’ demographics... knowledge, behaviours, and attitudes. Many researchers administer a survey when they need information or wish to answer a question”.

Structured and semi-structured questionnaires were used in this research. The structured questionnaires were specifically designed to gather data from households. The questionnaires covered themes relating to demographics and social status, livelihood activities, and sources of economic revenue. The questionnaires also covered the number of migrants in households and their destinations, remittances received and reasons for their being sent, usage of remittances and finally the role that remittances played in influencing livelihoods and development.

The semi-structured questionnaires were designed covering mostly closed and open-ended questions. The close-ended questions permitted empirical data to be gathered, while the open-ended questions allowed additional supplements to the data from the closed questions. In addition, the open-ended questions assisted in opening up an informal ‘*talanoa*’ style discussion with participants.

3.4.1.2: Interview Method

Questionnaires are excellent quantitative tools for gathering data that can be mathematically analysed. However, their rigidity in terms of their focus and structure means that they are not necessarily the best tools for acquiring detailed and in-depth data. The interview method is an information gathering tool that is highly efficacious when gathering supplementary and in-depth data. Interview method greatly assist in adding detailed information derived in field research as they serve to gather from participants the minutiae that may not be revealed from questionnaire responses.

The semi-structured interviews were carried out with all participants who had consented to be administered the research questionnaires. The interviews took place face to face after the questionnaire had been filled. The topics of the interview focussed upon the responses they had provided to the questionnaires and focussed

upon key areas that participants could elaborate upon and express their points of interest.

3.4.1.3: Observation Method

Primary observations in the field provided a rich source of data for this research. This method is important for development research as it provides first-hand information on events taking place in the study area. Observations permitted a linkage to be made between the responses derived from interviews and questionnaires and what was actually taking place on the island. Observations allowed insights into the impact that migration and remittances were having on; developments taking place on the island, changes in culture, and changes in lifestyle.

Observations were made in two ways. The first involved making observations while walking to and from various locations. These served to provide an insight into the living standards of people as well as how they interacted with the environment around them. This provided understanding on the realities that people in Rotuma face and how they were changing with the influx of remittances.

The second type of observations was carried out by participating in ceremonial, religious and social events in Rotuma. These included a funeral, ceremonial welcome for visiting government delegates (Mamasa⁹), inter-circuit church service¹⁰, a ceremonial thanking of the district chiefs, and several '*faras*¹¹'. Attending and carrying out observations at these events turned out to be essential sources of information. They offered key insights into how migration and remittances have influenced and caused alterations in the ways in which these events were conducted.

3.4.1.4: Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were carried out around the island of Rotuma. Key informants were selected based upon their status in the community or chosen

⁹ Mamasa is a traditional Rotuman ceremony "*originally performed for those who had left the island of Rotuma and then returned*" (Nilsen, 1991). In modern times, the ceremony is also performed to welcome visitors who travel into Rotuma for the first time.

¹⁰ Inter-circuit church service are where congregations from churches around the island gather at a single religious venue for a combined service, usually followed by a feast

¹¹ A fara is an event that takes place in the festive season (December-mid January) whereby Rotuman youths travel from house to house in the middle of the night to sing and dance and spread festivities.

profession. Data acquired from key informants provided valuable knowledge on the influence that migration and remittances have had on developmental trends, lifestyles, culture, and the economy of Rotuma. Key informants were selected based on specialised or unique knowledge that they might possess in relation to the study. As a result, interviews went very smoothly and the researcher was able to elicit specific and relevant data.

A total of 8 key informants were interviewed. These included district chiefs and sub-chiefs, a retired post-master, and members of the Rotuma Island Council. These key informants were individuals who had worked and lived in the island for a long period of time and most cases were born and raised on the island. Consequently, they provided large amounts of data that was pertinent to the research.

3.4.1.5: Ethnography

Ethnography is defined by Whitehead (2004: 17-18) as:

“...Is as much about discovering the right questions to ask (process) as it is about finding the answers to those questions (product). Ethnography entails continual observations, asking questions, making inferences, and continuing these processes until those questions have been answered with the greatest emic validity possible”.

For the purposes of this study, it was essential to identify the realities experienced by Rotumans in order to holistically assess how migration and remittances impacted their culture, lifestyles and social capital. Thus an ethnographic approach was employed. This involved living the same lifestyle as was practiced on the island and collecting data in the settings in which people lived and worked. Constant dialogue with Rotumans was required. This took place not only when carrying out interviews and administering questionnaires, but in all settings. These included dialogue and discussions in settings such as plantations, ‘koheas’¹², on the beach, at *faras*, and at kava¹³ drinking sessions.

¹² Koheas refer to an outdoor hut with an earthen oven dug into the ground. Each house in Rotuma has its own kohea and a significant amount of food preparation takes place there

¹³ Kava drinking refers to the practice of consuming an herbal drink made from the pounded roots of the *piper methysticum* plant. Kava drinking is practiced as a ceremonial and social activity in Rotuma

3.4.1.5.1 ‘Talanoa’

‘Talanoa’ method was also a part of the ethnographic studies conducted. Talanoa as stated by Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2012: 1) is “*talking about nothing in particular, chat, or gossip and it is within the cultural milieu of talanoa that knowledge and emotions are shared*”. In the Pacific context where oral traditions are highly regarded, seemingly innocuous conversations or ‘talanoa’ have come to play an important role. It is through such conversations that underlying intricacies that impact people’s lives can be discovered. Vaioleti (2006: 1) goes on to say that ‘talanoa’ research is:

“A personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities and aspirations, allows more mo’oni (pure, real, authentic) information to be available for Pacific research than data derived from other research methods”.

In this research, ‘talanoa’ was extremely important as it permitted the researcher to unravel the social, cultural, religious and economic intricacies that influenced migration, remittance receipts, and remittance usage on the island. ‘Talanoa’ research was carried out in various settings while carrying out various tasks. These included cultural, religious and social gatherings, kava drinking sessions, plantations, fishing expeditions, and even while feeding livestock. At such settings, the researcher would converse with consenting participants and glean information relating to migration and remittances and the influence they had on the setting or task the researcher and participant were involved in.

3.4.1.6: Photographs and Videos

Photographs were taken in to provide evidence of occurring changes that are linked to migration and remittances. Such images include pictures of new housing construction, waste disposal facilities, cargo brought in by ships, and newly introduced livelihood activities. For the purposes of future reference, videos were taken of cultural events, traditional ceremonies and everyday livelihood activities. The videos provided footage of the realities that are present in Rotuma.

3.4.1.7: Secondary Data

Secondary data was derived through a review of literature. This provided background knowledge on the general themes and issues that surround the research topic. These provided valuable information on what sort of data to seek and gather when out in the field. Additionally, based on previous research experiences derived from the literature, the research procedures were designed and refined. Books, reports, Census and archival data as well as historical statistics on remittances were included in the secondary data.

3.4.2: Sample Design

When carrying out research, sampling is often necessary as it offers a means to specifically analyse and understand what is happening in a specific situation, before using the analysis to create a generalisation of a larger group.

A challenge faced was the non-existence of updated and accurate figures of the population and demographics of Rotuma. As a result, there was no sample frame available. A ‘snowball¹⁴’ sampling technique was used in this research. This was done by making contact with households in Rotuma who had migrant family members. This was done in order to elicit information on which other families had migrant family members, or were also remittance recipients. In addition, once on the island, the researcher was able to derive updated population demographic statistics from the local health centre. Having derived this data, it was then possible to create a sampling frame for the research.

The population on the island of Rotuma currently stands at 1,734¹⁵ a total of seventy five households were selected to be surveyed around the island (Table 3.1).

¹⁴ A method by which a research can quickly reach out to hidden populations. This technique involves participants that the researcher has made contact with using their social networks to refer the researcher to other potential participants. This technique has been academically and professionally utilised and offers an excellent method of accessing and researching into hidden populations such as migrants (Van-Meter, 1990; Wiebel, 1990)

¹⁵ This figure is accurate as of July 2014 based on records at the Rotuma Rural Hospital (Rotuma Rural Hospital, 2015)

Table 3. 1. Patterns of Sample Selection from Communities in Rotuma

Community¹⁶	Population Over Age 20 Years	% of Population Over Age 20 Years	No. of Questionnaires Allocated	No. of Successfully Administered Questionnaires
Noa'tau	87	8.7	9	9
Kalvaka	43	4.3	4	4
Lopta	59	5.9	6	5
Oinafa	42	4.2	4	4
Paptea	22	2.2	2	2
Hapmak	107	10.7	11	0
Motusa	75	7.5	8	7
Jirau/Lau/Fae voi	34	3.4	3	3
Fapufa	6	0.6	0	0
Losa	30	3.0	3	3
Savlei	45	4.5	4	4
Tua'koi	56	5.6	5	5
Malha'a District	119	11.9	12	4
Juju District	115	11.5	12	11
Pepjei District	86	8.6	9	9
Itu'muta District	75	7.5	7	5
Total	1001	100.0	100	75

Source: J.Titifanue, 2015.

Additionally, only those who were 20 years of age or older were selected participate in the research. This was to ensure that participants would be over legal consent age. Additionally, this ensured that participants would have maturity and experience of life on the island.

Having acquired a breakdown of the population in Rotuma at district and village level, the number of households to be surveyed per village was determined as follows:

¹⁶ Not as many questionnaires were distributed in the communities of Malha'a and Hapmak. This was done in order to avoid conflicts of interest as the researcher has familial ties to most members of those communities.

- i.) The number of individuals over the age of 20 years was identified for each specified locality.
- ii.) The total number of individuals over 20 years in a community was divided by the total number of Rotumans over the age of 20 in order to find out what percentage of each communities village was over the age of 20 years
- iii.) The number of participants from each community were then selected based on the percentage of individuals over the age of 20 years dwelling in the community (Table 3.1)

Apart from using the sampling technique to calculate the number of respondents, persons to administer questionnaires, purposeful sampling was also used to select businesses, small scale entrepreneurs and key informants for data gathering. Purposeful sampling as stated by Palinkas et al. (2013: 2) refers to:

“Identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest”.

Purposeful sampling was employed to identify business operators, entrepreneurs and key informants who were particularly knowledgeable on the influence of remittances on development in Rotuma.

3.4.3: Research Analysis

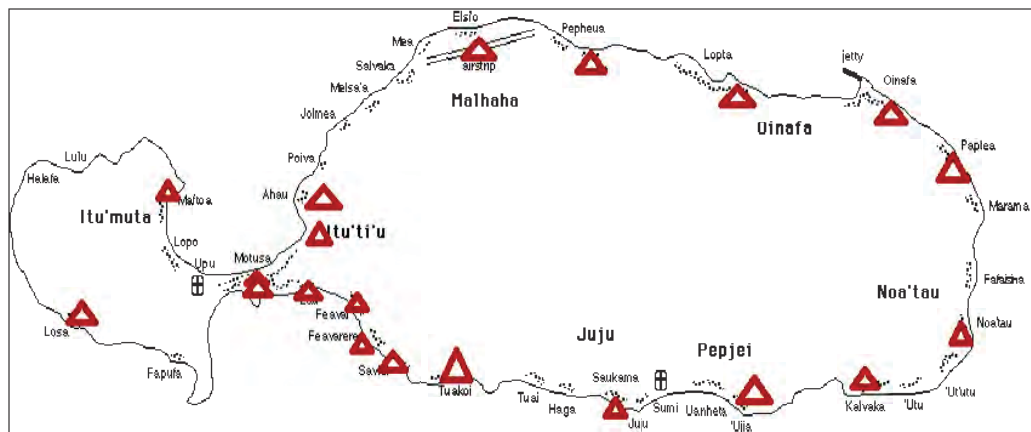
Given the mixed methodology employed and the variety of research methods that were used, data analysis was carried out in different ways. Quantitative data derived from the findings of the structured questionnaires which were processed, tabulated and cross tabulated using the Microsoft Excel Software (MS Excel). The refined and processed data was presented in the form of tables and graphs in order to more clearly depict data collected and ensure better understanding.

The qualitative data that was collected from the semi-structured questionnaires, as well as interviews carried out were transcribed. These transcriptions were then assessed and recurring thematic areas as well as key quotes were identified and used to supplement the quantitative analysis.

3.5: Study Area

The study area taken is the island of Rotuma (Map 3.1). Rotuma is an island that is fully politically integrated with Fiji. Rotuma has a distinct culture and language from that of Fiji and is also one of Fiji's most isolated islands, being geographically closer to Wallis and Futuna than it is to mainland Fiji (Rensel, 1993: 1).

Map 3.1. Map of Study Area



Source: Rotuma Website, 2015e.

3.6: Limitations

A scanty methodological approach to the subject is a major imitation to this study. With regard to quantitative methodology and methods, participants would ideally be chosen based on a sampling frame in order to ensure a representative sample. While such a frame did not exist, this was compensated for through the use of snowball sampling techniques.

An additional limitation was the fact that the research was unable to access all the households/persons that were supposed to be interviewed based on the sample set out in Table 3.1. However, carrying out supplementary ethnographic studies and interviewing key persons compensated for this shortcoming.

The unavailability of relevant organisational data on the research site is another major limitation of this research. Other limitations of the research were the lack of

time and limited funding that was available to carry out the field research component.

A dearth in statistics of Rotumans dwelling outside of Fiji is also a limitation. Census data in other countries do not provide disaggregated information on the ethnicity of migrants dwelling within their borders. Thus it was difficult to acquire statistics on the number of Rotumans dwelling abroad as the Census data given is under the heading of 'Fiji-born' residents especially in Australia and New Zealand, where a bulk of Fijian population reside.

3.6.1: Being an Indigenous Researcher

Being a Rotuman posed no difficulties in completing this research. Participants in the research while quite welcoming and warm, were often concerned with the researcher interviewing them. This was out of a concern that information they revealed might be divulged to the wider Rotuman community. This necessitated a lengthy process whereby the ethical criteria of the research were explained to participants in details. Reassurances were constantly made that all information would be utilised solely for research purposes, and identities would be kept confidential.

An additional challenge of being an indigenous researcher was that much of the information the researcher knew about Rotuma, was based on the researchers' experiences and knowledge as a Rotuman. Care had to be taken to ensure that all relevant data was gathered through a research process, and not glossed over, or assumed, simply because the researcher felt that it was 'common knowledge'. Additionally, many participants would often gloss over details that they felt the researcher would already know. This necessitated active listening and careful and diplomatic prompting, and follows up questions in order to glean the necessary information.

3.7: Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are required by all researchers while conducting a research. This is particularly true for community based research where researchers are required to infringe upon peoples' time in order to administer questionnaires, and conduct

interviews. Consequently, it is essential that such research abide by ethical principles in order to protect the feelings and well-being of participants.

In this research, consent was obtained from all participants to carry out the research. This was carried out in ways based on the research method employed. When administering questionnaires and interviewing key informants, participants were formally approached and made aware of the research topic and its aims and implications. Once potential participants had gained a clear understanding of what the research was about, they were then formally requested for their time and permission to be interviewed. When carrying out informal '*Talanoa*' interviews and ethnographic observations, participants were asked whether they agreed to participate in the research. Consequently, the data used in this research has been solely derived from consenting participants.

Individuals were also reassured that all data collected would be used only for research purposes and any future related work, their identities would be kept in the strictest confidentiality. Thus, in areas in this research where direct quotations and case studies are used, the original names have been changed in order to maintain confidentiality.

3.8: Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated upon how the research was carried out with regards to the methodology employed. The methodological approaches chosen and used were briefly discussed and justified. Sources of data used were then described followed by a discussion of the research design and methods used. This was followed by a breakdown of the sampling design used as well as an elaboration of the manner in which data was analysed. The chapter concluded with a brief summary of the study area, the limitations in this research as well as the ethical considerations in this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

BACKGROUND OF FIJI ISLANDS AND ROTUMA

4.1: Introduction

This chapter focusses upon providing a brief background to the Fiji Islands and specifically to Rotuma. The chapter covers the geography and demography of Fiji. It also briefly examines migration and remittances in Fiji at the national level. The chapter provides a background to the island of Rotuma where this study was undertaken. This section focusses upon the geography, demography, culture and socio-economic attributes of the island of Rotuma.

The chapter studies how remittances have contributed towards the development of the country in terms of boosting the national economy as well as by injecting financial aid at the household level. Migration and remittances are also examined in the context of the motives behind why people migrate, and send remittances back to their homeland. The chapter ends with a summary of the current realities prevalent in Rotuma with regard to migration and remittances.

4.2: The Fiji Islands Context

The Republic of the Fiji Islands refers to an island group situated in the South Pacific Ocean (Map 4.1). The island group is geographically located 18 degrees South and 175 degrees East and comprises of 332 islands of which 110 are inhabited (CIA, 2011). Many of the islands are made up of rocks of volcanic origin with much of the land mass of the island group accounted for by the two main islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. Combined, these two islands make up about 87 per cent of Fijis' land mass. The Fiji islands are scattered and dispersed, and many islands are geographically isolated.

Viti Levu is the largest island in the republic and hosts the national capital which is the city of Suva. Administratively, Fiji is divided into 4 divisions and 14 provinces (Map 4.1). Fiji's Central division comprises of five provinces, namely, Naitasiri,

Namosi, Serua, Rewa, and Tailevu. The Northern division is made up of Cakaudrove, Bua and Macuata. The Eastern division is made up of Kadavu and the two island groups of Lomaiviti and Lau. The Western division is made up of Ba, Ra and Nadroga-Navosa. In terms of land tenure, 9 per cent of land is under freehold tenure, 3 per cent is state land, and the remaining 88 per cent of the land is reserved as I-Taukei land (Shah, 2004: 1).

The majority of major schools, roads, seaports, airports, and business and civil administrative centres are located on the island of Viti Levu. A result of this is that outlying islands suffer a dearth in terms of access to resources and services. This had led to a prevalent rural-urban drift which is exacerbated in the more isolated islands.

Map 4.1. Map Showing Fiji's Location and Administrative Boundaries



Source: Vidiani, 2015.

4.2.1: Economy

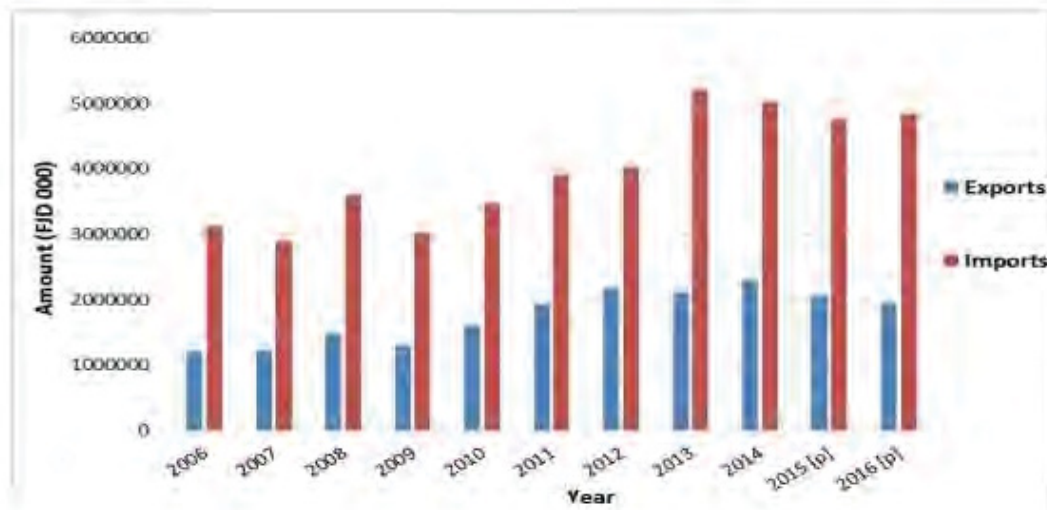
Fiji is a middle income developing country. In comparison with many other PICs, Fiji has a relative abundance of natural resources. Fiji has resources of timber, fish,

gold, copper, bauxite, hydropower as well as potential offshore oil (CIA, 2017). On the windward sides of the two largest islands (Viti Levu and Vanua Levu), there are dense tropical rainforests.

With almost half of Fiji's population dwelling in rural areas (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2016c), the agricultural and subsistence sector still plays a significant role in the Fiji islands economy. Tourism sector is an important sector in Fiji economy. The Fiji Bureau of Statistics (2014) has reported that the agriculture, fisheries, and forestry industries account for a significant proportion of Fiji's total economic activity in terms of 'share of total employment', and Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF). However, in recent times, there has been a downturn in the agricultural sector. Tropical Cyclone Winston which struck Fiji in February 2016 caused widespread damage to the agricultural industry. With damages costing an estimated FJD 208.3 million (Fiji Islands Ministry of Agriculture, 2016). In addition, the sugar industry which was once the backbone of Fiji's economy has significantly declined in both productivity and earnings.

Fiji's key exports comprise of manufactured goods, food products, raw materials, and minerals. Many Fiji products have found niche markets around the world, with products such as 'Fiji Water' and 'Pure Fiji' gaining international popularity. However, despite having a broader industrial base than many other Pacific Island Countries (PICs), Fiji still remains highly reliant on imports. According to Trading Economics (2016), Fiji's 2015 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) stood at USD 4.39 billion, while GDP per capita stood at around USD 8756.40. Statistics from the Fiji Bureau of Statistics (2016b) reveal that Fiji has consistently had a negative balance of trade with imports consistently outweighing exports (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Fiji Islands Merchandise Trade Statistics 2006-2016



Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2016b.

4.2.2: Population, Demography and Socio-Cultural Groups

As of the last nationwide census in 2007, Fiji has a population of 837,271. This is an increase of 62,194 from Fiji's previous census in 1996. Fijis population is projected to reach the one million mark in 2030 (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Fiji comprises of a multicultural society, with indigenous Fijians (iTaukei) making up the majority (almost 58 per cent) of Fijis population. Indo-Fijians (descendants of indentured labourers from India) make up around 37 per cent of Fijis population. Other ethnic groups make up almost 6 per cent of Fijis population.

Christianity is the dominant religion practiced in Fiji. In the 2007 census, 64 per cent of Fiji citizens identified themselves as Christians, 28 per cent as Hindus, while 6 per cent of the population identify themselves as Muslims (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015a). Christianity is mostly practiced by indigenous Fijians, while Indo-Fijians are usually identified with the Muslim and Hindu faith (Musudroka, 2012: 60).

4.2.3: Migration and Remittances in Fiji

Since Fiji's first coup in 1987, there has been significant outmigration from Fiji. Bedford (1989) estimates that more than 100,000 skilled workers migrated out of the country in the coups aftermath. According to Reddy, Mohanty and Naidu (2004),

approximately \$45 million dollars was drained annually as a result of the professional emigration from Fiji. Such migration trends occurred again after Fiji experienced coups in 2000 and 2006. Such migration trends shook Fiji's economy as many of those who migrated were skilled workers. Consequently, Fiji lost a significant amount of human capital.

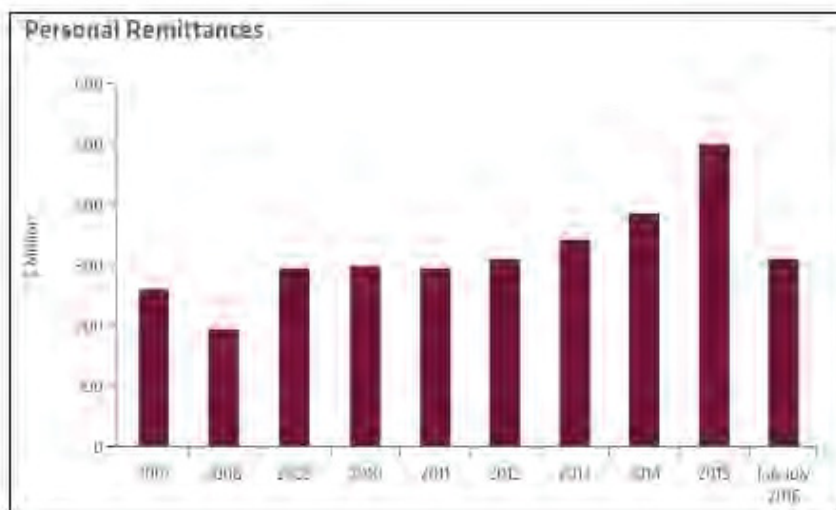
Apart from permanent migration that Fiji has been undergoing, a number of Fiji citizens have been migrating abroad for work on a temporary basis (Mohanty, 2006: 113). These include Fijian soldiers sent abroad as peacekeepers. Fiji has had soldiers serving as peacekeepers in different parts of the world since the 1970s (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). As of 29th June 2017, the Republic of Fiji Military Forces (RFMF) website reveals that Fiji has peacekeepers stationed in Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Jerusalem (RFMF, 2017). A more recent type of temporary migration trend is seasonal migration due to the introduction of Seasonal labour mobility schemes by Australia or New Zealand whereby, Fiji islanders can travel to these countries to work in the horticultural or hospitality industries (ILO, 2012; Vula, 2017).

4.2.3.1 Remittances to Fiji

With thousands of workers travelling overseas, Fiji became a remittance receiving country since the mid-1990s (Mohanty, 2006). Between 2000-2004 remittances received in Fiji increased by more than 218 per cent when compared to the period from 1993-1999 (Mohanty, 2006). Economists point out that while this is a significant increase, it must be noted that significant proportions of remittances sent and received remain unrecorded. Thus the amount of remittances Fiji receives is significantly higher. Apart from remittances from migrants, Fiji carries out many peacekeeping duties on behalf of the United Nations. The remittances and government revenue received from peacekeepers now make up a significant proportion of Fijis economy (The Economist, 2007). Fiji is one of the largest recipients of remittances in the Pacific region though the share of remittances in the national GDP is quite small compared to other island economies. Despite this, remittances have increased from 2 per cent of the national GDP in 1997 to 7 per cent in 2005 (Browne & Mineshima, 2007).

The Reserve Bank of Fiji (2016a:1) reports that since 2004 remittances have been Fiji's second largest earner of foreign exchange, “*outranking traditional foreign exchange earners such as sugar, timber, gold and garments*”. The volume of remittances received in Fiji has been steadily growing. According to Reserve Bank of Fiji (2016a: 1) reports between 2010 and 2012, there was an average of FJD 297.2 million in personal remittances received. This had increased to FJD 339.1 million in 2013 and by 2015, the figure had reached FJD 491.7 million (Reserve Bank of Fiji, 2016a). Figure 4.2 shows the growth in the personal remittances that have been sent to Fiji between 2005 and 2016.

Figure 4.2. Inward Personal Remittances to Fiji, 2005-2016



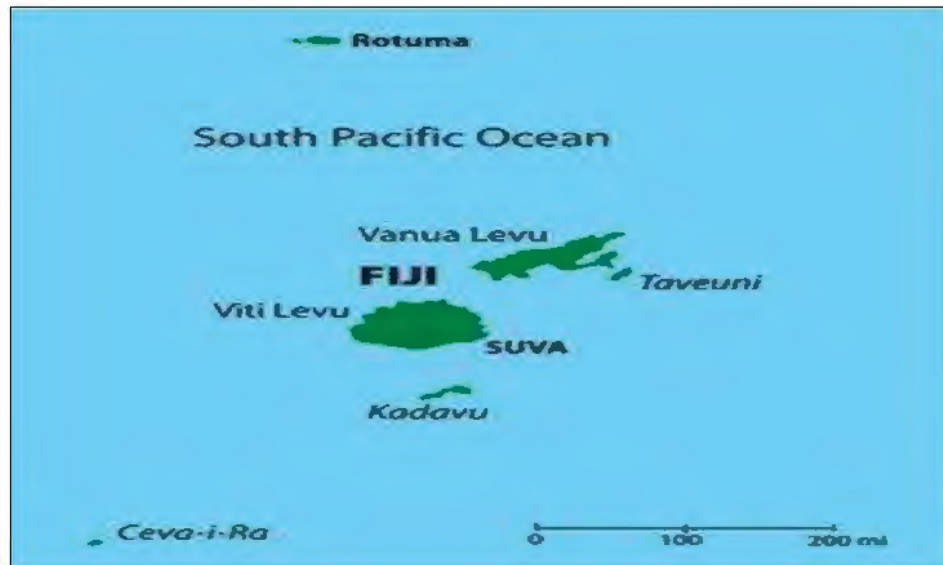
Source: Reserve Bank of Fiji, 2016b.

4.3: The Rotuma Context

Rotuma is a volcanic island located 12° 30' south and 177° East with a total land area of about 43 square kilometres. The island is situated approximately 500 kilometres north from the mainland Fiji islands with which it is politically integrated (Map 4.2). The island is geographically isolated. Its closest neighbours are; Futuna and Wallis ('Uvea) to the east, which respectively lie 550 and 740 kilometres away as well Tuvalu which lies approximately 500 kilometres to the North of Rotuma (Rensel, 1993: 1). There are several islets off the coast of Rotuma namely, Haua Ti'u and Haua Mea'me'a off Oinafa; Husia Ti'u, Husia Mea'me'a, 'Afgaha, and Solkope off

Noa'tau; and Solnoho off Juju (Howard & Rensel, 2007: 2). The island has no urban facilities with only an administrative centre at 'Ahau where essential services such as a hospital, a postal service and government administrative offices are located.

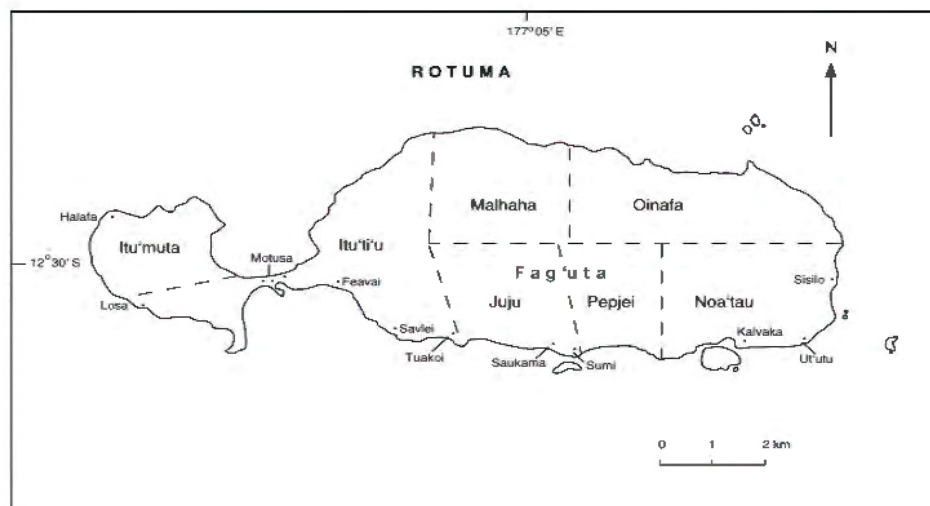
Map 4.2. Location of Rotuma in Fiji Islands



Source: Fiji Marinas, 2015.

The Rotuman Island is divided into seven districts (Map 4.3) each with its own district chief and comprising of multiple villages.

Map 4.3. Map of Rotuma and its Districts



Source: Rotuma Website, 2015e.

Being of volcanic origins, the Rotuman Island possesses rich volcanic soil allowing for great abundance in the produce of crops. As a result, a wide variety of crops such as tapioca, yams, taro, cassava, and bananas are cultivated. Additionally, coconuts, breadfruit and a wide variety of fruit and assorted vegetables can be found growing wild around the island. Consequently, while physically arduous, inhabitants of the island are able to enjoy a relatively comfortable standard of living. With an absence of rivers on the island, fresh water was previously obtained through wells dug along the coast. As of 1974, boreholes have been drilled and islanders have access to piped groundwater that has been pumped to the surface via boreholes (Government of Fiji, 2010).

Rotuma has a tropical climate with its characteristic condition of high humidity. Its small size means that there is less temperature and rainfall variability in the island. Overall, the island possesses a benign climate with abundant rainfall that ensures an abundance of groundwater.

4.3.1: Brief History of Rotuma

While relatively little is known of the early Rotuman settlers, linguistic evidence suggests that the islands were settled around 3,000 years ago by a population related to that of western Fiji (Howard & Rensel, 2007: 25). Studies of the Rotuman culture reveal aspects correlating with both Melanesian and Polynesian cultures and practices. Early historical accounts related to visiting European anthropologists reveal that prior to European contact, Rotumans were aware of and in contact with various islands around the Pacific (Gardiner, 1898). In addition to this, canoes from Tonga, Futuna, Tuvalu and Tarawa had been reported to make landfalls at Rotuma prior to European contact. Rotuman navigators in turn had been reported to have voyaged as far as Tikopia and Anuta in the west and Bora Bora in the east.

Europeans first made contact with Rotuma in 1791. This took place when the officers and crew of the HMS Pandora came across the island while searching for mutineers from the HMS Bounty (Rotuma Website, 2015b). At the time of first contact with Europeans, Rotuma was divided into 6 autonomous districts, namely *Noa'tau*, *Oinafa*, *Itu'ti'u*, *Fag'uta*, and *Itu'muta*. Each district was headed by a *fā 'es itu'u*

(District Chief). Chiefly status and titles were not hierarchically ascribed, rather titles rotated between the various ‘mosega’¹⁷ within a district. Each ‘mosega’ would have a turn to nominate and elect a chief from within their clan when a chief passed on and selection of a new chief was necessary (Ladefoged, 1995). An additional point worth noting is that the Rotuman kinship system is not particularly patrilineal or matrilineal with regard to ascribing ones Rotuman identity. Rather, a bilineal system is followed whereby Rotumans are free to choose which side of their family they wish to associate with in terms of residence and social and cultural obligations (Rensel, 1991). Theoretically as a result of this, each Rotuman has rights to multiple ‘*fuagrī*’¹⁸ going as far back as their great grandparents on both their paternal and maternal sides (Rotuma Website, 2015c). In the case of individuals who are not of full Rotuman descent, they still have land rights to the *fuagrī* that their Rotuman ancestors hail from. This social organising is still featured today in terms of the bilineal clan system and lineages. A result of this is a large network of connectivity between Rotumans based upon ties of kinship.

Beginning in the early half of the 19th century, contact with Europeans increased dramatically and Rotumans came to welcome opportunities for trade. The lush nature of the island made it an attractive stopover for ships looking to restock their stores (Howard & Rensel, 2007: 119). In addition, ship captains found Rotumans were eager to sign on visiting ships and become crew members for the purpose of voyaging around the Pacific. This desire to travel amongst Rotumans later led to young men being considered obligated to ‘*kauvak*’¹⁹ or complete a voyage on a ship before they settled down back in Rotuma (Howard, 2012).

While many returned to the island to settle down, others remained in other countries and islands, putting down roots elsewhere and to this day, descendants of such migrants can still be found in places such as the Torres strait (Mua, 2007). This was the beginning the first stages of a Rotuman migratory trend that has contemporarily been referred to as a diaspora with many Rotumans seeking to travel of the island to make their fortunes elsewhere (Howard, 2012).

¹⁷ Mosega refer to clans within a district which each comprise of several extended families

¹⁸ *Fuagrī* is the Rotuman term that refers to a given house site. Each *fuagrī* also has associated lands in the bush that can be used by those of have rights to the *fuagrī*

¹⁹ ‘*kauvak*’ is a Rotuman term that refers to travelling on a ship as part of the crew

In 1878, a war of religion occurred between Rotuman Methodist and Catholic converts, the unrest that resulted from this war led to Rotuma's paramount chiefs petitioning the Kingdom of Great Britain for annexation. In 1881 Rotuma was ceded to Great Britain and rather than being a colony on its own, it was administered as part of the Fiji Crown colony (Howard & Howard, 1977). In 1970 when the Fiji Crown colony was granted independence, Rotuma remained politically integrated with Fiji. This political relationship continues to this day and as a result Rotumans enjoy great ease of access to educational and employment opportunities on mainland Fiji. This has meant that international migration limitations faced by other migrant societies such as Samoa and Tonga are non-existent for Rotumans (Howard, 1961; Rensel, 1993).

Rotuma remains geographically isolated, and despite the lushness of its natural resources, its geographic isolation has led to many Rotumans leaving its shores in the search for more opportunities. As a result, its political affiliation with Fiji has greatly helped facilitate Rotuma's wellbeing. This wellbeing is in terms of employment provided by government jobs as well as the ease of access migrants have to mainland Fiji that facilitate access to more opportunities as well as the flow of remittances into Rotuma (Rensel, 1993).

4.3.2: Population and Demography of Rotuma

The vast majority of Rotumans dwell in mainland Fiji. In 2007 the Fiji government carried out a population census which revealed that the national population was 837,271 with the population comprising of a wide variety of racial groups (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015b). Of this, Rotumans dwelling in Fiji numbered 10,335 making up less than one per cent of the population. Of the 10,335 Rotumans dwelling within Fiji as of 2007, only 2002 were recorded as residing on the island of Rotuma. The vast majority of the population on Rotuma comprises of ethnic Rotumans. A small proportion of other ethnic groups dwell on the island. These are usually civil servants sent to work in Rotuma in medical, developmental, and administrative capacities.

Table 4.1 shows the growth in the population of Rotumans between 1881 and 2007. In the beginning of the 20th century, there were 2230 Rotumans in Fiji. Between 1901 and 1956 the population of Rotumans grew by nearly 98 per cent (Table 4.1). The population of Rotumans grew by nearly 21 per cent between 1921 and 1936. After independence in 1970, the Rotuman population reached to 7,291 in 1976 and further expanded in the following census periods. The rate of Rotuman population growth has continued, but constant outmigration has led to the population of Rotumans in mainland Fiji being far greater than the number of Rotumans dwelling in Rotuma.

Table 4.1. Population of Rotumans in Mainland Fiji and On Rotuma Island

	In Rotuma		In Mainland Fiji		Total Rotuman Population
Year	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number
1881	-	-	-	-	2452
1891	-	-	-	-	2219
1901	-	-	-	-	2230
1911	-	-	-	-	2176
1921	2112	94	123	6	2235
1936	2543	90	273	10	2816
1946	2744	83	569	17	3313
1956	2993	68	1429	32	4422
1966	3235	56	2562	44	5797
1976	2707	37	4584	63	7291
1986	2554	30	6098	70	8652
1996	2,580	27	7,147	73	9727
2007	2002	19	8333	81	10335

Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015b. and Howard and Rensel, 1997.

Table 4.1 shows a consistent increase in the population of Rotumans. However, it is worth noting that the population of Rotumans on the island of Rotuma have consistently decreased over time while the population of Rotumans on mainland Fiji

have been increasing at a very high rate (Table 4.1). This phenomenon is discussed in the next section which focusses on Rotuman migration.

4.3.3: Migration of Rotumans

Fiji's urban sectors have been experiencing a consistent increase in population. This is attributable to the natural increase in Fiji's population as well as to rural-urban migration. Rotumans have played a part in this phenomenon of internal migration with constant migration taking place from Rotuma to urban centres in mainland Fiji.

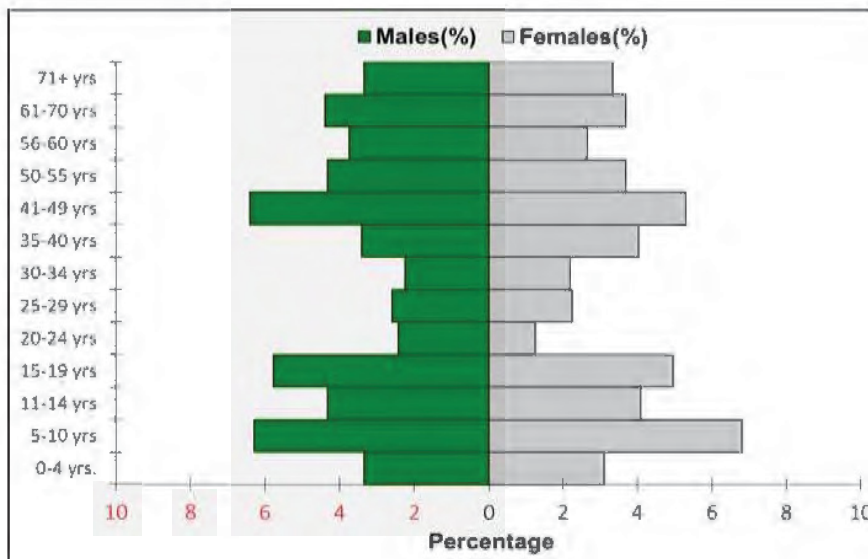
Of the total Rotuman population in 1921, 94 per cent lived on Rotuma Island and the other 6 per cent lived on mainland Fiji. After 1921, the population living on Rotuma declined gradually and the population in mainland Fiji increased. This illustrates the rapid process of migration from Rotuma Island to mainland Fiji (Table 4.1). By 1976 less than half of the total Rotuman population lived on Rotuma Island. The latest Fiji census in 2007 recorded that only 19 per cent of Rotumans lived on Rotuma Island, while 81 per cent dwelt on mainland Fiji. In essence, the proportions of Rotumans living on Rotuma and on mainland Fiji were reversed between 1946 and 2007 (Table 4.1).

Various socio-economic and cultural factors have contributed to this trend of outmigration. As mentioned earlier, during the early 19th century, Rotumans were eager to sign onto visiting ships and become crew members for the purpose of voyaging around the Pacific. This desire to travel has carried on to this day and partially contributed to early outmigration from the island as it later led to young men being considered obligated to complete a voyage on a ship before they settled down back in Rotuma (Howard, 2012). Additionally, while Rotuma's lush terrestrial and marine resources mean that subsistence living is possible, its geographic isolation and small size means that there are relatively few educational and economic opportunities available. Rotumans consequently travel to mainland Fiji as Fiji's diversified economy provides opportunities for further education as well as a broad employment base (Rensel, 1993). Furthermore, in many cases, Rotumans are encouraged from a young age to seek their future outside of the island to avoid the strenuous lifestyle of subsistence living in Rotuma.

The desire of Rotumans to migrate and seek their fortunes outside of Rotuma has been facilitated by Rotuma's political integration with Fiji. This has ensured that Rotumans have ease of access to mainland Fiji and the various opportunities offered by Fiji's more diversified economy. Rotumans have made great use of this opportunity with more than 80 per cent of the population dwelling outside of the island as of 2007. Given the enduring lack of opportunities available on the island, this trend is expected to continue.

This ongoing migration trend has resulted in the population of Rotuma Island dwindling even further. By 2015 the Rotuma rural hospital recorded that Rotuma Island had a population of 1,734 persons. Additionally, due to the ongoing migration of youths, Rotuma's population is now divided into two broad categories; the old, and the young. This is shown in the population pyramid in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3. Rotuma's Population Pyramid, 2015



Source: Rotuma Rural Hospital, 2015.

The desire to seek better opportunities for their families is especially significant as the Rotuman culture like other Pacific cultures revolves around webs of kinship and the fundamentals of communal living and reciprocity (Hannan, 2009). A result of this is that Rotuman migrants still maintain their ties and commitment to families and communities on the island. As noted by Rensel (1993:227), this commitment is

continuously demonstrated through “*contributions of time, labour and material resources*”.

This has meant that Rotuma receives a significant amount of remittances from migrants. These remittances have been sent in keeping with the spirit of reciprocity and the desire to alleviate the difficulty of subsistence living on the island. These remittances have come to play a significant role in the economy of the island as well as in the livelihoods of families.

4.3.4: Economy of Rotuma

Rotuma enjoys a relative abundance of natural resources that greatly facilitate subsistence living. Rotuma’s economy is largely subsistence in nature through the wide variety of crops such as tapioca, yams, taro, cassava, and bananas cultivated on the island. Additionally, coconuts, breadfruit and a wide variety of fruit and assorted vegetables can be found growing wild around the island.

As a result of the abundance in such resources, Rotumans on the island enjoy a relatively comfortable living standard with access to an abundance of natural source of food. In the monetary sense however, Rotuma’s economy lacks adequate revenue generating activities to cater for its entire population. In essence, it is largely a nature dependent economy. Being a hinterland community, Rotuma has typified the rural-urban relationship by providing mainland Fiji with raw material (copra) and the work ability of its populace. Earned income opportunities for Rotumans are by and large restricted to government jobs on the island or to selling copra (Fatiaki, 1991). Being too small, and with inadequate resources to truly be self-sufficient, remittances from migrants play a large part in providing monetary income for many households. Rotuma’s political integration with Fiji has greatly beneficial to Rotuma’s economic well-being. This integration has ensured the free flow of goods, money, people and information.

Foreign aid does not play a direct role in Rotuma’s economy as aid is funnelled in through the Fiji government. Rotuma does receive government monetary aid for developmental purposes (Rotuma Website, 2015a). In addition, the government

provides various support for initiatives aimed at improving economic livelihoods on the island such as copra and fishing schemes (Rensel, 1993).

In recent times, efforts have been made by the government of Fiji to increase Rotuma's self-sufficiency and to build up the islands economy. In 2007, talks between the governments of Tuvalu and Fiji began on facilitating trade between Tuvalu and its nearest island neighbour. The intention was that Rotuma could export staple crops such as Taro, Cassava, and Sweet Potatoes which Tuvalu has difficulty in producing (Ministry of Rural and Maritime Development and National Disaster Management, 2014; Radio New Zealand International, 2009). This project has led to great economic developments taking place on the island of Rotuma in an effort to facilitate trade between Fiji and Tuvalu F\$1.4 million were spent on upgrading the Oinafa jetty. To facilitate this trade, Rotuma was named an international port of entry. Furthermore, FJD 450,000 was spent on developing a root crop shed as well as FJD 450,000 spent on developing a hot air treatment (Government of Fiji, 2011; Office of the Prime Minister of Fiji, 2015).

4.3.4.1: Transport Infrastructure

Rotuma was declared an international port of entry. However, the jetty still possesses limited docking and unloading facilities, with freight being must be manually loaded and unloaded from ships. In cases when the sea is too rough, passengers and freight must be brought from ship to shore by motor launch. Ships are typically scheduled to visit on a monthly basis. However, Rotuma's great distance from the mainland means that shipping services tend to be irregular and it is not uncommon for several months to elapse between ship visitations. The distance between Rotuma and Fiji, as well as Rotuma's isolation has meant that shipping transportation costs are quite high. At this point in time, Rotuma is serviced by two commercial vessels namely the MV Lady Sandy owned by Sea View Shipping and the MV Lomaiviti Princess owned by Goundar Shipping.

The island also possesses a grass airstrip located in Malha'a province. The airstrip is 1,494 metres in length and consequently aircraft that can use it are typically small (Government of Fiji, 2006). Planes travel on a weekly basis to Rotuma and presently

the island is serviced by two carriers which each conduct weekly flights. These are Fiji Link (a subsidiary company of Fiji Airways) and Northern Air. As is the case with sea travel, the distances involved and the relatively low number of passengers that travel each time has resulted in a lack of economies of scale and extremely high travel costs.

Rotuma's small size has meant that internal travel is not a problem. There is a network of roads and tracks running around and through the island. Roads are typically made of steam rolled sand and gravel (Photograph 4.1) and in many sections have been partially sealed with concrete (Photograph 4.2). Feeder roads throughout the island provide access to plantations and facilitate the collection of garden produce and copra.

Photograph 4.1. Steam Rolled Sand and Gravel Road in Rotuma



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

Photograph 4.2 shows partially concrete sealed roads in Rotuma. The roads that are frequently used, or in parts of Rotuma that are particularly densely populated are typically partially concrete sealed.

Photograph 4.2. Partially Concrete Sealed Roads in Rotuma



Source: Kane and Kane, 2013.

4.3.4.2: Poverty and Economic Challenges

The Pacific is not typically associated with the images that the word poverty brings to mind such as starving citizens and destitute households. Pacific cultures that are centred on the ideals of reciprocity and kinship networks have acted as social safety nets to protect vulnerable members in society. Moustafa & Abbott (2014: 4) note that for the Pacific, the absolute or extreme poverty the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) seek to address “*is not generally recognised, and is rather rare*”.

Rotuma does not possess poverty in the extreme sense. Strong social networks and an abundance of marine and terrestrial food sources means that Rotumans do not experience extreme starvation and destitution. However, as is typical for the rest of the Pacific, while the people of Rotuma have access to adequate livelihood resource and are well fed and healthy, they still suffer from a degree of relative poverty. Relative poverty as defined by Abbott and Pollard (2004: 2) “*is experienced by those whose incomes might be just sufficient to meet basic needs but are still below the national average or norm*”. In the case of Rotuma, its isolation and small size has

meant that there are limited socioeconomic opportunities available thus leading to a ‘poverty of opportunity’²⁰.

This ‘poverty of opportunity’ is attributable to the economic challenges faced in Rotuma. Employment opportunities have historically been scarce. In the 1960s, firms that had been present such as Morris Hedstrom and Burns Philip left the island resulting in a loss of jobs. Since then, wage earning opportunities have more than doubled with the development of the Rotuman Corporative Fund (Rensel, 1993). However, job opportunities remain very limited and government employment remains the largest source of wage earning opportunity offering employment for teachers, labourers and administrative personnel. Currently, apart from government employment, job opportunities available are, working for religious bodies, or with the local airline. Thus while there have been improvements in employment opportunities available, opportunities for earned income are still very low.

The limited medical facilities available in Rotuma are also symptomatic of the ‘poverty of opportunity’. While there is a rural hospital present with trained medical staff, irregular shipping services have meant that it is not uncommon for medical supplies to run short at the medical dispensary. The limited facilities offered by the hospital have meant that in many cases ‘mercy flights’ have to be arranged at great financial cost to send patients for further treatment on mainland Fiji. This dearth of adequate facilities is to the extent that pregnant mothers must be sent to mainland Fiji at significant expense to the medical authorities as the hospital lacks maternity facilities (Titifanue, personal communication 2014). Recently however, efforts have been made to ameliorate access to medical facilities through the construction of a new hospital with better facilities. Construction on this began in March 2015 (Bolatiki, 2015) but until this project is completed, limited access to full medical care is yet another aspect of the ‘poverty of opportunity’ faced on the island.

In addition to this, there are limited economic opportunities for individuals to cultivate and develop entrepreneurial skills due to the lack of business opportunities present on the island. Producing and exporting copra to Fiji has been the mainstay of

²⁰ Poverty of opportunity refers to how people may be relatively well fed and healthy yet still suffer from relative poverty due to a lack of opportunities to improve their lot in life (Russel, 2009)

the Rotuman economy and was a major source of income for most households (Fatiaki, 1991). However, in recent decades, the production of copra around Fiji has experienced continuing decline due to fluctuating copra prices (Duncan, 2010). This is further exacerbated by irregular shipping services which hinder the ability of copra producers to export their produce. As a result of this, copra production is no longer adequate for providing a stable income for households in Rotuma Island.

In summary, while Rotumans enjoy a comfortable living standard in terms of accessibility to food, there is a 'poverty of opportunity' in terms of the access they have to socioeconomic opportunities as well as medical care. As a result of this, remittances from migrants play a crucial role in the lives of Rotumans.

4.3.5: Rotuman Leadership and Administrative Structure

Rotuma's traditional leadership structures have remained intact since the time of first European contact. In the days of the Fiji Crown Colony, Great Britain carried out a system of indirect rule whereby the colony was administered through its traditional leaders to the greatest extent practicable (Weeks, 1995). Being a part of the Fiji colony after their cession to Britain, Rotuma came under this system. Consequently traditional leaders were integrated into the decision making process as often as possible and this system has carried on into this present day and age.

Since first contact with Europeans in 1791, Rotuma has been divided into seven districts. Each district comprises of multiple villages and is headed by a *gagaj 'es itu'u* (District Chief). Sub-chiefs head each of the various villages in a district. Traditionally, district chiefs were tasked with organising district activities and arbitrating disputes. Sub-chiefs were tasked primarily with organising the labour of households and collecting food and valuables for distribution when called for by the district chief, or when required by events involving their group (Rotuma Website, 2015d).

Under colonial administration, efforts were made by the British to impose the same system of indirect rule that they had in Fiji. However, the contrast between the more egalitarian bilineal kinship based system practiced by Rotumans and the patrilineal

system of primogeniture practiced by the I-Taukei meant that attempts to increase the power of chiefs were resisted by the Rotuman people (Howard, 1966: 68). Under colonial rule, a council comprising of the seven district chiefs was set up to provide advice to colonial administrators. This system evolved over time to permit the additions of an elected representative from each district (Howard, 1989).

Following independence in 1970, the role of the Council evolved and expanded. The council evolved into a policy making statutory body and wielded real power for the first time since cession (Howard, 1989). Through the legal ordinances of the Rotuma Act of 1978, the council grew to include the seven district chiefs, an elected representative from each of the seven districts and senior civil servants stationed in Rotuma. The council was tasked with addressing issues of good government and wellbeing in Rotuma as well as being tasked with administering the Rotuman Development Fund. As part of its duties, the council was also expected to implement policies directed to them by the government minister responsible for Rotuma.

The Rotuma Council is thus the key institution responsible for governing Rotuma and ensuring the well-being of its people and does so through government mandate. The council administers the Rotuma Development Fund which is financed through money from government and investment projects undertaken by the council. However with all these powers given, the council has come under severe criticism from many Rotumans who feel that finances have been irresponsibly utilised and that the council is not doing enough to represent the interests of the people (Itautoka, 1991).

Rotuma's administrative structure today integrates principles of traditional chieftainship and democratic representation. The system guarantees district chiefs a seat on the decision making body and also allows for the election of a representative from each district. Being part of Fiji's Eastern Division, the council answers to Fiji's Commissioner Eastern who in the context of Rotuma answers to the Prime Minister's office which at this point in time is responsible for Rotuma. Thus to condense the process of Rotuman administration, the Prime Minister's office comes up with broad policy on projects and developments to take place in Rotuma. This is than

channelled through the Commissioner Eastern to the Rotuman Council who deliberate upon the issue before diffusing the message to the grass roots level.

4.3.6: Migration and Remittances in Rotuma

Migrants are people who are prepared to venture beyond the confines of their own community and country in order to create new opportunities for themselves and their children (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005b). Rotumans are no exception to this and the continuation of the migration of Rotumans to mainland Fiji gives weight to their desire to seek better opportunities for themselves and their families.

With its geographic isolation and limitation in its development, many Rotumans have sought their fortunes outside of the island. This has resulted in a trend of outmigration by Rotumans resulting in more than 80 per cent of Rotumans living outside of Rotuma. Migration is often encouraged by Rotuman elders through the phrase *‘maur ta noanoa ma fe’en la ‘ae la po la noh lelei ‘e av ne tore’* meaning *‘The life here is hard so work hard so you don’t have to toil so much’*. Consequently since the 1920s there has been a steady trend of Rotumans migrating to mainland Fiji and beyond. This trend has continued to increase resulting in the diasporic nature of the Rotuman population.

While Fiji remains the key destination for Rotuman migrants with more than 80 per cent of Rotumans dwelling there, overseas countries are also popular destinations. Unfortunately, with the exception of New Zealand’s 2013 census, the Rotuman ethnic group is not individually recognised and enumerated by these countries. However, data collected in 1989 and from Rotuman migrants to Australia, New Zealand and the United States in 1994 suggest that between 500 and 1,000 Rotumans live abroad (Howard & Rensel, 1997). Howard and Rensel (1997) also note that this estimate would significantly increase if children from marriages to non-Rotumans were included. It is worth noting that given migration trends in this rapidly globalising world, the aforementioned numbers would have significantly increased at this point in time due to the arrival of new migrants.

Like other Pacific cultures, the Rotuman culture strongly emphasizes on kinship and values of reciprocity. Consequently, many Rotuman migrants wish to maintain their connections with the island. Rensel (1993) writes that, these connections are constantly maintained by a two way flow between migrants and communities on the island. Migrants benefit by being sent gifts of sentimental value that enable them to maintain personal ties with '*kainaga*' (relatives) on the island. Rotumans on the island also benefit through injections of cash and imported goods sent by migrants. Through such flows, Rotumans are able to continuously demonstrate their commitment to the value of reciprocal sharing of resources. In 2003 a survey of the senior classes of the high school on the island was undertaken by Hannan (2009). The survey found that, when asked a question about possible reasons for emigrating away from the island, more than half spoke of the opportunities for making money and helping those left behind. The logic behind this was that they wished to help their families and communities as they themselves had been beneficiaries of remittances.

The presence of a post office on the island greatly facilitates the receipt of remittances. Through this avenue, islanders are able to access remittances sent on a national and international level. This is facilitated through Telegraphic Money Orders (TMOs) for remittances sent from Fiji, and Western Union money transfers that accommodate money sent internationally. Many visitors to the island note that during particularly special occasions such as Rotuma Day and Christmas day, there is a long queue present at the post office with islanders collecting money and walking to the nearest trading centre to purchase food items. Rotumans receive remittances from national and international sources with the Rotuman culture of kinship networks encouraging the development of many interlinked networks. Hannan (2009) found that of a group of students surveyed, all had relatives who were permanently residing overseas.

Many remitters send small amounts of cash remittances on a fairly regular level. These remittances are primarily sent to provide general support for households in Rotuma in purchasing consumables and meeting household needs (Rensel, 1993). In addition to this, remitters send goods to assist those on the island. Such goods are

wide in variety and include foodstuffs, building materials, appliances and even motor vehicles. Katafono (2003) notes that from the 1970s to 2003, remittances sent by migrants have contributed towards tripling the disposable incomes of families. In addition to such patterns, special events on the island as well as specific needs typically warrant the sending of larger amounts of remittances. Such needs and events include the paying of school fees as well as occasions such as mother's day, father's day, birthdays, funerals and village events.

This trend of Rotumans migrating and remitting cash and goods back to the island has resulted in Rotuma being the recipients of remittance sums disproportionately large for its population. The fact that more than 80 per cent of Rotumans dwell off the island means that while not all are sending remittances, enough are doing so to ensure that Rotuma regularly receives significant amounts of cash. In 2007, the Fijian Affairs Minister Ratu Epeli Ganilau while visiting Rotuma was informed that Rotumans dwelling on Viti Levu alone repatriated around 1 million dollars a month to Rotuma (Fiji Times Online, 12 June, 2007). Hannan (2009) investigated this claim and noted that given the small population on the island, this figure meant that on average the individual Rotuman would be receiving 500 dollars monthly. This is clearly indicative of the huge role that remittances has come to play in the livelihoods of Rotumans.

4.4: Conclusion

This chapter provides a brief background to the Fiji Islands and a more thorough background to the study area of Rotuma. The Chapter has examined the history, geography, demography and economy of the study area and they relate to the research topic. The chapter provides a preliminary examination and introduction of migration and remittances at the national level as well as in the study area. This assists in understanding the correlation that is present between migration, remittances and development, and provides context to the data analysis which is analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1: Introduction

This chapter focusses on providing an analysis of how remittances impact the livelihoods of people on the island of Rotuma. This is examined at both the macro and micro level. The macro level analysis focusses upon examining the extent and nature of Rotuman migration. The micro level analysis focusses upon how migration and remittances impact livelihoods at the household level. This is based upon findings from the household survey conducted in Rotuma in 2015.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is a documentation analysis that examines livelihood systems on the island, Rotuman migration, and the utilisation of remittances. This is based upon census data, various reports, and the findings of other researchers. The second section of this chapter provides a survey analysis, based on the household survey carried out on the island of Rotuma. The survey analysis is supported by ethnographic research findings as well as open-ended data derived from the research participants.

5.2: Documentation Analysis

This section deals with livelihoods, housing, and economic generating activities in Rotuma, and Rotuman migration and remittances. This is based on various documentary and secondary sources.

5.2.1: Livelihoods in Rotuma

Livelihoods in Rotuma are mainly dependent on agriculture and food crops, animal husbandry, and fisheries. The following section deals with each of these briefly.

5.2.1.1: Agriculture

Rotumans historically relied upon subsistence livelihoods. Agriculture and food crops provided food supply to Rotumans. The means of sustenance, tools, and dwelling structures were wholly derived from the natural environment. As Hannan (2009) noted, the fertile soil on the island ensured that there are plentiful supplies of fruits, as well as allowing a wide variety of crops to be cultivated. Thus, there is an abundance of coconuts as well as many varieties of tropical fruits such as mangoes, pineapples, watermelons. Rotumans cultivate a variety of root crops, fruits, and vegetables. Photograph 5.1 shows a sample of the various cultivated root crops and fruits that are produced in Rotuma.

Photograph 5.1. Root Crops and Fruits in Rotuma



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

5.2.1.2: Animal Husbandry/Hunting

Animal husbandry is widely practiced in Rotuma, with families rearing a variety of domestic animals such as goats, pigs, and cattle for traditional events and ceremonies. Such livestock also serve as a fall back food supply that helps to supplement diets. There are also wild pigs present in the bush areas that are often trapped, or hunted to supplement diets, or used in feasts.

Photograph 5.2. Pig Snare Used in Rotuma



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

5.2.1.3 Fisheries

Rotumans rely on various marine foods that are easily caught and/or gathered from the reefs that encircle the island. For instance, in terms of fisheries reliance, Howard (1995) notes that while fishing still takes place, it is limited to reef fishing, with only a few individuals still venturing beyond the reef (Photograph 5.3).

Photograph 5.3. Sample of Reef Fish and Crustaceans Caught in Rotuma



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

In the district of Itu'muta, there is a swampy area possessing an abundance of mud crabs that are also gathered and supplement diets (Photograph 5.4).

Photograph 5.4. Mud Crabs (Fupa) in Itu'muta



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

Over time, through contact with Europeans, as well as the increased introduction of western goods and services, Rotuman diets have greatly altered. Rensel (1991) notes how records on garden production kept by district chiefs have revealed a decline in the production of staple crops. There has been a decline in farming, animal husbandry, and fishing in Rotuma. As a result, people are dependent on imported foods such as tinned meat, flour, salt, and sugar that have become a staple part of Rotuman diets.

5.2.2: Housing in Rotuma

Traditional Rotuman dwellings were originally constructed with logs, and had sago palm leaves being woven into frames to form the roof. Coconut leaf fronds were then woven to form frames to cover the sides of the dwelling (Bennett, 1831). These traditional houses were typically constructed upon a raised mound of earth surrounded by a stone wall (Photograph 5.5). The construction of dwellings is typically a communal task whereby relatives, neighbours, and friends contribute to the labour in building dwellings. The host household provides meals daily for the workers in return for their assistance. Furthermore, there is an underlying reciprocal understanding that the host household is indebted for the assistance and when

required, will provide labour. In essence, social capital mechanisms contributed significantly towards facilitating housing in Rotuma.

Photograph 5.5. Abandoned House Mound from Site of Inland Residence



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

With the advent of Christianity and increased western influence, housing design and construction materials and patterns in Rotuma have been altered. In the 1870s, Europeans introduced the use of lime (made from burnt coral) as a housing material. This led to a period of stone houses being constructed and plastered with lime (Rensel, 1991). Over time, the number of stone constructions on the island increased, while the number of thatched dwellings declined. Through migrant remittances and supply of materials, dwellings were constructed using imported concrete and timber. In 1972, Rotuma was struck by Hurricane Bebe which caused widespread destruction in Rotuma (Howard, 1994). The destruction led to a massive rebuilding effort facilitated by aid from the New Zealand Army. Rensel (1991) noted that 302 new housing units were constructed which represented a significant proportion of the houses on the island of Rotuma.

By 1989, Rensel (1991) noted that Rotumans have moved away from the traditional dwellings that catered for an extended familial unit. Instead, individual or nuclear family owned dwellings were becoming a norm. This was in a large part facilitated by migrants who would remit cash, and provide building materials to the island to facilitate the construction of dwellings. Rensel (1991) further noted that despite the

change in building styles and building material sources, reciprocal labour arrangements have still persisted. From this, it can be inferred, that social capital and migrant remittances played a key role in housing in Rotuma.

5.2.3: Economic Generating Activities in Rotuma

Rotuma possesses an abundance of natural food resources that greatly enhance subsistence living. However, its geographic isolation and small land area has meant that revenue generating activities are limited and lacking in diversity. In this context, Rotuma's local economy typifies Bertram and Watters (1986) MIRAB model whereby formal employment is limited to working for government departments (Bureaucracy). Consequently, income opportunities for Rotumans on the island have been historically limited to government employment and the sale of copra (Fatiaki, 1991). The dearth in income generating opportunities has meant that most Rotumans see migration as the only viable option for bettering their livelihoods.

Table 5.1. Workforce in Rotuma, 2007

Workforce Category	Number	%
Labour Force	1,099	85.53
Formal Wage	236	18.4
Subsistence	1,019	79.3
Unemployed	30	2.3
Total Workforce (15+ Years)	1,285	-

Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015.

Table 5.1 provides a breakdown of the economic activities undertaken by Rotumans on the island as of the 2007 census. The table clearly shows that out of a potential Rotuman workforce of approximately 1285, only 236 individuals (around 18 per cent) were involved in formal wage employment. The majority of Rotumans (around 79 per cent) are involved in subsistence labour. This highlights the dearth of formal employment opportunities in Rotuma.

5.2.4: Rotuman Migration

La' 'ae ma 'ae se mao 'akia 'ou hanua, toto ma utut nē 'ae mou sin
Go forth, and never forget your home, blood [familial relations], and the place to
which you belong (A Rotuman Saying)

The following section analyses Rotuman migration from a historical point of view and also provides an account on the current migration trends in Rotuma.

5.2.4.1: Historical Background

Migration has been part and parcel of Rotuman life. Even prior to the arrival of the first missionaries, as Bennett (1831) noted, Rotumans had a great propensity for wondering, whereby it was not uncommon for Rotumans to undertake canoe voyages without any fixed purpose. Upon asking a Rotuman as to why he would leave the island to risk such voyages, Bennett was told, “*Rotuma man want to see new land*” (Bennett, 1831 cited in Howard, 1961).

With increased European contact, the migration opportunities offered by sailing ships in the 19th century, led to many Rotumans migrating from the island (Howard, 1961). William Fletcher, the first European Methodist missionary, stationed to Rotuma, took note of this migration trend and wrote that more than seven hundred young men had left the island in recent memory (Howard, 1995). The continued attractiveness of migration led to the development of a cultural norm that young men were expected to travel abroad for at least once in their lifetimes. Those who had yet to visit a foreign land, were subjected to considerable ridicule (Allardyce, 1885-1886; Gardiner, 1898).

This desire to travel and/or permanently migrate, prompted the Resident Commissioner of Rotuma as Howard (1961: 275) notes, that:

“After inquiring I find that there are not more than 30 adult male Natives on the island that have not been abroad. Large numbers have stayed away many years and wandered to the furthest corners of both hemispheres. It is a cutting reproach to cast at a man that he has not been away from the island; hence, partly, the anxiety of the young men to accomplish their long cherished dream.”

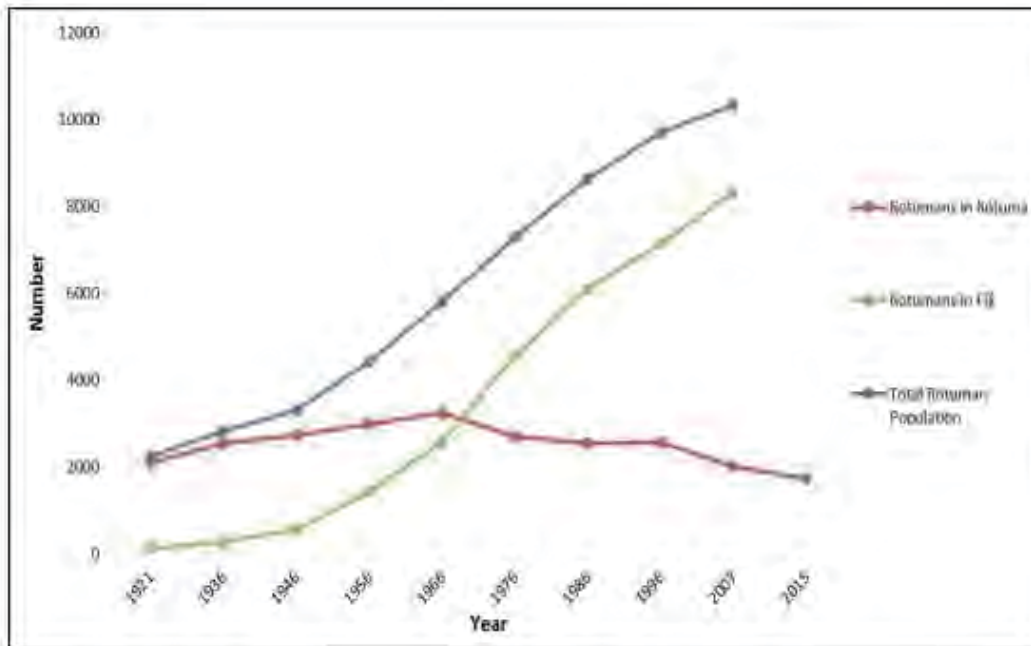
5.2.4.1.1 *Current Migration Trends*

Rotumans typically migrate to the mainland Fiji Islands and overseas. The following sections discuss these trends.

5.2.4.1.2 *Rotuman Migration to Fiji*

Rotumans have continued to migrate to mainland Fiji in large numbers. This is attributable to the small geographic area of the island, population pressure on the island, as well as the lack of formal employment available. Rensel (1993), notes that Rotumans have ease of access to migration. In essence, individuals in countries like Tonga and Samoa rely on international migration and the lengthy bureaucratic processes that need to be fulfilled. Additionally, following Rotuma's deed of session in 1881, Rotuma was closed as a port of entry and so all trade, and movement was channelled through mainland Fiji. Consequently, the population of Rotumans on mainland Fiji has exponentially increased while the population of Rotumans on Rotuma has declined. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1 which portrays the disparity in the proportion of Rotumans who dwell on Rotuma and those who dwell on mainland Fiji. Figure 5.1 shows that the Rotuman population has progressively increased since the 1946 census. The population has increased from over 2,000 in 1921 to over 10,000 in 2015 (Figure 5.1). During 1921 to 1946 the Rotuman population in mainland Fiji was low. Since 1946 however, the Rotuman population in mainland Fiji has rapidly increase. Over 8,000 Rotumans now live in mainland Fiji. The rapid increase in the Rotuman population on mainland Fiji, and the corresponding decline in the population on Rotuma Island clearly suggest that there has been rapid migration of Rotumans from the island of Rotuma to mainland Fiji.

Figure 5.1. Trends in Rotuman Population on Rotuma & Mainland Fiji 1921-2015



Source: Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015, Howard and Rensel, 1997, and Rotuma Rural Hospital, 2015.

Rotuma is no stranger to the push pull migration factors that typify the migration process in other parts of the world. The desire for further education, better medical facilities is dominant factors that have influenced Rotuman migration. On the other hand, declining natural resources and farming and fishing activities in Rotuma act as major push factors to drive people to move from Rotuma. Apart from these standard factors, Rotumans have also been noted to migrate due to more unique reasons. Howard (1961) noted Rotuman women would periodically travel to Fiji as a means of contraception. Essentially, Rotumans have a high fertility rate, but lacked knowledge of contraceptive techniques.

Consequently, Howard (1961: 281) notes that:

... Women sometimes express the desire "to have a rest", and either a woman or her husband may depart for Fiji. These separations sometimes last for several years, and they may become permanent should one or the other of the parties get tired of "resting" while they are still parted.

Rotuman out-migration has led to a great disparity in terms of the population of Rotumans on the island and those of have migrated. There are more Rotumans outside Rotuma than on Rotuma Island. The overall population of Rotumans has continued to rise, but the constant outmigration of Rotumans meant that by 2007, only 19 per cent of Rotumans dwelt on the island. These migratory trends have prompted leading scholars on Rotuma such as (Howard, 2012, 2017), to refer to the situation as being diasporic.

5.2.4.1.3 Rotuman Migration Abroad

Fiji remains the key destination for Rotuman migrants as Figure 5.1 shows. Overseas countries are also migrant destinations. However, with the exception of New Zealand in its 2013 census, the Rotuman ethnic group is not individually recognised and enumerated in the census of other countries. As earlier stated in chapter four, data collected by Howard and Rensel (1997) in 1989 from Rotuman migrants to Australia, New Zealand and the United States, suggests that between 500 and 1,000 Rotumans live abroad. Howard and Rensel (1997) also note that this estimate would significantly increase if children from marriages to non-Rotumans were included. It is also worth noting that given migration trends in this rapidly globalising world, the aforementioned numbers would have significantly increased at this point in time due to the arrival of new migrants.

Australia and New Zealand are home to some of the highest concentration of Rotumans outside of Fiji. Howard (2017: 4) notes that in those countries, “*substantial identifiable communities have formed*”. In Australia, there is a small community of Torres Strait islanders who are of Rotuman descent. These Torres Islanders are the descendants of Rotumans who had travelled there in the 19th Century. Mua (2007) notes that written evidence indicates that in the 19th Century Rotumans dwelt in nearly every inhabited island in the Torres Strait. In 1989 Howard estimated that there were approximately 378 Rotumans in Australia (Howard, 1999). Hannan (2009) later carried out further research and estimated a population of 550 Rotumans in Australia. Further calculations using population figures of the Maori, Tongans, Samoans, and Rotumans led Hannan (2009: 175) to estimate that approximately 5 per cent of the total Rotuman population dwells in Australia. In

New Zealand, Howard (1999) estimates a population of approximately 154 Rotumans living in New Zealand.

5.2.4.1.4 Rotuman Household Numbers and Sizes

With the constant Rotuman outmigration, and the continually dwindling size of the islands population, it would be expected that the number of households on the island would decrease in number. However, a holistic analysis of data provided by Rensel (1997), and the 2007 census population in Fiji reveal a contrast. In essence, while outmigration has steadily increased, the number of households on the island has remained relatively stable. Potential reasons for this can be found in Rensels (1991) observations that families were moving away from extended family households. Rather, newly wed couples preferred to construct their own private dwellings. This would account for the relative stability in household numbers despite constant outmigration by Rotumans.

5.2.5: Remittances to Rotuma

Mamfua, haharagi, lä'riri', hanis ma la nā mone ta la ti'

Elders, youths, and children, be loving and give a lot of money

Lyrics to Rotuman song relating to Rotuma day celebrations

Being fully politically integrated with the Republic of the Fiji Islands, Rotumans enjoy easy access to Fiji in terms of travel, education and business. With the aforementioned migratory trends of Rotumans to Fiji over the past decades, Rotuman households and communities receive significant amounts of remittances and merchandise from Rotuman migrants. Remittances in Rotuma have played a two way role; firstly, it assists Rotumans on the island by enabling them to acquire a higher living standard. Secondly, remittances serve to reinforce cultural and familial ties. As Hannan (2009: 232) notes, remittances serve as a reminder to those inhabiting the island, that their kin abroad are “*upholding the obligations necessary to maintain their rights in Rotuma*”.

Remittances sent to Rotuma have significantly increased over the past decades. In 2003, Hannan (2009: 233) noted that FJD 150,000 had been remitted to Rotuma through the post office in 'Aḩau. By 2007, Fiji Times (12 June, 2007) revealed that Rotuma was receiving cash remittances worth FJD one million a month. Given that the Rotuman population in 2007 was numbered at 2002 individuals, this figure represents a formidable per-capita value, with nearly FJD 500 per month.

Apart from remittances in monetary terms, remittances in kinds are also significant. Another form of remittance is the organisation of fundraising drives to facilitate the provision of services to the Rotuman community. Hannan (2009: 232) cites previous examples of the donation of items such as generators, school books, and clothing items. In contemporary times, Rotumans on the island have tapped into digital technologies to solicit assistance to the Rotuman community. On the 27th of February 2017²¹, the resident medical doctor in Rotuma posted on a Rotuman Facebook forum to request the donation of chairs to the Rotuma hospital as the current furniture they possessed was in a decrepit state. The following week on the 6th of March, the doctor took to Facebook once again to thank the Rotuman community as a consignment of chairs had been delivered²².

5.3: Survey Analysis of Migration and Remittances in Rotuma

The relationship that migration and remittances have with livelihoods has been an oft debated topic in developmental discourse. The findings from the household survey undertaken in Rotuma revealed that remittances have served profoundly to alter Rotuma's socio-cultural and economic make-up.

5.3.1: Demographics of Households

This section provides an overview of the households surveyed. The household size, average income and age categories of household heads in Rotuma are assessed.

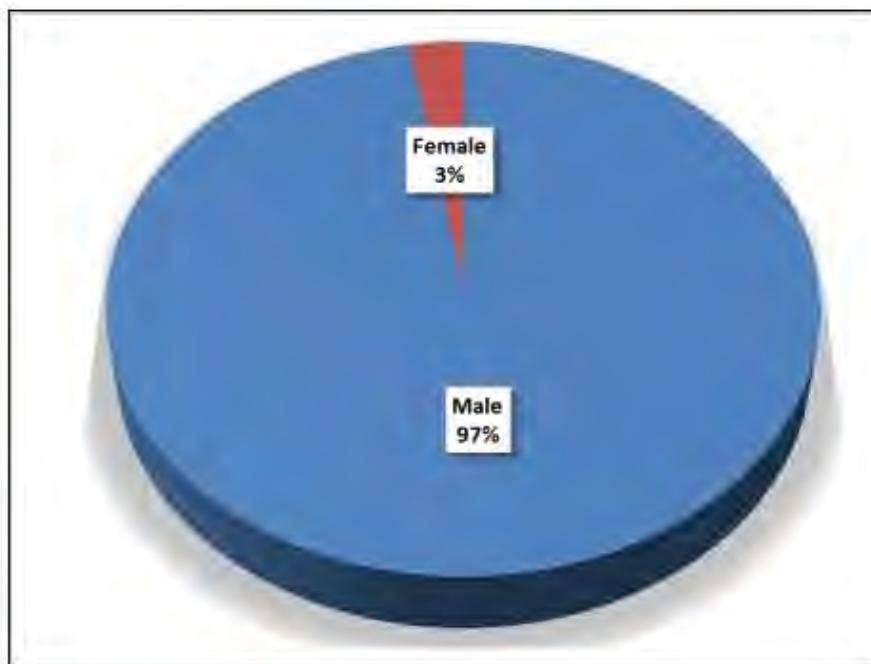
²¹ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/rotumans/permalink/10155157275568939/>

²² <https://www.facebook.com/groups/rotumans/permalink/10155178311903939/>

5.3.1.1: Gender of Household Representative Interviewed

Figure 5.2 outlines the gender of the heads of each household. 97 per cent of household heads were male while 3 per cent were female.

Figure 5.2. Gender of Household Head in Rotuma



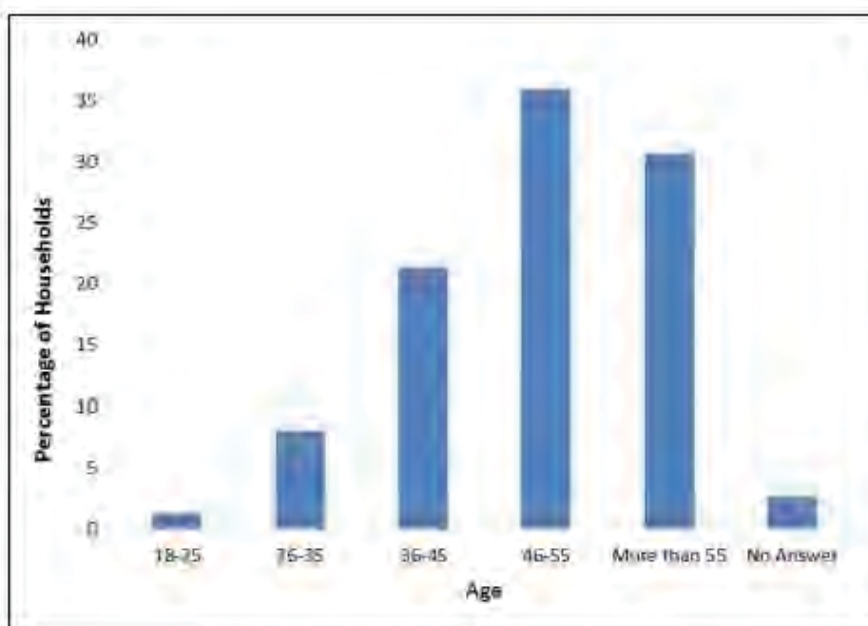
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.1.2: Age of Household Heads

Figure 5.3 shows the age distribution of household heads. Just over 1 per cent was in the age group 18 to 25 years. 8 per cent were between the ages 26 to 35 years, and just over 21 per cent were in the age group 36 to 45 years. It is worth noting that over 66 per cent of household heads are over the age of 46 years. The researcher noted that in such cases, the household head was typically an individual who previously migrated to Fiji, worked, retired, and then, returned to Rotuma. Conversely, more youthful household heads were generally individuals who had dwelt in Rotuma for most of their lives. This implication supports Bryants (1990) observation that:

“All the groups moving between provinces in Fiji, Rotumans are the least likely to undertake return migration to their island. Those that do are usually the older migrants who return in their retirement”.

Figure 5.3. Age of Household Heads in Rotuma



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

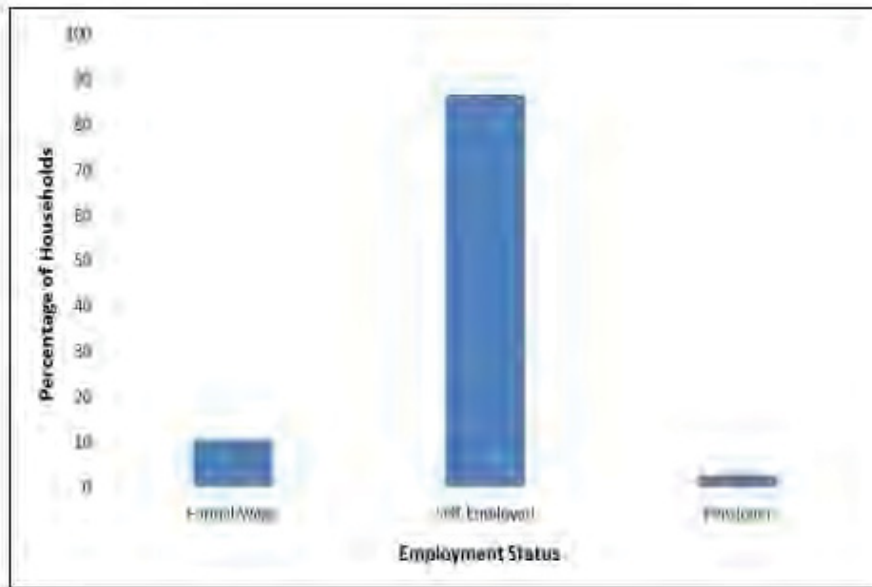
5.3.2: Livelihoods of Households

In this section, sources of households' livelihood are analysed and the factors such as employment status, traditional livelihood activities and income are discussed.

5.3.2.1: Employment in Households

Figure 5.4 shows the employment status of household heads in Rotuma. The study notes that only around 11 per cent of households head were involved in formal wage earning. These individuals mostly worked for the civil service, while one individual worked as a catechist. This finding affirms the aspects of a MIRAB economy that had been posited by Bertram and Watters (1986). Rotuma relies on employment in the bureaucracy for wage income. 87 per cent were self-employed, with most households reporting that their household heads earned an income through farming, fishing, and the sale of copra and 3 per cent of households reported that the head of household was a pensioner.

Figure 5.4. Employment Status of Household Head

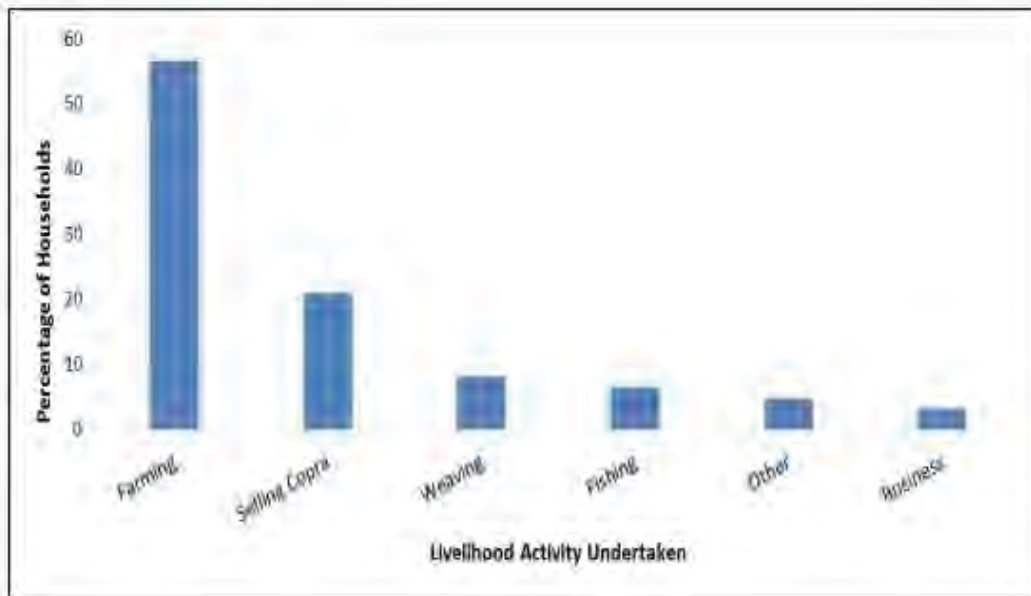


Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.2.2: Livelihood Activities in Rotuma

Figure 5.5 shows the varying activities undertaken by households for the purpose of meeting their basic needs. 56 per cent of households relied on farming and 6 per cent of households depended upon fishing in meeting their basic needs. Another 21 per cent of households relied upon the sale of copra to make a living (Figure 5.5). The study notes a decrease in copra selling which was once a quintessential income generating activity for Rotumans. Past studies by Howard, Rensel, Hereniko, and other scholars of Rotuma have alluded to the role that copra played in the Rotuman economy. These scholars also noted the slow decline of the industry. Now, the industry has reached new lows.

Figure 5.5. Livelihood Activities Undertaken by Households



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The study notes that Rotuma would appear to have a dominantly agrarian system, with most of the respondents (56 per cent) undertaking farming, as opposed to fishing (Figure 5.5). This is quite in contrast with traditional Rotuman livelihood systems. In essence, while agriculture has historically been a livelihood source for Rotuman families, there was balance in terms of farming and fishing. The fact that only 6 per cent of households were involved in fishing, is indicative of a sharp decline in this sector which was a once significant livelihood activity in Rotuma. Box 5.1 highlights this issue.

Box 5.1. Perception of a 32 Year Old Fisherman

A fisherman in the district of Noa'tau explained during the Household Survey (2015) that:

“I like fishing, and I feed my family very well with it. Also, I can sell the fish and lobsters to the government workers at 'Ahau. I make good money from it. I sell one bucket of lobsters (approximately 10-12 lobsters in a bucket see Photograph 5.6) for 70 dollars. They always want lobsters every government pay week. With the money I make, I send my kids to school and buy what the family needs. I don't need to rely on Fiji [remittances from migrants]. Now people hardly go fishing. Before, 20, even 10 years ago, you could see a lot of canoes... [Question to Interviewer] Did you see any canoes when you went around the island? Yeah see what I mean, there's only a few. It's not like before.”

Source: Household Survey, 2015.

Photograph 5.6. Bucket of Lobsters for Sale/Delivery to Fiji



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

Nearly 8 per cent of households relied upon the sale of Rotuman handicrafts such as Rotuman mats for a living. Mat weaving is a key activity that had been adapted as a means for livelihoods. Essentially, women would weave fine mats to cater to the demand made by Rotumans in Fiji. Sale of these mats to Fiji based Rotumans helped supplement incomes. The low numbers of households who undertook such activities has repercussions of an economic and cultural nature that is highlighted in Box 5.2.

Box 5.2. The Perception of a 55 Year Old Housewife on Weaving in Rotuma

A 55 year old housewife explained weaving activity in Rotuma as follows:

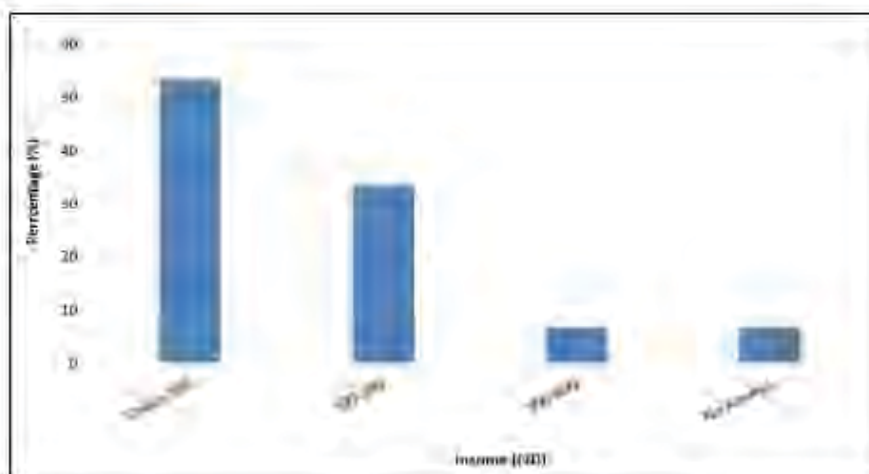
“Now, when we have funerals and weddings, the amount of mats that you see presented are declining. Before, it was all mats given. Now you will see some mats, and people presenting rolls of fine material from Fiji. That’s nice, but it’s not our culture. Women are not weaving as much as in the past. It’s actually good for me, because I still weave and so I get lots of orders for mats. But before I used to weave to send to Fiji, now I also weave to supply Rotuma. The older generations who know how to weave, have stopped, and they aren’t teaching their daughters”

Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.2.3 Average Incomes from Livelihood Activities

Figure 5.6 highlights the average weekly income earned by the households. As shown in Figure 5.6, a combined total of about 87 per cent of households earned FJD 300 or less per week from traditional livelihood activities. 53 per cent of respondents have a weekly income of FJD 100 or less. Nearly 5 per cent of households said that their average income fell between FJD 300-600. None of the households surveyed earned a weekly income of more than FJD 600 from the livelihood activities that they undertook.

Figure 5.6. Average Weekly Income from Livelihood Activities

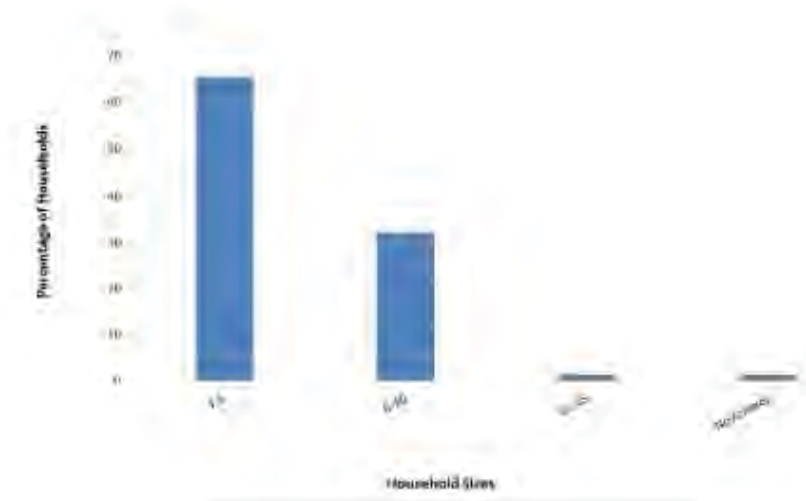


Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.2.4: Household Size

Figure 5.7 shows the number of individuals living in the households studied. 65 per cent of households comprised of 1 to 5 individuals, 32 per cent of households comprised of 6 to 10 individuals, and just over 1 per cent of households comprised of more than 15 individuals. None of the households surveyed had more than 15 members. It is worth noting that 65 per cent of households comprise of between 1 to 5 individuals. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the number of individuals that comprise household sizes have been decreasing. Families prefer to live in smaller nuclear family units rather than dwelling with extended family members (Rensel, 1991). This represents a further development to the phenomena that Rensel noted, with only 1.33 per cent of households comprising of between 11 to 15 individuals, and no households comprising of more than 15 members. This indicates a significant change in the Rotuman communal living system.

Figure 5.7. Average Household Size in Rotuma



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The changes in Rotuman household sizes are indicative of a chasm that is gradually developing in communal and familial relations. During the course of the fieldwork, the researcher noted a trend whereby newly married couples on the island would construct new homes and form nuclear families rather than dwelling in the extended families house. This has resulted in cases where on a single plot of clan land, there are multiple houses present that each represent a nuclear family, which is in turn part

of the extended family/clan who owns the land. While these nuclear families remain a part of the extended family and greatly contribute towards extended family obligations, the future ramifications of such practices on the social networks that Rotumans have access to, is worth noting. The case study on Box 5.3 demonstrates this issue.

Box 5.3. Recollections of a 66 Year Old Woman from Itu'ti'u District

Vamarasi (Pseudonym) grew up in a household that comprised of her, several of her siblings, her parents, and extended family. Her father had more than 10 siblings, of whom 5 dwelt together with them, along with their spouses and children. Her paternal grandparents also dwelt in the same household. She vividly remembers growing up in a house that was never empty as there were more than 20 individuals dwelling together. This was by no means unusual as other households around Rotuma had similar or larger numbers. She humorously recalls a large saucepan that was used to cook enough soup for 20 plus individuals (similar to photograph 5.7). The soup had an abundance of stock and vegetables but only a single tin of corned beef was added. Such soups were nicknamed 'soup maf het' (seaweed soup), as, the amount of meat was so scarce, that you had small isolated particles of meat floating around the soup like seaweed in the ocean. She used this to make the point that logistical food issues aside, it was always a comfort knowing that 'is kal sema 'e toto' (we are surrounded by blood [relatives/blood kin]). She felt that having such huge social networks meant that no one, would ever go needy. There would always be 'enough'.

Photograph 5.7. Communal Pots for large groups



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

5.3.3: *La' ma Alalum*: Migration from Rotuma

An ethnographic observation by the Researcher, (2015) shows:

Small clouds of aromatic talcum powder waft across the Oinafa wharf. The youths who would be travelling to Fiji stood closely by their parents and family. The flowers of the tēfui (Rotuman Garland) that adorned them added an aromatic scent to the smell of the sea. Smoke from the ships diesel engines provided a biting contrast to this clash of odours. The time had come for the current stream of year 13 students to depart for Fiji. For further education? For employment? Whatever their purpose, they were departing with their parents blessing, seeking a life outside of Rotuma's white sandy shores. If ever a moment can be called bittersweet, it was this. Emotion was thick in the air as parents unsuccessfully tried to farewell their offspring in a dignified and stoic manner befitting the Rotuman ethos. Tears flowed freely. Encapsulating this poignant moment, was the realisation that most of these youths were truly departing Rotuma permanently. They might return for holidays, but their moment of calling Rotuma their home of residence was now measured in minutes. There was a realisation that this could very well be the last time parents physically saw their children. As the ropes were loosed from the wharf, 30 odd youths, the cream of Rotuma, would depart the sandy shores. The ropes were loosed, the ship pulled away from the wharf. As the ship grew smaller with distance, parents still waved tiring hands in farewell. Their quiet murmurs filled the air with that age old Rotuman farewell and blessing;

La' ma alalum

(Go with luck/blessing)

The following section discusses migration patterns from Rotuma. The number of migrants in each household, the drivers of migration, and the destinations of migrants are assessed in this section.

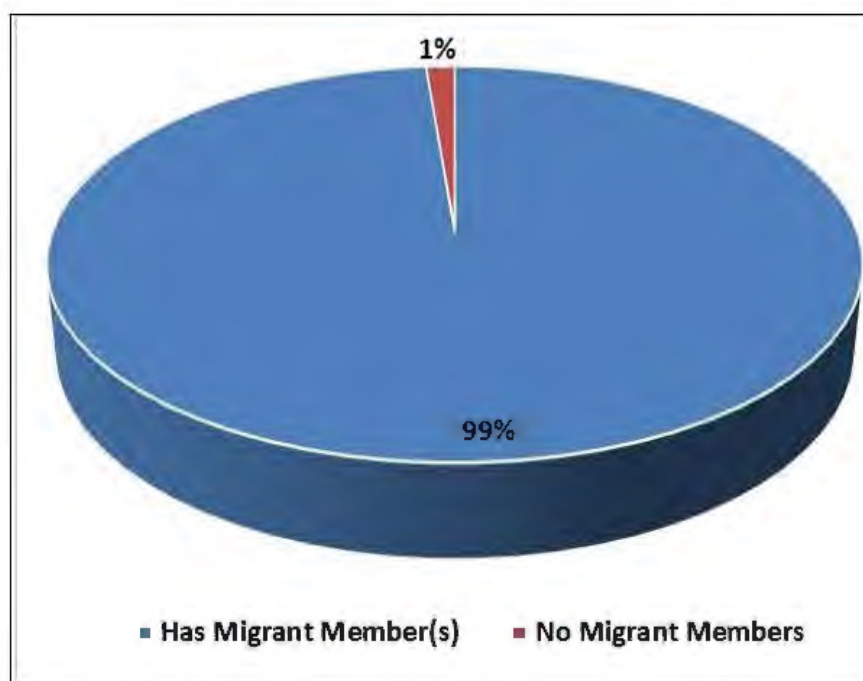
5.3.3.1: Households with Migrant Members

Figure 5.8 shows the number of households surveyed that have migrant members. About 99 per cent of households had a migrant member. Only one per cent of households did not have any migrant members. In that particular case, the household representative revealed that while he dwelt on his own in that particular house, he did have members of his extended family (dwelling in a different household), who had migrated to mainland Fiji. These findings serve to reinforce past research works that have all discussed the extensive ongoing migration of Rotumans. A partially

humorous anecdote a household representative used during the Household Survey (2015) was that:

“Look at the number of flies and mosquitoes we have now. It has really increased. For the flies Rotuma is good, because there’s so much fruit trees around and not enough people to eat all the fruits. So they fall and rot and the flies eat well”.

Figure 5.8. Number of Households with Migrant Members

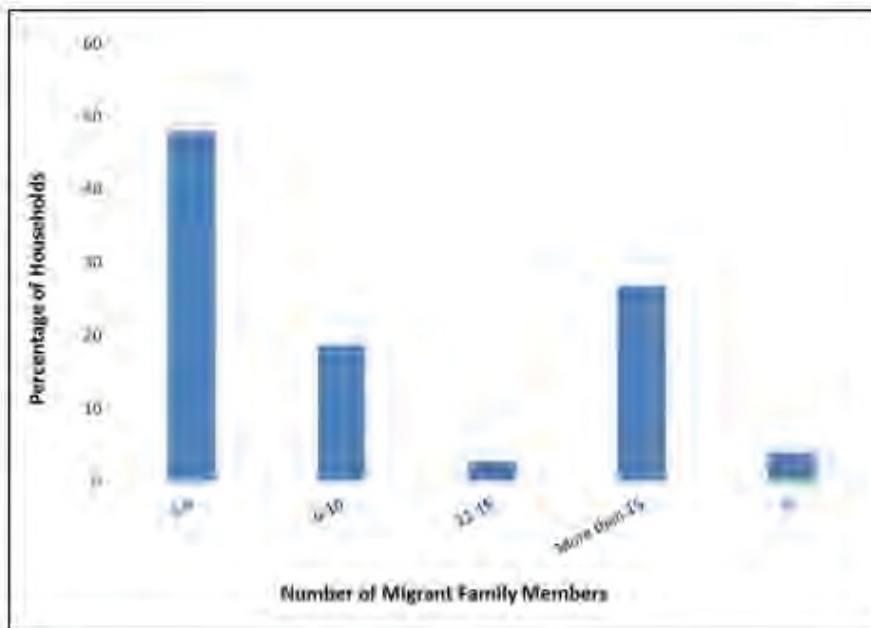


Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.3.2: Migrants per Household

Figure 5.9 illustrates the average number of migrant members in each household. It reveals that about 48 per cent of households had between 1-5 migrants, 19 per cent of households had between 6 to 10 migrants, and about 3 per cent had between 11 to 15 migrants. About 27 per cent of households revealed that they had more than 15 migrants in their households, another 4 per cent of households did not have any migrants, as they were ‘newly formed’ households comprising of newly wedded couples. Thus, while they did not have any migrants from their households, they did have migrant relatives.

Figure 5.9. Number of Migrants per Household in Rotuma



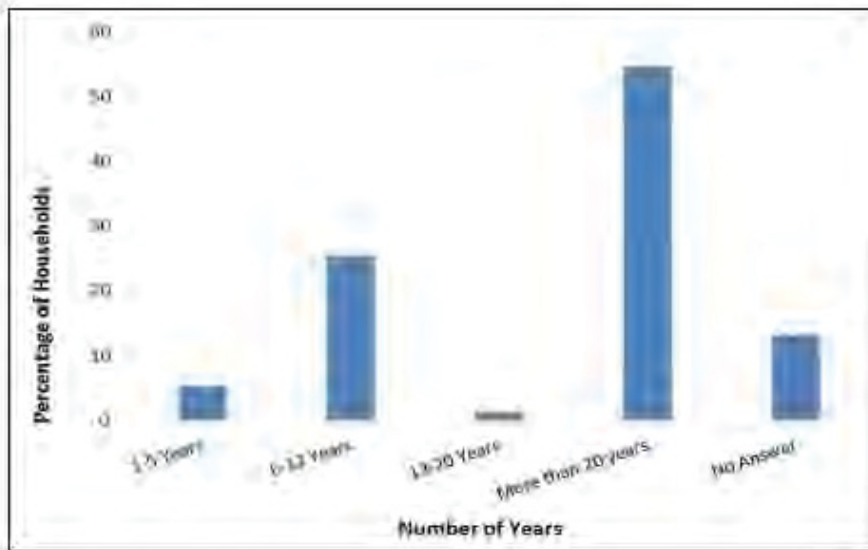
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The study notes that the households with higher numbers of migrant members, are typically long established extended family households. Such households can comprise of multiple 'extended families that belong to the same clan. This accounted for the large number of migrants such households possessed. The households with smaller migrant number were typically nuclear family households.

5.3.3.3: Duration of Migration

Figure 5.10 illustrates the average amount of time that migrants in the household surveyed have spent away from the island. Figure 5.10 shows that nearly 55 per cent of households have migrants who spent more than 20 years away from Rotuma. An additional 25 per cent of households reported that they had migrants who spent between 6 to 12 years outside of Rotuma. 1 per cent of households had migrants who had spent between 13 to 20 years outside of Rotuma.

Figure 5.10. Number of Years Spent Away From Rotuma, by Migrants



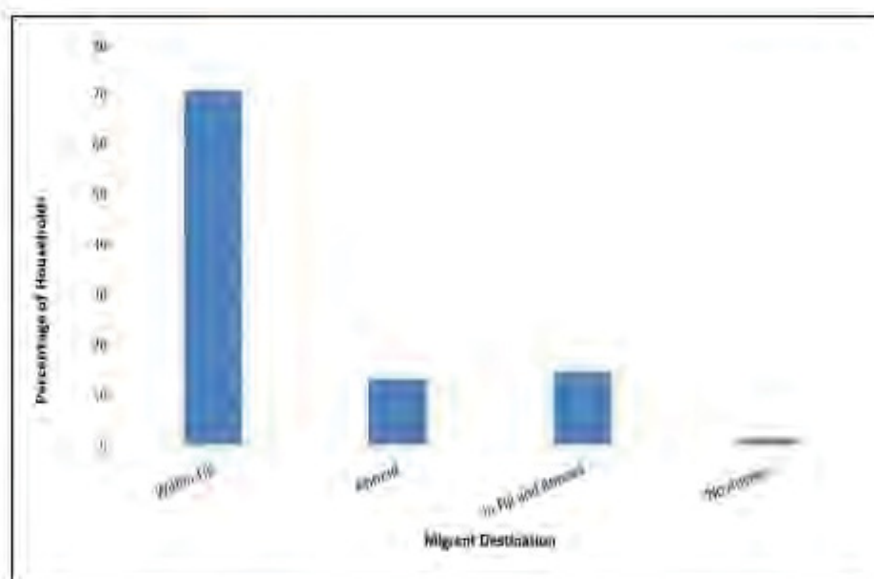
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The study notes that households with migrants who have spent between 1-8 years abroad, are typically households made up of nuclear families with fewer migrants. In such cases, the migrants are typically the offspring of the members of the household who have migrated for the purpose of education and seeking employment. Conversely, households with larger numbers of migrants who have spent a longer period of time abroad are extended family households. In such households, the dominant trend is that the household is typically “*hua*” (looked after) by a member of the extended family while most of the family is abroad. The extended family member with his own family, will typically dwell in, and look after the household. The *hua*’ of the house will also serve to ensure that should members of the extended family visit Rotuma, they will *ag forau* (host their guests in a comfortable manner) towards their visiting relatives.

5.3.3.4: Destination of Rotuman Migrants

Figure 5.11 provides an overview of the typical destinations of Rotuman migrants. Figure 5.11 reveals that 70 per cent of households had migrants that had moved to mainland Fiji. Another 13 per cent of households said that they had migrants abroad, and 14 per cent of households reported that they had migrants both in Fiji as well as abroad.

Figure 5.11. Destination of Migrants in Households



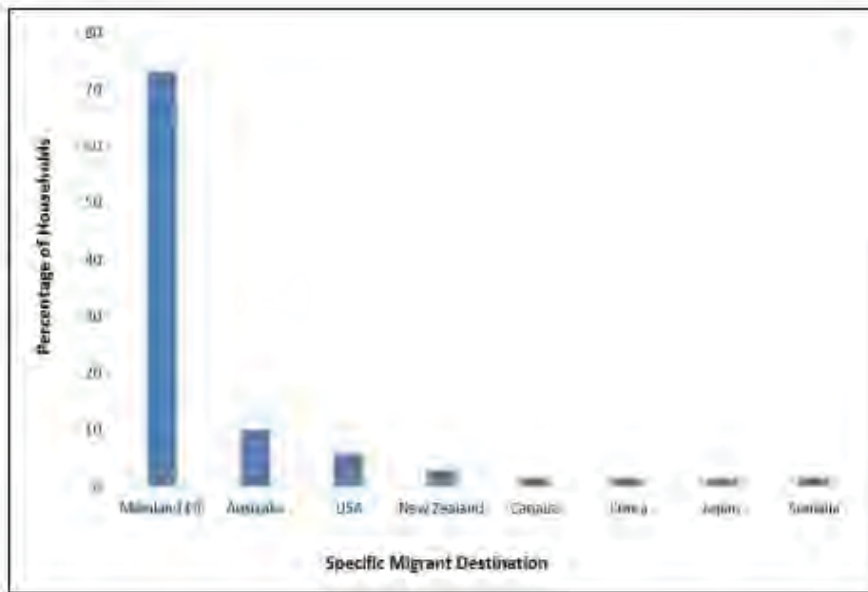
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

Unsurprisingly, as shown in Figure 5.11, Fiji remains the most popular migrant destination. It is worth noting that none of the households surveyed had migrant members who had settled in other Pacific Island Countries (PICs) outside of Fiji. However, through ethnographic, and insider observation, the researcher is aware of many Rotumans who dwell in other PICs. Through informal conversations with village and district communities, as well as surveyed households, this study notes and posits that, many Rotuman migrants dwelling in other PICs are typically first or second generation migrants whose parents or grandparents, were the migrants, originally born in Rotuma.

5.3.3.4.1 Country Specific Migrant Destinations

Figure 5.12 provides a more specific breakdown of details on the destination countries of migrants. The study notes that the majority of households said that their migrants (around 73 per cent), are located in mainland Fiji. 10 per cent of households reported that they had migrants dwelling in Australia, while almost 6 per cent of households had migrants residing in the United States of America. Around 6 per cent of households each reported that they had members living in Canada, Korea, Japan, and Somalia.

Figure 5.12. Country of Residence of Rotuman Migrants

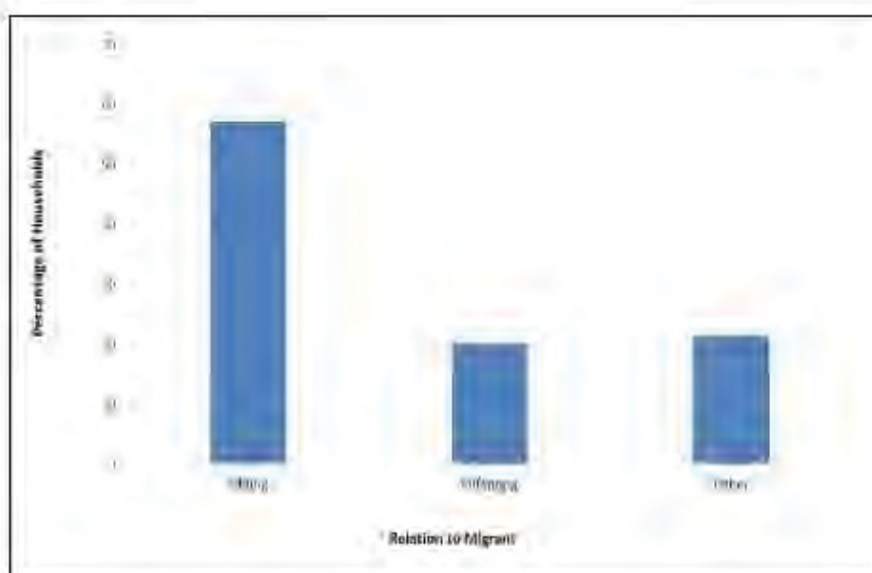


Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.3.5: Connection to Migrants

Figure 5.13 portrays the familial connection that households have with migrant members. 57 per cent of migrants are siblings of the heads of the surveyed households. 20 per cent, are the offspring of the heads of the households. With regards to the respondents who revealed that they were related by ‘other’ means to the migrants, the research notes that for most of them were cousins and/or nieces and nephews. It is worth noting that none of the migrants from the households was a, husband, or wife to those in Rotuma. This indicates that previous practices noted by Howard (1961), whereby a wife or husband would travel to Fiji for ‘contraceptive’ purposes, have ceased to be practiced.

Figure 5.13. Familial Connection with Migrants



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.3.6: Reasons for Migration

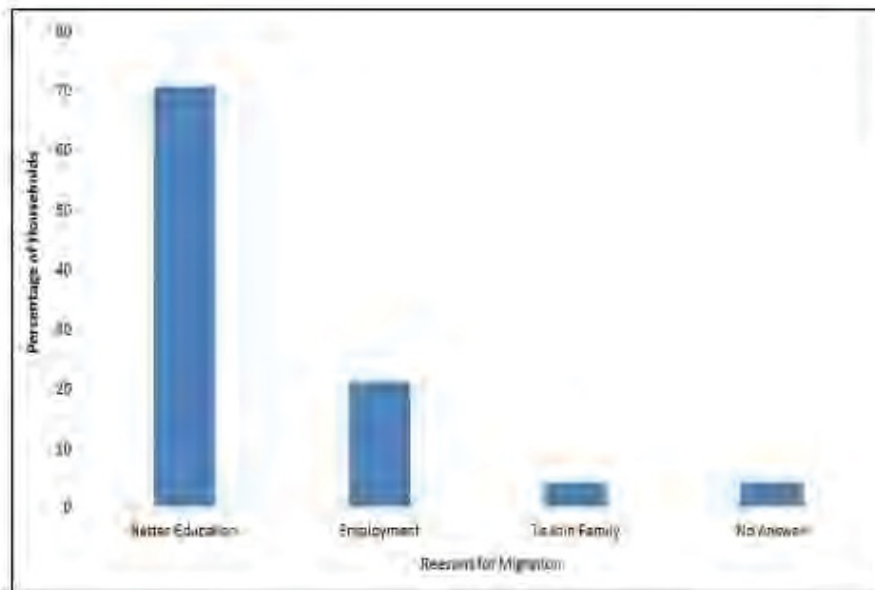
Figure 5.14 shows various reasons as to why Rotumans migrated from their respective households. The desire for education accounted for about 71 per cent. Another 21 per cent migrated to seek employment. The study notes that in the case of those whose household members had migrated for the purpose of education, all further elaborated, that their relatives had migrated for education, and to seek better opportunities elsewhere upon completion of education. In essence, the migrants who left Rotuma for further education, intended to further seek their destinies outside of Rotuma. None of the households surveyed had members who migrated for further education in order to *‘return and help back home (Rotuma)’*.

Education is a both a push and a pull factor for Rotuman migrants. In Rotuma, full primary and secondary school education (year 1 - 13) is offered. There are four primary schools (1 to 8 years) located in Sumi (Julu District), Papetea (Oinafa District), Motusa (Itu’ti’u District), and Elsie (Malha’a District). There is one high school that is also located in Malha’a district that provides year 9 – 13 education for all high school students on the island. However, while the educational facilities do exist, families who are able to send their children to be educated in Fiji, regularly

choose to do so. The households surveyed revealed that when possible, they would prefer to have their children educated in Fiji, as the schools in Rotuma were not as well-resourced as those in mainland Fiji.

Additionally, it is worth noting that none of the households had migrants who had emigrated out of a pure desire to ‘see the world’. This is quite contrary to the earlier discussed historical observations of Allardyce (1885), and Gardiner (1898), which Howard (1961) had summarised. The study notes that while migration remains a part and parcel of Rotuman life, Rotumans migrate for more pragmatic reasons as opposed to a simple motivation to travel and see the world.

Figure 5.14. Reasons for Family Members Migrating From Rotuma



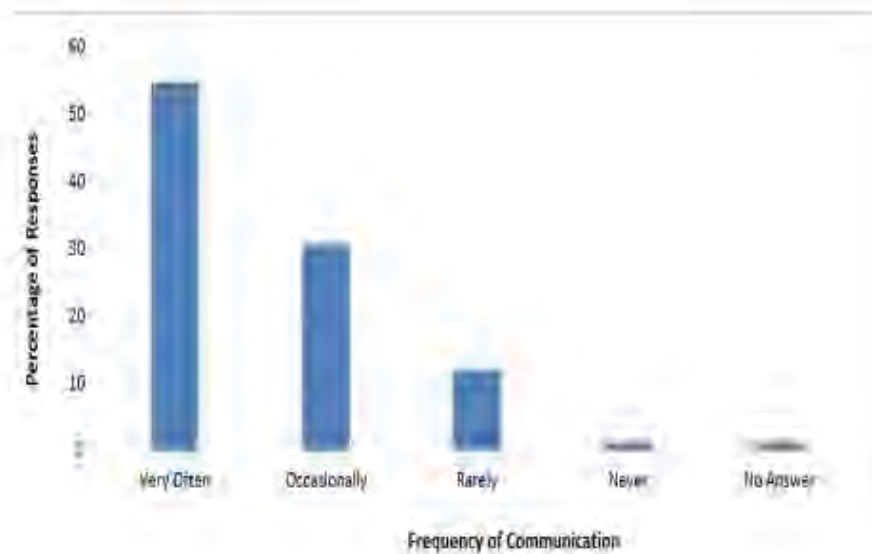
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.3.7: Interaction between Households and Migrants

Figure 5.15 shows the average frequency of communication between migrant households and their migrants. It reveals that nearly 55 per cent of households said that they communicated with their migrants ‘very often’, and another 30 per cent said that they do ‘occasionally’. 12 per cent of households reported that they ‘rarely’ communicated with the migrants. Of these households, 96 per cent of households

revealed that they communicated with their migrant members by phone²³. The survey notes, that none of the households surveyed said that they used social media for the purpose of communication, despite the use of social media being very much in evidence amongst the youth of the island of Rotuma.

Figure 5.15. Average Frequency of Communication between Migrant Households and Migrants



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The findings in Figure 5.15 serves to reinforce the past research observations, that there remains a significant level of connection between Rotuman migrants and their households (Hannan, 2009; Howard, 2012; Rensel, 1993). In the case of the one household who had no answer, the household clarified that their daughter had only just left for further education in Fiji, and so they had yet to receive word from her²⁴.

5.3.4: Remittances to Rotuma

In this section, the remittance patterns in Rotuma are assessed. Frequency of remittance receipts, conduits of sending remittances, types of remittances received, and the use of these remittances are discussed in this section.

²³ 4 per cent had no answer to this question, for two key reasons. One household had never communicated with their migrant relatives (Figure 5.16). While in the case of the other households, the individuals interviewed, were not the persons who were primarily contacted by migrants

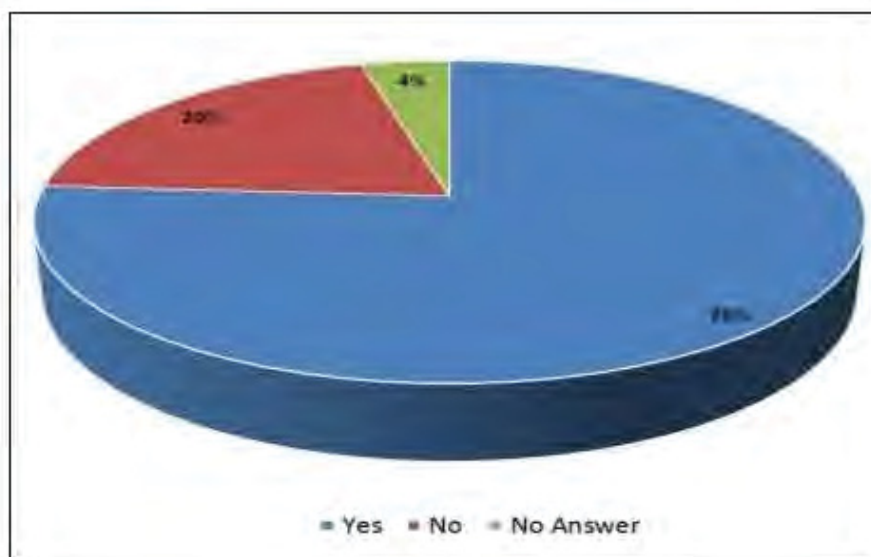
²⁴ The household in question was interviewed 2 days after their daughter had left the island by ship. Thus the daughter was still at sea

5.3.4.1: Receipt of Remittances

Figure 5.16 illustrates the proportion of Rotuman households, which do receive remittances. 76 per cent of the households surveyed receive remittances in the form of cash and/or kind, while 20 per cent of households did not receive any form of remittance. 4 per cent of households did not have an answer to this question as they felt uncomfortable with answering the question.

Previous research works on migration and remittances in Rotuma have alluded to the fact that given its small population, Rotuma receives a significant amount of remittances. Hannan (2009: 233) noted that in 2007, Rotuma had received FJD one million in a single month. She noted that given Rotuma's population at the time, this amounted to \$FJD 500 for every Rotuman on the island (p.234). However, as Figure 5.16 has shown, not all Rotumans are remittance recipients.

Figure 5.16. Number of Households Receiving Remittances



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

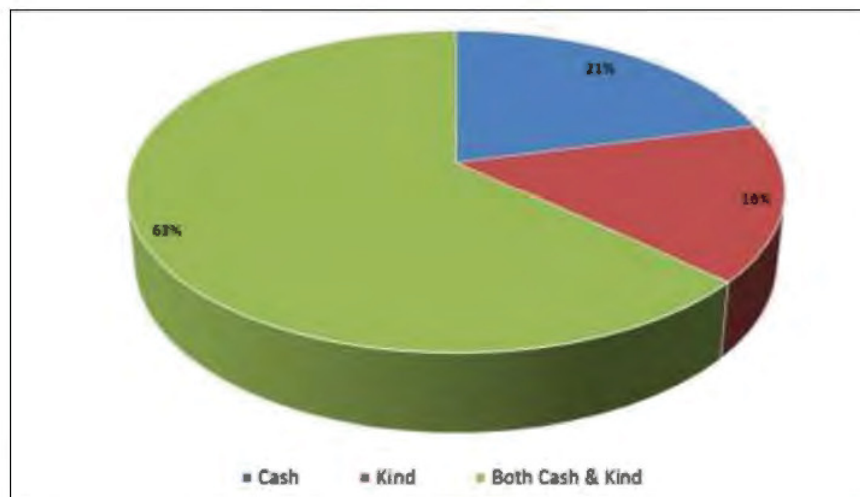
5.3.4.2: Types of Remittances

Figure 5.17 is a breakdown of the types of remittances that Rotuman households receive. Of the households who received remittances, about 63 per cent received remittance in the form of both cash and kind. Another 21 per cent of remittance

recipient households were receiving only cash, and 16 per cent by kind. The study notes that in the case of the households that solely received cash remittance, the majority of these households were small households that mainly comprised of individuals over the age of 50 years. The more elderly individuals stated that with their advanced age, their relatives abroad sent them money so that they could purchase for themselves what they needed for their day-to-day living. At their age, they personally found that sending cash was more convenient than sending remittances in kind whereby the individuals would have to personally collect their goods from the wharf which they found to be very inconvenient to them.

Other individuals in the category were retirees who returned to the island with their own resources to facilitate the building/rebuilding of their family homes. These individuals stated that they had brought most of the goods in kind that they needed, and would only request for monetary remittances when the need arose.

Figure 5.17. Types of Remittances Received by Households



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.4.3: Cash Remittance Flow and Utilisation

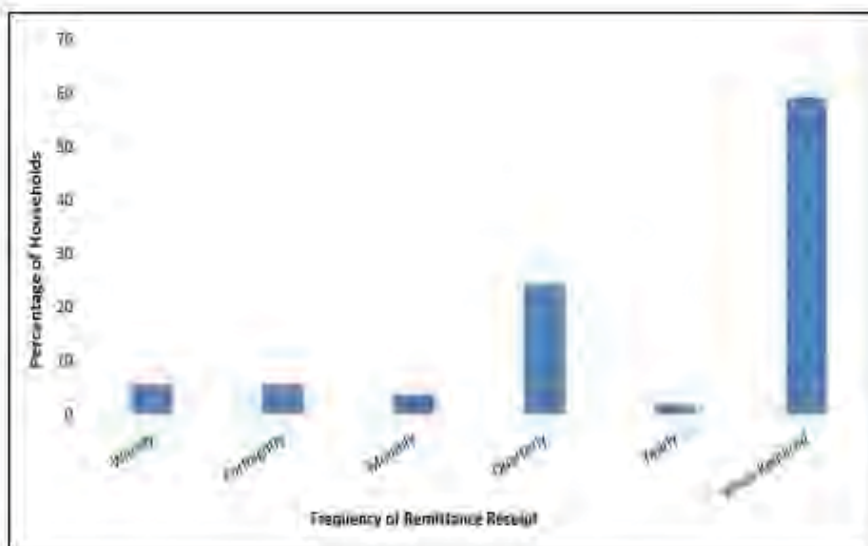
In this sub-section, the flow, receipt, and utilisation of cash remittances, is scrutinised. The frequency of cash transfer and means of channelizing remittances is

assessed. This section also assesses the purposes for which remittance monies are sent, and how they are actually utilised.

5.3.4.3.1 Frequency of Cash Transfers

Figure 5.18 reveals the frequency with which households receive remittances. 59 per cent of the remittance receiving households receive remittances when need arises. 28 per cent of households received remittances on a quarterly basis, while around 5 per cent of households each receive weekly or fortnightly remittances. Nearly 4 per cent of households reported that they received remittances on a monthly basis, and just over 1 per cent received yearly remittances.

Figure 5.18. Frequency of Cash Remittance Receipts by Households



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The study notes that remittances are typically sent in the assistance of household as well as cultural events. In terms of household events, families in Rotuma will often request remittances in both cash and kind for events such as weddings, and the ceremonial mounting of tombstones (Box 5.4). Of particular interest, is a seemingly counterintuitive revelation by many households, that the receipt of remittances is not particularly high for funerals. When queried upon this, households cited that as there was no mortuary in Rotuma, funerals were relatively accelerated affairs whereby the

deceased person was buried a day after they had passed away. Thus, it was typically left to the family in Rotuma to facilitate the funeral arrangements. Box 5.4 provides greater clarity on this.

Box 5.4. One Households Perception on Remittances and Funerals

A household reflected its perception on the influence that remittances had on funerals as follows:

“When there is a funeral, we don’t have a mortuary here, which in a way is good because that means the funerals are long and expensive like you gang do [reference to Rotumans living in Fiji]. So there is no time for Fiji to send all the food and things like that. Our close family will send us money to help but that’s about it because of the short time. So the funerals are not that expensive and they are quickly organised. The time when the family in Fiji sends a lot of things is when we have the hōt’ak hafu (Mounting of tombstone over a grave which is carried out one year after the death of a person). Then, those in Fiji can organise and send the stone, and they send money and food to help with the eating [feast that is traditionally held for attendees]”.

Source: Field Survey by the Researcher, 2015.

The study notes that remittances sent for cultural events are typically sent in January, May and December. This is because, in May, the Rotuma day celebrations²⁵ are carried out. The December-January period is the *āv mane’a* (Literally translated as ‘time to play’) period. During this period, the island is full of visitors and various festive activities are organised. Cash remittances are sent during these periods to facilitate the festive activities and also to help fund Christmas and New Year’s feasts. Box 5.5 provides an overview of this practice.

²⁵ Rotuma Day celebration are carried out to commemorate Rotuma’s cession to Great Britain. Celebrations are typically held on the 13th of May

Box 5.5. Cash Remittances in Rotuma During āv Kesmaši (Christmas time)

An ethnographic observation by the Researcher (2015) reveals that:

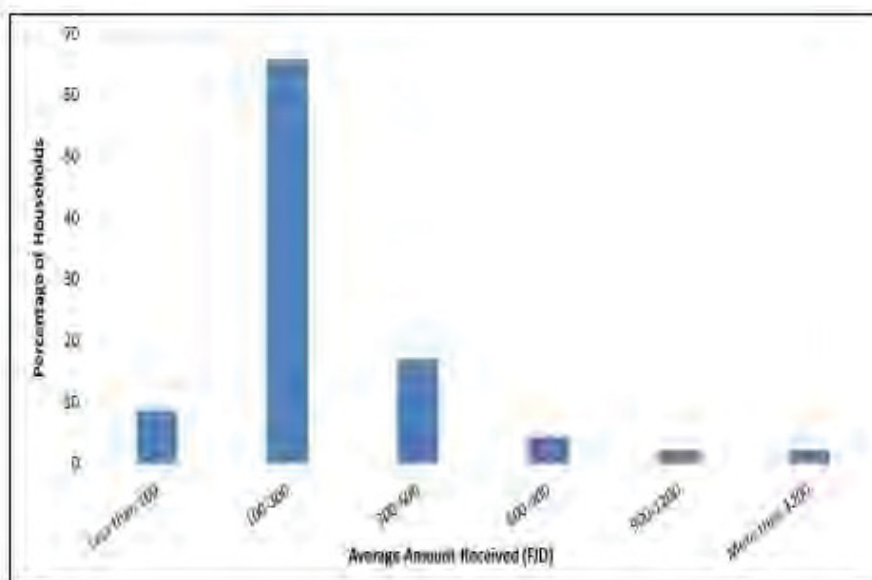
The Post Office in Rotuma is located in the ho'aga (village) of 'Ahau. 'Ahau serves as the administrative hub of Rotuma, where the various governmental offices and services are located. Rotumans who receive remittances, thus travel to the Post Office in order to collect their TMOs or Western Union cash transfers. Located right beside the postal office is a miniature supermarket that is operated by the post office.

During the 2014-2015 festive period in Rotuma, the researcher made it a point to sit outside the post office during the December 21st – 24th period and observe the various transactions taking place. The researcher noted that, during this period, carriers transporting individuals from all around Rotuma would constantly arrive at 'Ahau, and discharge their passengers before leaving to collect more persons. In a single day during an 8 hour period, the researcher noted the arrival of 9 truckloads of passengers that each transported an average of 30-35 individuals. The majority of these individuals would first visit the post office where they would collect cash remittance. Once they had collected their monies, they would 'move next door' to the supermarket and commence their Christmas shopping. Items such as buckets of salted beef (priced at \$150), cartons of tinned beef (priced at \$240), and 5 Kg boxes of biscuits (priced at \$35) would be purchased (at times in bulk) by the various shoppers. One particular shopper upon receiving her remittances purchase two buckets of salted beef, one carton of tinned beef as well as a variety of other frozen food items.

5.3.4.3.2 Cash Remittance Inflow

Figure 5.19 shows the average amounts of cash remittances that households receive with each transfer. About 9 per cent of households received less than FJD 100 with each transaction. The study notes that the bulk of transfers (66 per cent) typically comprised of amounts between FJD 100 - FJD 300. Another 17 per cent of households received between FJD 300 - FJD 600 with each remittance receipt. Only a combined total of 9 per cent of households received amounts above FJD 600.

Figure 5.19. Average Remittances Received Per Transfer by Household



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.4.3.3 Conduits of Cash Remittances

The various means by which Rotumans receive monetary remittances, in both formal and informal channels are shown in Figure 5.20. Almost 60 per cent of remittance receiving households relied upon Telegraphic Money Orders²⁶ (TMOs) for the receipt of cash remittances. About 21 per cent of households reported that they received monies through Western Union²⁷. The study notes that the majority of cash remittances are still sent from migrants located in mainland Fiji. The researcher notes, that even remittance receiving households, whose migrant members are primarily located outside of Fiji, still receive their monies through domestic cash transfers (TMOs). In such households, remittance senders abroad would send the money to relatives in mainland Fiji, who would in turn send the monies to Rotuma. This trend typically occurred for two purposes. Firstly, migrants abroad preferred to channelize remittance monies via mainland Fiji in order to ensure that they could provide for both their relatives on Rotuma, and those outside of Rotuma. Secondly, migrants abroad would send monies to those in mainland Fiji, so that they could use

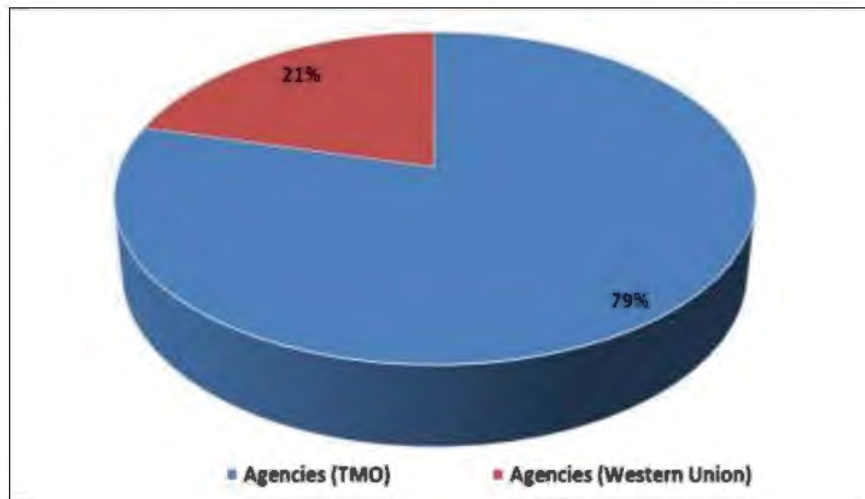
²⁶ Telegraphic Money Orders (TMOs) in this context, refers to the electronic transmission of money within Fiji. TMO services are offered by Post Fiji

²⁷ Western Union is an international corporation that facilitates cross border money transfers

portions of the monies, to purchase remittances in kind, to send to Rotuma, while the remainder of the cash was transferred to Rotuma via TMOs. The response of one housewife on remittances from the Household Survey (2015) was:

“My oldest son is working in Canada, and I have a daughter who is studying in Suva. So he will send the money to his sister. Some of it is for her spending, the rest she either sends here, or uses it to buy things we need and send it on the next boat”.

Figure 5.20. Mechanisms of Receiving Remittances in Rotuma



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

Based on Figure 5.20, the research notes that no households referred to remittances that were brought by visitors to the island. This contrasts findings by scholars such as Hannan (2009: 234), who noted how Rotuman migrants visiting the island would bring funds and gifts for their families. This type of informal flow of remittances to Rotuma is very common. However, households revealed that in such cases, such gifts brought were also used to help facilitate the stay of the visitors. Thus, participants in the survey did not view such gifts as being remittances. The study also notes that despite EFTPOS²⁸ services being offered at the Post office, ‘none of the households received funds via bank transfers. Households revealed that this was because the island did not have any bank branches. Thus, opening a bank account would have necessitated a visit to mainland Fiji. Furthermore, Automated Teller Machines

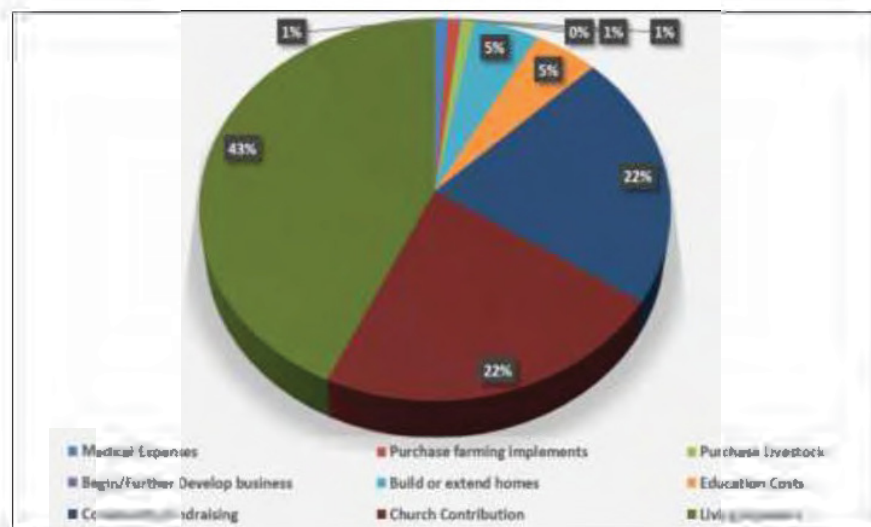
²⁸ EFTPOS refers to ‘Electronic Funds Transfer at Point Of Sale’. Consumers can use this service to electronically pay for their purchases and also withdraw money from their Bank Accounts.

(ATMs) are not present on the island, and using EFTPOS services to make money withdrawals would first necessitate making purchases worth ten dollars or more, before they could withdraw funds. Thus, in the context of cash remittances, electronic/bank transfers are not favoured.

5.3.4.3.4 *Purposes of Sending Cash Remittances*

Figure 5.21 graphs out the general reasons as to why migrants would send cash remittances to Rotuma. The majority of households (43 per cent), indicated that their migrant family members sent remittances back for the purpose of helping with living expenses. Assisting with church contributions (22 per cent) and community fundraisings (22 per cent) were also cited as key reasons for the sending of remittances. The study notes that when combined, the sending of remittances for the purpose of church and community contributions actually outweighs the sending of remittances for the purpose of meeting living expenses. 5 per cent of households stated that migrants sent them remittances to help build/extend their homes, and another 5 per cent reported that cash remittances were sent to assist with education costs. 1 per cent of households each reported that migrants sent remittances for the purpose of assisting with medical expenses, the purchasing of farming implements, and the purchasing of livestock.

Figure 5.21. Purpose of Migrants Sending Cash Remittances to Rotuma

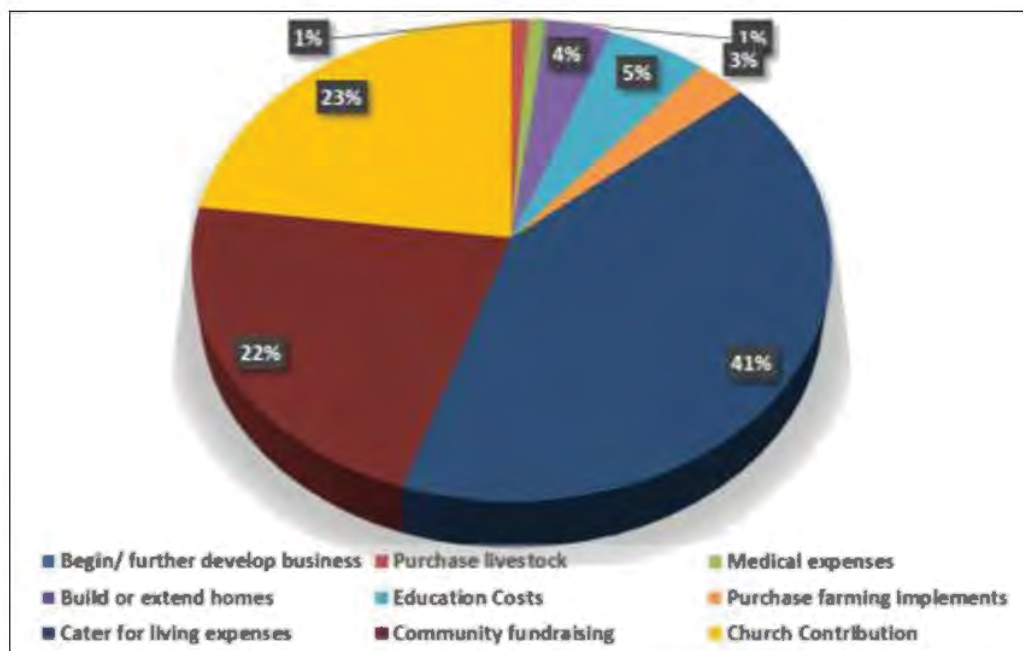


Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.4.3.5 *Utilisation of Cash Remittances*

Figure 5.22 illustrates how the households surveyed commonly utilise cash remittances that they receive. Most remittance receiving households interviewed, revealed that in terms of the specific activities they spent the monies on, they spent the bulk on living expenses (41 per cent). However, further queries revealed that they also set aside money for church (23 per cent) and community contributions (22 per cent). Consequently, the accrual of these various other expenses led to significant portions of monies being used for church contributions and community fundraisings. Almost 6 per cent reported that they used cash remittances to assist with education costs, and another 4 per cent of households stated that they used remittances to help build/extend their homes. Just fewer than 3 per cent of households used remittances to purchase farming implements, and 1 per cent of households each reported that they used remittances for the purpose of assisting with medical expenses, and purchasing livestock.

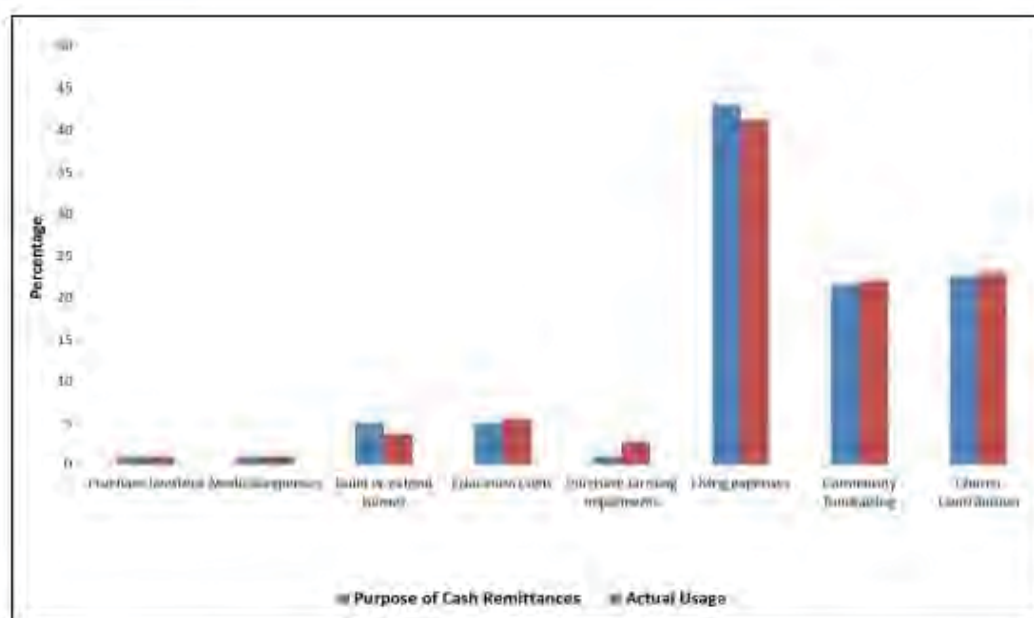
Figure 5.22. Utilisation of Cash Remittances by Households



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

Figure 5.23 shows the purpose of migrants sending remittances, and their actual utilisation. Remittances are utilised for the main purposes for which they are sent.

Figure 5.23. Purpose of Migrants Sending Remittances, vs. their Actual Utilisation



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The study notes that in comparison to the purpose for which remittance monies are sent, there is an increase in the usage of remittance monies for church contributions (23 per cent), and community fundraisings (22 per cent). Consequently, contributions to church and community fundraisings make up a significant proportion of remittance usage (45 per cent) that outweighs the usage of remittances for living expenses (41 per cent). The study notes that none of the households surveyed reported using remittance monies for the purpose of starting small businesses.

Box 5.6 illustrates a case study based on the researchers' participant observation on the field work site, with regard to contributions made by households to religious events.

Box 5.6. Case Study on Usage of Remittance for Church/Community Activities- An Analysis of the Motusa Circuit

The Motusa Circuit is an administrative unit of the Methodist Church in Fiji and Rotuma. The circuit comprises of several Rotuman districts and villages. While each district has its own places of worship, the Motusa circuit is the key administrative body and is based in the sub-district of Motusa, within the district of Itu'ti'u. On a monthly basis, special inter-congregational church services are held at the Methodist Church in Motusa. During such services, the various congregations from the other churches will all travel to Motusa for a combined church service. The church service is typically followed by a communal feast, where each participant congregation is tasked with providing a certain 'i'ini (food item containing meat). Consequently, for the various congregations within the circuit, they must organize transport as well as pool resources to supply the food items they have been tasked to provide. Rotuma has no public service vehicles and as a result, travelling groups need to hire private carriers to transport them from place to place. The costs of transport within Rotuma are quite high and present a significant financial burden for communities and congregations. This was demonstrated during the course of the fieldwork. The researcher travelled on numerous occasions on a carrier ride around the entire island. The costs for the trip which typically lasts between 45 minutes to an hour (At an average speed of 60 KMpH), ranged between FJD \$180 - \$280. This illustrates the significant financial burden that transportation costs can have for congregations. Thus, in order to cater for their religious obligations, communities find it necessary to pool their resources. For instance, during the course of the research, the researcher was invited to participate in an "iom kav kir'aki" (Fundraising activity where people give cash donations and drink Kava). The researcher was informed, that this event was to raise funds for the village. Such funds were kept in order to cater for events such as funerals, church events, and general community activities. In this regard, remittances from migrants play a key role in subsidising the monetary cost of such obligations.

Source: Ethnographic, and Participant Observation by the Researcher, 2015.

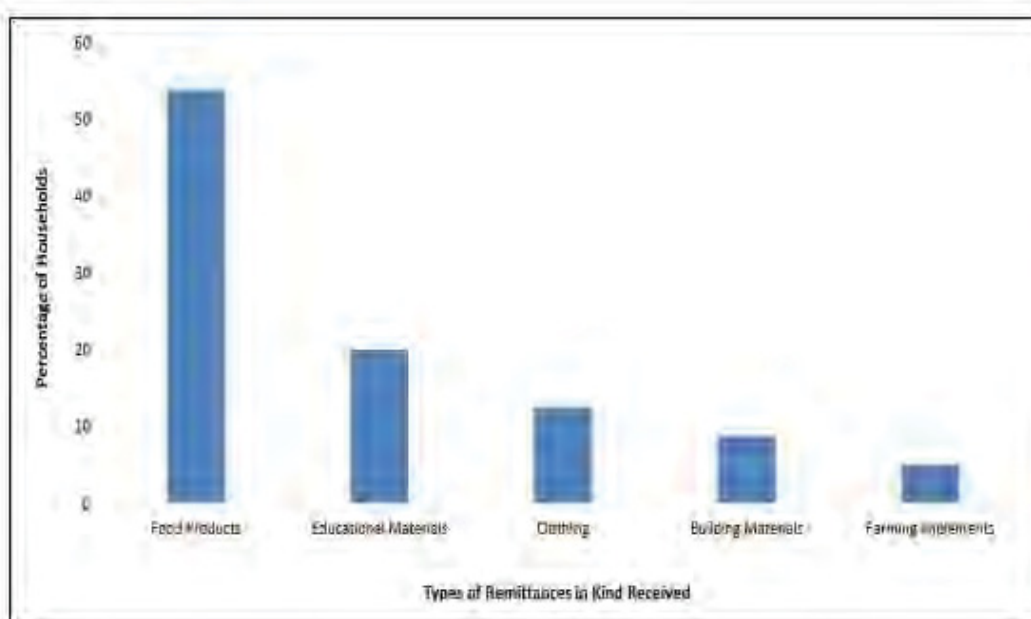
5.3.4.4 Remittances in Kind

This section focuses on analysing remittances in kind that are remitted to Rotuma. The types of goods remitted and their utilisation patterns are discussed in this section. Their influence on livelihoods and development is also assessed.

5.3.4.4.1 *Goods and Merchandise Remitted to Rotuma*

Figure 5.24 depicts the various types and quantities of remittances in kind that are received by households in Rotuma. About 54 per cent of households stated that remittances received typically comprised of food items. 20 per cent of households stated that they received educational materials, and about 13 per cent of households reported that they received clothing. Building materials make up nearly 9 per cent of good received, while farming implements comprise of 5 per cent.

Figure 5.24. Household Response on Remittances in Kind



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The study notes that at first glance the data shown in Figure 5.24 may imply a primary focus on food items, and consumption, as opposed to the sending of remittances to facilitate education and farming. However, it must be noted that the sending of farming implements is something that is typically only necessitated when families in Rotuma need new tools to replace items lost through wear and tear. Similarly, building materials are only necessitated when there is construction work underway. With regard to educational materials, this typically only required on an annual basis when the new school year commences. In essence, the demand for educational materials, building materials, and farming implements is elastic.

However, the demand for food products is inelastic and thus accounts for the high per-centage of food products being sent.

The researcher noted upon visits to the wharf when a ship was berthed, that each shipment would bring vast quantities of cargo ranging from basic food items, to furniture, construction materials, and motorcycles.

Photograph 5.8 illustrates the variety of goods that are typically delivered to Rotuma with each shipment that arrives. It must be noted that while this does imply a vast inflow of remittances in kind, shipping services are irregular²⁹ and thus partially account for the large amounts of cargo that are delivered by each ship.

Photograph 5.8. Collage of Cargoes Typically Delivered to Rotuma



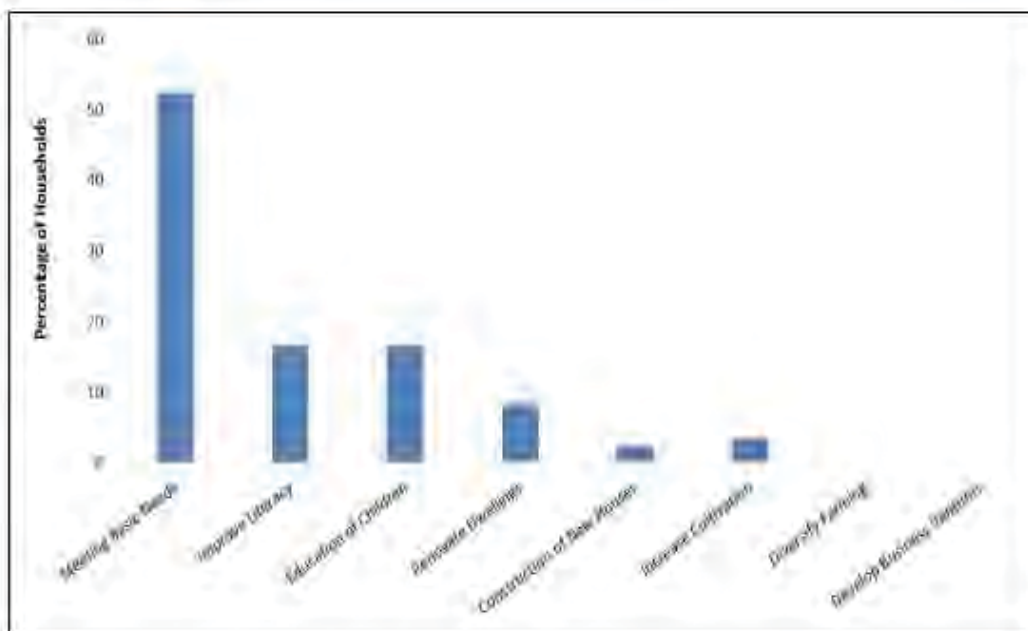
Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015.

²⁹ Shipping services to Rotuma are notoriously irregular. There are instances where multiple months can elapse before a ship arrives. When the researcher arrived in Rotuma (By plane), there had been no ships arriving in almost 2 months. Consequently, there was a shortage (or complete absence) of food products and basic items at the various shops in Rotuma. For instance, at the Post Office supermarket, which was typically the best resourced and stocked business in Rotuma, the shelves were completely bare of all food items.

5.3.4.4.2 Purpose of Sending Remittances in Kind

Figure 5.25 shows the reasons as to why migrants send remittances in kind to Rotuma. The majority of households (around 52 per cent), indicated that their migrant family members sent such remittances for the purpose of helping them with their basic needs. A common phrase that participants used to describe the sending of such products was ‘*iris nā la hāiasoag se ‘ā tē*’ (they sent it [food products] to help with our diets) or ‘*iris nā tē la iom tī*’ (They gave things [food products] for tea). Improving literacy (Almost 17 per cent) and assisting with the education of children (Almost 17 per cent) were also common reasons for the sending of remittances in kind. Households spoke of how their migrant relatives would send school materials such as text books, fictional novels, uniforms and general stationery in order to ensure that the school children in the family were provided with necessary materials. 8 per cent of households reported that the remittances were intended to assist in the renovation of dwellings, while 4 per cent revealed that the remittances were sent to help improve cultivation. 2 per cent of households reported that the remittances had been sent to assist in the construction of new houses.

Figure 5.25. Purpose of Migrants Sending Remittances in Kind



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

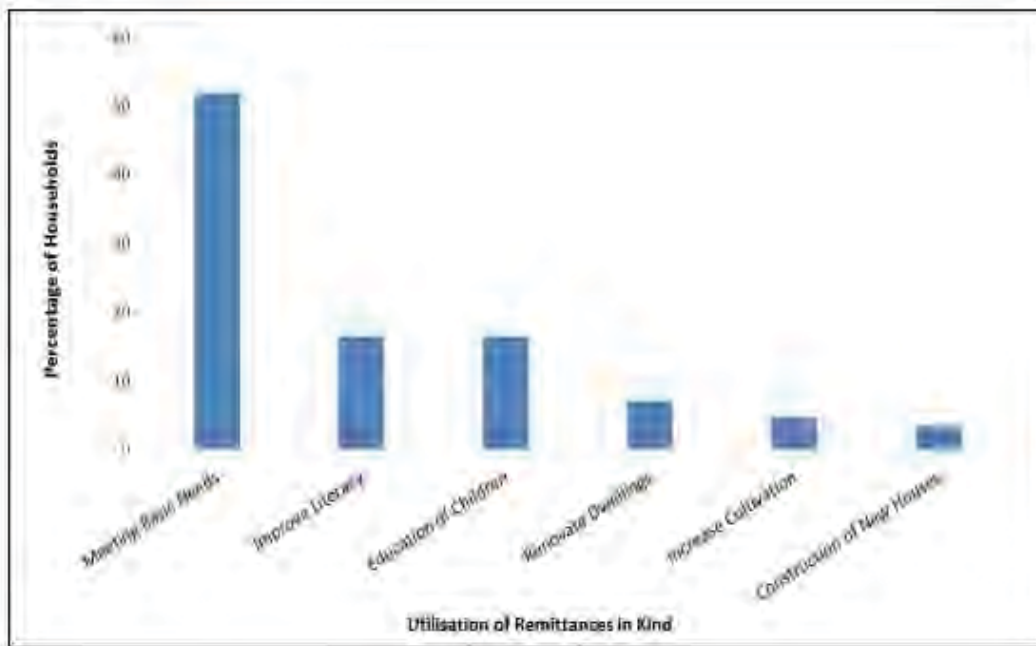
The study notes, that similar to cash remittances, the sending of remittances in kind, tends to peak during the May (Rotuma Day) and December – January (*āv mane’a*) period. During the Rotuma day celebrations, each district is expected to prepare a cultural performance. Additionally, one district is typically given the responsibility of hosting the event, and providing a feast for the attendees. Due to this, Rotumans in Fiji provide a great deal of assistance, by sending cloth materials for performance costumes, as well as sending canned, and luxury foodstuffs to supplement the traditional food at the feasts. The researcher once was invited to a cultural feast which was the talk of the village afterwards because migrants had sent cartons of ‘Palm’ brand corned beef. This particularly brand was a New Zealand product and quite expensive. Thus, it was seen as a mark of affluence if families could serve such delicacies at a feast.

With regard to the *āv mane’a* period, this is a period when there are numerous visitors to the island, and various festive events are carried out. Once again, migrants provide assistance through sending remittances in kind. The researcher attended various festive events during his fieldwork in Rotuma. The researcher noted how migrants in Fiji had sent bales of cloth to provide *ha’ fali* (sarongs worn around the waist) as festive attire for their communities during the festivities.

5.3.4.4.3 *Utilisation of Remittances in Kind*

Figure 5.26 provides an overview of how households actually utilised the material goods that they receive from migrants. The figure shows that 52 per cent of households used remittances sent in kind for the purpose of meeting their basic needs. 16 per cent of households each reported that the remittances were utilised for improving literacy, and to improve children’s education. 7 per cent of households used remittances to renovate their dwellings, and 5 per cent to increase the amount of land that they cultivated. 4 per cent of households reported that they had utilised remittances received to construct new houses.

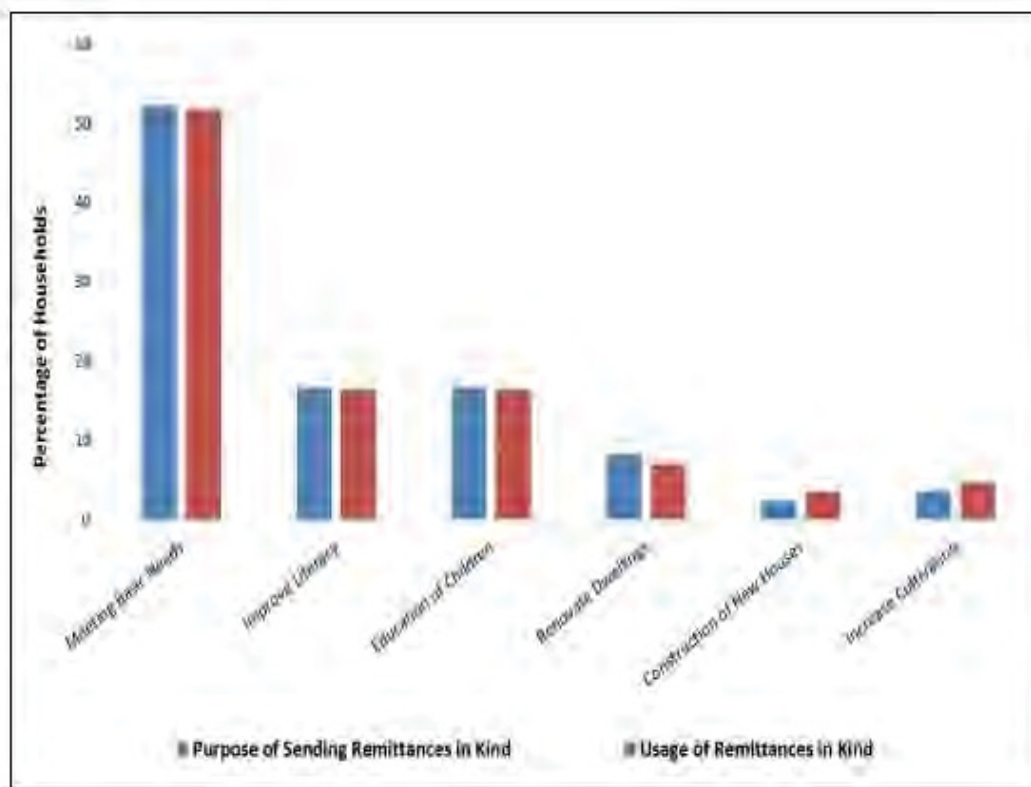
Figure 5.26. Actual Usage of Remittances in Kind



Source: Household Survey, 2015

Figure 5.27 shows a comparison between the purpose of migrants sending remittances in kind, and such remittances are actually utilised. The study notes that the actual usage of such remittances generally correlates with the purposes for which the remittances are sent. Figure 5.27 shows, most remittance receiving households interviewed, revealed that in terms of the specific usage of the material goods sent, much of the goods went into consumption. In essence, much of the merchandise they received was food items that helped supplement their diets. Households cited that this was cheaper as it meant they would minimise the frequency with which they needed to purchase food items at exorbitant costs in Rotuma.

Figure 5.27. Comparison of the Purpose of Migrants Sending Remittances in Kind, and their Actual Utilisation



Source: Household Survey, 2015

As aforementioned, the costs of goods and services in Rotuma are exorbitantly high. This can be attributed to the irregularity of shipping to Rotuma and the geographic isolation of the island. These factors have meant high shipping costs which in turn have led to the cost of goods and services in Rotuma being quite high. Box 5.7 provides an overview of the researchers' experiences and observations in Rotuma upon the arrival of a ship.

Box 5.7. The Arrival of Two Ships in Rotuma: 20th November 2014, and 16th December 2014

Through participant observation at the Oinafa Wharf in Rotuma, the researcher noted the following:

On the 20th of November, the government operated barge arrived in Rotuma. This arrival was keenly anticipated as no ship had visited Rotuma in over a month and the shelves of shops were bare. Fuel was being rationed and utilised solely for the transportation of school children and for use by government vehicles. As the ship was government operated, it primarily shipped material for the government departments, with a minimal cargo of private freight. However, Rotumans still keenly anticipated the arrival of the ship as it would bring fuel supplies. Once the cargo had been offloaded, the various store owners around the island claimed their goods and fuel supplies and transported them back to their respective districts. At the store located close to where the researcher was staying, there were already 20-25 individuals congregated with jerry cans and various flasks awaiting the arrival of petrol to commence their purchases. This was a common scene at Rotuman shops whenever shipments would arrive. The researcher was at the shop to also purchase fuel to facilitate research travel, however, arriving 30 minutes late meant that the researcher had to wait until everyone ahead of him had completed their purchases. Consequently, only a meagre 3.5 litres of petrol were left for purchase.

On the 16th of December, The researcher once again visited the wharf to observe events as the ship berthed. In this case, as the ship was a commercial vessel, there was a large amount of cargo that was delivered. Rotumans flocked to the Oinafa wharf to collect their cargo. Cargoes brought included timber, bags of cement, drums of fuel, cylinders of cooking gas, furniture and electrical items, and vast quantities of tinned food, and frozen meats. Some remarks made as individuals collected their cargo were; ‘is pā ‘ā puatkau ‘ea’ (we want to have tinned beef).

Source: Participant Observation by the Researcher, 2015.

5.3.5: Household Perception on Migration and Remittances

Section 5.3.4 has assessed the types of remittances households received, the purposes for which those remittances were sent, and the manner in which they were utilised. In addition to this, households were asked about their perceptions of the role that migration and remittances play in Rotuma. This section thus assesses perceptions on the role that migrants play in terms of healthcare, education, and basic livelihoods in Rotuma. Household responses are graphed and analysed. Case studies and quotes from households and key persons are used to supplement the quantitative analysis.

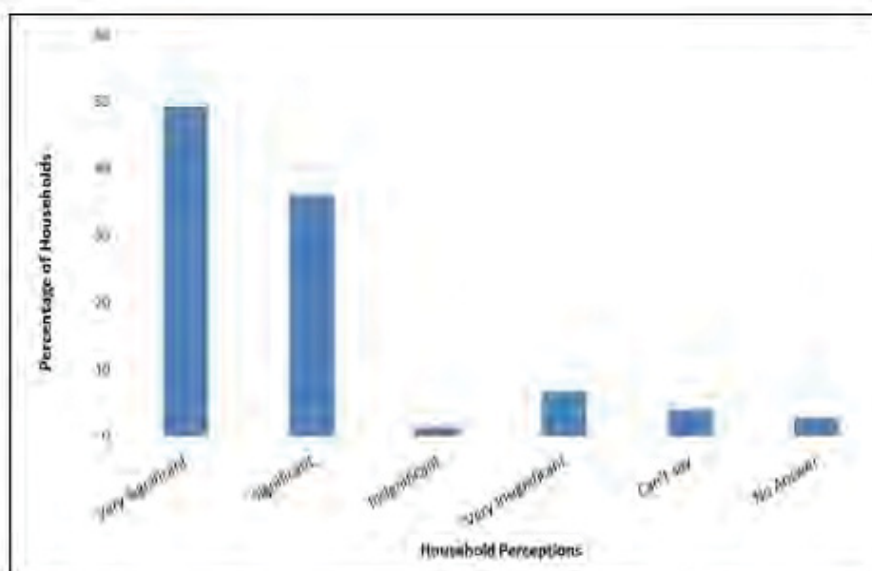
5.3.5.1 Household Perception on the Impacts of Remittances on Health

Figure 5.28 shows that a total of 85 per cent of respondents believed that remittances played a very significant or significant role in helping develop health facilities. The role of migrants in developing health facilities is generally held in a high regarded. Households cited that while there was a rural hospital in Rotuma that offered free medical services, remittances from migrants helped ‘fill in the gaps’ in medical needs. The response of an individual in the Household Survey (2015) is as follows:

“The hospital provides the doctors and medicine but there are other things that they don’t have, or are short. So some of those things, our families send. They give wheelchairs, walking sticks, diapers for the really old people and other things to help make the sick live well. We see a lot of it now because most of the youth are gone and we have many old people here now”

A combined total of 8 per cent of respondents believed that remittances from migrants played an insignificant to very insignificant role in terms of its impact on health. Households cited the reason that people in Rotuma needed to look after themselves better. One household stated that health was the government’s responsibility and people should stop the trend of “*tuqan’äk nē sē Fiti*” (relying on Fiji [migrants in Fiji]).

Figure 5.28. Household Response on Impact of Remittances on Health



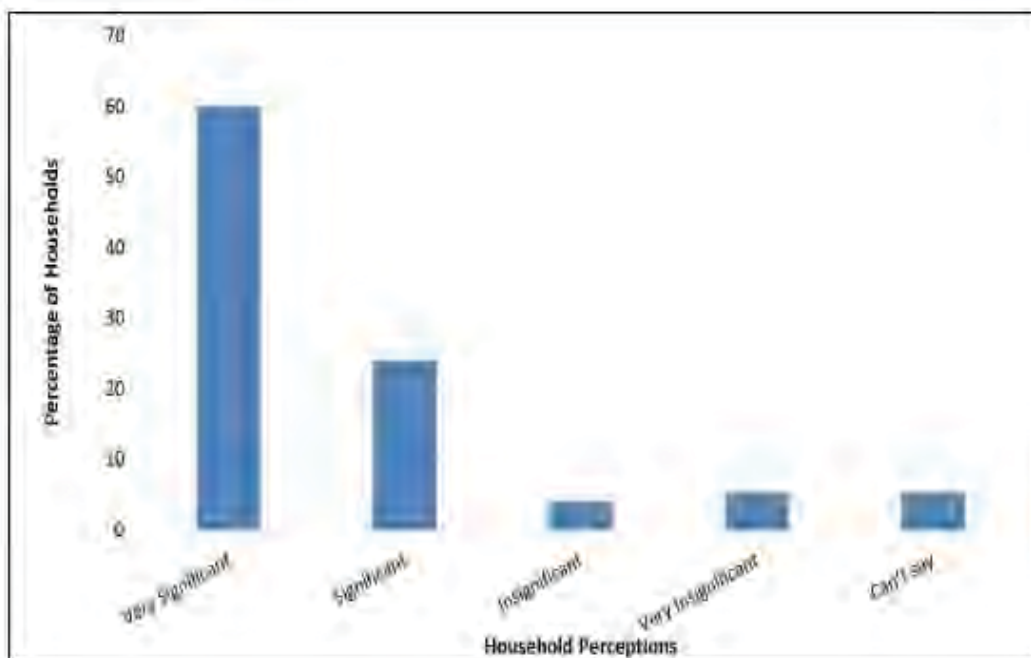
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.5.2: Household Perception on the Impact of Remittances on Education

Figure 5.29 shows that a total of 84 per cent of households believed that remittances played a very significant or significant role in helping Rotumans achieve better education. 60 per cent of the respondents stated that they believed that remittances played a ‘very significant role’, while 24 per cent of respondents believed that remittances played a ‘significant role’. A combined total of about 9 per cent of respondents believed that remittances played an insignificant to very insignificant role in terms of its impact on education. Such households mainly cited that it was the duty of the parents to provide for their children and to see that their offspring attained an education. These perceptions could be summed up by the response of an individual in the Household Survey (2015), which was as follows:

“When I was growing up, my father would cut copra and mum would weave mats to sell in Fiji to get money. They did all this so that we [reference to siblings] could all go to school. It wasn’t easy but they did it so that they can provide for us. They also went through all that because they know that they [referring to migrants in Fiji] have their own families that they needed to look after, and they did not want to add to the burden”.

Figure 5.29. Household Perception on the Impact of Remittances on Education



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The quote highlighted in Box 5.8 illustrates how remittances have helped a particular household in terms of educating its children.

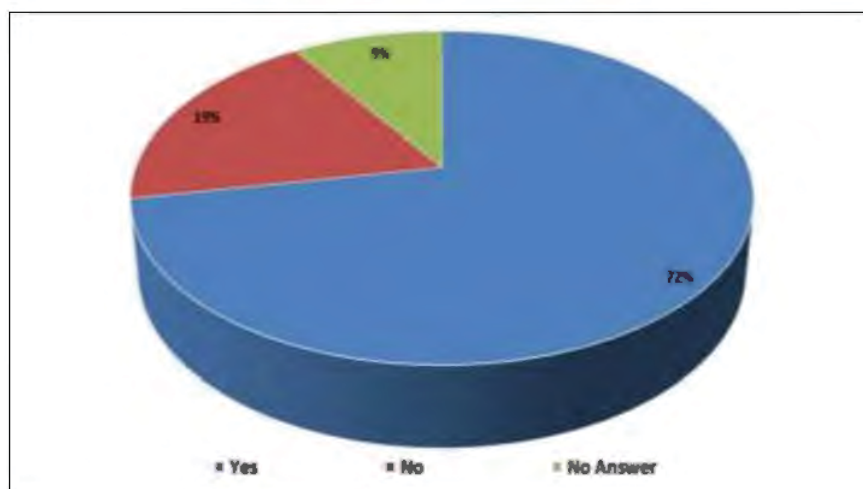
Box 5.8. A Family Experience of the Impact of Remittances on Education

“Education is free now with the government, but it can still be expensive. The textbooks and the uniforms, and all that. My family in Fiji really helps. My eldest Sumasafu (Pseudonym) is in form 6 (Year 12) now. From when she started schooling, they helped by buying her uniforms, books and shoes and sending them once a year to us. It took a huge burden away ... My husband doesn’t have to cut so much copra and run around for money for those things. Instead, we can focus more time on making sure she has good lunch to take [to school]. We can spend more time with her and help her with her studies. She likes reading, and we hope she can go to USP. [Remark to Interviewer] Maybe you will see her around there [USP] in the next two years?”

Source: The Household Survey, 2015.

Households were asked on their perceptions as to whether remittances have helped enable greater school attendance in Rotuma. Figure 5.30 highlights the responses of the households. 72 per cent of the households stated that ‘yes’ they believed that more children had been able to attend school through the *tē fakhanisi* (gifts) that had been sent by relatives abroad. 19 per cent of the respondents believed that ‘no’, remittances had not helped facilitate an increase in the number of children being educated. These households cited various reasons for this. Some posited that education has always been something that parents encouraged their children towards. Others stated that while remittances did indeed *a‘vavhiān rako* (makes studies easier), it did not necessarily mean more children were attending school.

Figure 5.30. Household Perception on Impact of Remittances on Education



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

A customary chief who was part of the survey offered the perspective that while he could not say with certainty as to whether more children were attending school or not, he did believe that remittances were helping increase completion rates of students (Box 5.9).

Box 5.9. A District Chiefs View on Remittances and Education

“Education is something that parents in Rotuma really want. We all tell them [children] that they need to go to school. Life here is hard, cutting copra and farming and fishing all your life is hard. [Remark to Researcher] Remember what they said in Herenikos movie? [Reference to the Rotuman film ‘Land Has Eyes’ which was directed by Professor Vilsoni Hereniko] Yeah, it was; fe’en ‘ae la po la ‘ou pen heta la po la haga ‘ae (Work hard so that your pen can feed you) [reference to doing white collar work as opposed to subsistence living on the island)]”.

“So before, parents will send their children to school, but many can’t complete school because they needed to start looking for work to help their families. Now, school is free so parents don’t have to worry about school fees. Also, many families in my district have gifts being sent from Fiji to help the children. The uniforms, shoes and books are sent from Fiji. All that is expensive, so the help that comes from Fiji makes the burden less for those here. Vama would have told you what it was like in her time [reference to researchers’ mother]. Now if children don’t finish school it’s because they didn’t work hard. They can’t say that there’s no support. It’s all there now”.

Source: The Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.5.3 Household Perception on Impact of Remittances on Living Standards

Figure 5.31 reveals household perceptions on the role that remittances have played in developing living standards. A clear majority of households surveyed believed that remittances played a ‘very significant’ (around 71 per cent) or ‘significant role’ (17 per cent) in facilitating the positive development of living standards. A combined total of 8 per cent of households felt that remittances have played a ‘very insignificant’ (5 per cent) or ‘insignificant role’ (around 3 per cent) in improving living standards.

In terms of the 88 per cent of households who perceived that that remittances played a significant role in improving livelihoods, changes in diet were a common factor cited. Many households would refer to how families were ‘*eating better*’. This was in reference to how a greater variety of imported foods were now available, and increasingly consumed by families in Rotuma.

The response of a grandparent in Juju district during the Household Survey (2015) was:

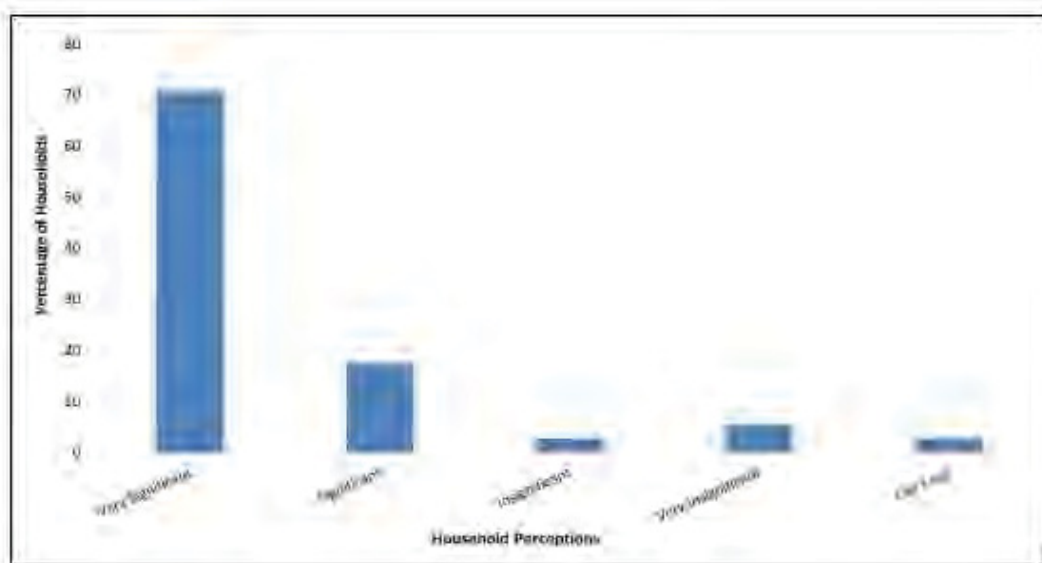
“When I was small, we ate very simple. My parents had to work hard to feed the family because there were 10 of us. So we relied on what we could grow and catch. Now, eating meat is an everyday thing. People have tinned fish and corned beef all the time. Now, if the boat is late and food runs out, people complain about having to go back to the old type of food. You can really see now how peoples eating have improved. The parents work hard to get their children out of here so they can work in Fiji and not sweat like before. When they work they send money, and their family can live well”.

Another commonly cited reason for this perception was the change in housing construction, and the improved amenities available in Rotuma. Households spoke of how it there were many more western style houses. In essence, building materials sent by migrants were used to renovate or built houses. Additionally, migrants sent various amenities such as furniture and electronics. One household survey participant stated that:

Before, in the places where the electricity went up to,³⁰ families would all go to one house when the power was on, so that they can watch movies. Now if you go around the places where the power goes up to, many houses have their own T.Vs and radios.

During the fieldwork, migrant members of the family hosting the researcher sent 5 solar panels for installation, to enable their relatives on the island to have electricity access.

Figure 5.31. Household Response on the Impact of Remittances on Living Standards



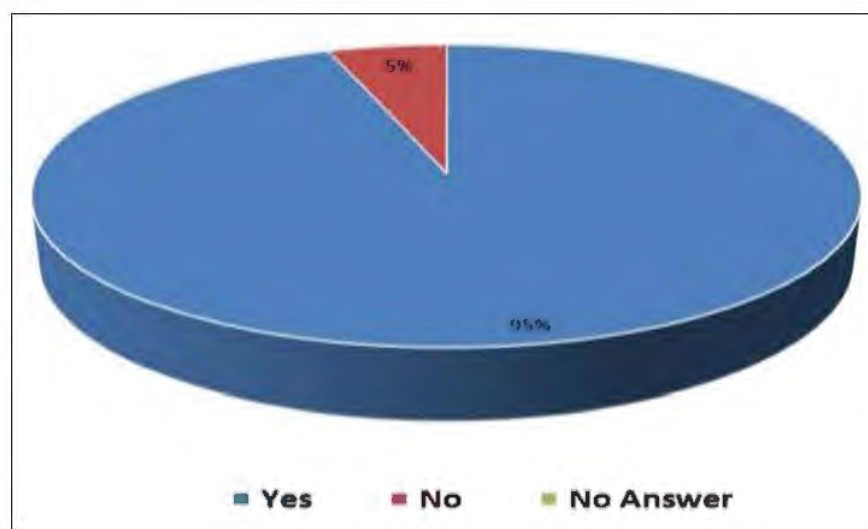
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.5.3.1 Household Perception on the Extent of Changes in Living Standards

Participants were asked as to whether they believed that remittance receipts had facilitated changes in living standards over the past 5 years. As shown in Figure 5.32, 95 per cent of respondents believed that remittances had contributed to changes in Rotuman living standards. Another 5 per cent did not believe that there had been changes in Rotuman living standards.

³⁰ In Rotuma, not all areas have irregular or no access to electricity. Some communities have communal generators that are switched on for certain periods of time, while some households have their own generators that they utilise for their own needs. However, all the generators are reliant on fuel supplies that tend to run short when shipping services to the island are delayed.

Figure 5.32. Household Perception on Changes in Living Standards



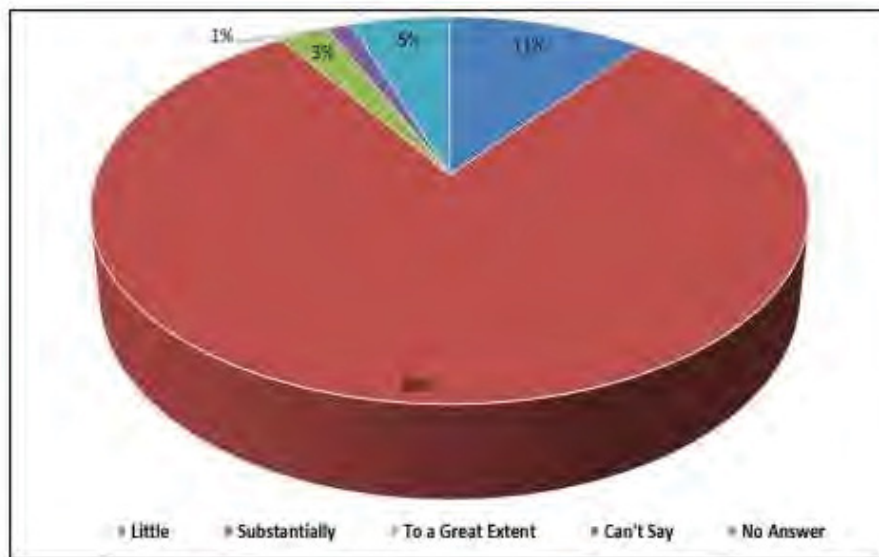
Source: Household Survey, 2015.

Figure 5.33 shows household perceptions on the extent to which living standards in Rotuma have changed. A combined total of 83 percent of households stated that they believed that living standards had change either substantially (80 per cent), or to a great extent (3 per cent)³¹. 5 per cent chose not to answer this question as they stated they felt more comfortable talking about their own households, and did not wish to comment on others. The study notes that for most of the households, the participants felt that living standards in Rotuma had undergone extensive changes. 11 per cent of households surveyed, believed that there had been little change to living standards in Rotuma. Key reasons cited by the households were that they could still observe people practicing traditional activities. The response of a farmer from Juju district during the Household Survey (2015) was that:

“While people live in cement houses now and eat better than before, people still do traditional work. You can still see people fishing and farming”.

³¹ While ‘Substantially’, and ‘To a great extent’ may seem to be identical categories, these two terms were selected due to the fact that questionnaires and interviews were carried out using the Rotuman language.

Figure 5.33. Household Perception on Extent of Change in Living Standards



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.5.3.2 Household Perception on the Impact of Change in Living Standards

Figure 5.34 outlines perceptions households have with regard to the impact of the living standard changes that they observed. The majority of participants (53 per cent) felt that the changes had been positive. The response of one household during the household survey (2015) was that:

“We see beautiful houses around the island. Peoples eating has changed, we have radios and T.V. You can see a lot more families owning generators in the places that don’t have electricity. Our ancestors worked hard and sent their children to Fiji so that we can get these blessings”.

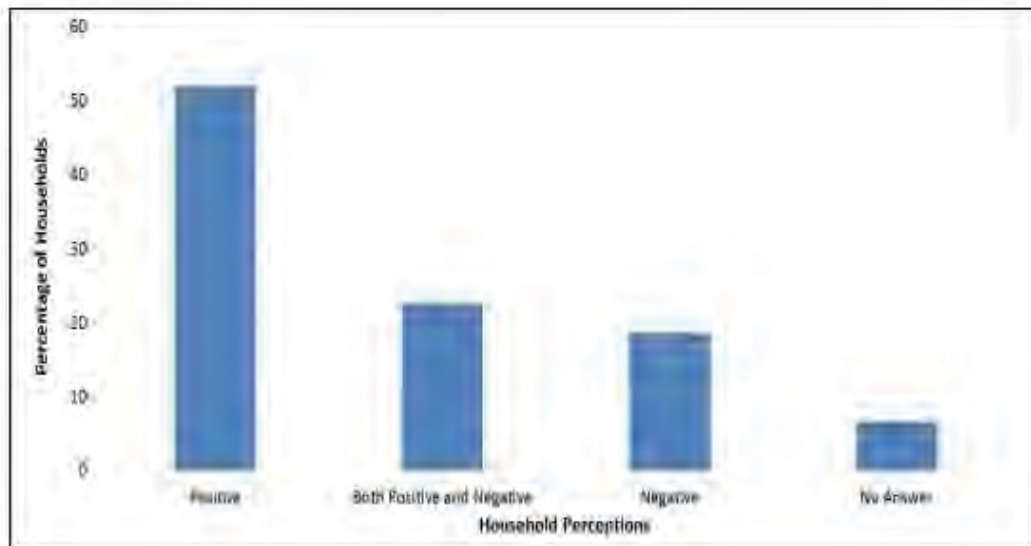
Around 7 per cent chose not to answer this question as they stated they did not wish to make general comments that might cast other households in a negative light. Around 23 per cent of respondents had mixed feelings on the living standard changes that they had observed. They felt that there was a mix of positive and negative elements in the changes in living standards.

This participant basically alluded to how Rotumans now had access to greater varieties of imported foods. However, she felt that this came at the price of drastic changes to Rotuman traditions.

Around 19 per cent of households felt that the changes had been negative citing various reasons. Increases in health problems and pollution were cited as reasons for this. During the Household Survey (2015), a village nurse reported:

“Now we see increasing numbers of people needing treatment for diabetes and high blood pressure. Rotuma did not have this problem before. But now, there are many who suffer from these things. It’s because people are relying on Fiji, and they prefer all the imported food instead of healthy local food Also, all the tinned food and glass bottles that come in. where does the rubbish go? [Question to researcher] did you see rubbish trucks around the island? See, all the rubbish is either burnt or buried If we don’t do something soon, we will have a very bad litter problem”.

Figure 5.34. Household Perception on the Impact of Change in Living Standards



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

The response of one household member during the Household Survey (2015) was that:

“We have T.V and radio. We eat better food [imported food] than we used to. But now, people are ignoring their tradition. Look at our festivals now. See how they present corned beef, like it’s a traditional food [Photograph 5.9]. Also, so many people don’t plant, fish, [or] weave. A lot of our ancestor’s wisdom is being forgotten”.

Photograph 5.9 Food Prepared for a Traditional Ceremony



Source: By J.Titifanue, 2015

In terms of the 19 per cent who felt that changes in living standards has been negative, a common reason cited, was the breakdown that people felt had taken place in the communal livelihood system. In essence, households felt, that there had been an influx of material goods in Rotuma, which had led to a breakdown in ‘communal values’. The case study in Box 5.10 provides further clarity on this issue.

Box 5.10. The Experiences of a Retiree from Lopta, Oinafa

A 65 year old retiree residing in Lopta village shared his perceptions on living standard changes in Rotuma. His views are outlined below:

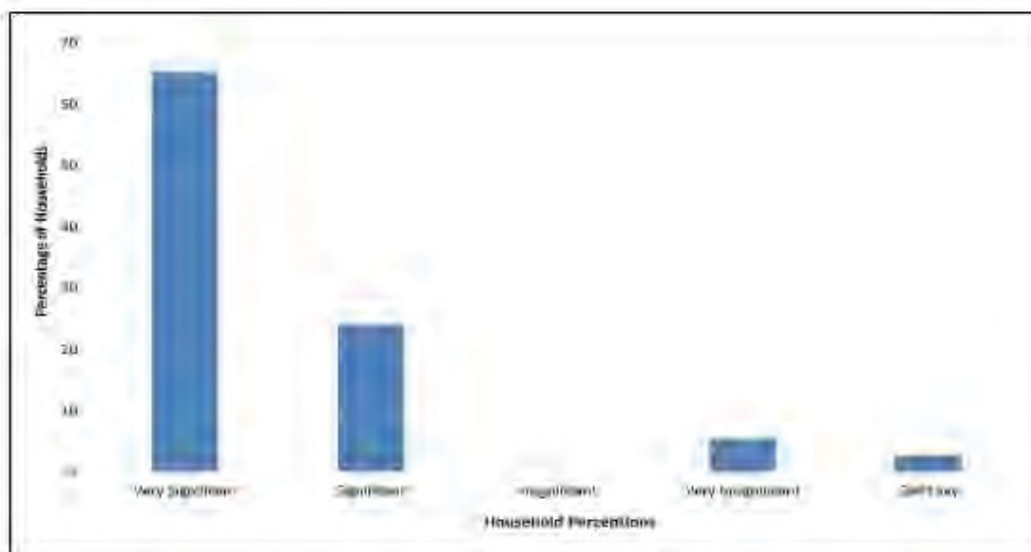
Sumasafu (Pseudonym), is a retiree who decided to return to Rotuma. Having collected the pension monies he was owed, he purchased materials that he required in order to construct a home for himself on the island. Upon arriving on the island, Sumasafu experienced “the new way things were done”. He found, that no longer did families make request to their friends, relatives, and neighbours when manpower was needed. Instead, he found that he needed to hire workers and pay them at rates he considered to be more costly than would be the case in mainland Fiji. He felt that with the influx of material goods in Rotuma, everything now seemed to revolve around money. As a result the communal interconnectivity he remembered from his youth seemed to have been severely eroded.

Source: The Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.5.4 Household Perception on the Impact of Remittances on Livelihoods

Household perceptions on the role remittances play in facilitating good livelihoods are shown in Figure 5.35. A combined total of 89 per cent of households felt that remittances played a ‘very significant (65 per cent) or ‘significant (24 per cent) role in facilitating positive livelihood development in households. The study notes that a very common theme cited by households was ‘*ā tē*’ (eating/diet). In essence, many households felt that changes in diet were the greatest indicator of the impact of remittances. Many households felt that remittances played a significant role in improving livelihoods as evidenced by access to a greater range of imported foods. Other households felt that changes in diets had resulted in an increased reliance on imported foods that lacked nutritional value.

Figure 5.35. Household Response on the Impact of Remittances on Livelihoods



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.5.5 Impact of Remittances on Traditional Livelihood Activities

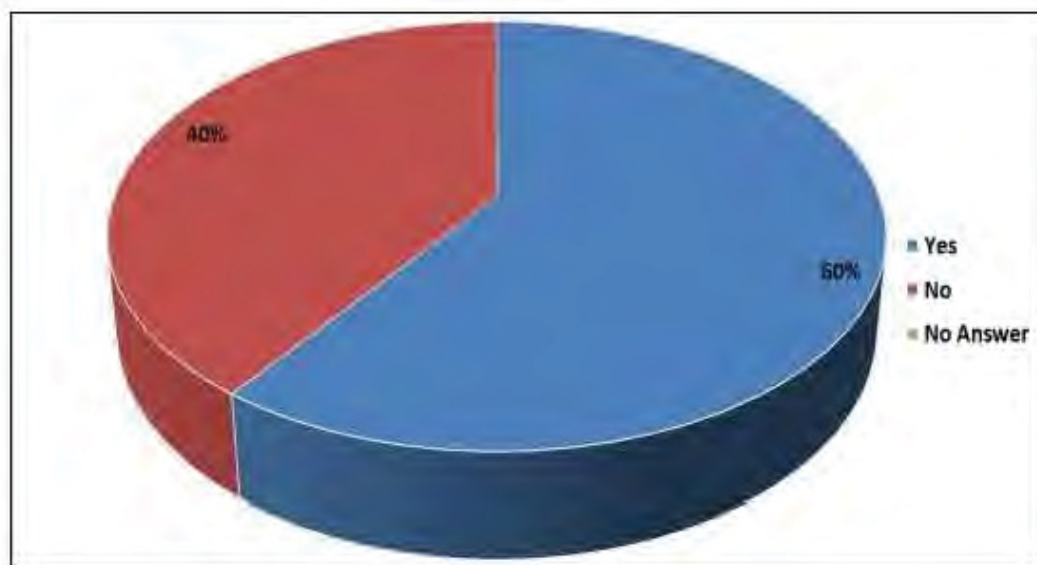
Household perception on whether they have been undertaking less traditional livelihood activities due to the remittances they receive is shown in Figure 5.36. Of these households, 60 per cent felt that they were undertaking less traditional

livelihood activities due to the remittances that they were receiving. Many households stated that they had worked hard to ensure that their children had better opportunities than they did. Thus, they felt that with their children working outside of Rotuma, they can now enjoy the fruits of their toil. An elderly couple highlight of their perception during the Household Survey (2015) is:

“When we had our children, he [reference to husband] would always be cutting copra and doing things to get money so we can send the children to school. While he was doing all that work, I was making mats and selling them [to buyers in Fiji]. So our oldest daughter managed to go to F.I.T³². She finished and worked as a secretary, and was able to help pay for her brothers school fees. Now, she is working and our son has graduated and working they send us money and gifts so that we don’t have to struggle anymore.”

40 per cent of households believed that they were not undertaking less traditional livelihood activities due to remittances received. The study notes that such households were typically those who only received remittances on an ‘as needed’ basis. Additionally, such households did not typically receive large quantities of remittance monies.

Figure 5.36. Household Response on Impact of Remittances on Traditional Livelihood Activities



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

³² Fiji Institute of Technology a vocational school that is now part of the Fiji National University

5.3.5.5.1 *Remittances and the Development of Livelihood Activities*

Figure 5.37 illustrates household perceptions on whether remittances have facilitated the development of small scale livelihood enterprises. 76 per cent of households responded in the affirmative. They felt that through remittance receipts, households were able to develop small scale livelihood activities. The study notes, that all the households who answered ‘yes’ cited the purchasing of more livestock as key reason for this perception. The study notes that while many of the households cited acquisition of livestock, very few provided examples of money generating activities that had been developed through remittances. In essence, the rearing of livestock is done to ensure that there are stocks of meat available for traditional events, and not as a commercial venture.

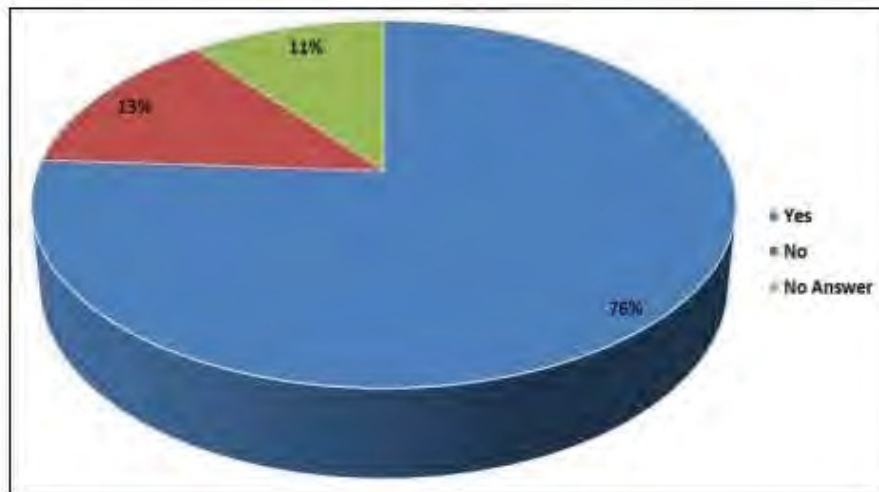
A participant in the Household Survey (2015) stated that:

“You can see that some families get the money and they use it to buy more cows and pigs. That way they look after more animals, so when there is a funeral, or a wedding, they are not awkward [lacking]”

13 per cent of households believed that remittances had not facilitated the development of small scale livelihood activities. Such households felt that much of the remittances were being used to fuel increased consumption on the island. Such households felt that remittance monies were being abused. The response of one participant in the Household Survey (2015) is as follows:

“If you look at some families now, they get the money and eat and drink. Look at the last boat that came. All that beer that was brought and it’s all finished in one week. Where are people getting the money from? Now, people can start drinking kava from 10 in the morning. Feel sorry for those working hard in Fiji who sends money and its wasted. Last week one man came to buy Dalo from me to send to his family [in Fiji]. The family sends money and they just relax. You can really see how it is when the boat is late. There’s nothing to buy, so they have to run to those of us who still plant.”

Figure 5.37. Household Perception on Impact of Remittances on the Development of Small Scale Livelihood Activities



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.3.5.5.2 Household Perception on Effectiveness of Remittances in Development

Figure 5.38 outlines household perceptions on how effective they felt remittances had been, in facilitating development. Respondents were asked to rank how effective they believed remittances had been in facilitating development. This ranking was done on a scale of one to five, with one being the lowest, and five being the highest.

20 per cent of households ranked the effectiveness of remittances at '4', while another 20 percent reported a ranking of '5'. These participants believed that remittances had played a pivotal role in development for Rotuma. Respondents cited, that with the 'help from Fiji', people could now access a greater variety of imported goods and luxuries. The response of one household in the Household Survey (2015) is as follows:

"We have more food at the shops, and it's so much easier to cook with gas instead of using the open fires like before ... look at the school library, a lot of the books are sent by those in Fiji, who want to help. When the hospital is out of things like wheelchairs, those in Fiji send it to help out. It's a huge help that is coming from [migrants in] Fiji."

40 per cent of participants, were ambivalent, and ranked the success at 3 out of 5. They felt that while remittances did have some positive effects, there were also

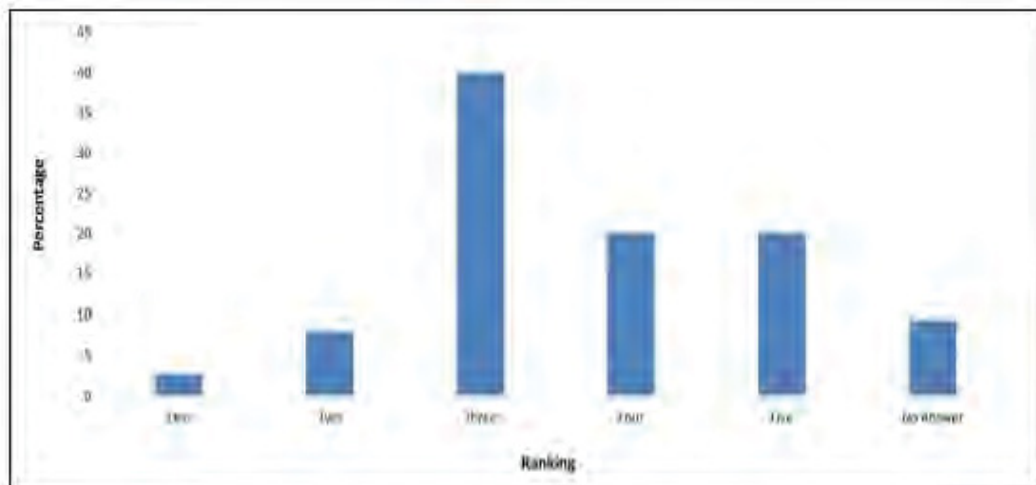
negative aspects that needed to be weighed. These respondents cited a variety of reasons for this. The loss of the significance of traditional practices, and drastic decreases in the amount of planting and fishing taking place were some of the key negative aspects that were cited. Responses of households in the Household Survey (2015) are as follows:

“With all the money, our traditional gifts lose their importance. Before for weddings and funeral, you can take mats and animals to help. Now, you need to take money or boxes of corned beef or it will be seen as if you’re not really helping.”

Another household provided the following response in the Households Survey (2015) with regards to farming practices in Rotuma:

“You can see how little is planted now. When you go to the bush, you will see areas with lots of small tress growing. It’s a sign that before that land was planted on, but now people don’t use it so it’s not just weeds, but trees that are growing. You can see some families making money by selling food [root crops] here in Rotuma. Before it’s for the government workers who don’t have plantations. But now they selling it to Rotumans who [because they] don’t plant.”

Figure 5.38 Ranking of Household Perception on Impact of Remittances



Source: Household Survey, 2015.

5.4: Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis of Rotuman migration and remittances, and its linkage to development in Rotuma. The chapter has analysed patterns in Rotuman migration, and the channelizing of remittances. Through this, the research has found that mainland Fiji remains the key destination for Rotuman migrants. Education has been identified as the key push/pull factor influencing Rotuman migration decisions. Most households still maintain contact with their migrant members, with many households reporting receipt of remittances in both cash and kind from their migrants. The research has established that the majority of remittances in both cash and kind have been channelized to Rotuma through mainland Fiji.

This chapter has also provided an assessment of the usage of such remittances, and how they have contributed to household development in Rotuma. The research finds that remittances sent by migrants are particularly utilised to help meet their basic needs (in the case of cash remittances). Remittances in kind are also sent assist in meeting basic needs, with food items making up the bulk of remittances in kind.

An analysis of household perceptions on remittances and its impacts on health, education, and livelihoods has also been provided in this chapter. Households surveyed generally hold remittances in a high regard, with most participant households alluding to the many benefits brought about through the receipt of remittances.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

Migration and development are inextricably linked. Migration has existed since the advent of humanity and will be a constant factor in human history. From the primitive wanderings of nomadic hunter gatherer tribes, contemporary labour migration, and the migration of refugees, humans have constantly moved in the search of better opportunities. At the micro level, if offered the opportunity, individuals will more often than not, move to other areas should this offer them a chance at better livelihoods and socio-economic opportunities. At the macro level, individuals will migrate from their home countries for a multitude of reasons such as: escaping war and famine, seeking better remuneration that is commensurate with their skills, to join family or simply to temporarily work to earn a living. In the end all these reasons for moving are inextricably linked to a desire for greater opportunities and positive change.

This thesis was carried out to determine the linkages between the ongoing migration of Rotumans, the remittances that they send, and whether or not the remittances have facilitated development in Rotuma. This thesis is based on the authors' keen interest as a Rotuman with researching how migration has helped the island of Rotuma. Growing up in mainland Fiji as a first generation Rotuman migrant, the author constantly heard advice on how, in order to succeed and help the island, Rotumans needed to move to mainland Fiji. Conversely, the author was privy to many discussions surrounding how Rotumans on the island of Rotuma were increasingly becoming over reliant on remittances. This resulted in a perception amongst many Rotuman migrants (particularly amongst first and second generation Rotuman migrants) that those on the island were living increasingly indolent lifestyles that were fuelled through remittances. Being fluent in knowledge of the Rotuman language and culture, and having visited the island, the author was drawn towards the idea of carrying out a study to understand the phenomenon of Rotuman migration, and so saying separate fact from speculation.

The key focus of the research was to establish the linkages between migration, remittances and development in Rotuma. The study aimed to assess whether the remittances from migrants are truly a boon that is ameliorating Rotuman livelihoods, or whether they were fostering dependency and lassitude in Rotuma. The challenge for this study was establishing the answers to the research questions of: the livelihood activities families undertook to meet basic needs, how remittances were typically utilised by recipient households, the impact of remittances on the livelihoods of recipient households, and whether the receipt of remittances had prompted the development of small scale development projects to ameliorate the livelihoods of households.

The study has examined the socio-economic, cultural and political facets of migration at both the macro and micro level. The issue of migration at the global, regional, and national context comprised the macro level analysis. The household survey carried out in Rotuma was a micro level focus. The study examined the livelihood and economic activities of households, and how migration and remittances have influenced these activities. The research examined reasons as to why Rotumans migrated, where they migrated to, and also examined household perceptions on the impact that remittances has had on education, health and livelihoods.

To achieve the objectives of this research, a triangulation approach was employed which included both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. However, the research was more oriented towards a quantitative approach. The quantitative approach enables the collection and analysis of empirical data that were reported through the use of graphs and tables. This empirical data was supplemented by qualitative information which provided the various impressions and nuances to the responses of the households under study.

Data was gathered in the seven districts of the migrant sending island of Rotuma. The data collection methods used included the administering of questionnaires, interviews, participant observation, and ethnography. The research was carried out in the seven districts that make up Rotuma, and altogether, 75 households from the districts participated in this research.

In the study area of Rotuma, there has been extensive Rotuman migration to mainland Fiji since 1946. This has led to a rapid decrease in the Rotuman population and an increase of Rotumans in the mainland of Fiji. The 2007 census, records that over 8,000 Rotumans lived in mainland Fiji with less than 2000 Rotumans dwelling in Rotuma. This Rotuman diaspora can be greatly attributed to Rotuma's political integration with Fiji which has meant that Rotumans have comparative ease of access to migration.

6.1.1 Theoretical Linkages to Findings

The primary aims of the study were to (i) analyse the extent of migration in Rotuma (ii) Examine the extent to which households in Rotuma received remittances (iii) examine how the receipt of remittances have impacted livelihoods in Rotuma.

With migration being a constant phenomenon in human history, numerous theoretical approaches have sought to make sense of this phenomenon. Such theoretical contexts have sought to provide greater clarity in explaining the various typologies, models, frameworks, policies, and legislation relating to migration.

Theoretical approaches to migration are often cited as originating with Ravensteins' seminal work on the 'laws of migration'. Ravenstein (1885) Viewed migration as phenomena where people would typically move short distances and mainly to major cities. He viewed migration as an economic purpose that was driven by the desire of individuals for better employment opportunities and/or wages.

Over time, scholars have sought to expand on this theory. Harris and Todaro (1970) further refined this theory by pointing out that despite high rates of unemployment in urban centres, rural-urban migration was an ongoing phenomenon. Harris and Todaro (1970) in adding more nuances to Ravensteins approach posit that this was due to wage differentials. Basically, the average wages are higher in urban centres that push workers to migrate to urban centres despite the risk of becoming an unemployed urban dweller.

Migration however, is not a phenomenon that can solely be explained based on wage differentials. Lee (1966) in his push-pull model of migration provided additional nuance to migration discourse by pointing out that factors in a migrant's area of origin and area of destination were also potent one in influencing migration decisions. In essence, apart from economic factors issues such as a desire for personal security, the solace of the company of family, or even the natural environment, could act as factors to drive (push) a person to emigrate from a place, or attract (pull) a person to immigrate to a place.

The aforementioned approaches have provided the backbone of the developmentalist view towards migration which stipulates that migration is a natural part of the development process of a country. Thus, development entails the migration of workers from low income to high income areas or areas of high population density to areas of low population density. This meant that the surplus labour in rural/developing areas is transferred to urban centres. Such views perceive migration in an optimistic light as theorists believe it is a developmental instrument that facilitates labour movement and helps facilitate development in rural areas.

The study finds, that in the context of the developing world, while earlier models such as Ravensteins' laws of migration, Lees' push-pull model, and the Harris-Todaro model, do have relevance, they tend to lack adequate nuance in their contextualisation of migration. In essence, these earlier models adapted economic methodologies that simply assessed migration as a phenomena that resulted in movement from point A to point B. Factors such as return migration, remittances, and the flow of knowledge that transpires with migration, were often disregarded by earlier neoclassical approaches. In understanding migration, the theoretical approaches of the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM), and the Dependency theory, are two approaches which are highly relevant in providing a more nuanced understanding of the phenomena of migration.

The dependency theory takes a critical stance towards migration. The theory views migration as being another iteration of the increased dependency of developing states on the economic and political systems advocated for by the developed western world.

Migration is perceived as a means for developed countries to net the best workers of developing countries, and views that the advantages of remittances derived from migrant workers is far outweighed by the loss of the best and most capable workers in a country. Thus migration is perceived to exacerbate the social and economic issues that are prevalent within developed countries. The NELM approach on the other hand, views migration as a two-way process that provides benefits for both migrant sending, and host countries. In essence, host countries benefit from the skills, expertise, and addition to their labour force that migrants provide. Migrant sending countries benefit from the remittances sent by migrants, as well as the skills and technical expertise that return migrant will bring with them.

The aforementioned theories do assist in understanding the phenomena of migration in the neo-classical and global context. However, in the context of Rotuman migration however, theoretical approaches such as the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) and the ‘brain gain’ approach provide a more nuanced approach. In the case of the SLF, the five capitals that the approach encapsulates, do provide an intriguing framework for assessing Rotuman migration.

The first capital to be examined is ‘social capital’. Social capital serves to facilitate migration, and is also strengthened through migration. Most Rotuman migrants make use of the social capital that they have in order to migrate. Rotumans migrate to Fiji and stay with migrant family members, until they are able to attain financial independence and strike out on their own. Migration also serves to strengthen social capital by broadening the networks that communities on the island can draw on to help meet their needs.

Financial/Economic Capital also plays a role in Rotuman livelihoods, and is strengthened through migration. The remittances sent by migrants strengthen the financial capital that Rotumans have access to. Financial capital also helps facilitate migration whereby migrants also send remittances for the purposes of paying for the boat fares of relatives who are travelling to Fiji. This in turn, has ramifications on the human capital of the island, in essence, migrant remittances are sent to help cater for education expenses on the island, and also to ameliorate educational facilities on the

island. This acts to strengthen the human capital on the island. Migration and remittances have also served to improve the *physical capital* on the island of Rotuma. Remittances from migrants have been used by communities for the purchasing of vehicles and/or the construction of new dwellings. Finally, *Natural Capital* on the island is also employed to maintain ties with migrants. Families on the island will periodically send gifts of root crops and Rotuman foods to those in Fiji. This serves to maintain kinship ties with migrants and also fulfils the Rotuman custom of reciprocity.

In the case of the ‘brain gain’ approach to migration, the study notes that the Rotuma appears to epitomise this theory. Despite the reality that ongoing migration has drained Rotuma of its labour force, migration remains a highly desirable outcome for Rotumans. Sayings such as *fe’en ‘ae la po la ‘ou pen heta la po la haga ‘ae* (*Work hard so that your pen can feed you*) reveal how Rotumans regards migration and its potential for bettering their livelihoods. Due to this, Rotuman youth are frequently encouraged to complete secondary school education for the purpose of either seeking further studies, or employment in Fiji. This in turn, serves to ameliorate the human capital on Rotuma.

6.1.2: Summary of Broad Findings

This research has utilised an integrated approach to assess migration and remittances, and how they impact livelihoods in a rural context. This has been done in order to raise awareness on the issue of migration and how it can influence development, and livelihoods in rural settings. The study has identified clear linkages between migration, remittances, and development.

Migration is an ongoing phenomenon. The Pacific has a history of mobility and Rotuma is no exception. The study notes that even prior to colonialism, Rotumans left the island simply out of a desire to travel. Colonisation and the imposition of restrictions on rural-urban migration briefly acted to rein in the mobility of Rotumans. However, the relaxation of those laws as well as the advent of independence led to Rotumans migrating in large number from the island.

The current ongoing migration of Rotumans from the island can be attributed to poverty. The island of Rotuma possesses an abundance of resources that facilitates subsistence living and there is no evidence of absolute poverty. However, there is a large dearth of opportunities on the island. What is apparent in the findings is that despite the lush vegetation and marine resources on the island, there are inadequate opportunities for economic employment, and further education on the island. This clearly illustrates that there is a 'poverty of opportunity' present on Rotuma. Despite numerous efforts by government, the reality remains that for most Rotumans, the only means to attain further (tertiary) education and secure employment is to seek their fortune outside of Rotuma.

This study of migration and remittances, and how they link to development in the rural setting of Rotuma, has found the following:

- 1) A lack of formal employment opportunities is still prevalent on the island. Of the 75 household heads, only 11 per cent of household's heads were involved in formal wage earning work.
- 2) Agricultural activities are the dominant source of livelihoods for households. Nearly 56 per cent of households relied on farming for their basic needs, while 21 per cent of households relied upon the sale of copra to make a living. Fishing which was once a mainstay of livelihoods is declining, with only 6 per cent of households relying on fishing, this is an indication of a sharp decline in this sector which was once a significant livelihood activity in Rotuma.
- 3) Cash earnings from traditional livelihood activities are comparatively low. Average monetary earnings for most households is less than FJD 300 a week, with 53 per cent of households reporting that they earned less than FJD 100 per week from their traditional livelihood activities.
- 4) Household sizes have sharply declined in Rotuma, with around 65 per cent of households comprising of 1 to 5 members. This implies a degradation of extended family networks which in future, has potential ramifications for livelihoods, in terms of the networks that households have access to.

- 5) There is a great decline in the practice of traditional handicraft making as a livelihood activity. About 8 per cent of households relied upon weaving as a livelihood activity. Furthermore, observations by the researcher reveal that the number of Rotuman women who actively practice weaving, is in decline. In sharp contrast to traditional practices whereby weaving would be undertaken to ensure that families had a supply of handicrafts ready for traditional ceremonies such as weddings and funerals, most weaving is undertaken for economic purposes. Basically, in the case of women who practiced weaving, many of them carried this out for the purpose of catering for orders from Fiji. The research notes that this has become apparent at traditional ceremonies where the number of mats utilised for presentation are on the decline. Fine cloth material from Fiji has now been ascribed traditional status, and at traditional ceremonies is often presented alongside, or in lieu of traditional mats.
- 6) Ongoing emigration and a lack of return migration have led to the population of Rotuma Island being mostly comprised of the elderly and very young. As a result, a population pyramid of the islands population reveals a decidedly constrictive shape. Of the 75 households studied, 66 per cent of the household heads were over the age of 66 years. Most migrant have left Rotuma for a long period of time. The study finds that nearly 55 per cent of households have migrants who spent more than 20 years away from Rotuma.
- 7) Education is the dominant push/pull factor influencing migration. Many families are of the philosophy that it is best for their children if their 'pen can feed them'. Additionally, from an early age, Rotumans are habituated in the view that they need to make a life outside of Fiji in order to be beneficial to '*hanua, rotu, ma kaunohoga*' (homes, religion, and family). This is apparent in the 71 per cent of households who reported that their migrant family members had left in order to seek further education. This is in contrast with scenarios in small island states like Tuvalu, where the quest for better economic opportunities are identified as being the most common factor influencing migration (Simati, 2009). However, the household survey in Rotuma revealed that social aspects such as the quest for further education, was the most common factors influencing migration decisions.

- 8) Migration is crucial for Rotuma, for socio-economic and demographic reasons. Due to its size and isolation, migration offers opportunities for individuals in terms of education, and employment. Migration has also ensured that the population on Rotuma has never exceeded the islands carrying capacity. Consequently, problems of overcrowding (Bedford & Hugo, 2008) possessed by other small islands in the Pacific, as well as the related issue of inadequate waste disposal, are relatively absent from Rotuma. This ensures that Rotuma's natural environment is comparatively free of pollution as faced by other small islands such as Tuvalu, and Kiribati.
- 9) It was found that most families surveyed were recipients of remittances. About 76 per cent of households receive remittances in the form of cash and/or kind. Of the remittance receiving households, most of them (63 per cent) received remittances in the form of both cash and kind. 21 per cent of households only received cash remittances while 16 per cent of households only received remittances in kind. The receipt of remittances for most households was irregular with most households reporting that they received remittances on an 'as needed' basis. The amount of cash remittance received fluctuated from family to family, but most households received remittances between FJD100–300 with each transaction.
- 10) Accessing cash remittances can be a time consuming process. Rotumans can only receive their funds at the Rotuma post office which is located in Ahau. Thus Rotumans living in districts that are some distance from the post office, find it necessary to pool their resources and hire a carrier simply to travel to Ahau to collect their remittance monies. Given the exorbitant travel costs in Rotuma, this adds an additional financial burden for remittance recipients. Additionally, since the post office does not offer 24 hour services, this hampers the ability of Rotumans to access remittances during times of emergency.
- 11) The study notes that much of the cash remittances sent to Rotuma are primarily used for consumption with very little being utilised for issues such as medical care and education. The study also notes that none of the households surveyed had a systematic process for saving remittance monies received. When needed, households would set aside small amounts of cash to

cater for cultural or religious events. However, the systematic saving of remittance monies for potential exigencies was not practiced. 41 per cent of households use cash remittances to cater for living expenses. The study notes that contributions to the church and community fundraisings make up a significant proportion of remittance usage that outweighs the usage of remittances for living expenses. A combined total of 45 per cent of remittances are used for community fundraising donations, and religious expenses. The study notes that despite many households citing other households using remittances to purchase livestock, only one of the households surveyed had actually practiced purchasing livestock using remittance monies.

- 12) Food items comprise the bulk of remittances in kind that are received by households. Migrants typically send such remittances due to the high cost of goods and services in Rotuma. Educational materials are also sent. This is primarily on a yearly basis prior to the commencement of the school year.
- 13) Remittances also act to supplement health services on the island. With migrants in Fiji often sending medical materials such as wheelchairs and crutches on an 'as needed' basis due to shortages at the rural hospital.
- 14) It was found that remittances do not necessarily serve to improve access to education, as education in Fiji is currently free. However, they do serve to assist in streamlining and improving educational services on the island. School equipment and other materials on the island such as computers and library books have been primarily donated by migrants in order to ameliorate educational services on the island. Additionally, migrants send uniforms and school equipments to their families in order to ease the cost of acquiring such materials.
- 15) While remittances have benefited Rotumans to a great extent, there are negative aspects related to such remittances. Remittances have contributed towards the development of a consumer driven economy. The study notes, despite Rotuma's small population, there are shops present in almost every village. This implies that a population of less than 2,000 is being serviced by almost 30 shops that deal in general groceries. From a business point of view,

it makes little sense to have so many shops all competing for such a low consumer base. However, the existence of this number of shops demonstrated the increase in consumerism on the island.

- 16) The study finds that this consumeristic culture has led to increased reliance on store bough merchandise. 88 per cent of households surveyed believed that remittances had a significant impact on livelihoods due to dietary changes. In essence, through remittances, Rotumans on the island were able to consume more imported foods. This in turn, has altered socio-cultural practices. Livelihood activities such as farming, fishing, and weaving have drastically declined in practice, with 60 per cent of households reporting that they felt they were undertaking less traditional livelihood activities. With the increased consumeristic culture, monetary gifts and store bought items are valued particularly for traditional events. This gradually increases the financial costs of such events and puts monetary strain on households striving to meet customary obligations.
- 17) Remittances have served to alter traditional ceremonies and activities. An example the study notes, is the ceremonies that take place upon the death of a Rotuman. The lack of a mortuary on the island means that funerals take place a day after the death of a person. This prohibits relatives in Fiji and abroad from travelling to Rotuma. Thus, more emphasis and significance is placed, on the ceremonial mounting of the deceased persons' tombstone. This ceremony typically takes place a year after death and provides adequate time for migrants to send remittances in both cash and kind in order to facilitate a more elaborate ceremony. Imported food items such as boxes of tinned meats and salted beef have also been ascribed traditional status. At Rotuman ceremonies, boxes of tinned meat are often traditionally presented alongside traditional foods.
- 18) It was observed that the absence of banking services on the island influences the usage of remittances. The absence of banking services means that there is a lack of avenues to save and invest monies received.

6.2 Recommendations

There have been limited studies in Rotuma that specifically focus on migration, remittances and development. However, given the scale and extent of Rotuman migration, more research needs to be done in order to fully grasp social, economic, cultural, and political ramifications of this phenomenon. Migration is a part and parcel of Rotuman life, and the desire to seek one's fortune outside of Rotuma has become deeply embedded in the Rotuman ethos. Thus at this point in time, with the ongoing Rotuman migration and the demographic trends on the island, little can be done to halt the migration of Rotumans from the island. However, there are means to facilitate the utilisation of remittances for the purposes of improving community livelihoods. In essence, with much of Rotuman remittances being used to fuel consumption, it is essential to capture portions of these remittances so that they may be used for developmental purposes. The following are some recommendations on how Rotuman livelihoods can be better improved through migration and remittances:

- 1) Banking services need to be provided on the island. Electronic banking services can allow the individual transfers of money to be sent in a more efficient and cost effective manner. In essence, remittances in Rotuma are received through TMOs and/or Western Union (WU) money transfers that are respectively offered by the Fiji postal service and the WU money transfer systems. The providers of these services charge for each transaction. Having access to banking services will permit remittances to be sent via through simple transfers of money from one bank account to another. This makes the sending of remittances easier and cheaper.
- 2) The potential of remittances to improve livelihoods cannot be fully realised if most remittances are used to fuel consumption and not saved for developmental activity. Thus, easier access to banking services is also needed to provide an avenue for Rotumans to deposit and save their monies through the array of saving schemes that are offered by banks. Government, NGOs and CSOs have roles to play in establishing financial inclusion programs for Rotuma, as well as improving financial literacy for Rotumans.
- 3) Serious consideration must be made to place duties or levies on the transfer of remittances to Rotuma. Monies derived from the taxation of Rotuman

remittances can be employed for developmental purposes in Rotuma. This would initially be a highly unpopular policy. However, in the long run, this can facilitate greater injections of capital that would be specifically used for developmental purposes.

- 4) Community leaders in Rotuma have a role to play in mobilising their communities to harness the potential of remittances. Communities in Rotuma such as the community of Tua'koi have taken steps by setting up a communal fund that families in the community contribute towards. Proceeds from these funds have been utilised for the purchase of carriers and other necessities for the community. This is an example that can be followed by traditional leaders in the other districts and sub districts of Rotuma.
- 5) Money sending organisation in Rotuma such as the Post Office and WU, can work in partnership with the Rotuma council and/or communities to facilitate charitable donations. Options can be given to senders and recipients of remittances to check of an option on their transfer forms which permits a portion of the monies being sent or received, to be donated to charitable institutions focussing on Rotuma.
- 6) The reality is that if remittances are simply used to fuel consumption, than future consumption will necessitate more remittances. However, if the remittance money can be saved and invested, than this could help contribute towards Rotuma becoming more self-sufficient.
- 7) Return migration can be encouraged should the relevant institutions put policy in place that incentivises return migration. Such policies can include tax breaks for Rotuman entrepreneurs who return to the island to start business ventures.
- 8) Moreover, it is of major concern to utilise the remittances for investment and development purposes. Proper strategies and policies on remittance use need to be developed in order to help livelihoods and economic growth.

6.3 Future Research

The study notes that there is a need for additional independent in-depth research into the phenomena of migration and remittances. This needs to be done in order to better understand the scale of this phenomena and how it can be employed to foster development.

There have been limited detailed studies examining the role of migration and remittances for the development Rotuma. However, migration is an ongoing phenomenon that plays a large role in the lives of Rotumans. This thesis has assessed the role that migration and remittances play in the livelihoods of Rotumans. However, there are other research questions that can be examined. For instance, prior to cession to Great Britain, Rotuma was an independent entity. However, it is now fully politically integrated with Fiji, and Rotumans have benefitted greatly from their ease of access to mainland Fiji. With this in mind, there are avenues for future researchers to examine how the impact migration is having on the preservation of culture. Additionally, there is room for research to examine the political and developmental ramifications of Rotuma's integration with Fiji. In essence, in a diasporic community such as Rotuma, more detailed research is needed to understand the socio-economic and political implications of migration. The present study has less focus on the international dimensions of Rotuman migration and therefore future studies can focus more on these areas to better understand the relations between migration, remittances and development.

This research has recommended that banking and financial literacy services are needed in Rotuma in order to help capture remittances for developmental purposes. Primary data collected by future researchers needs to look into specific ways in which Rotumans can invest remittance monies. Future researchers can identify the specific developmental and livelihood needs of individual communities and derive innovative means to channelize remittances to meet such needs. Future research can also focus on members of the Rotuman diaspora who can provide their own perspectives on how they feel the remittances they send ought to be employed.

The research has identified that Rotumans do receive significant amounts of remittances. However, such remittances are more often used for consumption due to a lack of access to savings and investment systems. The role of community leaders and governance organisations in Rotuma needs to be scrutinised given that they do have a great potential role to play in facilitating the utilisation of remittances for development. Institutions such as the Rotuma Island Council need to be more proactive in their approach towards Rotuman development.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 : Questionnaire

Date: ____/____/____ Locality/ Address: _____

Name of Respondent: _____

Part I: General Background

(Please tick ✓ as appropriate)

1. Gender of household head: Male ☐ Female ☐
2. Age of household head (yrs.) (>18 yrs.):
18-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐
More than 55 ☐
3. Marital Status of household head:
Single ☐ Married ☐ Never Married ☐ Divorced ☐
☐ Separated ☐ Others (Specify) _____
4. Employment of household head:
Working ☐ Studying ☐ Self-Employed ☐ Not Working ☐
Others (Specify) ☐ _____
5. What activities does your household undertake to meet your basic needs?
Farming ☐ Fishing ☐ Selling handicrafts ☐
Selling Copra ☐ Others (Specify) ☐ _____
6. What is your household's weekly income from all sources (FJD)?

7. How many family members are living with you in the household (including children): _____

Part II: Migration

8. Do you have any member (s) of your household who have been staying outside Rotuma?
Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, (a) how many members of the household have been staying outside?

(b) Since when they have been staying outside? _____

(c) Where do they live?

Within Fiji ☐ outside Fiji but Within Pacific ☐ Abroad ☐

9. Please tick the appropriate choice and specify the location of the migrant member of your household in the relevant box

Current Location	Please tick relevant choice	Number of migrant family members in this location	Specific Location (e.g. Suva)
Mainland Fiji			
Australia			
New Zealand			
Canada			
Other (Please specify)			

10. What is your relation with the migrant member (s) of your household?

Father ☐ Mother ☐ Brother ☐ Sister ☐ Husband ☐
Wife ☐ Others, (Specify) ☐ _____

11. What is/are the main reason (s) for migrating? *(Please tick as appropriate):*

Better Education ☐ Employment ☐ To Join Family ☐ Desire to travel and settle outside ☐
Others, (Specify) ☐ _____

12. How often do you communicate with the migrant family member (s):

Very Often ☐ Occasionally ☐ Rarely ☐ Never ☐

13. How do you maintain contact with the migrant members?

Phone ☐ Email ☐ Postal ☐ Social media ☐ others, (Specify) ☐ _____

Part III: Remittances and their Utilisation

14. Do the migrant members in your family send gifts back home?

☐ Yes ☐ No

- 14a. If yes, what sorts of gifts are sent? *(Please tick applicable choices)*

Cash ☐ Kind ☐ Both Cash & Kind ☐

15. How often do the migrant family members send gifts?

Weekly ☐ Monthly ☐ Every Three Months ☐ Yearly ☐

Whenever Need Arises ☐

16. On average, how much money is received from the migrant family members each time they send money gifts? \$ _____

17. How is the gift money sent home? (*Please tick applicable choices*):

Bank ☐ Friends ☐ Relatives ☐ Agencies ☐

☐ Mixed Ways (Specify) _____

18. Why do the migrant family members send money to Rotuma? ***Please tick the appropriate choice(s)***

1. Cater for living expenses	
2. Pay for medical expenses	
3. Pay for education costs	
4. Purchase livestock	
5. Begin/ further develop business	
6. Build or extend homes	
7. Contribute to church	
8. Assist with community fundraising	
9. Purchase farming implements	

19. How does your household use the gift money? ***Please tick the appropriate choice(s)***

1. Cater for living expenses	
2. Pay for medical expenses	
3. Pay for education costs	
4. Purchase livestock	
5. Begin/ further develop business	
6. Build or extend homes	
7. Contribute to church	
8. Assist with community fundraising	
9. Purchase farming implements	
10. Savings	

20. Of the choices provided above, which choice do you spend the most money on?
(please rank the choice you selected in order of highest to lowest)

21. What other kinds of gifts do you receive apart from cash? (Please tick as appropriate and for each choice please indicate how often you receive it)

Gift Type	Tick Appropriate Category(ies)	How often do you receive such gifts (Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly, Irregular)
1. Farming implements		
2. Seeds/More crop varieties to cultivate		
3. Food products		
4. Clothing		
5. Educational materials		

22. Why do the migrant family members send the gift types selected above to Rotuma? *Please tick the appropriate choice(s)*

Increase amount of land cultivated	
Diversify farming practices	
Assist in meeting basic needs	
Assist in attaining and improving literacy	
Assist in education of children	
Facilitate construction of new houses	
Renovate houses	
Develop business ventures	

23. How does your household use the non-cash gifts that you ticked in *question 21*? (*Please tick the appropriate choice(s)*):

Increase amount of land cultivated	
Diversify farming practices	
Assist in meeting basic needs	
Assist in attaining and improving literacy	
Assist in education of children	
Facilitate construction of new houses	
Renovate houses	
Develop business ventures	

24. What role do you believe migrants can play in helping the Rotumans on the island develop in terms of their access to health facilities? (Please tick as appropriate):

Very Insignificant Role	
Insignificant Role	
Significant Role	
Very Significant Role	
Can't say	

Any other comments?

25. What role do you believe migrants play in helping members of the household achieve better education? (Please tick as appropriate):

Very Insignificant Role	
Insignificant Role	
Significant Role	
Very Significant Role	
Can't say	

Any other comments? _____

26. Do you think that more family members have been able to attend school due to the remittances sent to Rotuma? Yes ☐ No ☐

27. What role do you think migrants in the household play in helping the household develop in terms of their living standards? (Please tick as appropriate):

Very Insignificant Role	
Insignificant Role	
Significant Role	
Very Significant Role	
Can't say	

Any other comments?

28. Do you think that family/household living standards have changed over the last 5 years due to the remittances received? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, how much has the household's standard of living changed:

To A Great Extent ☐ Substantially ☐ Little ☐ Can't Say ☐

Any other comments?

29. If you answered yes for **question 28** than have the changes in living standards been positive or negative? (Please provide explanations and examples)

Positive ☐ Negative ☐ Both Positive and Negative ☐

30. How important do you think is the roles of Rotuman migrants in helping households accomplish good livelihoods? (Please tick as appropriate):

Very Insignificant Role	
Insignificant Role	
Significant Role	
Very Significant Role	
Can't say	

31. Do you think that remittances from migrants have resulted in fewer traditional livelihood activities been undertaken in your household?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, please explain in what ways:

- i. _____
- ii. _____
- iii. _____

32. Do you think that remittances have contributed to the development of more small scale livelihood activities for families? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, please list the livelihood related activities that have been developed through remittances/gifts received.

- i. _____
- ii. _____
- iii. _____

33. On a scale of 1 to 5 (1=failure and 5=highly successful), how would you rate the overall success/impact of remittances in Rotuman Development?

One ☐ Two ☐ Three ☐ Four ☐ Five ☐

Any other comments?

34. What ways Rotuman life-style have changed over the years due to remittances/gifts received by families?

- i. _____

- ii. _____

- iii. _____

Thank you very much

Noa'ia 'e nā nē 'āmus ava la tōg sai'o