

## **Diaspora No More: The Role of Facebook in the Development of a Global Rotuman Community**

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The popular definition of “diaspora” refers to “a group of people who live outside the area in which they had lived for a long time or in which their ancestors lived” (Merriam-Webster’s Learner’s Dictionary 2016). It derives from the dispersion of Jews from Palestine following the Babylonian exile, but in current discourse is applied to any scattering of people from their ancestral homelands, as well as to the dispersed migrant populations themselves.<sup>1</sup>

As one online blogger observed:

One reason that “diaspora” has proliferated is because “immigrant” is an unsatisfying term. Immigrants are narrowly defined as people who take up long term or permanent residence in a new country. It is a term that describes a person’s movement between countries but does not capture the enduring emotional attachments to the place he or she left. In contrast, the word “diaspora” allows the person who immigrated and all of their descendants to describe the meaningful connection they have to their country or region of heritage without diminishing the significance of their membership in the nation in which they reside. [International Diaspora Engagement Alliance 2012].

The fact that the term “diaspora” has been applied to such a large proportion of the current world’s population, as people are either forced to leave their homelands as refugees or freely migrate to seek socio-economic opportunities elsewhere, has led to criticisms that the word has lost much of its original melancholic association. As the above blogger put it, “The experience of being scattered is central to the identity of the ethnic groups that the word has traditionally been used to describe, and some fear that the collective tragedy that these peoples experienced will stop being commemorated if every community lays claim to the word.”

Regardless of such misgivings, the term is now a central concept in our collective vocabulary and has become a focal point for a variety of social scientific endeavors, ranging from studies of cultural identity (for example, Alonso and Oiarzabal 2010; Eliassi 2015; Howard in preparation, Mao and Qian 2015; Nur-Muhammad et al. 2013; Oiarzabal 2012) to

investigations of the effects of social media on networks of relationships (for example, Castor 2014, Haythornthwaite 2005, Oosterbaan 2010, Papacharissi 2011). One might argue that whatever melancholy that was once associated with the concept—the result of communicative detachment and isolation both from the motherland and between multiple diasporic communities—has been washed away by modern technology that provides the means for social interaction on an unprecedented scale, allowing for the reconstitution of diasporic populations as deterritorialized transnational communities.

In this paper I explore the effects of social media, and particularly Facebook, in transforming a once fragmented diasporic Rotuman population into a global community that no longer manifests core features associated with the classical concept of “diaspora,” specifically the notion that social bonds between members of diasporic populations have been rendered weak at best or entirely broken. I acknowledge that this is a much more limited reference to the concept than currently prevails in contemporary studies of diaspora (see Butler 2001 for a comprehensive discussion of issues involved in defining diaspora).

### **Background to the Rotuman Diaspora<sup>2</sup>**

Rotuma is a small island some 465 kilometers north of Fiji, with which it has been politically linked since cession to Great Britain in 1881. When Fiji was granted independence by Great Britain in 1970, Rotumans opted to become part of the new nation, which gave them the opportunity to leave their home island for other parts of Fiji without crossing national boundaries.

However, Rotuman outmigration began long before that, soon after European intrusion in the early nineteenth century. Many early commentators reported that Rotuman men were eager to leave Rotuma aboard European vessels and took every opportunity to do so (e.g., Bennett 1831:480). Some forty years later Litton Forbes wrote, “Scarcely a man on the island but has been more or less of a traveller. It is no rare thing to find men who have visited Harve, or New York, or Calcutta” (Forbes 1875:226). Commenting on the extent of emigration in 1867, Rev. William Fletcher, the first European Methodist missionary stationed on Rotuma, wrote that upwards of seven hundred young men were known to have left the island in recent memory (Fletcher 1870).

While most of the men who left the island—either as sailors or as workers abroad (for example, pearl diving in the Torres Strait)—returned home after some time away, a significant number did not. They left their ships in Australia, New Zealand, England, and elsewhere and took employment, married local women, and settled into a new life. Rotuma’s isolation made it difficult for emigrants to keep in contact with their home island, and most of them more or less disappeared as far as their homebound relatives were concerned. For whatever reasons—limited literacy curtailing letter writing; transportation into the Pacific being too complicated, sporadic, and unpredictable; Rotumans being extraordinarily adaptive to and successful in new environments; or a combination of factors—communication was extremely limited at best.

Anxiety over unimpeded emigration of young men was one of the first issues raised by the chiefs of Rotuma in their negotiations with British authorities prior to cession in 1881. Thus Arthur Gordon reported in 1879 that the chiefs desired regulations to check wholesale emigration. The concern for controlling emigration eventually led to the passage of Rotuma Regulation Number 3 in 1939, stating that "no native may leave Rotuma without the permission of the District Officer" (Rotuma Regulations 1939:457).

Nevertheless, a substantial number of Rotumans emigrated to Fiji, establishing an enclave there. The outbreak of World War II accelerated Rotuman emigration to Fiji, and by 1946 approximately 17 percent of all Rotumans were residing there. The flow of this migration path accelerated markedly during the last half of the twentieth century as young Rotumans moved to Fiji’s urban centers to pursue education and employment opportunities. Also stimulating out-migration was a rapid increase in the population of Rotumans resulting from a dramatic decrease in the death rate following World War II while the birth rate remained high, which strained the island’s carrying capacity. Thus, whereas the 1956 Fiji census found 68 percent of Rotumans in the country living on their home island, by 2007 the figure had dropped to 19 percent. The overall number of Rotumans in Fiji as a whole (including Rotuma) increased during this time span from 4,422 to 10,137.

A wireless installation was inaugurated on Rotuma in 1933 which facilitated contact with Suva. It included both a telegraph and a radio-telephone service, enabling the ability to convey messages of arrivals and departures, births and deaths and requests for money and goods. However, the facility was used by only a small number of Rotumans on the island. Although upgrades were occasionally made to the radio-telephone, it was primarily used to serve practical

needs during short communications. A proper telephone system was not installed on Rotuma until the 1990s, which allowed people on the island to make and receive calls from anywhere in the world.

Fiji in turn has been a way station for many Rotumans who have emigrated elsewhere, including Australia and New Zealand, where substantial identifiable communities have developed. Rotuman communities of lesser size and varying cohesion have also developed in such places as Hawai'i, the San Francisco Bay area, Vancouver in British Columbia, and Fort McMurray in Alberta, Canada. In addition, a substantial number of Rotumans emigrated to England, where they are widely scattered, and a few families with Rotuman members settled in other places, including Sweden, Norway, and the United Arab Emirates. While no figures are available for Rotumans outside of Fiji, I estimate their numbers to be around 2,000–3,000.

As the population of Rotumans became increasingly dispersed, the problems of keeping in contact with friends and relatives became an issue of concern. Letter-writing remained generally underdeveloped as a form of frequent communication, and transnational telephone calls were extremely expensive, limiting the feasibility of frequent contacts.<sup>3</sup> So until late in the 1990s, the dispersed Rotuman population could be considered diasporic in close to the classic sense. The repair work of reconnecting the broken social ties that characterized this period began with the Internet near the end of the 20th century.

### **The Internet and the Role of Facebook**

The emergence of widespread email in the 1990s provided the initial vehicle for Rotuman emigrants with computer access to stay in touch, although at the beginning finding one another on the Internet was not so easy. Not long after getting wired for email ourselves, my wife, Jan Rensel, and I began to share news with Rotumans, and spouses of Rotumans, who were online. In 1995, we started ROTUMANET, an informal listserv of interested parties with whom we shared news from any Rotuman community that provided it. People sent us news via email, fax, or regular mail, and we relayed it to everyone on the list, which came to number more than sixty email addresses.

In November 1996, we took the next step—to construct a website that would provide a place in cyberspace where emigrant Rotumans could not only keep up with the news from Rotuman communities around the globe but also find and communicate with one another. To

facilitate this we introduced a news page, bulletin board, and registry in which individuals could fill out a form indicating who they were and how they could be contacted. This allowed individuals to locate relatives, friends, and associates by using the search function.

Responses to the website were extremely satisfying, including many expressions of gratitude by individuals who were able to locate long lost relatives either by searching the database or by posting messages on the bulletin board requesting information about the whereabouts of people with whom they wanted to communicate. An additional way people were able to locate friends and relatives was to do a search of the Internet and to find them mentioned on the Rotuma Website in a news item or in some other section. They would then contact me and I would act as an intermediary by providing contact information if I had it.

Soon after Facebook became available to the general public in 2006, Rotumans began signing on, and in the process they formed groups devoted to various purposes (see Howard, in preparation). This allowed them to make “friends” with individuals around the world without regard for geographical boundaries, and to keep in virtual daily contact.<sup>4</sup> And by joining Rotuman-oriented groups (easily found by doing a search since most such groups included “Rotuma” or “Rotuman” in their group names), individuals were able to affiliate with pre-formed virtual communities of compatriots depending on common interests, home village or district on Rotuma, schools attended (e.g., Rotuma High School), religious affiliation, or other criteria. Such virtual communities vary in size from only a few individuals to the most inclusive group, “Rotumans on Facebook,” which as of this writing (22 December, 2016) has 7,754 members. When one considers that the number of Rotumans worldwide is in the vicinity of 15,000, this represents an amazing proportion of the total population.<sup>5</sup> In response to a question in an online survey (see below) regarding how many Rotuman groups they belonged to, respondents were offered four choices: none, 1-5, 6-10, and more than 10. The great majority (94%, N=185) answered 1-5; of the remainder, only 4 percent answered none and 2 percent 6-10.

As a member of multiple Rotuman groups, most of which are public (open membership), some of which are closed (restricted membership, requiring formal acceptance), and with over 400 Rotuman “friends,” I have been following postings, and occasionally posting items myself, for several years now. I have been greatly impressed with the frequency, intensity, and quality of interaction between Rotumans scattered around the globe, in postings, comments to posts, and

other indicators of intimacy and sharing that are the hallmark of well functioning, grounded communities.

In order to explore the significance of the Facebook experience for Rotumans, I initiated an online survey, announced in “Rotumans on Facebook” and on the Rotuma Website, inviting Rotumans to participate. The survey was online for the month of July, 2016, and yielded 186 responses.

### **The Survey**

Of the 186 respondents, 73 (39%) were male and 113 (61%) were female. At first I suspected that the discrepancy might be indicative of a difference in the degree of active participation of men and women, with the latter spending more time on Facebook, but this was not borne out by an analysis of the survey results. Thus 80 percent of the women and 77 percent of the men reported that they log on to Facebook almost every day, and an additional 17 percent of the women and 19 percent of the men reported logging on several times a week. In response to a question concerning how much time they spent on Facebook per week, 40 percent of the women and 37 percent of the men reported spending 5 or more hours, although a higher percentage of men (30%) than women (18%) reported spending 1 hour or less per week. It may be that there are simply a lot more Rotuman women than men on Facebook, but I have no data to either confirm or refute such an assertion.

A question regarding the age of respondents yielded somewhat surprising results, with only 4 percent reporting their age as under 21, 30 percent in the age range of 21-35, 38 percent in ages 36-50, and 28 percent as over 50 years old. That well over half (66%) of the sample would be over 35 years old was certainly unexpected, but it suggests to me that older Rotumans have been highly motivated to participate in Facebook because it provides a means otherwise unavailable to them of keeping in regular contact with geographically scattered friends and relatives, a conclusion supported by my experience with their Facebook postings and comments. The sample may also be skewed by the likelihood that older Rotumans know who I am and about my long-term relationship with the Rotuman community, and therefore might have been more favorably inclined to respond to my request for participation in the survey.

The great majority of respondents were born either on Rotuma (40%) or in Fiji (49%), with only 11 percent born elsewhere. Not surprisingly then, the majority of them reported that

they were either fluent in the Rotuman language (57%) or could converse in Rotuman moderately well (23%), with the remainder claiming to mostly understand spoken Rotuman (6%) or to know some words and songs in Rotuman (12%). Only two individuals reported not knowing the language at all.<sup>6</sup>

The countries in which individuals answered the survey were not reported by the respondents, but were included in the database (actually a spreadsheet) supplied by the survey provider. It gives a pretty good idea of the distribution of Rotumans around the world. Given the 179 records for which there were data, the distribution is as follows: Fiji 55, Australia 45, New Zealand 26, USA 21, Japan 11, Canada 8, Great Britain 7, United Arab Emirates 2, Brazil 1, Vietnam 1, Western Samoa 1, South Africa 1.

To get an idea of how long respondents had been on Facebook, I offered three timeframes for how long ago they joined: Within the past 2 years (6%), between 3 and 5 years ago (21%), and more than 5 years ago (73%). This suggests that Rotumans were rather quick to take advantage of the communication capabilities that Facebook provided and that they have stuck with it.

The number of “friends” reported ranged from 12 to 4000, with a median of around 265 (based on 137 reports; others didn’t offer figures but gave answers like “many,” “lots,” “tons,” and “not sure.”) In a separate study of Rotuman Facebook usage in which I gleaned friendship data from individual Facebook profiles, the median number of friends was a much higher 593 (Howard, in preparation). Asked what proportion of their friends on Facebook were Rotuman, 35 percent answered “most of my friends,” 33 percent “about half of my friends,” and 32 percent “fewer than half of my friends.”

Being a member of Facebook does not necessarily mean that one is actively engaged in posting items, making comments on other members’ posts, and clicking on responses such as “like.” To gain an idea of respondents’ levels of engagement, I posed a set of questions. To the question “How often do you post something on Facebook?” five alternatives were offered: Almost every day (11%), several times a week (19%), about once a week (22%), a few times a month (30%), and hardly ever (18%), N=184. With regard to comments on other people’s Facebook postings, the frequency was somewhat greater, with 24 percent answering almost every day, 31 percent several times a week, 16 percent about once a week, 16 percent a few times a month, and 13 percent hardly ever. And when asked how often they “liked” a posting on

Facebook the frequency not surprisingly (because it is a more passive form of participation) was greater still, with 45 percent answering almost every day, 33 percent several times a week, 6 percent about once a week, 11 percent a few times a month, and 5 percent hardly ever. See Table 1 for a summary.

**Table 1**  
**Frequency of Facebook Participation**

	<b>Almost every day</b>	<b>Several times a week</b>	<b>About once a week</b>	<b>A few times a month</b>	<b>Hardly ever</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Postings</b>	20 (11%)	35 (19%)	40 (22%)	55 (30%)	34 (18%)	184 (100%)
<b>Comments</b>	43 (24%)	56 (31%)	29 (16%)	30 (16%)	24 (13%)	182 (100%)
<b>Likes</b>	83 (45%)	60 (33%)	11 (6%)	21 (11%)	9 (5%)	184 (100%)

As an indicator of the degree to which postings and comments were directed exclusively to Rotumans, and even more so, to persons with at least some degree of competence in the Rotuman language, questions were included regarding the language used in postings and comments on postings. The results are included in Table 2.

**Table 2**  
**Language Used in Postings and Comments on Postings**

	<b>Usually in Rotuman</b>	<b>Usually in Rotuman with some English</b>	<b>Usually in English with some Rotuman</b>	<b>Usually in English</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Postings</b>	9 (5%)	23 (13%)	66 (36%)	86 (47%)	184 (101%)
<b>Comments</b>	11 (6%)	29 (26%)	69 (38%)	73 (40%)	182 (100%)

Thus, although these responses indicate a rather limited use of Rotuman as the primary language in posts and comments (18% and 32% respectively), more than half of the respondents professed to using at least some Rotuman in their Facebook participation (53% in postings and 60% in comments). Given that a significant proportion of persons claiming at least some Rotuman ancestry may still have restricted competence in the language at best, and that non-Rotumans make up a major portion of most respondents' friends, with 65 percent reporting that half or more of their friends were non-Rotumans, these data suggest a distinct effort to keep in contact with other Rotumans.<sup>7</sup>

In order to gain a sense of how participation in Facebook has affected the networks of friends and relatives of respondents I posed the following two questions: “How much would you say your participation in Facebook has affected the size of your network of relatives (kainaga)?” and “How much would you say your participation in Facebook has affected the size of your network of friends (kaumane‘aga)?” The term “kaumane‘aga” refers specifically to friends, or more literally to “playmates” as opposed to kinsmen. The responses to these questions can be seen in Table 3.

**Table 3**  
**Effect of Facebook Participation on Size of Personal Networks**

	<b>Increased it greatly</b>	<b>Increased it somewhat</b>	<b>Not much effect</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Friends</b>	72 (40%)	71 (39%)	37 (21%)	180 (100%)
<b>Relatives</b>	84 (46%)	68 (37%)	30 (16%)	182 (99%)

Clearly then, the great majority of respondents felt that their networks of both friends and relatives had been expanded by their participation in Facebook, and although there’s no way of knowing from these data what proportion of their co-members were in countries other than their own, we can safely surmise that these networks were largely transnational.

The final item in my survey asked, “In your own words, in what ways would you say being on Facebook has affected your life?” All together, 157 of the 186 respondents offered comments, which I have categorized for analysis. Many of the comments bridged two or more categories so the totals in Table 4 add up to more than the number of commentators.

**Table 4**  
**Effects of Facebook on Lives of Respondents**

<b>Comment</b>	<b>Number of Comments</b>
Keeping in touch with friends & relatives	105
Keeping up with news	39
Sharing photos and videos	19
Sharing of cultural knowledge	15
Being informed of Rotuman issues	11
Reinforcing Rotuman identity	10
Use of Rotuman language	6
Useful in planning events	5
Entertainment, relaxation	3
Value for business	1

No or not much effect on life	13
Big impact	5
Positive impact	6
Negative aspect (gossip, nasty comments)	8
Time consuming	15
No comment	29

Clearly, keeping in touch with friends and relatives is the dominant effect that 105 respondents alluded to in their comments. They often added remarks concerning the ability to keep up with news of Rotumans around the world and the ability to share photos and videos.

Some characteristic examples:

(1) Being on Facebook gives me a chance to be connected daily to my kainaga [kinsmen] all around the world. I get to see my nieces and nephews grow up through pictures and videos which I would not get to see otherwise unless visiting Fiji/rotuma. The access to language, music, dance and current events has blown up with social media as well where I can not only see these things on my page but easily connect with others through comments. I've befriended disconnected family and friends from my childhood in rotuma and met them years later when I visited Fiji all thanks to Facebook. It broadens my rotuman community by taking away the limitations of location.

(2) Facebook lets me connect with friends and family but especially cousins and relatives who are staying abroad. Rather than having to wait for the next family function or a reunion (which happens in years), one can just chat with a relative or a cousin on Facebook and update each other on whats happening. FB is also a great place to be in a forum of discussion on issues that affect our island and its people.

(3) It has allowed me to connect with other Rotumans around the world and stay connected to their daily lives. It has brought a closer sense of identity and had been a great way to educate my friends on where I come from.

(4) In a more exciting way i would say FB has made my life more connected with friends, relatives and the wider Rotuman community, as well as the current affairs

of other places world wide. FB has enabled me to reach out to the world of people especially friends almost daily. It has somewhat become almost like a new essential element to my life where it has kept your network of friends and relatives close by and closer to you on a daily basis.....

In addition to keeping in touch with friends and relatives, 15 respondents mentioned the importance of Facebook for keeping informed about issues of concern to the Rotuman people. At the time of the survey two bills that had been proposed by the government of Fiji, The Rotuma Bill and The Rotuma Lands Bill were being discussed in multiple forums, including Facebook. There has been considerable discontent with the bills among Rotumans because several provisions in each are said to violate traditional Rotuman custom. A concern for the perpetuation of the Rotuman language was also present in several comments posted online. As one respondent put it:

(5) I didn't really have much to do with or cared much about Facebook until the conversations regarding the 'extinct and dying' (urrgh hate these words) status of the Rotuman language and the Rotuma Land Bills 6 and 7 surfaced. These conversations and events were catalytically responsible for my increased participation on FB. I suddenly found myself paying more attention to Rotuman issues – reading more about Rotuma, reading more about Rotuman language issues, reading more about indigenous issues and research, writing more, studying how people were using written Rotuman on the net and yes, on more than one occasion, voicing strong opinions and arguing with others about the Bills and other issues about Rotuma that I felt and continue to feel very passionately about. I was suddenly thrust into this heightened awareness of 'Rotumaness'. Often, I have wondered if 'living overseas' has played a part too. Would my participation on FB and interest in Rotuman issues have been different, i.e lesser, if I were living in Rotuma or Fiji instead?

The conversations around the status of the Rotuman language on RoFB [Rotumans on Facebook] has created new conversations about Rotuman language learning in our home. It has pushed us to be proactive. This has got to be a good thing.

Pride in Rotuman Identity and being informed about issues of concern to the Rotuman people was the theme of some comments:

(6) Being proud of who I am. My culture is my identity

Reading the achievements of my people - fellow rotumans makes me proud

(7) Confirms my identity as a rotuman...and feels proud about it

However, ambivalence was present in eight of the comments, with the negative aspects of unfettered communication highlighted:

(8) The great thing about Facebook is that being away from Fiji, I find that keeping up with events back home is much easier and up to date through facebook. Through the message App on facebook which allows facetime calls, you can participate in events within the kainaga in real time. Unfortunately there is also a downside to it. Being easy to contact however far away you are, and being abroad you are constantly asked to send money back home. Another downside is the gossiping becomes more wide spread and nasty as the gossip can remain anonymous.

(9) I think that being linked with other Rotumans on facebook allows me to truly appreciate the uniqueness of our culture. It also makes me want to visit Rotuma as I have not been before. However it does have some negative effects - some Rotumans are quite vocal about other Rotumans who do not speak the language. I am very proud of my Rotuman culture and although I do not speak it fluently, I class myself as a Rotuman. Others do not feel the same which can make people like myself feel disconnected or classed as a "second-rate Rotuman."

Another negative, mentioned by 15 respondents, was the time spent on Facebook. For example:

(10) It has enabled me to converse and keep in touch with my friends and family abroad, thus it has helped ease my homesickness. I am also able to write in Rotuman and that makes me really happy! :) On the bad side, I think I spent too much time on facebook and need to limit myself.

(11) Positive and negative.

You keep in touch with family when you need to but then you get drawn to other people's page for no particular reason and you eventually waste time. The human aspect or factor is totally removed because you can only bring yourself to communicate on a device and not in person.

Only 13 of the 157 respondents who commented stated that Facebook either had no or little effect on their lives.

To be sure, Facebook is not the only medium by which friends and relatives communicate with one another. In response to a question concerning what other media they used to keep in touch, all but five respondents mentioned such additional media as telephone calls (82%), email (76%), Skype (51%), Twitter (10%), and other (21%). Among the “other” media were Instagram, Messenger (texting), Facetime, LinkedIn, and Viber. At the very least, however, Facebook has provided Rotumans scattered around the world the wherewithal to communicate on a regular basis with one another, to share news and visuals, to express opinions on issues of common concern, and to enhance their sense of Rotumanness, which is the hallmark of grounded communities. Thus it is no stretch to refer to a global Rotuman community, not simply as a virtual community, but as a social entity worthy of analysis in its own right. And given the denotative and connotative baggage of the concept of diaspora, I would argue that what was once a diasporic Rotuman population is now, in large measure due to Facebook, a diaspora no more.

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## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> It has also been used in reference to the dissemination of languages or cultural institutions (e.g., the diaspora of English as a global language).

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that as a result of high rates of outmarriage (Rensel and Howard 2014:194, 197 a significant proportion of the population I refer to as “Rotuman” are only part-Rotuman. However, because Rotuman inheritance rules are inclusive, anyone with a Rotuman ancestor has rights to land in Rotuma and is considered to be a Rotuman.

<sup>3</sup> Many of the phones on Rotuma were disconnected after a short period as a result of high telephone bills that people were unable to pay.

<sup>4</sup> The Facebook concept of “friend” has much in common with the Rotuman concept of “kainaga,” which is generally translated as “relative,” but at a deeper level refers to items of the same category, such as species. The term is often used in reference to individuals without regard to a known genealogical connection. It can be used to incorporate all Rotumans, non-Rotuman spouses of Rotumans, and individuals with whom one has formed close and enduring friendships.

<sup>5</sup> To be sure, not all the members of “Rotumans on Facebook” are ethnically Rotuman or Part-Rotuman. A substantial number of non-Rotuman spouses (Rotumans have a markedly high rate of out-marriage), along with close friends of other ethnicities, people who have worked or lived on Rotuma, are among the members. Although it is impossible to determine what proportion of the whole such individuals represent, it is clear from postings that the great majority are Rotuman by birth.

<sup>6</sup> These figures for language competence corresponds quite closely with those acquired in a more general online survey of Rotumans in 2013 by Mathew Bray in which 54 percent of the 158 respondents rated their Rotuman language ability as high, 27 percent as medium, and 20 percent as low. See Howard, Bray, and Rensel online at [http://www.rotuma.net/os/Publications/Bray\\_Survey\\_Report.pdf](http://www.rotuma.net/os/Publications/Bray_Survey_Report.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> Although I don’t have data to verify it, it seems reasonable to expect that Rotuman is used to a greater degree in Rotuman group venues, where the presumption of language competence is greater, than on individual Facebook pages where more non-Rotumans can be expected among the audience.